The 13th century *Secret History of the Mongols*, covering the great Činggis Qan's (1162-1227) ancestry and life, stands out as a literary monument of first magnitude. Written partly in prose and partly in epic poetry, it is the major native source on Činggis Qan, also dealing with part of the reign of his son and successor Ögödei (r. 1229-41).
This true handbook contains an historical introduction, a full translation of the chronicle into accessible English, *plus* an extensive commentary. Indispensable for the historian, the Sino-Mongolist, the Altaic philologist, and anyone interested in comparative literature and Central Asian folklore.

IGOR DE RACHEWILTZ Ph.D. (1961) in Chinese History, The Australian National University, has published extensively on the political and cultural history of China and Mongolia in the 12th-14th centuries, and on Sino-Mongolian philology. He is at present an Emeritus Fellow in the Pacific and Asian History Division of the ANU.

The Secret History of the Mongols has been selected by *Choice* as

Outstanding Academic Title (2005).

'As the author writes in his introduction, books are still to be written about many particular aspects of the Secret History. *Certainly his present magnum opus, in which he successfully integrates the achievements of previous investigations and the many fruits of his own research, will be a great source of inspiration for the generations of scholars to come.'*
György Kara, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 2005.

'…de Rachewiltz sweeps the board in a most convincing way.'
D.O. Morgan, *Social Anthropology*, 2005.

SET
ISBN 90-04-15364-0
ISBN 978-90-04-15364-6
9 789004 153646

VOLUME 1
ISBN 90-04-15368-3
ISBN 978-90-04-15368-4
9 789004 153684

www.brill.nl

1

Igor de Rachewiltz

950.
2
RAC

The Secret History of the Mongols

A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century

VOLUME 1

Translated with a Historical and Philological Commentary by

Igor de Rachewiltz



THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

SHORT LOAN

A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century

TRANSLATED WITH A HISTORICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

BY

IGOR DE RACHEWILTZ

VOLUME ONE

C E U LIBRARY OF THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY BUDAPEST

BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON
2006

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 90 04 15364 0/978 90 04 15364 6 (Set)
ISBN 90 04 15368 3/978 90 04 15368 4 (Vol. 1)
ISBN 90 04 15369 1/978 90 04 15369 1 (Vol. 2)

© Copyright 2006 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

Gratefully dedicated
to the memory
of my friend and mentor
***Nicholas Poppe** (1897-1991)*
who for over thirty years
unstintingly afforded me
both his time and advice

CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

Maps, Tables and Illustrations ix
Preface xi
Notes on the Illustrations xv
Abbreviations and Conventional Signs xix
Introduction xxv
Notes to the Introduction lxxxiii
Summary of Chapters cxv
Chapter and Paragraph Concordance cxxvii

Translation
Chapter One 1
Chapter Two 17
Chapter Three 34
Chapter Four 53
Chapter Five 70
Chapter Six 89
Chapter Seven 108
Chapter Eight 125
Chapter Nine 142
Chapter Ten 159
Chapter Eleven (= Sup. 1) 175
Chapter Twelve (= Sup. 2) 196
Commentary (§§ 1-177) 221

CONTENTS

VOLUME TWO

Commentary (§§ 178-282) 643

Appendices
1. Činggis Qan's Campaigns 1204-19 1045
2. *Secret History* Passages in the *Altan Tobči* 1051
3. *Altan Tobči* Passages in C. Damdinsürèn's Version 1055
4. A. Mostaert's *Sur quelques passages*: A Paragraph-Page Reference List 1056
5. Additions and Corrections to F.W. Cleaves' Translation of the *Secret History* 1060
6. Additions and Corrections to I. de Rachewiltz's *Index to the Secret History* 1064
7. Wade-Giles – Pinyin Conversion Table 1077

Bibliography and Abbreviations
1. Periodicals, Collections and Reference Works 1081
2. Sources, Monographs and Articles 1088

Index
1. Proper and Place Names 1195
2. Subjects 1246
3. Grammar and Lexis 1315

Additions and Corrections 1343

MAPS, TABLE AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps

1. Mongolia ca. AD 1200 ..... *between* xviii *and* xix
2. Eurasia ca. AD 1210 ..... do.

Table

1. Genealogy of Temüǰin (Činggis Qan) and origin of the Mongol clans ..... *after* 1347

Illustrations

Pl. 1. Leaves from the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi* xxiv
Pl. 2. Leaf (*recto* and *verso*) from Lubsangdanǰin's *Altan tobči* cxiv
Pl. 3. Portrait of Činggis Qan ..... *after* cxxviii
Pl. 4. Portrait of Ögödei Qa'an ..... do.
Pl. 5. Mount Burqan Qaldun (south side) ..... do.
Pl. 6. Mount Burqan Qaldun (view from top) ..... do.
Pl. 7. The Onon River ..... do.
Pl. 8. Dolo'an Bolda'ut (partial view) ..... do.
Pl. 9. Gold coin (*dīnār*) of Činggis Qan ..... do.
Pl. 10. The Khentei Range (aerial view) ..... do.
Pl. 11. Mongol archer and horseman 219
Pl. 12. The 'Stone of Chingis' 220

PREFACE

Thirty-five years ago I began working on a translation of the *Secret History of the Mongols* which was published in eleven instalments in the journal *Papers on Far Eastern History* at the Australian National University between 1971 and 1985.

As I stated in the Introduction to the first issue, my reason for undertaking the translation was to provide students and non-specialist readers with an up-to-date English rendering of the *Secret History* pending the publication of Professor F.W. Cleaves' *magnum opus*. The latter had been completed in 1956 and type-set in 1957, but Cleaves deferred its release. The reasons for the delay were such that publication might be postponed indefinitely. Furthermore, I knew from Cleaves' other publications that his translation was a literal one in somewhat archaic, biblical English, modelled on that of the Authorized Version of 1611. Professor N. Poppe, then at the University of Washington, Seattle, had earlier encouraged me to prepare a complete word-index to the *Secret History*, which appeared in the Indiana University *Uralic and Altaic Series* in 1972. Fearing that Cleaves' work would never be published, he now urged me to prepare a badly-needed translation into current English together with a basic commentary. Fr. Henry Serruys, with whom I was corresponding, also encouraged me to undertake the task.

When Cleaves' translation was eventually published in 1982, mine was well advanced and the commentary was assuming fairly large proportions. Since Cleaves' announced commentary (which was to form Volume II of his edition) did not eventuate, I persevered and completed my translation in 1985, following it with a list of Additions and Corrections in 1986. I was by then aware that 1) my translation and commentary, especially of the first six chapters, needed a thorough revision, and 2) Cleaves had virtually given up the idea of producing the commentary volume.

For these reasons, I decided in 1987 to prepare a new, updated edition of my translation, enlarging the commentary so as

to take into account the contributions to the study of the *Secret History* that were by then appearing in increasing numbers in Asia, Europe and the United States.

This revision was completed in 2002, and the publication of the new edition has been made possible by a grant from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange. I wish to thank the Foundation most sincerely for its generous support.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge the assistance I received from friends, colleagues and learned institutions without whose help this work could not have been carried out.

First and foremost, I owe a great debt of gratitude to my late friend and mentor Nicholas Poppe who followed my progress with keen interest, making countless and invaluable suggestions in his correspondence with me, and generously 'tutoring' me for several weeks at his home in Seattle in 1979. He was pleased to know that I would dedicate my book to him.

After Poppe, the person who helped me most with textual difficulties was Henry Serruys, who also contributed materially by sending me from Arlington, Virginia, numerous relevant publications, some of them quite rare. I shall always remember him as an outstanding and modest scholar, and as a great friend in need.

Among the friends and colleagues in and outside Australia who have given me much of their time and the benefit of their experience in reading and improving the manuscript, in supplying indispensable material and in carrying out research on my behalf, I wish to express my profound gratitude to Andrew Fraser, Ken Gardiner, Mary Hutchinson, Peter W. Geier, May and Sydney Wang, John R. Krueger, Henry G. Schwarz, Okada Hidehiro, Sh. Choimaa, Elisabetta Chiodo, Klaus Sagaster, and Borjigijin Ulaan.

For encouragement and assistance of various kinds at all stages of my work, enlightening suggestions and unfailing kindness, my warm thanks are due to Françoise Aubin, John C. Street, Ch'i-ch'ing Hsiao, Hok-lam Chan, Ozawa Shigeo, Herbert Franke, Liu Tsun-yan, Ruth I. Meserve, Tanya D. Skrynnikova, Huang Shijian, Sh. Bira, Denis Sinor, Alice Sárközi, Mariya N.

Orlovskaya, Th. T. Allsen, Ruth W. Dunnell, Hung Chin-fu, Svetlana Dyer, Natalia S. Yakhontova, Kuribayashi Hitoshi, Noel Barnard, Leonid Petrov, James Greenbaum, Lee Seong-Gyu and Anton Schönbaum.

Some of the friends who had occasion to assist me through correspondence, personal contact and exchange of material are no longer with us, but their memory is very much alive. Among them I should mention Murakami Masatsugu, John A. Boyle, James R. Hamilton, Lajos Bese, Sh. Gaadamba, Nikolaĭ Ts. Munkuyev, Militsa M. Colan, and Ludmilla Panskaya.

Learned institutions and their libraries have played an indispensable role in my quest. I wish to thank in particular the National Library of Australia and the Menzies and Chifley Libraries at the Australian National University in Canberra and their staff for their unfailing professional help; the C.I.C.M. (Scheut) Archives in Rome and the Rev. Raymond Renson; the Chinese Memorial Library at Kessel-Lo (Leuven) and Ms Els Bossier and Ms Sara Lievens; the Bibliothèque du Musée Guimet, Paris, and M. F. Macouin; the Centre de Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute-Asie, Instituts d'Asie, Collège de France, Paris, and Mme M. Maillard; the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, and Mr Shimo Hirotoshi; the National Library of China, Peking; The National Palace Museum, Taipei; the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Prof. E. I. Kychanov; the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, and the late Prof. K.V. Malakhovskiĭ of Moscow. My thanks are also due to Dr Terry Lee of Canberra for allowing me to reproduce the gold dinar of Genghis Khan from his collection; to Prof. B. Sum'yaabaatar of Ulan Bator for permission to reproduce the aerial photograph of the Khentei Range; and to Mrs Cynthia Moloney of Canberra for permission to reproduce her photograph of Khentei Khan. I am also grateful to Prof. Manfred Taube of Leipzig for providing the model of the genealogical table.

I owe a special debt to my former Department of Far Eastern History and the present Division of Pacific and Asian History of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the

Australian National University and their staff, especially Ms Dorothy McIntosh and Ms Marion Weeks, for their support during many pleasant and fruitful years of association.

For the word-processing of the manuscript I am as ever grateful to Ms H. Oanh Collins and Mr Samson Rivers. Their skill and forbearance have been truly outstanding. Special thanks are also due to my copy-editor in Canberra, Ms Elisabeth Kat, and to Ms Patricia Radder, Assistant Editor Ancient Near East & Asian Studies, at Koninklijke Brill N.V., Leiden, for going over a difficult text with such care and attention to details; to Mr Barry Howarth for his assistance in preparing and editing the indices; to Mr Ian Heyward and the Cartography Unit in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU, for drawing the maps; and to Mr Darren Boyd for the photographic work. All errors and other shortcomings are of course my responsibility.

For advice, support, and more than I can say, my heartfelt thanks go to my wife Ines who has had to share her life for decades not only with me, but also with Genghis Khan and his restless mob, something she had not really bargained for.

Igor de Rachewiltz

Canberra, 1 October 2003

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate 1 Two leaves (four pages) from the *Secret History of the Mongols* (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* [Y^2] 4, 45a-b, and 48a-b) corresponding to the beginning and the end of § 146. The leafs reproduced here are two of the 41 surviving leaves of the original Ming printed edition. The second leaf contains also most of the Chinese sectional summary following the end of the Mongol text in transcription. See Section Four of the Introduction.

Plate 2 Leaf (two pages) from the unique Ulan Bator ms. copy of Lubsangdanǰin's chronicle *Altan tobči* (AT^1, 43a-b) containing part of § 145 and the beginning of § 146 of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (43b, line 12). Late 17th or early 18th century. See Section Five of the Introduction.

Plate 3 Idealized portrait of Činggis Qan (Yüan T'ai-tsu, r. 1206-27) from the Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Colour on silk. Artist and date unknown (? 14th c.). Reproduced by permission.

Plate 4 Imaginative portrait of Ögödei Qa'an (Yüan T'ai-tsung, r. 1229-41) from the same Collection. Colour on silk. Artist and date unknown (? 14th c.). Reproduced by permission.

Plate 5 Mount Burqan Qaldun, present-day Khentei Khan (Xėntiĭ Xan) in the Great Khentei Range, northern Mongolia, viewed from the Bogd River valley south of the mountain. Photographed by Mrs Cynthia Moloney of Canberra.

Plate 6 View from the top of Mount Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan overlooking the (presumed) imperial burial ground further down the slope, and the Bogd River valley and Kerulen

(Xėrlėn) River further south. Photographed by the Author. See the Commentary to § 268.

Plate 7 The Onon River in northern Mongolia on the western bank of which Činggis Qan was born. See the Commentary to § 59. Photographed by the Author.

Plate 8 Partial view of Dolo'an Bolda'ut ('Seven Solitary Hills') near the place where the *Secret History* was written. See the Commentary to § 282. Photographed by the Author.

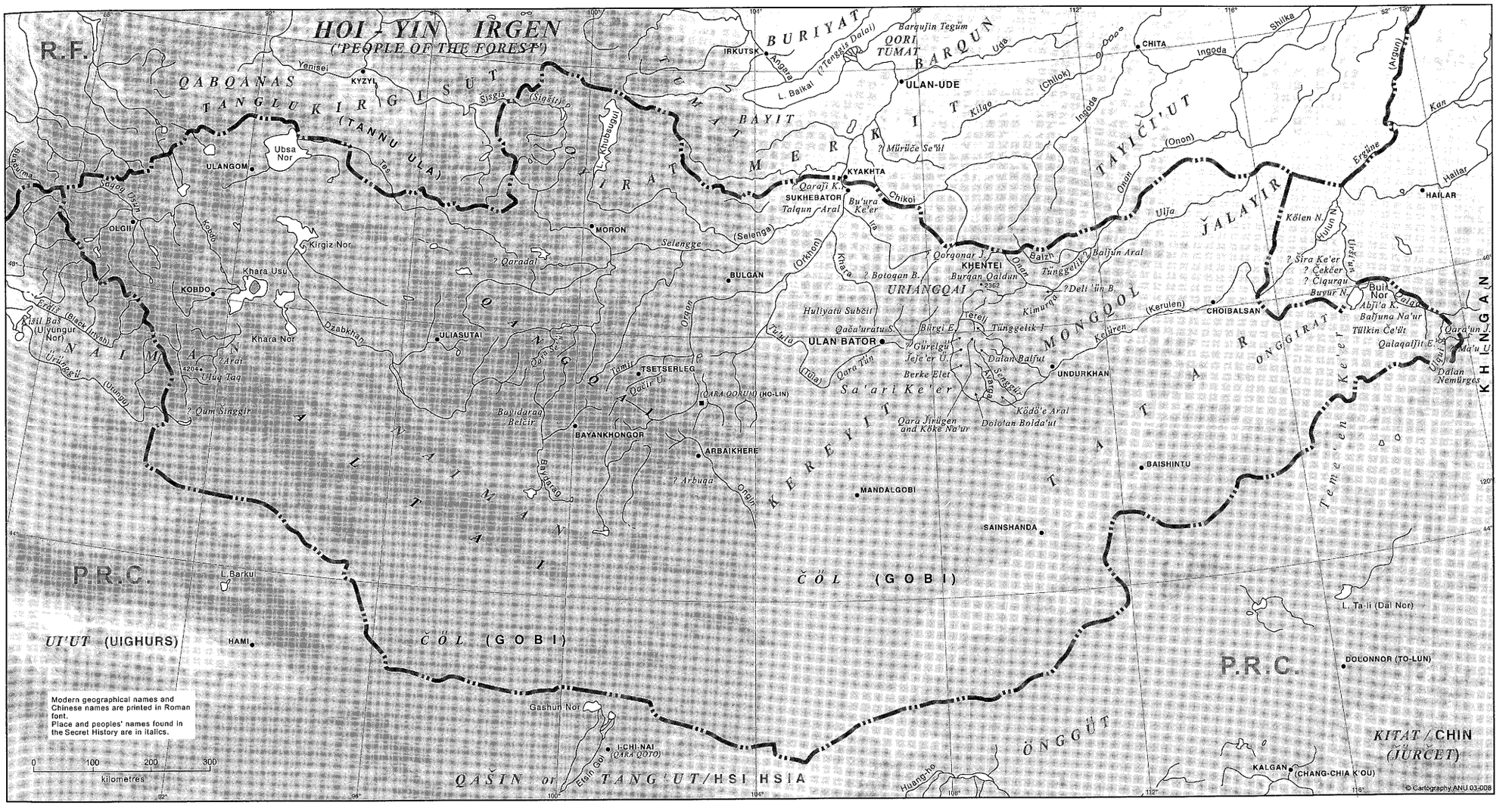
Plate 9 A rare gold coin (*dīnār*) of Činggis Qan struck at Ghazna in AH618 (= AD1221/1222) from a hoard of ca. 150 coins discovered in or about 1996. Činggis' name appears in the last line of the reverse field in the form 'Činggiz Xān'. For a transcrip-tion and translation of the legend, cf. M.A. Whaley in *AOH* 54:2001, 20, n. 60. Courtesy of Dr Terry Lee of Canberra.

Plate 10 Aerial view of the Khentei Range of northern Mongolia showing the sources of the Onon and Kerulen rivers, and the exact situation of Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan. Courtesy of Prof. B. Sum'yaabaatar of Ulan Bator.

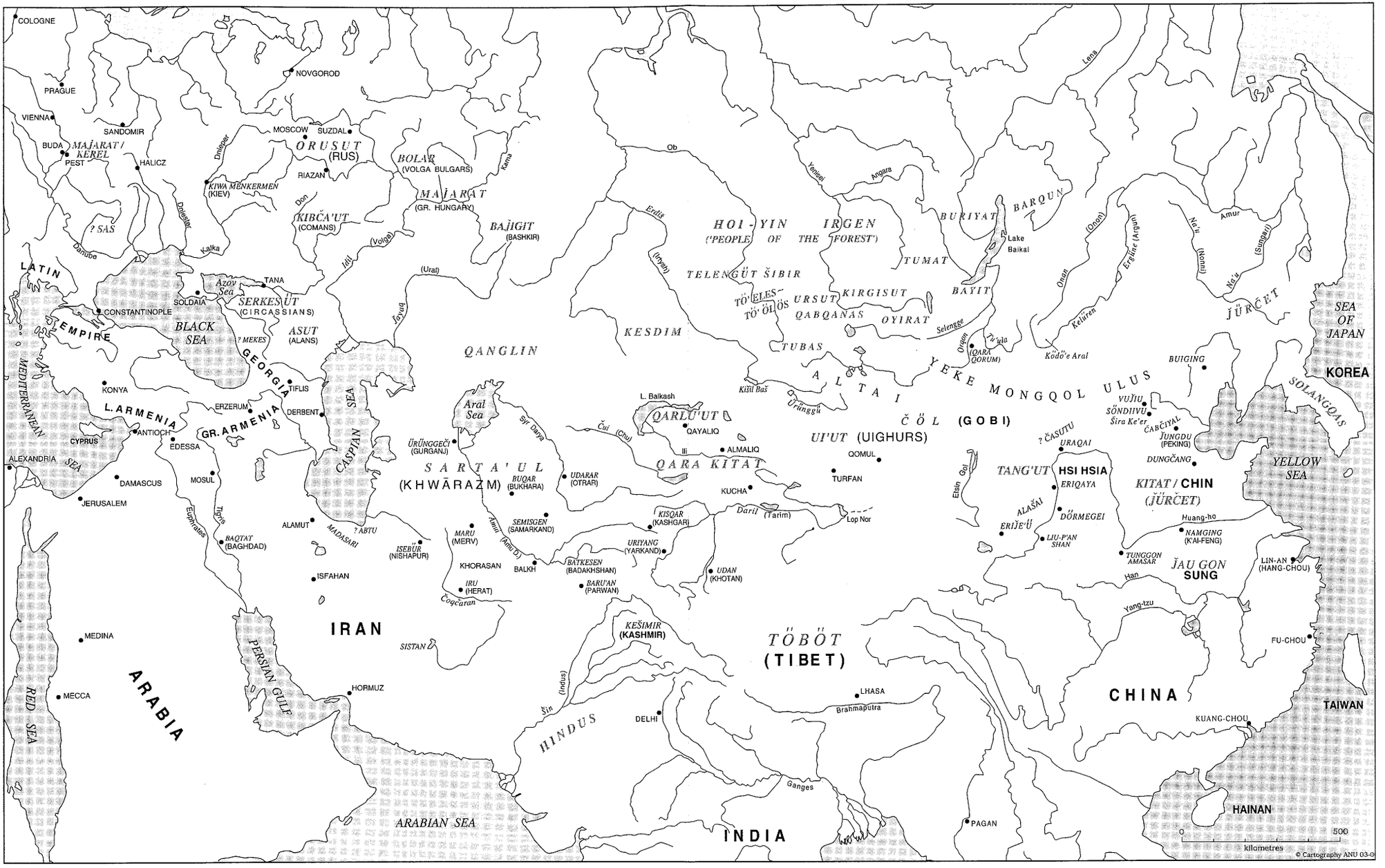
Plate 11 *Above*. Mongol archer from the 14th century Chinese encyclopedia *Shih-lin kuang-chi* (SLKC [enl. ed. of 1330-32], *hou-chi* 13, 3a).
Below. Mongol horseman shooting backwards, from the same encyclopedia (ibid., 3b).

Plate 12 Granite stele in honour of Činggis Qan's nephew Yisüngge (ca.1190 - ca.1270) celebrating his victory at an archery contest held in Central Asia in 1224/1225 after the successful Mongol campaign against Khwārazm. Commonly known as the 'Stone of Chingis.' The text reads:

'When Činggis Qan, having subjugated the Sartaγul people set up camp (and) the noblemen of the entire Mongol nation gathered at Buqa (S)očiγai (? = Buqa [S]učïγay), at the long-distance shooting (contest) Yisüngge shot an arrow 335 *alda*s (= 536 m.).' Hermitage Museum. Reproduced by permission.



Map 1. Mongolia ca. 1200.



Map 2. Eurasia ca. AD 1210.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONAL SIGNS

Common and conventional abbreviations are not listed
(The entries in the starred items have been transliterated into Latin script and/or simplified when necessary, as in IMCS)

ach.	=	Ancient Chinese (= Middle Chinese), after GSR u.o.s.
adj.	=	adjective
adv.	=	adverb, adverbial
alt.	=	alternatively; alternative reading or rendering
[A.M.]	=	unpublished note by Antoine Mostaert
amo.	=	Ancient Mongolian (pre-12th c.)
a.o.s.	=	and other sources
arab.	=	Arabic
aux.	=	auxiliary
bur.	=	Buriat, after BRS* u.o.s.
Ch.	=	Chapter
ch.	=	Chinese
ch.	=	*chüan* 卷
cmo.	=	Common Mongolian
com.	=	my commentary (or commentaries) to the paragraph(s) in question
conj.	=	conjunction
conn. vo.	=	connective vowel
conv. abt.	=	converbum abtemporale
conv. imp.	=	converbum imperfecti
conv. praep.	=	converbum praeparativum
corr.	=	correct to
C.R.A.C.	=	Centre de Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie, Instituts d'Asie, Collège de France, Paris
crim.	=	Crimean Tatar
čag.	=	Chaghatai, after MA, DTO and VWTD*
dag.	=	Dagur, after DN*, THHTT* and DY*

dat.	=	dative
dat.-loc.	=	dative-locative
den.	=	denominal
dev.	=	deverbal
dial.	=	dialect(s)
dim.	=	diminutive
emph.	=	emphatic
encl.	=	enclitic
endear.	=	endearment (form)
eng.	=	English
excl.	=	exclusive
f.	=	form
fact.	=	factitive (form, verb)
fem.	=	feminine
fo.	=	folio
fr.	=	French
ger.	=	German
go.	=	Gorlos
goth.	=	Gothic
gr.	=	Greek
hon.	=	honorific
[H.S.]	=	unpublished note by Henry Serruys
hung.	=	Hungarian
id.	=	*idem*, the same
indoeur.	=	Indo-European
instr.	=	instrumental
inter.	=	interrogative
ital.	=	Italian
IVAN SSSR	=	Institut Vostokovedeniya, Akademiya Nauk SSSR
IV RAN	=	Institut Vostokovedeniya, Rossiĭskaya Akademiya Nauk
jap.	=	Japanese
ǰü.	=	J̌ürčen, after SJV a.o.s.
kalm.	=	Kalmuck, after KW a.o.s.
kaz.	=	Kazakh

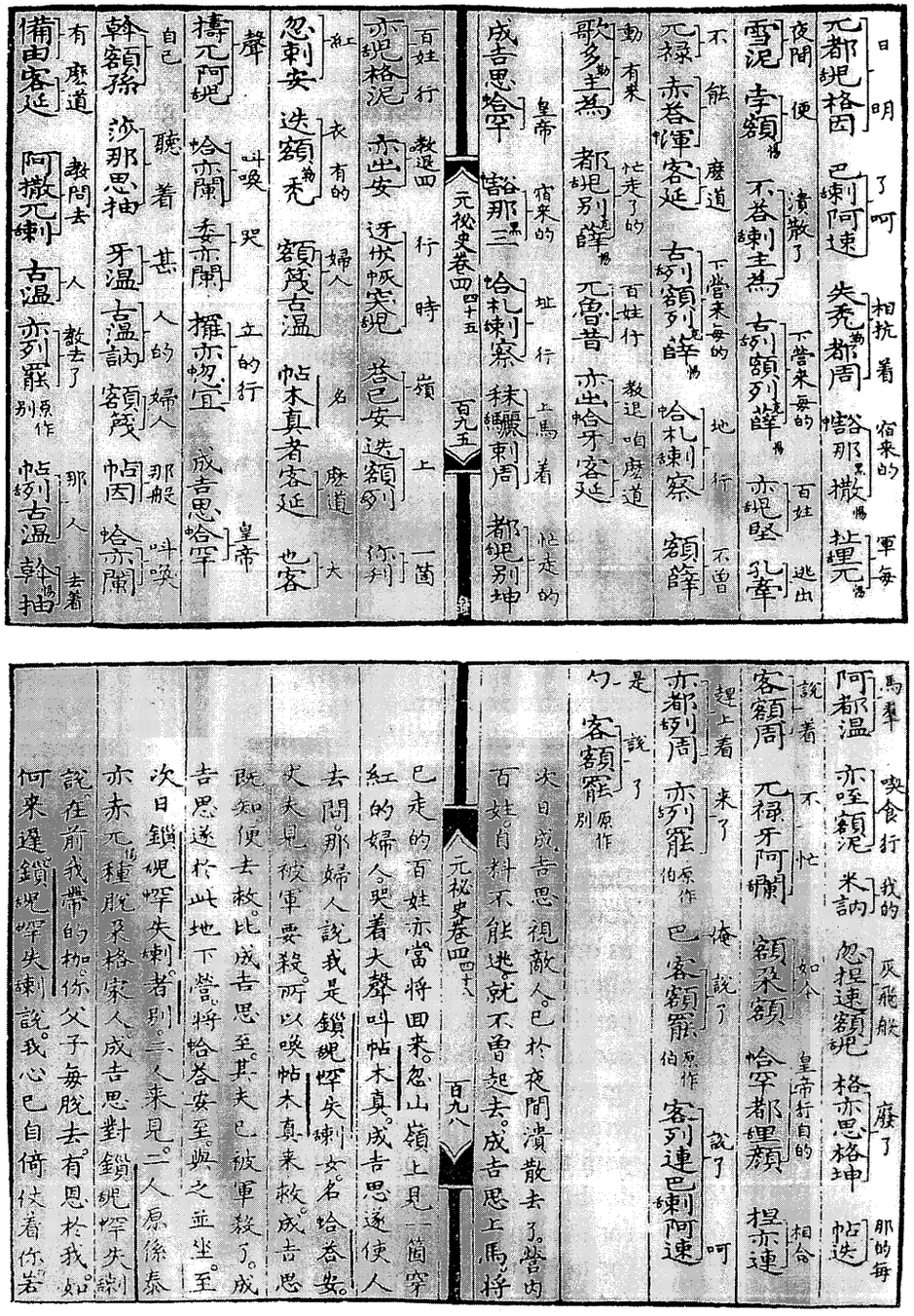
kh.	=	Khalkha, after Cėv.* a.o.s.
kirg.	=	Kirghiz, after KiRS*
kit.	=	Kitan
lat.	=	Latin
let.	=	letter
loc.	=	locative, local
ma.	=	Manchu, after HM and CMEL
med.	=	medieval
mmand.	=	Middle Mandarin, after the Chinese transcriptions of the 13th-14th c.
mmo.	=	Middle Mongolian
m.M.U.s.	=	modern Mongolian in Uighur script
mo.	=	Written or Script Mongolian
mod.	=	modern
mog.	=	Mogol
mng.	=	Monguor, after DMF u.o.s.
Mong.	=	Mongolian, Mongol
mpers.	=	Middle Persian
n.	=	note
n.d.	=	no date of publication
neg.	=	negative
N.F.	=	Neue Folge
nom.	=	nominal
nom. imp.	=	nomen imperfecti
n.p.	=	no place of publication
N.P.	=	N. Poppe
N.S.	=	New Series
obs.	=	obsolete
off.	=	official
oir.	=	Oirat (lit.), after OECD u.o.s.
omand.	=	Old Mandarin, after PCH, MKTY, CYYY
ord.	=	Ordos, after DO u.o.s.
osm.	=	Osmanli (Osman Turkish)
otu.	=	Old Turkic (Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions)
öl.	=	Ölöt
p.c.	=	personal communication

parag.	=	paragogic
part.	=	particle
pass.	=	passive
pers.	=	Persian
'ph.	=	'Phags-pa
pl.	=	plural; plate(s)
pmo.	=	Preclassical Mongolian
Pmo.	=	Proto-Mongolian
poet.	=	poetic(al)
poss.	=	possessive
[P.P.-C.R.A.C.]	=	unpublished note by Paul Pelliot in the Louis Hambis archives of the C.R.A.C. library
[P.P.-M.G.]	=	do. in the Pelliot archives of the library of the Musée Guimet, Paris
praet. imp.	=	praeteritum imperfecti
pref.	=	prefix
pron.	=	pronoun
prop.	=	properly
proth.	=	prothetic
r.	=	reigned
rec.	=	reciprocal (form)
red.	=	reduplicative
rus.	=	Russian
s.	=	someone, somebody
sing.	=	singular
skr.	=	Sanskrit
sogd.	=	Sogdian
stg.	=	something
subs.	=	substantive
suff.	=	suffix
syn.	=	synonym(ous)
syr.	=	Syriac
tang.	=	Tangut
tat.	=	Tatar
tib.	=	Tibetan
tr.	=	translator, translated

trscr.	=	transcription
ts.	=	Mongolian dialect of Tsinghai (Qinghai), after TH
tu.	=	Turkic
tung.	=	Tungus
turkm.	=	Turkmen
uig.	=	Uighur
u.n.	=	unpublished note(s)
u.o.s.	=	unless otherwise specified
[u.w.]	=	unseen work cited from other source
v.	=	verb(al)
w.f.	=	written form(s), i.e. the same word(s) or suffix(es) retranscribed according to mo. orthography
yak.	=	Yakut, after SYY* a.o.s.

CONVENTIONAL SIGNS

*	reconstructed form
<	derives from, developed from
<<	ultimately derives from
>	results into, developed into
→	and, by extension (*or* metaphorically); and from there to
=	corresponds to, is the same as
x	as opposed to
~	alternates with
‖	parallel forms; double parallelism
/	occurs in both forms according to general rules (gram.); synonym or variant form of the same word, e.g. *mangγus/mayus*
+	with the addition of (the suffix)
?	doubtful form
( )	for explanatory matter in the text
[ ]	for lacunae in the text
< >	for dittographies and redundancies in the text



Pl. 1. Two leaves from the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*

INTRODUCTION

君子以作事謀始 (易訟卦)

The 13th century work known as the *Secret History of the Mongols*[1] (*Mongqol-un niuča* [= *ni'uča*] *to*[*b*]*ča'an*) is the earliest and most important literary monument of the Mongol-speaking people, challenged only by the later 17th century chronicle *Erdeni-yin tobči*, or *Precious Summary*, by the Ordos prince Saγang Sečen (1604-?).[2] There is no doubt, however, that notwithstanding the literary merits of the latter – and they are many – Saγang's masterpiece is by far outshone by the *Secret History*, witness the number of translations and versions of this work (over forty)[3] against the mere eight of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*.[4]

The reason for the great success of the *Secret History* at home and abroad is, first of all, its subject matter, for the *Secret History* is the only genuine (not to be confused with reliable) native account of the life and deeds of Činggis Qan – our Genghis Khan – one of the world's outstanding figures, whereas the *Erdeni-yin tobči* is a general history of the Mongols, written under the influence of Tibetan culture and Lamaism. There is no Buddhist influence in the *Secret History*, its language has not been touched by the literary and historiographical conventions of Tibet, its poetry reflects the pure, unmitigated tradition of the nomadic tribes of Mongolia and of the Turkic- and Mongolian-speaking inhabitants of the vast steppelands of Inner Asia. To be sure, the Turkic element – cultural and linguistic – is present in the *Secret History*; how could it be otherwise, since Mongolia was the cradle, home and stamping ground of both those peoples, so that they shared from remote times a common way of life, the same spiritual, i.e. shamanistic, background (with related cults and customs), and exchanged words, terms and titles as the occasion arose.

Later, the settled and culturally more advanced Turks of Central Asia, the Uighurs in particular, acted as tutors and cultural intermediaries to the Mongols, their greatest gift to them being the

attractive vertical Uighur script which the Mongols adopted about the turn of the 13th century and in which the *Secret History* was first written.[5] However, regardless of its Turkic component, the *Secret History* is and remains a true and original Mongol product, unique of its kind, for no other nomadic or semi-nomadic people has ever created a literary masterpiece like it, in which epic poetry and narrative are so skilfully and indeed artistically blended with fictional and historical accounts. Linguistically too, the *Secret History* provides the finest and richest source of Preclassical Mongolian (in its reconstructed 'written' form) dating from the first half of the 13th century, *and* of Middle Mongolian, the language actually spoken in the second half of the 14th century – a language lacking any artificiality, simple and direct in style, far removed from the learned and often convoluted syntax of so-called Classical Mongolian.[6] In this respect, one can say with A. Waley that its 'story-tellers' tales ... are some of the most vivid primitive literature that exists anywhere in the world',[7] words echoed by F.W. Cleaves who called the *Secret History* 'one of the great literary monuments of the world.'[8]

The *Secret History* is a complex work; it presents at times great difficulties of interpretation. Because of the wealth of data that it provides on all aspects of life in 12th-13th century Mongolia, on important events and on a great number of individuals (some of whom played key historical roles), and on their clans and tribes, it is also a work that, to quote Waley again, 'would be possible to furnish with endless annotation.'[9] Cleaves, for his part, went as far as observing that 'a definitive translation is out of the question until generations of scholarship have been consecrated to its study'[10] – a sobering reminder to all those who take up this task.

In the following sections I shall survey some of the major issues concerning the *Secret History*, viz. its contents, date and place of composition, authorship and textual history (in relation also to the text of the *Secret History* preserved in the *Altan tobči*), as well as the transcriptions and translations made in modern times. I shall touch upon its value as a literary work and historical

source, presenting different and often conflicting views on the subject. I shall conclude with some remarks on the present version. Several appendices provide additional information on the chronology of Činggis Qan's campaigns in Mongolia, Siberia and Central Asia in 1204-1219, and some useful reference lists for the reader of the *Secret History* who wishes to pursue the study of this text more in depth.

The bibliography contains only titles cited in the present work; however, there are many references in the commentary to contributions of lesser importance, brief reviews and the like that are not included in the bibliography. The indices have been made as comprehensive as possible to facilitate the use of both the translation and the commentary.

1. *Contents and subject matter of the* Secret History

Although arbitrarily divided into 12 or 15 chapters and 282 sections or paragraphs at a later date, the *Secret History* is a continuous narrative with comparatively few lacunae and interpolations in the text, which shall be discussed further on.[11]

The plain prose narrative turns frequently into alliterative passages of various lengths, i.e. into poetry, mainly for dramatic effect, to emphasize statements, or simply to introduce apt proverbial sayings, the so-called 'ancient words', i.e. the wise words of the ancients whenever circumstances call for their authority. It is a well-known genre, the characteristics of which will also be discussed in detail below.[12]

The order of events in the *Secret History* is chronological, but the first date, corresponding to AD 1201, appears only in § 141 (Chapter IV).

Chapters I-XII (up to § 268) describe the life and career of Činggis Qan from his birth, probably in 1162 (§ 59), to his death in 1227 (§ 268), the preceding sections (§§ 1-58) being devoted to his ancestry and the legendary origins of the Mongol (Mongqol) tribe and clans.

The final portion of the work (§§ 269-281) deals with the election of Ögödei Qa'an, Činggis' third son and successor, and with some events of his reign (1229-41), without however mentioning his death.

The narrative ends (§ 282) with a brief and apparently incomplete colophon recording where and when the *Secret History* was completed.

The work is thus essentially biographical, describing, often in great detail and in very vivid form, various aspects of Činggis Qan's private and official life, his numerous military campaigns, his relationship with relatives, friends and allies, as well as with rivals and foes, his pronouncements on matters of law and army organization, on moral issues, such as loyalty and the duties and obligations of chiefs and subjects, the role of Heaven and Earth in human affairs, and man's attitude towards these powers.

The section on Ögödei is, by comparison, much less coherent and quite fragmentary – a sort of afterthought or supplement (which, as we shall see, it almost certainly is)[13] – but, nevertheless, still containing useful data on important topics like taxation and the post-relay service, and on the relationship of Ögödei with his brothers. Significantly, only one date, corresponding to 1231, is found in §§ 270-281,[14] but several of the events described in that section can be dated quite accurately from the accounts in the Chinese and Persian sources. It should be mentioned, however, that the chronology of the *Secret History* is, in general, quite unreliable and at odds with those sources. This has much to do with the true nature of the work and the author(s)' aims.[15]

For the readers' convenience a detailed, chapter by chapter summary of events is provided before the Translation. In it, the dates in brackets are those given in the *Secret History* converted to the Christian era.

2. *Place and date of composition*

These two issues – place and date – are crucial and, in the case of the *Secret History*, they are closely, indeed intimately, related. Both have attracted the attention of scholars since the second half of the 19th century, and I have discussed them in detail in my previous articles on the subject to which the reader is referred.[16] The following is a summary of the various theories and conflicting arguments, updated and with additional comments.

The colophon of the *Secret History* (§ 282) tells us almost exactly where the 'writing' was completed, viz. 'at Dolo'an Boldaq of Köde'e Aral of (= by) the Kelüren (= Kerülen) *River*, between Šilginček and … .' The name of the second locality is missing, owing to a lacuna in the text. This gap is unimportant since Dolo'an Boldaq ('Seven Solitary Hills') of Köde'e Aral ('Barren Island') is a well-known place south-west of present-day Dėlgėrxaan and just north of the Xėrlėn (Kerulen) River in southern Xėntiĭ Aĭmag. Köde'e (or Ködö'e, Köde'ü) Aral is not an island, but a large plain comprised between the two rivers Xėrlėn and Cėnxėr in the south and east, and the Bayan Mountains (Bayan Uul) in the north and west.[17] It was in this beautiful, hill-dotted and well-watered plain that Činggis Qan had his principal encampment, the so-called Qan's 'Palaces' (*ordos*), and it was here that the Great Assembly (*yeke qurilta*) that elected Ögödei in 1229 was convoked in 1228, soon after Činggis' death and burial.[18] A place consecrated by tradition, as it were.[19]

As for the date, the colophon is deceptively precise: 'The writing was completed at the time when the Great Assembly convened and when, in the Year of the Rat, in the month of the Roebuck, the Palaces were established at Dolo'an Boldaq … .'

The month of the Roebuck (*quran sara*) is the seventh month of the lunar calendar, but to which Year of the Rat (*quluqana ǰil*) of the duodenary animal cycle does the colophon refer?

Since the *Secret History* ends with the reign of Ögödei (1229-41) but does not mention his death (cf. Činggis' 'ascension to Heaven' recorded in § 268), it has been assumed for a long time that the year in question must be 1240, even if no great assembly is mentioned in our sources s.a. 1240. This was the opinion held, among others, by the pioneering *Secret History* scholars Naka Michiyo 那珂通世, P. Pelliot, E. Haenisch and S.A. Kozin;[20] it is still the generally accepted date in Mongolia and China, albeit with some notable exceptions in either country.[21]

However, doubts on this dating were expressed in 1941, and again in 1948, by R. Grousset, who pointed out that in § 255 of the *Secret History* Činggis Qan appears to 'predict' the transfer of the throne from Ögödei's line to that of Tolui, as indeed happened with Möngke's election as *qa'an* in 1251; moreover, § 281 reads very much like a posthumous appraisal of Ögödei. Grousset therefore suggested the Year of the Rat 1252 as a more likely alternative.[22] His suggestion was rejected by Pelliot on the grounds that the ambitions of Tolui's house must have been known before Ögödei's death in 1241, and that, whereas the sketchy nature of the Annals of the latter's reign in the *Yüan-shih* 元史 may account for the lack of mention of a great assembly in 1240, the more detailed imperial annals from 1251 onward would have no doubt recorded such an important event s.a. 1252.[23]

Writing in 1951, W. Hung, while agreeing with Grousset on a dating later than 1240, put forth the view that an even better Year of the Rat would be 1264, owing mainly to the fact that a place-name given in § 247 of the *Secret History* as Hsüan-te fu 宣德府, only became a *fu* or administration in 1263 (previously it was a *chou* 州 or prefecture).[24]

In answer to Hung's objection, A. Mostaert who, I suspect, was himself in favour of the year 1240, posed the question of why, if that were the case, did the *Secret History* leave out all the momentous events that occurred between the end of Ögödei's reign and 1264, including Ögödei's death, two long regencies, Möngke's election, etc., etc.?[25]

Hung's hypothesis was adopted by A. Waley (albeit with some reservations) in 1960, and by G. Ledyard in 1964, both scholars basing their arguments on the fact that certain events concerning the Mongol campaigns in Korea show that the account in the *Secret History* could not have been written before 1258. While Waley suggests a date 'well after the middle of the thirteenth century',[26] for Ledyard 1264 is the earliest possible date for the composition of the *Secret History*.[27]

On the other hand, Grousset's suggestion was adopted with qualifications by no less an authority than L. Ligeti in 1962, and without reservations by Yü Ta-chün 余大鈞 twenty years later.

Ligeti postulates the existence of an early version of the *Secret History* completed immediately after Činggis Qan's death and containing only an account of his life (a theory already mooted by Chinese and Japanese scholars); if the colophon refers to the *Urtext*, the Year of the Rat must correspond to 1228; if it refers to the whole work, it must correspond to 1252 in view of Grousset's valid arguments, i.e. the later interpolations. The problem, for Ligeti, is still unsolved.[28]

Yü Ta-chün's argument is largely a criticism of previous theories and a strengthening of Grousset's proposal for the year 1252, in support of which he adduces further evidence showing, quite convincingly, that certain passages in the *Secret History* (in §§ 275, 276 and 277) could not have been written while Ögödei or his son and successor, Güyük (r. 1246-48), were on the throne. In order to overcome the major objection to the year 1252 being the Year of the Rat of the colophon, viz. that no great assembly was convened then, Yü is forced to reinterpret the actual wording of the colophon to mean that the writing of the *Secret History* was completed '*after* (my emphasis – I.R.) the great *qurilta* had been held', the 'great *qurilta*' referring of course to the 1250-51 diet that elected Möngke.[29]

The Year of the Rat 1228 for the first recension of the *Secret History* had already been put forward by Ting Ch'ien 丁謙 in 1901;[30] Ting's suggestion was later revived and modified by Uemura Seiji 植村清二 (1955),[31] G. Doerfer (1963),[32] P.

Ratchnevsky (1965),[33] and I. de Rachewiltz (1965).[34] The main arguments in favour of this theory, which has gained ground in recent times (see below), are: 1) the *Altan tobči* (1655) of Blobzaṅ bstan-'jin (Lubsangdanǰin), which incorporates a large portion of the *Secret History* text (233 of 282 paragraphs), contains *only* the portion of the *Secret History* dealing with Činggis Qan's ancestry and life (§§ 1-268), i.e. what is considered to be the *Urtext*; the section on Ögödei Qa'an is missing altogether; 2) no great assemblies were held, according to our sources, in 1240, 1252 or 1264; 3) the title of the work being, in all likelihood, *Činggis Qan-u huǰa'ur* (pmo. *Činggis Qan-u uǰaɣur*) or *The Origin (sensu lato = History) of Činggis Qan*, the work itself must have ended, logically, with Činggis' death (§ 268). Thus, what one assumes must have happened, is that the later editors in the Yüan and early Ming periods interfered with the original text by interpolating, transferring, deleting and adding material (which would explain the internal historical and chronological inconsistencies, as well as other puzzling aspects of the text), and including the section on Ögödei as a continuation or supplement. Eventually, the original colophon of 1228 was transferred from the end of the *Činggis Qan-u huǰa'ur* to the end of the edited and enlarged version.[35] This question will be discussed further in Section Four of this Introduction.

Among the scholars who in the last four decades have adopted the date 1228 for the composition of the original text of the *Secret History*, and who regard the Year of the Rat of the colophon as corresponding to that year, we should mention F.W. Cleaves, G. Clauson, Murakami Masatsugu 村上正二, N.C. Munkuev, Ozawa Shigeo 小澤重男, Ye. Irinčin (Irinchen), J̌inggin, Š. Gaadamba, D. Cėrėnsodnom and U. Onon.[36] Other scholars have accepted it, albeit with a question mark.[37]

Although Ledyard had not excluded duodenary cycles later than 1264, an extreme position was taken by Okada Hidehiro 岡田英弘 who in 1985, re-elaborating an idea mooted by Murakami in 1978,[38] expressed the view that the *Secret History* was composed

in the Year of the Rat 1324, and that the great assembly referred to in the colophon was the one held the preceding year (1323) at Köde'e Aral on the Kerulen which elected Yisün Temür (T'ai-ting ti 泰定帝, r. 1324-27).[39]

Finally, a number of scholars beginning with the Archimandrite Palladiĭ (P.I. Kafarov, 1817-78),[40] have prudently refrained from identifying the Year of the Rat in question.[41]

While Grousset's arguments against the date 1240 were refuted by Pelliot and rejected by Hung, Hung's dating was in turn questioned by Mostaert, Ligeti, Bira and de Rachewiltz;[42] Ledyard's thesis was criticised by de Rachewiltz and Bira,[43] and this also happened to the earlier theories proposed by Naka, Ishihama and others, as well as to the more recent one by Yü.[44] Ligeti's criticism is not without fault, and Bira's reinterpretation of the text of the colophon is likewise open to serious doubts.[45] Thus, most of the arguments in favour and against the years 1240, 1252 and 1264 can be refuted on valid grounds. As for the Year of the Rat 1324, it can be argued that 1) it does not tally with the year of the *qurilta* on the Kerulen that elected Yisün Temür, which was a Year of the Pig (1323);[46] and 2) the vivid, unaffected and fresh style of the *Secret History* narrative, with its wealth of details on events, people and places, provides an insight into the life of Činggis Qan and his associates, and the society of his time that could only come from a contemporary or near contemporary witness and can hardly be reconciled with as late a composition as that put forward by Okada.

In view of the above and for the reasons outlined in my earlier studies, I am still of the opinion that the original text of the *Secret History to which the colophon properly belongs* was written down in the month of the Roebuck (2-31 August) of the Year of the Rat 1228 at Dolo'an Boldaq, exactly one year after Činggis Qan's death. However, the text of the *Secret History* as handed down to us, both in its Chinese (Y) and Mongolian (AT) versions, is the product of later additions, deletions and other editorial changes carried out during the Yüan and early Ming periods, broadly from the reign of Qubilai Qa'an (1260-94) to

those of Hung-wu 洪武 and Yung-lo 永樂 (1368-1417/18). At the same time it must be emphasized that while the identification of the Year of the Rat with *any* of the dates proposed so far remains hypothetical owing, as we shall see, to our almost total ignorance of the vicissitudes of the Mongol text of the *Secret History* during the period in question,[47] an early, pre-Güyük or pre-Möngke dating is supported by a hitherto overlooked piece of indirect evidence. In the *Secret History* § 198, Ögödei is already – albeit anachronistically – called Ögödei Qa'an; he is elected *qan* in § 269 and referred to as Ögödei Qa'an from then on. Neither his son and immediate successor Güyük (r. 1246-48), nor Güyük's successor Möngke (r. 1251-59), both of whom are mentioned several times in the *Secret History*, and both of whom bore the titles of *qan* and *qa'an*, are ever called Güyük Qan/Qa'an or Möngke Qan/Qa'an, something that we should expect had the *Secret History* been written in 1252 or 1264 (or later): they are simply referred to as Güyük and Möngge (= Möngke) throughout.[48] This may well indicate that the section on Ögödei in the *Secret History* in which these names occur was written before 1246 (or, at any rate, before 1251), which in turn would also argue for an early or even earlier date for the preceding section.[49] This, I believe, is as far as we can go at the present state of our knowledge.

3. *Authorship of the* Secret History

The problem of authorship is, if anything, even more complex than that of dating the *Secret History*. To begin with, there is no mention of an author. Indeed, given the composite nature of the *Secret History* (about which more later),[50] it would be more correct to speak of a compiler who gathered his material from a variety of sources – oral and written – such as the recollections of eyewitnesses, accounts of the descendants of personages who had participated in the events described, story-tellers' songs and narratives about the heroes' exploits, and possibly a number of documents recording the *qan*'s pronouncements and legal statutes,

although I am of the opinion that these played a limited role, most (if not all) the information being transmitted orally.[51]

The compiler was, in all likelihood, a person directly or indirectly involved in some of the stories; in any event, he had direct access to 'inside information', possibly as a member of the *qan*'s family or of his immediate entourage, in order to provide so many details of discussions and deliberations made in the *qan*'s tent.[52] He was then able to bring all his data (real and fictional) together in an organic whole with great skill, especially for a man with no literary tradition behind him. He may thus have been both author *and* compiler: such distinctions would have been meaningless in the circumstances, the very problem of 'authorship' itself being irrelevant to the person concerned, hence his anonymity.[53] We also have no idea of how the composition was put together: whether the compiler was the actual recorder or whether the writing down was done by someone else, a scribe or copyist. This, likewise, is a matter of little relevance.[54]

Various theories have been put forth as to who may have written or compiled the *Secret History*. The three main candidates for authorship are the following:

1. T'a-t'a T'ung-a 塔塔統阿 (*Tatar Toŋa? fl. 1204), the former Uighur seal-keeper of Tayang Qan of the Naiman who passed into the service of Činggis Qan in 1204 after Tayang Qan's defeat, becoming Činggis' seal-keeper as well as tutor in Uighur script to his sons. On this ground alone he has subsequently been credited with the introduction of that script among the Mongols. The information about him is extremely scanty – only ten lines in his Chinese biography.[55] In 1911, Kanai Yasuzō 金井保三 tried to prove his authorship of the *Secret History* on account of his literacy; however, as noted by W. Hung, it is hardly credible that, as an outsider who joined the Mongol camp only in 1204, he would have been so knowledgeable about the intimate details of Činggis' earlier life.[56] Hung's criticism cannot be dismissed. Moreover, T'a-t'a T'ung-a gets no

mention in the *Secret History* and is totally ignored by all other Mongol sources.

2. Činqai or, preferably, Čingqai (ca. 1169-1252), the well-known Kereyit or Uighur dignitary under Činggis Qan, Ögödei and Güyük.[57] An educated Nestorian Christian, he combined the positions of chamberlain (*čerbi*) and chief secretary or chancellor (*bičēči*). As head of the Secretariat under Ögödei he held the imperial seal, was in charge of administrative affairs concerning the Western Regions (i.e. Muslim central and western Asia), and no official document in Uighur script or Chinese could be issued without being countersigned by him.[58] We know a good deal about him from Chinese, Persian and even Latin sources.[59] He was with Činggis Qan from the early days and had the privilege of being one of the fifteen or so participants in the so-called 'Balǰuna Covenant.'[60] The fact that he is ignored by the *Secret History* may simply be due to political reasons, viz. the removal of all mentions of his name after he fell from power and was executed by order of Möngke in 1252.[61]

   In 1955 Uemura Seiji made a case for him as the possible author of the *Secret History* which still finds favour with some scholars in China, notably Bayar.[62] While Čingqai, by virtue of his long association with Činggis Qan and his position as *bičēči*, with skill in writing and access to documentation, would no doubt qualify as a candidate for authorship (or as a recorder), it is surprising that, *as a participant* in the Balǰuna covenant he should make no remark at all on this momentous and dramatic event in the account of the Balǰuna episode related in the *Secret History*, especially since we know from Chinese sources that the event in question – the solemn oath made on that occasion – was definitely recorded in the *Tobčiyan*, the official history of the Mongol *qan*s from Činggis downward.[63]

3. Šigi Qutuqu (ca. 1180-1260), the adopted son of Činggis Qan and one of his most trusted men.[64] A Tatar by birth, he held top positions in the administration and in the army, and enjoyed a long life. In 1206 he was appointed grand judge (*yeke ǰarquči*) and was at the same time entrusted with the keeping of legal and population records.[65] Therefore, he must have been familiar with the Uighur script. In 1941 Haenisch first proposed his name as the author of the *Secret History*, and a strong case for his candidature was made by P. Ratchnevsky in 1965.[66] In fact it is most unlikely that, had the *Secret History* been written in 1228, Šigi Qutuqu, as a member of the *qan*'s family, a literate person and in charge of written records, would not have been aware of its existence and would not have gained access to it, especially since the *Secret History* contains numerous sections concerning laws and ordinances. This being so, one must seriously take him into account as a possible author/compiler. An important consideration is also that there were at the time very few, if any, literate individuals in the *qan*'s family circle besides Šigi Qutuqu (Čingqai was a close friend and associate, but still an outsider): he would indeed have been the most obvious candidate for such a task. There is, moreover, some internal, i.e. textual, evidence which could point to him as the narrator in the *Secret History*.[67]

The main objection to this attractive theory has been raised by W. Hung, who remarked that Šigi Qutuqu, 'being with Činggis on the campaign to the West, would scarcely have written about the seven years of war and diplomacy in the far regions in such brief and dreary fashion, hardly comparable with the early sections of the book.'[68]

This objection can, in my view, be safely dismissed. Although an active participant in the western campaign, Šigi Qutuqu would rather have forgotten about it since he was responsible for the major reverse experienced by the Mongols in central Asia. After the battle near Parvān, Šigi Qutuqu returned to Činggis Qan 'with only the insignificant remnant of his army.'[69] This fact alone, I think, would account for the superficial, almost dismissive way in which the war in the West is dealt with in the *Secret History*. Furthermore, the author of the *Secret History* was not interested in foreign people and punitive campaigns abroad,

witness the cursory treatment of *all* of them and the number of factual errors in his descriptions, his main concern being domestic matters and conflicts within the Mongolian heartland.[70]

Another objection one can raise is why, if Šigi Qutuqu were the author or compiler of the work, would he perpetuate in writing the fiction of his own origins as one of Mother Hö'elün 'four foundlings'?[71] Ratchnevsky has rightly pointed out that Rašīd al-Dīn's account of his adoption by Činggis' wife Börte rather than by his mother Hö'elün is far more reliable.[72] Perhaps the answer is that Šigi Qutuqu preferred a good story to a factual account, even with regard to his own person. Mother Hö'elün's legendary role as the adoptive mother of future heroes was no doubt already current in Činggis Qan's time (the motif is too well 'elaborated' in the *Secret History* to be a later development), and veracity is, on the whole, not the strong point of the entire narrative.

Against the above-mentioned three candidates, Hung puts forward his own imaginary author, i.e. someone 'brought up in the intimacy of Činggis' family, a servant who grew up with the family, who witnessed many of the happenings, and who heard about many of the others from the lips of those personally involved.' This 'unlettered man ... might have told many of his stories many times to many listeners before they were set down in writing', and 'it required his long life and countless ages of nomadic antiquity behind him to compose his book, though the writing might have taken only a few days.'[73] Hung, who believes that the *Secret History* was composed in 1264, likes 'to imagine that in the coolness of the August evenings over the Kerülen, our hypothetical aged narrator was invited to recite some of his stories to the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Činggis.'[74]

Hung's theory about an old, illiterate servant or familiar of Činggis' recollecting the *qan*'s family history has found a follower in Š. Čoĭmaa who, in 1994, suggested Father Mönglik as the author of the *Secret History*.[75] Mönglik was the son of Čaraqa of the Qongqotat, a faithful retainer of Činggis' father Yisügei Ba'atur, and is regarded by some as the man whom Hö'elün married after her husband's death.[76] As does Ratchnevsky's theory about Šigi Qutuqu, Čoĭmaa invokes a linguistic argument (the use in certain passages of the pronoun of the first person plural) to support his contention.

Other hypotheses have been put forward involving either an individual person identified as a likely candidate,[77] or an anonymous author belonging to a particular group or faction at the Mongol court. In this regard, we should mention the thesis of the eminent non-Mongolist writer I.N. Gumilev who, after a thorough and perceptive analysis of the contents of the *Secret History*, reached the conclusion that its author must have been a member of the 'Old Mongolian Party', i.e. of the conservative element among the political leadership whose aim was to revive the traditional Mongol military values, the 'old days of valour', against the more educated and progressive element (represented chiefly by the non-Mongol advisers at court), whose aim was to set up a civil administration and rational exploitation of the conquered territories.[78]

Finally, for Ligeti who critically reviewed some of the earlier theories, including W. Hung's,[79] the anonymous author of the *Secret History* ought not to be regarded as an author in the modern sense, but rather as a recorder-compiler of materials from many heterogeneous sources, since 'according to the practice of this age, the person of the author does not matter, he is unimportant, he stays behind the scenes, and only lucky, accidental circumstances would turn up his name. In the case of the "Secret History of the Mongols" too, we still have to wait for such a lucky, accidental circumstance.'[80]

While agreeing in principle with Ligeti, I consider the most likely candidate as author or, better, compiler and author of the *Urtext* of the *Secret History* to be Šigi Qutuqu. My argument in support of him is that he would certainly qualify as a member of Gumilev's so-called old conservative party, i.e. the 'old guard.' The Chinese sources are very critical of his management of affairs in north China, and the *Secret History* ignores *all* members of the opposing faction (Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材, Nien-ho Chung-

shan 粘合重山, etc.). This would also explain the *Secret History*'s bias towards domestic versus foreign matters and perhaps, also, the hint concerning the transfer of rule from Ögödei's line to that of Tolui. Unlike Činqqai, Šigi Qutuqu did not fall foul of Tolui's son Möngke, for we know that he not only survived the purges following the latter's enthronement, but was awarded an apanage in China in 1253. Rašīd al-Dīn confirms that he was attached to the house of Tolui, whose *ulus* after Činggis' death was the ancestral territory in Mongolia.[81] These aspects of Šigi Qutuqu's personality and career, together with Ratchnevsky's convincing arguments and the indirect evidence that the *Secret History* narrator was a member of Činggis' family,[82] speak strongly in his favour. However, for want of any solid and conclusive evidence, we can only make an educated guess in the matter, without absolutely ruling out certain of the other personages discussed above.

4. *History of the text*

The manuscript tradition of the Mongol text of the *Secret History*, as well as the vicissitudes of the Chinese transcription and translation carried out in the 14th century, have been the subject of a detailed study by W. Hung which appeared in 1951 and to which I have frequently referred. A good summary of Hung's study by B.I. Pankratov appeared in 1962, and another one, by Chen Chin 甄金, in 1986.[83] For pertinent comments and further information on the text in Uighur script and the Chinese version, we are indebted to L. Ligeti and F.W. Cleaves respectively.[84] An essential chronology and bibliography of the *Secret History* was prepared by J.R. Krueger and published in 1967.[85]

The following is an outline of the textual history of the *Secret History* based mainly on the above-mentioned contributions, but with a number of my own inferences. However, because of the many gaps in our knowledge regarding the early

period (13th-14th c.), the reconstruction as presented is still to a large extent conjectural.

The first recension of the *Secret History* was in Uighur script and the manuscript almost certainly had no 'formal' title, the opening line *Činggis Qa'an-nu huǰa'ur* 'The origin of Činggis Qa'an' which describes only the contents of the first, genealogical portion of the book, serving also as designation for the rest of the work – a classical case of *pars pro toto*. This practice is well attested in the West, witness the opening sentence of *The Gospel According to Matthew*.[86] Furthermore, 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.[87]

The words *Činggis Qa'an-nu huǰa'ur* represent the pronunciation of the opening sentence of the *Secret History* in the second half of the 14th century which in Uighur script read *Činggis Qaγan-u uǰaγur*. Since Činggis Qan never bore the title of *qaγan* (first assumed by his son and successor Ögödei), but only that of *qan*, the original opening words must have been *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur*.[88]

In assuming that the opening words stand *per se*, i.e. are not grammatically connected with the words that follow them in § 1 of the *Secret History* and thus form a sort of title of the work, I agree with my predecessors Naka, Poppe, Mostaert, Ligeti, Murakami, Cleaves and Irinčin. There is, however, a substantial body of opinion that disagrees on both counts, holding instead that the words in question are logically connected with the next sentence and are, in fact, its subject.[89]

Unfortunately we are not informed about the fate of the manuscript during the several decades that elapsed between the time it was completed at Köde'e Aral and the beginning of the Ming period in the second half of the 14th century. What we know is that 1) a number of copies survived the turmoil at the end of the Yüan dynasty, and 2) in the course of transmission the original text had undergone certain modifications. Presumably,

the text of the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur* (original and/or copies) had been kept in the imperial archives throughout the Yüan period, but the 'editing' of the text may already have begun during Möngke's reign (1251-59) or even earlier, which may account for an 'intermediate' version – possibly one of several – preserved in the *Altan tobči*, the existence of which is postulated further on (see Section Five). It was, however, during Qubilai's long reign (1260-94) that research into the earlier history of the Mongol ruling house was officially promoted with the establishment in 1261 of a Department of National (= Mongol) History (*Kuo-shih yüan* 國史院) within the College of Literature or Han-lin Academy (*Han-lin yüan* 翰林院).[90] Chinese and Mongol scholars like Wang E 王鶚 (1190-1273) and Sarman (fl. 1288)[91] participated in the enterprise.

For the purpose of eventually compiling the chronicle of the previous reigns, the scholar-officials of the Department of National History collected all the written sources available and prepared drafts in Mongolian (ca. 1290). These were duly revised and translated into Chinese. The Mongol chronicle was known simply as *Tobčiyan* or *History*; its Chinese counterpart was the *Shih-lu* 實錄 or *Veritable Records*. The records of Činggis' and Ögödei's reigns (i.e. the first two parts of the *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu* 五朝實錄 or *Veritable Records of the Five Reigns*) were completed in 1303. The material contained in the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur* was selectively but heavily used in the preparation of the *Tobčiyan* – a work to which few people had access and which unfortunately did not survive the fall of the dynasty, hence our very scanty knowledge about it.[92]

While this historiographical activity was going on in the latter part of Qubilai's reign and in those of his successors, the text of the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur* underwent various changes at the hands of unknown editors who saw fit to 'improve' the original in the new political climate. These alterations, carried out independently from the activity of the Department of National History, consisted chiefly in 1) introducing new material,

including the passages favourable to the house of Tolui to which Qubilai also belonged;[93] 2) expunging references to events and personages no longer approved of, such as those pertaining to the former chancellor Činqqai;[94] and 3) altering titles to confer posthumous honours on the imperial ancestors. The changes were arbitrary and often incorrect, as in changing the title of *qan* to *qaγan* with respect to Qabul Qan, Ambaqai Qan, Yisügei Qan, Činggis Qan, etc.[95] In meddling with the text, the revisers may also have at times altered the order of the existing material, which would account for some lacunae and internal inconsistencies.[96]

The revision was probably a gradual process and, given the nature of the work, done entirely by Mongol officials or, even more likely, by members of the imperial clan and court *bičečis*;[97] one cannot detect any Chinese historiographic bias or influence in the text itself. Although no dates can be assigned to the revision, most of the alterations were carried out in all likelihood during Qubilai's reign, when the Mongol court took an active interest in historical records.

The revised version, which we may now call *Činggis Qaγan-u uǰaγur* to distinguish it from the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur*, was in many respects different from the latter, a fact confirmed by a comparison with the text preserved in the *Altan tobči*.[98]

As stated earlier in connection with the ongoing compilation of the *Tobčiyan*, oral and written sources on the previous reigns were collected at the time. One of those was an account of Ögödei's reign compiled on the model and style of the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur* and forming, as it were, a continuation of the latter. In all probability this account was never completed, or it may have reached Qubilai's court archives in a fragmentary state owing to the conflict between the Ögödeids and the Toluids of the preceding two decades or so. Of its existence, however, we are certain, for what is left of it is the present section on Ögödei in the *Secret History*. As with the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur* and the *Tobčiyan*, the other records in Mongolian were also subject to editorial work, as shown by the fact that the entry on Korea was

inserted arbitrarily (and incorrectly, as it turned out) into the above account on Ögödei (§ 274).[99]

The investigation carried out by W. Hung into the history of the Mongolian manuscript of the *Secret History*[100] indicates that from the latter part of Qubilai's reign onward, Mongol and Chinese officials were engaged in several history projects (one involving also the condensation of more extensive records),[101] and that the prevailing suspicion of the Mongol court and officials towards Chinese officialdom affected the historiographers' task.[102] This explains the introduction of a system of checks and counterchecks of the edited texts requiring multiple translations. For example, the *Tobčiyan* could be translated into Chinese by a non-Chinese official; at the same time, the *Veritable Records* in Chinese had to be rendered into Mongolian in Uighur script. With the records of the early rulers, the Chinese version had to proceed from the Mongolian, but for the later records starting with Qubilai's reign the reverse was true.[103]

As for the *Činggis Qaγan-u uǰaγur*, the account on Ögödei was used together with the extant records on the second emperor in the compilation of the *Tobčiyan*, and these records were then presumably shelved back in the archives.[104] We know that the *Tobčiyan* was regarded as an 'extremely secret' document, access to which was forbidden except to the authorized, and the same no doubt applied to the *Činggis Qaγan-u uǰaγur* and its sequel.[105]

In March 1369, immediately after the fall of the Yüan dynasty, a commission of eighteen historiographers of the College of Literature headed by Sung Lien 宋濂 (1310-81) began in earnest the compilation of the *Yüan-shih*, the official history of the previous dynasty.[106] Among the documents that they retrieved from the secret archives of the former Imperial Library (*pi-fu* 秘府, lit. 'The Secret Repository'), chief among them the *Veritable Records of Thirteen Reigns* (*Shih-san ch'ao shih-lu* 十三朝實錄),[107] were *at least* two copies of the *Činggis Qaγan-u uǰaγur* and its sequel, the short account on Ögödei (see below). Unfortunately, the historiographers made no use of either source in their haste to

finish the official history of the Yüan, a task they completed in a little over a year (July 1370).[108]

In the following years those unusual documents attracted the attention of the Mongol and Chinese scholars in the College of Literature who, after joining the section on Ögödei to the *Činggis Qaγan-u uǰaγur*, transferred the original colophon to the end of the former and made a free summarized version in Chinese of the entire text using one of the copies in Uighur script.[109] Subsequently they prepared an interlinear phonetic transcription with a word by word interlinear translation into Chinese.[110] Apparently the second operation was carried out on the other available manuscript copy (or on one of the other copies), since there are numerous minor differences between the text of the free version and that of the interlinear version with regard to variations in both the transcription of proper and geographical names and in the rendering of words, as noted by Pelliot, Cleaves and Mostaert.[111] According to Hung, such divergences can be accounted for by the fact that 1) more than one translator worked on different parts of the text, and 2) different translators worked on the interlinear and the free translation of the same section of the text.[112]

By this time, the document found in the secret archives of the Yüan court, which lacked a 'proper' title, had been renamed *Yüan pi-shih* 元秘史 or *Secret History of the Yüan*, and *Mongγol-un niγuča tobčiyan* in Mongolian, the latter being merely the Mongol counterpart of the Chinese title.[113]

When, in the mid-Hung-wu period (1368-98), the Ming government decided to train Chinese students as interpreters in their dealings with the troublesome neighbours on the northeastern frontier, the College of Literature prepared a basic Sino-Mongolian glossary with the Mongol words given in phonetic transcription, followed by a reader consisting of twelve official documents in Mongolian, interlinearly transcribed and translated into Chinese, with the first five documents also having sectional summaries in Chinese. The work was published in 1389

under the title of *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語 or *Sino-Foreign* (= *Mongolian*) *Vocabulary*.[114] The aim of the compilers, whose names have been handed down, was to enable the user of this language handbook (altogether only 84 leaves) to speak, not to write, Mongolian; therefore, no Uighur script was employed. The Chinese language used in the *Hua-i i-yü* is the so-called Yüan vernacular, i.e. the 13th-14th century northern Chinese colloquial used as the 'official' Chinese language during the Mongol period.[115] The fact that the free Chinese version and the interlinear translation of the *Mongγol-un niγuča tobčiyan* were also in the vernacular, and that the system of transcribing the Mongol words with Chinese characters accompanied by Chinese glosses is the same as that used in the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389, shows beyond doubt that when the scholars in the College of Literature undertook the complex task of translating *and* transcribing the *Mongγol-un niγuča tobčiyan* with the addition of Chinese glosses in the first decade of the Hung-wu period, they did so also with a practical, didactic aim in mind. Significantly, in the edict of 1382 authorizing the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü*, it is specifically stated that the compilers could consult the *Yüan pi-shih*, i.e. the *Mongγol-un niγuča tobčiyan* 'for reference.'[116] This means, of course, that by that date the text of the *Secret History* was already available in translation and transcription.

Upon completion of the *Hua-i i-yü*, or perhaps even while this handbook was still being completed, someone in the College of Literature decided to utilize the entire text of the *Yüan pi-shih*, i.e. the continuous free translation and the already 'processed' Mongol text, to provide 1) an additional rich source of language material for future interpreters, and, at the same time, 2) a vast store of sundry information on the lore and customs of the Mongols. The scholars in the College of Literature were by then well acquainted with the *Yüan pi-shih* in transcription, which they had 'mined' for words to include in the *Hua-i i-yü* vocabulary.

To carry out this project certain editorial improvements were deemed necessary, drawing on the experience gained in

preparing the *Hua-i i-yü*. They consisted chiefly in breaking up the text into sections (282 in all), each comprising a varying number of lines of Mongol text in transcription with interlinear glosses followed immediately by the free Chinese translation. In this way the latter was broken down into the same number of sectional summaries following the system already employed in the *Hua-i i-yü*.[117]

The system of phonetic transcription, i.e. the use of Chinese characters to represent Mongol sounds, was improved with the introduction of mnemonic devices, making the new text an innovative and more sophisticated work than the *Hua-i i-yü*.[118]

Lastly, the text was divided into twelve *chüan* 卷 following the Chinese practice to divide books into chapters. In the present case, the editors called the last two chapters not, as we would expect, *chüan* 11 and 12, but *hsü-chi* 續集 ('Supplementary Collection' = 'Supplement'), *chüan* 1 and 2. The first ten chapters, forming the main portion of the work (§§ 1-246), deal with Činggis' ancestors, his life and career in Mongolia, while the two supplementary chapters cover his foreign campaigns and his death, as well as the brief account on Ögödei (§§ 247-281). The division into twelve chapters was motivated by the compilers' desire or intention to divide the book into *chüan* of almost equal length, i.e. of ca. fifty leaves each (49 + 51 + 51 + 51 + 51 + 54 + 50 + 49 + 49 + 45 + 52 + 56 = 608 leaves). The breaking up of the text into 282 sections or paragraphs is purely arbitrary, as punctuation often is. Furthermore, it is also inconsistent, insofar as certain passages are broken in mid-sentence, the rest of the sentence belonging to the next section. I suspect that, at times, the Chinese and Mongol scholars may have been led astray by the punctuation of the Mongolian manuscript, the use of punctuation marks (*čeg*) in the early Mongol documents in Uighur script being, as is known, irregular and unreliable.[119] But this is mere speculation.

It must be stressed that since the aim of the editors was essentially linguistic, they did not interfere with the text itself nor with the contents of the book, and they totally ignored problems

of chronology, internal contradictions and historical accuracy. On the other hand, they were very meticulous in performing the task assigned to them, since accuracy in transcription and translation was of paramount importance. If they did not understand or were not sure about the exact meaning of a word, they left it untranslated. If there was an obvious lacuna in the text, they left a blank space. We do not know to what extent they improved the interlinear translation, i.e. the Chinese glosses, over that of their predecessors, but, as in the case of the *Hua-i i-yü*, the renderings are almost always accurate. However, they were not overpunctilious and (quite rightly) did not deem it necessary to render the same Mongol word with the same word in Chinese; in fact, they frequently employed synonyms. Occasionally they made mistakes, both in the transcription and in the glosses, but these are comparatively few and easily identifiable.

Since the abridged free translation was originally carried out independently of the transcription and translation, besides the already noted variations in the transcription of proper and geographical names, there are also differences in vocabulary between the interlinear translation and the sectional summaries that will be discussed in the Commentary. As in the case of the *Hua-i i-yü*, no effort was made to preserve the text in Uighur script which, the task successfully completed, was discarded and eventually lost.

We do not know exactly when the work was completed, but we know that 1) it was definitely printed, for although no complete exemplar of the book has yet turned up, we have the testimony of Ming scholars, as well as 41 leaves of the printed edition discovered in the Peking Palace in 1933 together with printed fragments of the *Hua-i i-yü*, and 2) as shown by these leaves, its title was still *Yüan pi-shih* and its Mongolian counterpart was transcribed phonetically under the Chinese title as *Mongqol-un niuča* (= *ni'uča*) *to*[*b*]*ča'an*.[120]

When the monumental Ming encyclopedia *Yung-lo ta-tien* 永樂大典 was being compiled (1403-08), it was thought desirable also to include in it the text of the *Yüan pi-shih* under the character

Yüan 元 (according to rhyme). First, a neat copy of the abridged translation was made in 1404, with the title *Yüan pi-shih* changed to *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史 or *Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty*. The editors of the encyclopedia then decided to include the full text in transcription, dividing the contents into 15 chapters which formed *chüan* 5179-5193 of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*.[121] These editorial changes yielded an identical text (except for minor variants) with a different format and altered title, the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 15 *chüan*. The alteration of the title may help us in dating, albeit approximately, the printing of the *Yüan pi-shih* in 12 *chüan*. We know that the *Hua-i i-yü* was published in 1389 or, more likely, in 1390, because the date of the preface corresponds to 3 November 1389.[122] As Hung pointed out, the *Yüan pi-shih* 'reader', with its more sophisticated system of transcription, 'could hardly have come about very soon after 1389.'[123] We know that it took at least seven years to prepare (compile, cut and print) the *Hua-i i-yü*.[124] One may therefore assume that it would have taken several more years to process a much longer and difficult text like the *Yüan pi-shih*, particularly since the task was not urgent because the *Hua-i i-yü* had just been published. I doubt very much whether the work could have been completed and printed before the second half of the '90s, the scanty data available suggesting a rather later date.

Firstly, the printed fragments of the *Hua-i i-yü* found in 1933 bear a striking resemblance to the 41 leaves of the printed *Yüan pi-shih*, and Ch'en Yüan's 陳垣 identification of the signatures of at least two of the woodblock makers indicates that the two texts were printed by the same team of workmen.[125] However, as shown by Hung, the *Hua-i i-yü* fragments belong to the second edition of this book.[126] It is doubtful that a second edition of such a text would have been called for within ten years of the first.

Secondly, it was in the first years of Yung-lo's reign, i.e. in the period 1403-05 that we see an improvement, albeit temporary, in the relations of the Ming court with the Uriangqai Mongols in the north: friendly embassies were exchanged between the two,

with regular markets and new provisions established for trading – the famous 'horse fairs' – the presentation of tribute, etc.[127] It was also a most suitable climate for the (politically motivated) promotion of means to improve communications and intercourse with the Mongols, such as the publication of Mongol language textbooks. Significantly, the publication in 1389 of the first edition of the *Hua-i i-yü* coincided with the submission to the Ming court of an important group of Mongol tribes – a determining factor in Chinese policy at the time.[128]

Thirdly, as we have seen, it was just at that time, in 1404, that the *Yüan pi-shih* free translation was copied for inclusion in the great Ming encyclopedia, to be followed by the text in transcription, duly copied and included soon after.

Fourthly, the title of this work was changed to *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. If the *Yüan pi-shih* 'reader' had not already been printed, its title and, possibly, chapter division, would in all likelihood have conformed to those adopted by the *Yung-lo ta-tien* commission. Therefore, unless the cutting of the blocks and the printing were so far advanced by ca. 1405 as to make any change in title and format impossible, the *Yüan pi-shih* was almost certainly printed and published before the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was copied between 1405 and 1408. I would therefore suggest as a tentative date for the publication of both the *Yüan pi-shih* and the second edition of the *Hua-i i-yü* the period 1403-05.[129] I must emphasize that since no complete exemplar of the printed edition has survived, and none of the 41 extant leaves is the first or last leaf of a chapter, the argument *ex titulo* rests on inferences.

Thus, by 1408 we may assume the existence of three texts of the *Yüan-(ch'ao) pi-shih*: (A) the printed text in 12 (10 + 2) chapters, (B) the manuscript copy of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* edition in 15 chapters, and (C) the manuscript, originally copied for the *Yung-lo ta-tien* (in 1404), of the free summarized translation also in 15 chapters. The earlier manuscripts of the free version, of the text in transcription and perhaps also of the text in Uighur script must still have existed but their fate is unknown.[130]

All the later manuscripts and printed editions of the text in transcription, i.e. of our *Secret History*, derive from A and B, and all the manuscripts and printed editions of the free summarized translation derive from C. While no original exemplar of A (except for 41 leaves) and B has survived, it is almost miraculous that C should have been preserved (see below).

There are numerous variant readings in A and B which have been listed and published by E. Haenisch.[131] The variants are mostly due to copyists' errors, which is not surprising, since they are found in later manuscript copies of A and B, as well as in modern printed editions based on these copies.[132] Some errors occur in one only of either manuscript version.[133] This leads us to believe that while the *Yung-lo ta-tien* copyists may occasionally have erred in transcribing a difficult text,[134] the Ming editors of the encyclopedia had also at their disposal, besides the printed text, a good manuscript of the *Yüan pi-shih* for reference, which they used to correct some of the imperfections of A.

With regard to the colophon, since all the manuscripts deriving from A and B contain an identical text,[135] the lacuna in it must go back to the *Činggis Qaγan-u uǰaγur* manuscript(s) used by the early Ming historiographers and did not occur in the transmission of the Chinese text in transcription as surmised by Mostaert.[136]

I think it is evident from the above that the textual history of the *Secret History* in the 13th and 14th centuries rests largely on inferences supported by relatively few well-established facts; the picture could alter considerably with the discovery of new material.[137] By contrast, the history of the text – more specifically of versions A, B and C – during the Ming and Ch'ing periods is well documented and, thanks to the meticulous investigation of W. Hung, now traceable virtually step by step. However, in view of its complexity given the mass of material available, it is not necessary to describe the text filiation in detail here, especially since Hung's article is easily accessible. I shall therefore sum up his conclusions regarding the lineage of A, B and C as follows:

A. At least one exemplar still existed in China in the late 18th century. Chin Te-yü 金德輿 (fl. 1800) owned an incomplete exemplar of A, and Chang Hsiang-yün 張祥雲 (fl. 1799-1806) possessed a good facsimile copy. Ku Kuang-ch'i 顧廣圻 (1776-1835) in turn had a good facsimile copy of Chang's copy made in 1805 after checking it against Chin's exemplar. Ku's copy is known as the 'Ku certified text' ('Ku chiao pen 顧校本').[138]

After passing through several hands, the Ku certified text came into the possession of the Manchu scholar Sheng-yü 盛昱 (1850-1900). It was subsequently acquired by the Commercial Press of Shanghai which reproduced it photographically and published it in 1936, in the 3rd series of the *SPTK*. This edition contains the 41 leaves of A discovered in 1933, and is regarded as the best modern edition (Y^2).[139]

A facsimile copy of the Ku certified text belonging to Wen T'ing-shih 文廷式 (1856-1904) was acquired by Yeh Te-hui 葉德輝 (1864-1927) who printed and published it in 1908 (Y^1).

Both Y^1 and Y^2 are reproduced photographically in YSC, 311-621 and 2-310 respectively.

Y^1 was used by Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉 in conjunction with Y^2 for his own edition (with corrections and romanized transcription of the Mongolian text) in 1942.[140]

Wen T'ing-shih had a copy of his copy of the Ku certified text made for Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎 in 1902; this copy was in turn recopied soon after for Naka Michiyo 那珂通世, whose annotated translation appeared in Tokyo in 1907 (Na^1).[141]

A manuscript copy formerly belonging to P. Pelliot and now in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, (Y^4) is not discussed by Hung. It deserves attention insofar as it appears to be a copy of the Ku certified text collated with B, or with a copy of B, though its position in the stemma is not clear.[142]

B. The original text was lost, probably during the Boxer War and the destruction of the College of Literature in Peking in 1900.[143]

A manuscript copy of B was in the possession of Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕 (1728-1804).

Another manuscript copy – probably a copy of the above – belonging to Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷博 (1728-1814) was eventually bought by the Archimandrite Palladiĭ (P.I. Kafarov, 1817-78) in 1872, who transliterated and translated it into Russian.[144] A photo-reproduction of this copy was edited by B.I. Pankratov (1892-1979) and published in Moscow in 1962 (Y^3).[145] It is reproduced in YSC, 623-771.

A copy of the sectional summaries only, personally made by Chang Mu 張穆 (1805-49) in 1841, was collated by him in 1847 with the copy formerly belonging to Pao T'ing-po. It was published the following year in the *Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu* 連筠簃叢書 (Y^5).[146]

Chang Mu's edition in 15 *chüan* was richly annotated by Li Wen-t'ien 李文田 (1834-95) and published posthumously in 1896 with marginal notes by Wen T'ing-shih (YC).[147]

Although Hung's study covers most of the facts concerning the history of B, as in the case of A some information was not available to him at the time. For an updating of our knowledge on the subject, we have now M. Taube's brilliant article on the Palladius manuscript, and Harayama Akira's 原山煌 important contributions regarding the Lu Hsin-yüan 陸心源 and Palladius manuscripts, including a complete list of the variant readings of these two texts.[148]

C. This copy was for a long time in the Nei-ko ta-k'u 內閣大庫, the old storage building in the Peking Palace, then in the library of Liu Yao-yün 劉嶽雲 (1849-1917), and in 1933 in Ch'en Yüan's library (Li-yün shu-wu 勵耘書屋) in Peking. A page of the manuscript is reproduced in YPSIYYTK.[149]

As we shall see, all the transcriptions and translations of the Mongol text of the *Secret History* are made from Y^1, Y^2 and Y^3 (Y^3 became available in photo-reproduction only in 1962)[150] in conjunction with the *Altan tobči* text for reference, while the translations of the Chinese free summarized version are made from Y^5, as well as from Y^1 and Y^2.[151]

5. *The* Secret History *text in the* Altan tobči

Whereas the text of the *Secret History* in Chinese transcription has been known for a long time – centuries in fact – the existence of its counterpart in Uighur script was unknown until 1926. In that year, J̌amiyan Güng (1864-1930), the learned chairman of the Scientific Research Committee of the MPR (Bügüde Nayiramdaqu Mongγol Arad Ulus-un Sinǰilekü Uqaγan-u Küriyeleng)[152] discovered a copy of the chronicle *Altan tobči* or *Golden Summary* by Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin (mo. Lubsangdanǰin, kh. Luvsandanzan; fl. 1700) in the family library of the *tayiǰi* Dari (or Damdin) of the Yüngsiyebü clan in the former Sang Beyise Banner (*qosiγun*) of Sečen Qan Ayimaγ, the present Bayan Tümen of Dornod Aĭmag.[153] This unique manuscript was donated by the *tayiǰi* to the Oriental Library of the Scientific Committee in Ulan Bator.

J̌amiyan Güng found that a large portion of the *Secret History* was incorporated in the *Altan tobči* and, realizing the importance of his find for the investigation of the former, he promptly made a copy of the entire work by his own hand which he sent to P. Pelliot in Paris in 1927.[154] It is through Pelliot that the scholarly world first learned about the *Secret History* text contained in the *Altan tobči*.[155]

In 1932, B. Ya. Vladimircov in Leningrad obtained the manuscript on extended loan and during that period had a photostat copy made for the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the present St. Petersburg Branch (SPb Filial) of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IV RAN), where it is still kept.[156] The manuscript was returned to Ulan Bator in 1935, where it is held in the Academy of Sciences Library.[157]

The great Buriat scholar C.Ž. Žamcarano (1880-1937),[158] who had been exiled to Leningrad in 1932 for political reasons, studied the manuscript of the *Altan tobči* and prepared an excellent description of its contents. It was published in 1936 in his book on Mongol chronicles of the 17th century.[159]

In 1937, the Scientific Committee of the MPR in Ulan Bator published the text of the *Altan tobči*, unfortunately not in facsimile reproduction but in a two-volume printed edition.[160]

The text of the *Secret History* in the *Altan tobči* was romanized and included into S.A. Kozin's work on the *Secret History* which appeared in Moscow and Leningrad in 1941.[161]

In 1952, the 1937 Ulan Bator edition of the *Altan tobči* was reproduced photographically by Harvard University and published as vol. 1 of the Harvard-Yenching Institute *Scripta Mongolica* series. This one-volume edition contains a valuable introduction by A. Mostaert.[162]

In 1957, C. Šagdar published in Ulan Bator a version of the *Altan tobči* in Cyrillic script for the general public using the 1937 edition. A second revised edition appeared in 1990.[163]

In 1963, Sechin Jagchid (J̌aqačidsečen; Cha-ch'i-ssu-ch'in 札奇斯欽) published a partial translation of the *Altan tobči* into Chinese of which a second revised edition appeared in 1979.[164]

In 1973, the *Altan tobči* was translated into Russian in full, with critical notes and a commentary, by N.P. Šastina, who had previously translated the Mongolian chronicle *Šara tuǰi*.[165]

In 1974, L. Ligeti, who had obtained a microfilm of the Ulan Bator manuscript, published his transcription of the *Secret History* text incorporated in the *Altan tobči* in his *MLMC* series.[166]

An Inner Mongolian edition of the *Altan tobči* based on the Ulan Bator edition of 1937 with a rich commentary by Čoyiǰi was published in Hohhot (Kökeqota) in 1983.[167]

Following a close examination of the *Altan tobči* manuscript in Ulan Bator in 1970 and 1987, the present author published an article in 1989 pointing out the shortcomings and unreliability of all the then available editions of the *Altan tobči* and, in particular, of the *Secret History* text preserved in it.[168] The article concluded with a plea for the Mongol authorities 'to make this unique historical document available in facsimile or in photo-reproduction as soon as possible.'[169]

In 1990, as part of the activities in Mongolia connected with the commemoration of the 750th anniversary of the writing of the

Secret History, the Mongolian Academy of Sciences published under the editorship of Š. Bira an excellent photo-reproduction of the *Altan tobči* manuscript,[170] thus making the original available to scholars the world over. We are all greatly indebted to Professor Bira and his colleagues for having achieved this splendid task in a comparatively short time, and for the high quality of this now indispensable publication.

In 1992, a complete transcription and word-index of the *Altan tobči* by H.-P. Vietze and Gendeng Lubsang based on the 1990 photo-reproduction was published by the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.[171]

Thus we are well-equipped at present to undertake a thorough investigation of the *Altan tobči* using the original text of the unique manuscript of Lubsangdanǰin's work. It should be mentioned, however, that this manuscript is a mediocre late-17th or early 18th century copy of the lost original, containing numerous misprints and faults (see below).

Since the 1930s, scholars in Mongolia, China, Japan, Europe and the U.S.A. have been studying the *Altan tobči* from literary, linguistic and historical points of view, and independently from the text of the *Secret History* incorporated in it.[172] The main contribution to a comparative analysis of the *Secret History* and *Altan tobči* texts is unquestionably Š. Čoĭmaa's recent monograph.[173] As amply demonstrated by Žamcarano, Heissig and Mostaert, the *Altan tobči* is a rich source of epic material related chiefly to the cycles of stories about Činggis Qan, his sons and close companions (*nököd*); it is also a repository of wise sayings or 'instructions' (*surγal*, *bilig*) attributed to the conqueror. Lubsangdanǰin has interwoven old epic tales and traditional wisdom with historical narratives drawn from a variety of sources, most of which are no longer extant, encompassing a period from the kings of India and Tibet to Činggis' legendary ancestry, and, through Činggis' sons and grandsons, to Dayan Qan (1470-1543) and Legden (Ligdan, Lindan) Qan of the Čaqar (1592-1634).[174]

For the account on Činggis' ancestors, beginning with Börte Činua and Гooa Maral and ending with Činggis' death in the Year of the Pig (1227), Lubsangdanǰin relies chiefly on the *Secret History*. We are not informed as to how he gained access to this source, i.e. whether directly or through another chronicle containing it, nor does Lubsangdanǰin cite the *Secret History* as a source: all we have is Lubsangdanǰin's text itself which reproduces a major portion of the *Secret History*, all the purloined passages having been identified by Kozin, Mostaert and Ligeti.[175] In his perceptive analysis of the *Altan tobči* text of the *Secret History*, Ligeti has made the following observations:[176]

1. Lubsangdanǰin 'copied' most of the *Secret History* into his work.
2. Usually the text of the *Secret History* is copied verbatim.
3. In some sections the text of the *Secret History* is reproduced in either a 'mutilated' or 'enlarged' form.[177]
4. Slips and inaccuracies, especially frequent in the case of proper and geographical names, as well as in the case of obsolete words, are due to the copyist's carelessness and ignorance.[178]
5. From the above it is obvious that the present text of the *Altan tobči* is a copy of the original by an unknown copyist.[179]
6. Although the language of the *Secret History* has been somewhat modernized by Lubsangdanǰin to conform with the 'classical' orthography current in his time,[180] the preclassical forms of words are often preserved, especially in those passages which Lubsangdanǰin did not understand. (An unknown hand has subsequently added interlinear glosses to many of these words, but they are often inaccurate.)[181]
7. Lubsangdanǰin used a manuscript of the *Secret History* which preserved the orthographic and linguistic characteristics of the 13th century original in Uighur script.[182]
8. The manuscript which served as a source for the *Altan tobči* is not identical with that (or those) used by the Ming transcribers

and translators, as shown by the fuller accounts, i.e. additional words and sentences found in the former.[183]

9. The wide divergences existing at times between the *Altan tobči* account and the *Secret History* (Y) indicate that Lubsangdanǰin used another (unknown) source on Činggis Qan besides the *Secret History*.[184]
10. The 'mutilated' sections, i.e. those sections of the *Secret History* which are given in a shorter version or left out altogether in the *Altan tobči*, are due either to Lubsangdanǰin's editorship and selection criteria, or to the fact that they were not in the manuscript he used. The latter is probably the case for the section (§§ 176-208) devoted to the succession issue, which is in all likelihood a later interpolation in the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur*, and for the entire section on Ögödei (§§ 269-281).[185]

The conclusion that can be drawn from Ligeti's analysis is that the *Secret History* text used by Lubsangdanǰin is *essentially* the 13th century *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur* rather than its somewhat later (but still 13th century) recension, the *Činggis Qaγan-u uǰaγur*.[186] The variant readings concern mainly the orthography, the original early readings of the word usually being retained, albeit in a corrupt form, often to the point of unrecognizability due to copyists' errors. Other changes, such as those affecting names and titles (e.g., Činggis Qan > Sutu Boγda Činggis Qaγan; Muqali > Muquli; etc.) are purely formal, as are the grammatical 'improvements' introduced by Lubsangdanǰin. All the major changes we observe in the *Altan tobči* could, therefore, be due to additions and deletions by Lubsangdanǰin himself who had at his disposal yet another source on Činggis Qan, and who as a compiler did not hesitate to omit material which he regarded as unnecessary or irrelevant, or to interpolate epic pieces of a later date into the *Secret History* narrative. (Žamcarano believed that some of these pieces go back to the time of Činggis Qan; consequently, C. Damdinsürèn has retained them in his modern Mongolian version of the *Secret History*.) However tempting the above conclusion may be, the presence in the *Altan tobči* version

of the same anachronisms concerning post-1228 events as appear in the *Secret History* indicates that the *Altan tobči* text represents in all probability an intermediate version.[187]

Nevertheless, as demonstrated by Pelliot, Ligeti, Mostaert and other investigators, the value of the *Secret History* text in the *Altan tobči* cannot be underestimated, since it not only allows us to fill in a number of lacunae, but also to restore the original readings of numerous doubtful names and terms. In the case of proper and geographical names in particular, the ambiguity of the Uighur script combined with the fact that, as Pelliot writes, the Ming transcribers 'étaient profondément ignorants du passé de leur pays',[188] meant that quite a few of their transcriptions are not reliable, and it is with the help of the *Altan tobči* readings that we can reconstruct their original form.

Unfortunately, we do not yet have a truly critical edition of Lubsangdanǰin's *Altan tobči*, and the only translation of it in a western language is Šastina's Russian version. Her work leaves much to be desired: a new translation based on a critical edition of the text was, indeed, one of N. Poppe's *desiderata*.[189] Following the publication in photo-reproduction of the Ulan Bator manuscript, and the historical and linguistic researches by Čoyiǰi, Ozawa, Orlovskaya and others, it would now be possible to undertake such a task.

I have made constant use of the *Secret History* text of the *Altan tobči* in the Commentary. A list of the *Secret History* passages in the *Altan tobči* is found in Appendix Two.

6. *The* Secret History *as history and literature*

Opinions on the value of the *Secret History* as a historical document differ widely. At one extreme, some historians and writers, the main representative of whom is R. Grousset, use the *Secret History* as their main source on the life of Činggis Qan, being, however, fully aware of its epic flavour and biases, i.e. of its unreliability on several important events.[190]

At the other, scholars like A. Waley and Okada Hidehiro regard the *Secret History* as almost worthless as a historical record.[191]

Somewhere in the middle we find P. Pelliot, B. Vladimircov, L. Hambis and P. Ratchnevsky who have subjected the *Secret History* version of events to close scrutiny on the basis of a comparative investigation of all the available sources, accepting, rejecting or re-interpreting entire episodes as well as the chronology and sequence of events presented in the Mongol chronicle.[192]

As for Š. Bira, the longest section of his book on Mongolian historiography is devoted to the *Secret History* which, in the words of the author, is 'a creative product of an entire collective of court aristocrats of antiquity and of tale-tellers.' Bira maintains that this product – a history, in fact, of the 'Golden Clan' of Činggis Qan – was written for the instruction of the successors to the founders of the Mongol empire. The 'epic fragments' interspersed in the *Secret History* (of which Bira gives a useful breakdown) also serve a definite purpose, viz. by being organically linked with the general subject-matter and the aim of the narration 'they serve as a picturesque verbal equivalent to a graphic illustration of the events described, and are the chief means of expressing historic views.' The *Secret History* is, therefore, a historical record and 'upon close inspection of the monument it is not hard to also note a purely historical approach taken both by its authors not only to the distant past, but also to their contemporaries.' Moreover, 'from the viewpoint of historiographic attainment, the basic parts of the *Secret History* are likewise remarkable by the fact that in them we have to deal with a quite complex presentation of chronology.' Bira then expounds on the political philosophy of the authors of the *Secret History*, the central theme of which according to him is the creation of the Mongolian state, i.e. the concept of Mongolian statehood which was 'the most powerful attainment of the historical knowledge of the Mongols of that time.' This concept 'is nowhere formulated specifically in the shape of a complex historical procedure but it is

not hard to get an impression of it when analyzing the basic data of the monument. This fact, that first and foremost it relates the genealogical history of the Mongolian khans, already of itself bears witness to the strengthened interest in history of the ruling elite, personified by the khans.' In conclusion, for Bira, 'the *Secret History* is the outstanding monument of Mongolian historiography.'[193]

Bira is also of the opinion that the authors of the *Secret History*, while relying largely on oral tradition, made use of written records.[194]

Another author who has dealt at length with the political significance of the *Secret History* is I.N. Gumilev. For him, as for Bira, this work is the product of a representative of the ruling élite (for Bira, however, the authorship was collective) who, as mentioned earlier, was also a member of the 'Old Mongolian Party' and whose ideal and political platform were 'a return to the old days of valour.'[195]

We may, perhaps, see too much in this multifaceted compilation. Although the *Secret History* is clearly neither a history of Činggis Qan like J̌uvainī's work, nor a bare chronicle of events like the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* 聖武親征錄 (and, presumably, the lost *Tobčiyan*),[196] but a clever mélange of historico-narrative prose and epic poetry constantly and unexpectedly blending fact and fiction,[197] it would be more accurate to call it 'the epic story (or account) of Činggis Qan' and adopt Pelliot's designation of 'epic chronicle' for it.[198] Following in Pelliot's footsteps, we shall continue to extract from it data – there is a rich store of them – which not only confirm what we already know from other contemporary records, but which also complement them, especially with regard to the location of certain events and the persons involved. It is noteworthy that some 900 proper and geographical names are found in the *Secret History* (many of which are not attested in any other source) against the 640 of the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*.[199]

Trying to separate all the purely historical facts from the semi-fictional or wholly fictional accounts in the *Secret History* is

an extremely difficult and often impossible undertaking. It can only succeed in a limited number of instances where totally independent sources support the *Secret History* version. Regrettably we shall never know which (if any) of Činggis Qan's numerous utterances recorded in the *Secret History* are the conqueror's *ipsissima verba*. Several typical episodes, such as Temüǰin's rescue of Börte, may actually have been made up by the compiler inspired by popular accounts and folk-tales – indeed as was done by Greek and Roman annalists. In my opinion, however, it is not in the historical aspect of the work that the real interest of the *Secret History* lies, but rather in its faithful description of Mongol tribal life in the 12th and 13th centuries, especially with regard to the role of the individual in that society. In this respect, the *Secret History* is a true mine of information. The central theme of our epic chronicle is the *modus operandi* of one dominating figure who, together with the other leading characters – his family and retainers – skillfully manipulates the society of his time to achieve his one goal, viz. tribal supremacy for himself and his clan against innumerable odds. The *Secret History* describes this process in great detail, showing the manifold facets of its hero's complex personality. If there is one message which the *Secret History* conveys in unequivocal terms, it is that success as a leader cannot be achieved without good fortune and strength bestowed by Heaven and Earth, and the loyalty of one's retainers and subjects. Such a leader, then, rules by the will of Heaven, i.e. by divine right. It goes without saying that the process cannot operate successfully without the leader observing on his part the principle of reciprocity, i.e. reward, care and protection, towards his followers and dependants.[200] This conception has an almost exact counterpart in medieval Europe and is the cornerstone of the feudal system.

Thus, the *Secret History* is above all a source of the first magnitude for the social history of the Mongols before the establishment of their world empire. Although its primary concern is obviously the 'aristocracy of the steppe', going through its pages one also gains constant insights, more than just glimpses,

into the lives of ordinary people and the interplay between chiefs and subordinates. Data furnished by the *Secret History* have been put to full use by B. Vladimircov to describe what he calls 'nomadic feudalism.' His work on the subject is, in spite of certain controversial generalizations and biases, and the limitations imposed by the times and circumstances in which it was written, the best survey of Mongol society and social relationships in the time of Činggis Qan and up to the beginning of the 18th century.[201] For a sharp bird's-eye view of the 12th-13th century Mongols from an ecological and social perspective, J. Fletcher's posthumous article of 1986 is still unsurpassed.[202]

The dynamics of conquest in the harsh human and physical environment of Mongolia as perfected by Činggis Qan and illustrated by the *Secret History* is masterfully synthesized by O. Lattimore in his essay published in the *Scientific American* in 1963.[203] The *Secret History* provides first-hand information on the military organization of the Mongols under Činggis Qan and Ögödei, and on Činggis' regulations concerning the duties and responsibilities of the Guard (*kešik*) – the most important institution of all and the one which insured, together with the strict enforcement of the Mongol 'Law' (*ǰasaq*), the enduring success of the conqueror's armies.

Besides informing us on the political and religious attitudes of the tribal élite and providing a detailed picture of nomadic life, social stratification and military matters, the *Secret History* is also a major source on the material culture of the medieval Mongols, an aspect of the book which has not yet been fully investigated.[204]

While recording for his successors and, indeed, for posterity Činggis' wisdom and organizational skill and foresight, the *Secret History* also sings the praise of the other (and perhaps the true) heroes in the saga – the valiant companions from early days such as 'the four hounds' and 'the four steeds',[205] as well as the commanders of a thousand without whose total commitment to their leader, Činggis would have remained one of many tribal chiefs in northern Mongolia.

The saga meets with history when the bard becomes the chronicler, because those celebrated heroes are real people (even if at times colourfully portrayed as supermen) and their feats on the battlefield, in spite of the occasional reverse, are only too true. It is in this regard that the *Secret History* is for us a special document: it adds both flesh and soul to much that we learn from the Persian and Chinese historians by giving us the facts as seen, or perceived, from the Mongol camp, in other words 'from the inside.'

The *Secret History* has no precursor nor real successor in the Mongolian historiographical tradition: although they are both no longer extant, I think we can confidently say that neither the chronicle known as the *Altan debter* (*Golden Book*) used by Rašīd al-Dīn, nor the earlier-mentioned *Tobčiyan*, belong to the same genre of 'historical' writing as the *Secret History*.[206] For this reason I hesitate to place the latter within a historiographical tradition as Bira does, and in view of the still uncertain date of composition of the *Altan tobči*, to regard Lubsangdanǰin's work as 'the first such big Mongolian chronicle', thus giving it priority over Saγang Sečen's *Erdeni-yin tobči* of 1662.[207]

The *Secret History* stands alone also because it is so close to the events which it relates. If we choose to ignore its historical aspect, we can still enjoy it as a literary masterpiece, being the only monument of the early pre-Buddhist Mongolian literature, written in a language which reflects the character and culture of the Mongols before their conversion and the subsequent impact of Tibetan civilization on their way of life. As rightly noted by Žamcarano, 'The changes of the texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as compared to those of the seventeenth century (even if only paraphrased), give an idea of the differences between the two periods and also between their speech formation and contents in reference to their vocabularies. The simplicity, bluntness, and genuine truthfulness of the narrative of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with their ancient wording, on the one hand, and on the other, a certain ornateness, garnished with Buddhist concepts and expressions of courtesy and reverence

before superiors, and the legendary character of the narratives of the seventeenth century.'[208] It is indeed true that the extravagant, fantastic and magical element that characterizes the later Mongol epic is almost totally absent from the *Secret History* which, in this respect, is remarkably 'sober.' On that count alone, the *Secret History* occupies a unique position in the literary history of the Mongols.

The language of the *Secret History* deserves special attention. Insofar as the pronunciation of the words is concerned, the text in Chinese transcription gives us only the phonetic representation of how the Ming transcribers read the manuscript of the *Secret History* in Uighur script in the second half of the 14th century. Therefore, the text in transcription does not reflect the *spoken* language of the time of composition, viz. the language spoken by Činggis Qan, or, at any rate, in the Mongol court milieu of the early 13th century.[209] In the more than 150 years between the time the *Secret History* was written and the time when it was transcribed phonetically into Chinese, the so-called Middle Mongolian language had undergone and was still undergoing various changes, some of which are attested to in the transcribed text, affecting both vowels and consonants. Among the phonetic changes one should mention the following: *ï* > *i*; *q(ï)* > *k(i)*, *h* (init.) ~ zero, *a'a* ~ *ā*, *e'e* ~ *ē*, *o'o* ~ *ō*, *u'u* ~ *ū*, *ü'ü* ~ *ǖ*, *a* ~ *o* and *a* > *u* (through assimilation). Moreover, the value of certain consonants (*q*/*γ*, *k*/*g* and *t*/*d*) is still uncertain.[210] Nevertheless, it is possible to turn the text from Chinese transcription into Uighur script more or less mechanically. This has, in fact, been done with the 'preclassical' text in romanized transcription and in Uighur vertical script.[211] It is impossible to say how the original text in Uighur script, i.e. the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur*, was read ca. 1230: the very reconstruction of this text from the Chinese transcription even with the help of the *Altan tobči* will always remain a tentative and, in my view, somewhat futile attempt. For instance, the word for 'rat' in the *Secret History* is *quluqana*, for this is the form in which the Ming scholars recorded it seven times in transcription.[212] In all the reconstructions of the text in Uighur script

we find *quluɣana*, which is the corresponding form in Written Mongolian.[213] However, in the first half of the 13th century (1240 to be precise), this word was written *qulaɣana*, because the vowel *a* of the second syllable had not yet been assimilated to that of the first syllable.[214] In all likelihood, the manuscript used by the Ming transcribers had *qulaɣana*, which they read as *quluqana* (= *quluɣana*) and transcribed as such.[215]

Although most of the basic vocabulary of the *Secret History* is common to Written Mongolian and to the modern dialects in the same or in related forms, many words have survived in one dialect, but have disappeared from others. The dialects in which they are attested may be spoken in opposite parts of the eastern Mongolian group, such as the Buriat dialects in the north, and Ordos and Kharachin in the south.[216] Several dozen words are borrowings from Turkic languages, mostly Uighur,[217] as well as from other languages like Persian, and less than 20 of the 32 that were not glossed by the Ming translators are still a puzzle.[218] Because of the heterogeneous character of its vocabulary, Mongolists have been unable to relate the dialect of the original text of the *Secret History* to any modern dialect in particular.[219]

Apart from the above-mentioned phonological problems concerning the evolution of Middle Mongolian in the 13th and 14th century, the grammar of the *Secret History* has been thoroughly investigated in the last fifty years and there are now several major publications on the subject.[220] However, especially in the lexical area, problems still remain and much of the Commentary in the present work is devoted to their elucidation.

Žamcarano had earlier described the Mongol narrative of the 12th and 13th centuries as characterized by simplicity, bluntness[221] and truthfulness. Insofar as the *Secret History* is concerned, a further insight into its language and style is provided by A. Mostaert who remarked that 'la langue de l'*Hist. secr.* est caractérisée par une grande liberté de construction, la rapprochant sous certains rapports de la langue journalière telle qu'elle est encore parlée de nos jours.'[222]

Besides the above characteristics, the most noteworthy feature of the *Secret History* as a literary work is undoubtedly its epic content about which much has been written in many languages, and which is undoubtedly its chief 'attraction' for most readers. Pelliot called the *Secret History* a repository of 'morceaux de poésie épique populaire', preserving many fragments of a 'gesta' in rhymed prose.[223] Waley regards the parts of the *Secret History* founded on story-tellers' tales as 'some of the most vivid literature that exists anywhere in the world',[224] and he is certainly right.

In the *Secret History* there are some 165 rhymed passages of varying length, from two to more than eighty verses (with a few non-rhyming lines in between), with from seven to a maximum of twenty-four poetic passages per chapter. More than one-third of the entire work is in alliterative verse, i.e. in poetic form.[225] There are also several lyrical and dramatic passages in prose narrative.[226] The 'gnomic' parts of the *Secret History*, i.e. the numerous proverbial expressions and wise sayings, are usually rhymed, as we would expect.[227] The epic pieces were originally sung by the story-teller following the ancient tradition of the Mongol and Turkic bards, a good example of which is the *Book of Dede Qorqut*, where 'the stories in prose are interspersed with rhythmic, alliterative, and assonant or rhyming passages of *soylama*, "declamation." The level of the language fluctuates, now highly poetic and dignified, now racy and colloquial.'[228]

While Palladiĭ, Naka and Haenisch ignored the poetical passages in their translations of the *Secret History*, most other translators have in one way or another isolated these passages, and in some rare cases turned them into real poetry.[229]

One of the first western scholars to discuss specifically the epic element in the *Secret History* was N. Poppe who devoted several pages of his work on the Khalkha-Mongolian heroic epic to it.[230] J.R. Krueger discussed the poetic passages in the *Secret History* in the context of his study of those found in the *Erdeni-yin tobči*.[231] At various times other western scholars have written about the poetry of the *Secret History*,[232] and an interesting article

on the style of the *Secret History* by A.V. Kudiyarov was published in 1986,[233] but up till now no comprehensive treatment of the subject has been undertaken.

One cannot, however, separate the poetic passages in the *Secret History* (Y) from those in the corresponding sections of the *Altan tobči*. Except for the long missing section (§§ 176-208) and, of course, the one on Ögödei (§§ 269-281), most of the poetic passages in the *Secret History* have their counterpart in the *Altan tobči*. Furthermore, as stated earlier, there are epic passages in alliterative verse interspersed in the *Altan tobči* text of the *Secret History* which have to be treated separately.[234] In comparing the two versions of the same poetic passage it is an interesting fact that the *Altan tobči* version, as noted by H.-P. Vietze, is at times at variance with the *Secret History* text. Apart from the verses that were left out altogether by Lubsangdanǰin, there are 1) verses in the *Secret History* taken over into the *Altan tobči* with slight orthographic or stylistic changes, and 2) poetic passages which contain more words or even more lines in the *Altan tobči*.[235] While a full comparative study of the two texts is still due, a number of examples of differences between the two texts has been provided by Vietze. One can also profitably consult Šastina's translation of the *Altan tobči*, where all the poetic passages are rendered in versified form.[236]

In the *Secret History* an epic or dramatic passage may be accompanied by a reference to the wise words of the ancients and by a quotation in the form of an alliterated saying or maxim. For example, in Hö'elün's famous 'Lament' (§ 78) the angry mother of the two murderous children (Temüǰin and Qasar) 'Citing old sayings,/Quoting ancient words' mightily reviles her sons, reminding them of the desperate plight of the family, for 'We have no friend but our shadow,/We have no whip but our *horse's* tail.'

There are many such sayings and proverbial expressions in the *Secret History*, some of which have survived in the modern dialects and are found in the large collections of Mongolian proverbs.[237] All those in the *Secret History* have been identified

and discussed in an important article by D. Cėrėnsodnom published in 1986.[238]

Equally important are the traditional folklore elements, also forming a part of the oral tradition of the Mongol tribes, that recur in the epic poetry of the *Secret History*, e.g. the theme of the *mangqus* (§§ 78, 195) which in our work is still an ill-defined monstrous animal of the dragon-snake type, not yet the future *mangǰus*-ogre. We owe to the late Š. Gaadamba the most detailed analysis of these folkloristic themes within the literary and historical framework of the *Secret History*.[239] Gaadamba's overall contribution is undoubtedly the best introduction to the study of this text as a source of folk traditions as well as a literary masterpiece. He will often be quoted, together with other Mongol specialists in folk literature, in the present Commentary.

Ultimately, as rightly pointed out by Ligeti, much of the debate as to whether we should classify the *Secret History* as a historical or a literary work is sterile, since it originates from the assumption that a Mongolian or 'eastern' literary genre would be identical with a western one, 'not to mention that at a given period of social evolution certain "pure" genres cannot be found even there where they clearly developed.'[240] Summing up we can safely state, I think, that the *Secret History* is, indeed, an epic chronicle rather than an heroic epic, aimed at recording not only the deeds and pronouncements of Činggis Qan, but also those of his faithful companions in a language and style that reflect the attitudes and values of contemporary Mongols. It is at the same time a glorification of the conqueror's clan for the sake of posterity, especially of his immediate successors, and the mere fact that it was *put down in writing* so soon after his death (in the form which it still largely retains) indicates, in my view, that it was also meant to serve as a guide and instruction, not just as a plain record or for entertainment.[241] Even in the most poetic passages of the *Secret History* there is an undeniable consciousness of history, and we are reminded of A. Fichter's remarks on Virgil's *Aeneid* which may well apply to the Mongol epic chronicle: 'The dynastic theme brings into focus what must be

considered one of the most basic elements of epic ..., its consciousness of history. The narrative strategy of the dynastic poem reflects the assumption ... that the present may be regarded as the culmination of a course of events set in motion in the remote past. The dynastic prophet is an analyst of historical experience. He bestows on himself ... the privilege of shaping his material so that "beginning, middle, and end all strike the same note."'[242]

7. *Transcriptions, translations and modern editions of the* Secret History

The Mongol text of the *Secret History* in Chinese phonetic transcription has been transliterated and transcribed, i.e. reconstructed, several times into Latin and Cyrillic script as well as into Mongolian in Uighur script.

The first transcription from Chinese into a western alphabet was done in Cyrillic script by Palladiĭ (who did not know Mongolian), apparently for the benefit of scholars who did not know Chinese.[243] Together with the transcription, Palladiĭ provided also a word by word interlinear translation into Russian based on the Chinese interlinear version. This, Palladiĭ's last work, was carried out between 1872 and 1878 on Pao T'ing-po's manuscript copy which he had acquired in 1872 (see above, Section Four). Palladiĭ completed his work in 1878 and apparently gave it to the well-known Russian mongolist A.M. Pozdneev (1851-1920) in that year when the latter visited Peking where Palladiĭ resided as head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, on the understanding that Pozdneev would have it published in St. Petersburg.[244] Palladiĭ died at the end of 1878 in Marseilles on his way from Peking to St. Petersburg.[245] Two years later Pozdneev published the (revised) first chapter of Palladiĭ's transcription and translation of the *Secret History* under his own name.[246] In 1866 Palladiĭ had already published a Russian translation of the Chinese free summarized version in vol. 4 of the *Works* (*Trudy*) of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission (see below).

It was through this translation and Pozdneev's publication of 1880 that the *Secret History* first became known in the West.[247] Pozdneev used Palladiĭ's work for other publications without, however, acknowledging its true source, but he never succeeded in having it published in full, although several attempts were made by the Imperial Russian Archeological Society to carry out the project.[248] After Pozdneev's death in 1920, the manuscript was kept in the Archives of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad/St. Petersburg, where it is still today.[249] A neatly typed copy, formerly belonging to Pelliot, is in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.[250] The complex history of the Palladius manuscript and of Pozdneev's rather unsavoury role in it, is now known through the painstaking research of various scholars.[251]

The authors of the reconstructions of the Mongol text in transcription based on Y^1, Y^2 and Y^3 are listed below in chronological order:

1872-78 Palladiĭ (P.I. Kafarov): unpublished ms. (see above)
1920 P. Pelliot: completes his transcription in ms.[252]
1935 E. Haenisch[253]
1937 Idem: 2nd edition[254]
1939 Hattori Shirō, Qu. Duγarǰab: only ch. 1 in Uighur script[255]
1941 S.A. Kozin[256]
1942 Shiratori Kurakichi[257]
1949 P. Pelliot[258]
1962 E. Haenisch: reprint of 1937[259]
1964 L. Ligeti[260]
1971 L. Ligeti: 2nd edition[261] (see 1964)
1972 I. de Rachewiltz[262]
1980 Bayar: in Uighur script and phonetic transcription[263]
1984-89 Ozawa Shigeo: in Latin and Uighur scripts[264]
1985 T. Daščėdėn[265]
1986 Eldengtei, Ardaǰab: in Uighur script[266]
1987 Ye. Irinčin: in Uighur (preclassical) script[267]
1990 B. Sum'yaabaatar: in Uighur script[268]

1997 J.C. Street[269]
2001 Kuribayashi Hitoshi, Choijinjab[270]

There exists also an incomplete and unpublished transcription of the *Secret History* text by F.W. Cleaves at Gilford, New Hampshire.[271]

One has to acknowledge that none of the above transcriptions and reconstructions of the text is entirely reliable; indeed, many of them can no longer be used for a serious linguistic analysis and are therefore only of historical interest.[272] A major task ahead is the preparation of a scientific and thoroughly reliable text in romanized transcription, not in such an imperfect medium as the Uighur script (although this could be done in a second stage). J.C. Street's provisional reconstruction and Kuribayashi's and Choijinjab's revised Ligeti's edition are, in my opinion, the first step in the right direction.

The *Secret History* has been translated so many times that the reader may justifiably ask whether it has not, in fact, been over-translated. However, since we are dealing with a difficult and complex text, both historically and linguistically, every new translation and commentary is welcome provided it is not a mere rehashing of previous versions and adds something to our knowledge.

The following are the translations in chronological order, with the language in which they are written:

1872-78 Palladiĭ: Russian; unpublished ms. (see above)
1880 Pozdneev (ex Palladiĭ): Russian; ch. 1 only[273]
1907 Naka Michiyo: Japanese[274]
1917 Cėnd Gün (Čendü Güng): completes his translation in modern Mongolian in Uighur script[275]
1940 Kesigbatu: m. M.U.s.; 1st part only (§§ 1-153)[276]
1941 E. Haenisch: German[277]
1941 S.A. Kozin: Russian[278]
1941 Altanvačir: m.M.U.s.[279]
1941 Bökekesig: m.M.U.s.[280]
1941 Kesigbatu: m.M.U.s.[281]

1941 Kobayashi Takashirō: Japanese[282]
1943 Naka Michiyo: 2nd edition of 1907[283]
1947 C. Damdinsürėn (Č. Damdingsürüng): m.M.U.s.[284]
1948 E. Haenisch: 2nd edition of 1941[285]
1948 P. Pelliot: French; chs. 1-6 only[286]
1948 A. Temir: Turkish[287]
1948 C. Damdinsürėn: Inner Mongolian edition of 1947[288]
1950-52 A. Mostaert: French; numerous sections and passages[289] (see 1953)
1951 C. Damdinsürėn: Chinese translation by Hsieh Tsai-shan[290]
1953 A. Mostaert: one volume reprint of 1950-52[291]
1955 P. Poucha: Czech[292]
1956 C. Damdinsürėn: Chinese translation of 1951; 2nd edition[293]
1957 C. Damdinsürėn: 2nd edition of 1947 in Cyrillic script[294]
1957 C. Damdinsürėn: Inner Mongolian edition of 1947[295]
1960-62 Yao Ts'ung-wu and Sechin Jagchid: Chinese[296]
1962 L. Ligeti: Hungarian[297]
1963 Iwamura Shinobu: Japanese[298]
1965 Kuo-yi Pao (Ünensečen): English; ch. 9 only[299]
1970 S. Kałużyński: Polish[300]
1970-76 Murakami Masatsugu: Japanese[301]
1971-85 I. de Rachewiltz: English[302]
1973 S.A. Kozin: Italian translation of 1941 by M. Olsùfieva[303]
1976 C. Damdinsürėn: 3rd edition of 1947 in Cyrillic script[304]
1978 Doronatib: Chinese[305]
1979 Doronatib: reprint of 1978[306]
1979 Sechin Jagchid: Chinese[307]
1979 C. Damdinsürėn: Kazakh translation of 1957 by S. Magauïya[308]
1980 Doronatib: m.M.U.s.; partial translation[309]
1981 E. Haenisch: W. Heissig edition of 1948[310]
1981 Bayar: m.M.U.s.[311]
1982 F.W. Cleaves: English; vol. 1 (Translation) only[312]

1984 P. Kahn: English[313]
1984-89 Ozawa Shigeo: Japanese[314]
1985 E. Haenisch: 2nd edition of 1981
1985 Mansang: m.M.U.s.[315]
1987 K. Dorba: Oirat[316]
1989 M. Taube: German[317]
1990 U. Onon: English[318]
1990 Č.-R. Namžilov: Buriat and Russian[319]
1990 C. Damdinsürèn: 4th edition of 1947 in Cyrillic script[320]
1990 P.A. Darvaev, G.G. Čimitov: Kalmuck, Russian and Buriat[321]
1990 Š. Gaadamba (Š. Гadamba): m.M.U.s.[322]
1991 A. Fedotov: Bulgarian[323]
1993 D. Cèrènsodnom (D. Čeringsodnam): m.M.U.s.[324]
1993 U. Onon, S. Bradbury: English[325]
1993 B.I. Pankratov: Russian; partial translation[326]
1994 Yu Won-su: Korean[327]
1994 M.-D. Even, R. Pop: French[328]
1995 S.A. Kozin: 2nd edition of 1973[329]
1997 Ozawa Shigeo: Japanese[330]
1997 Cènd Gün: publication in photo-reproduction of 1917: m.M.U.s.[331]
1997 Pak Won-gil: Korean; vol. 1 only[332]
1998 B.I. Pankratov: Russian; partial translation[333]
2000 S.A. Kozin: reprint of 1995[334]
2000 Kesigbatu: reprint of 1941[335]
2001 U. Onon: 2nd revised edition of 1990[336]
2001 Yü Ta-chün: Chinese[337]

Although this list is as complete as I can make it, some translations or versions of the *Secret History*, especially reprints and subsequent editions, may have been overlooked; I trust nevertheless that all the important works are included.[338]

All the above-mentioned translations were made from the Mongol text in Chinese transcription, but there are also a number of translations of the Chinese free summarized version which

must be mentioned. They are the following, also listed in chronological order:

1866 Palladiĭ: Russian[339]
1957 Wei Kwei Sun: English[340]
1963 A. Waley: English[341]
1997 Cènd Gün: m.M.U.s.[342]
2000 L. Ramírez Bellerín: Spanish[343]

In view of the great number of transcriptions and translations available, it is appropriate to inform the reader of their relative merits.

Among the romanized transcriptions of the Mongol text, those by L. Ligeti, I. de Rachewiltz, S. Ozawa and J. C. Street are recommended provided that the first two are used together with their later additions and corrections.[344] The linguist will probably find Ozawa's and Street's transcriptions more to his or her liking.

Concerning the translations, the works by A. Mostaert, L. Ligeti, M. Murakami, S. Ozawa, F.W. Cleaves, Doronatib, Š. Gaadamba and D. Cèrènsodnom are, I think, indispensable. Ozawa's monumental contribution is a *sine qua non* for the wealth of its linguistic commentary; neither can we dispense with the rich annotations and commentaries of Mostaert and the other scholars. For the early period, I regard the contributions by M. Naka and E. Haenisch as outstanding and, indeed, unmatched until the appearance of Mostaert's and Ligeti's epoch-making studies.

Cleaves' work deserves special mention. The aim of this translation is to render the original Mongolian as faithfully as possible, even as far as the grammar and sentence structure are concerned. To match the ancient language of the original, the English used in the translation is 'somewhat archaic', modelled by Cleaves on that of 'the language of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures.'[345] Cleaves himself thought that his translation was more suitable for recitation than for silent reading.[346] Although numerous footnotes have been added to the translation, the projected commentary volume never appeared and

the introduction dealing with the textual history of the *Secret History* is incomplete.[347]

At times difficult to the point of obscurity for the lay reader,[348] Cleaves' book is nevertheless of paramount importance because it represents a joint effort by the two greatest scholars in the field of the old Mongolian language (i.e. Preclassical and Middle Mongolian).[349] Mostaert's and Cleaves' painstaking work is the basis for all present and future translations, a true *monumentum aere perennis*, and all post-1982 translations and versions of the Mongol epic chronicle have immensely benefitted from it. For this reason I have included in the present work a list of Additions and Corrections to Cleaves' book (Appendix Five).

As to the translation of the Chinese summarized version, the one by Palladiĭ, though occasionally hard to read, is still the most accurate, whereas Waley's is certainly the most readable. The latter is unfortunately far from complete, but all the passages of literary value are included.

The three indispensable editions of the Chinese text (Y^1, Y^2 and Y^3) have already been discussed in Section Four. The one-volume composite edition of 1975 (YSC) is the most convenient to use; it is also easier to obtain than the three separate ones. Ozawa's six-volume work (Oz^1) provides a reliable, critical edition of the text. The one-volume edition of Eldengtei and Oyundalai (El-Oy) is also convenient to use, but 1) the pagination does not correspond to that of Y^1 and Y^2, 2) the text has been heavily edited, and 3) the free summarized version at the end of the volume is in simplified characters. Bayar's edition in three volumes (Ba), carefully produced, is the most inconvenient to use because, unlike El-Oy, the *Secret History* sections, i.e. the 282 paragraphs, are not numbered, and the line arrangement and phonetic transcription do not make for easy identification of a word or passage. In spite of their shortcomings, these too are valuable contributions.

8. *Modern and contemporary studies on the* Secret History

To find one's way in the *mare magnum* of the literature on the *Secret History* is not easy. Articles, essays, monographs and books on the subject are published in a dozen languages and they have been increasing in number, especially in the last two decades. Some of them appear in obscure, inaccessible or near-inaccessible journals or publications. The quality of these contributions is very uneven; nevertheless, it is necessary to consider as many of them as possible.

General and specialized bibliographies (including bibliographical essays and articles) are the two best sources of reference, together with the catalogues of library collections.[350] Many journals on Asian history, philology and linguistics, and on Central Asian and Mongolian studies publish articles on the *Secret History*;[351] the most important contributions – articles, monographs and books – are listed in the bibliographies of books on the *Secret History* such as the present one. A special place is occupied by the proceedings, acts and transactions of the various conferences and congresses on Asian, Altaic and Mongolian studies where many papers on all aspects of the *Secret History* are published;[352] next come the newsletters, occasional papers and monographs of societies like the Mongolia Society of Bloomington, Indiana, into which material related to the *Secret History* also finds its way. To these we must add the anniversary volumes, *Festschriften*, and volumes containing articles mostly or exclusively devoted to the investigation of the *Secret History* – all publications easy to miss.[353]

Unfortunately we do not yet have a 'Bibliographie raisonnée' of the subject issued at regular intervals and must, therefore, plough through much material to find the required information, and use personal contacts, which is often the best way.

Of primary importance for the study of the *Secret History* is the material dealing with its language, i.e. so-called Middle

Mongolian. Fortunately, we are well served in this respect because the grammar and syntax of the *Secret History* have been thoroughly investigated, particularly the former. Since the early, somewhat tentative excursions into this subject by N. Poppe and E. Haenisch,[354] several fully-fledged grammars have appeared by J.C. Street, S. Godziński and S. Ozawa,[355] and thorough investigations of various aspects of the language of the *Secret History* and of the Mongol documents of the 13th and 14th centuries have been published in various forms (articles, monographs and books),[356] including a grammar of the language of the *Altan tobči*, incorporating numerous examples taken from the *Secret History*.[357]

By now, the vast literature on Middle Mongolian in 'Phags-pa and other scripts (Persian, Arabic, etc), together with the extensive studies of the Mongol material in Uighur script, have largely filled the gap in our knowledge of the old Mongolian language and made a difficult text like the *Secret History* much more accessible. One major subject that requires further in-depth study is the unstable, and therefore complex, syntax of the preclassical period. Another matter that requires a frontal attack is the vexed problem of transcription, with scholars still divided on the value of the velar and dental stops, of the intervocalic *-w-* versus a hiatus (-'-), and other issues.[358]

The study of the vocabulary of the *Secret History* has been greatly helped by the publication, almost sixty-five years ago, of Haenisch's precious *Wörterbuch*,[359] and by the word-indices that followed it. The first of such indices – a reverse one without page or paragraph references – appeared in 1969; a complete *index verborum* in 1972; a complete index-vocabulary (without suffixes) in 1993/2000; and a complete word- and suffix-index (together with a photo-reproduction of Y^2) in 2001.[360] One of the most valuable tools for lexical research into the *Secret History*, especially with regard to difficult terms, is the product of a joint effort by a team of scholars from Inner Mongolia who have examined, often in great detail, the semantic connotations of hundreds of words.[361]

An international team of researchers is at present at work preparing a dictionary of Preclassical Mongolian that will also include Middle Mongolian forms.[362]

9. *The present work*

This Introduction is meant to serve its literal purpose, viz. only to introduce the reader to the *Secret History* and its *Problematik*. It covers the main issues such as the place and date of composition, authorship and textual history without confusing the reader with too many technicalities. The value of the *Secret History* as a historical source and the literature on the subject are also adequately dealt with.

On the other hand, much more could be said about topics like the relationship between the *Secret History*, the *Altan tobči* and Rašīd al-Dīn's account on Činggis Qan; on the ideology and political philosophy underlying the work; also about its value as a source on the social and economic history of the period; and, especially, concerning the special position it occupies in the historical and literary context of Central Asian epics. Indeed, any of these topics could easily be the subject of a book. I hope that eventually these important aspects of the work will be dealt with as they deserve, drawing on sources and information that were not available to scholars of earlier generations. References to these sources and to the contributions already made by modern and contemporary investigators are found in the Commentary. Regrettably, some publications from Russia, Mongolia and China could not be consulted, and a number of them have been cited second-hand.[363]

The Translation follows by and large the model of the first edition (Ra), seeking a compromise between faithfulness to the Mongolian original and readability. This is not easy to achieve because of the very different nature of Činggis Qan's language and the Queen's English. Whereas F.W. Cleaves' translation is meant to be a literal as well as a literary rendering of the original (hence the King James Version's English), mine is primarily

designed to provide the reader with an accurate but at the same time fairly fluent translation into modern English. While the criteria that have guided our respective versions are different, these are, nonetheless, complementary.[364]

I have continued to use the italic type for my own additions to avoid parentheses and square brackets; I have, however, kept them for less intrusive purposes (see the Conventional Signs). I believe that the translation must not only be readable but look readable as well and a great number of parentheses or brackets tend to deface a page. Since a few Mongol and foreign terms had to be retained in their original form (e.g. *quda*, *gür qan*), I had recourse for those to a different font (Monotype Corsiva: *quda*, *gür qan*) to avoid confusion.[365] I have also employed a more scientific transcription of Mongolian and other Altaic languages, and have not hyphenated compound proper and geographical names as in the previous edition.[366]

One of the most difficult aspects of the translation has been adherence to consistency in the use of italics particularly with regard to possessive pronouns (personal pronouns are not, as a rule, italicized), and in the translation itself when rendering the same Mongol word or expression into English in a different context. In deciding whether to italicize a pronoun or a word, I let myself be guided more by intuition and *Sprachgefühl* than by logic, thus inevitably opening myself up to criticism.[367] As for consistency in translation, given the fact that in Mongolian as in other languages many words can and do have a wide semantic range, while trying to be as consistent as possible I took into account both the context and English usage. There cannot be 'perfect' consistency, as shown also by F.W. Cleaves' effort to produce a meticulously literal rendering of the Mongol text.[368] Likewise, I had to use different ways of translating the Mongolian *verba dicendi* to avoid awkward constructs in English.[369]

The Translation is accompanied by footnotes to assist in solving immediate problems of interpretation without constantly referring to the Commentary, and to advise the reader whenever checking the Commentary is indispensable for a full

understanding of the passage. Hence also the numerous cross-references in the footnotes to other passages and to differently spelled proper and geographical names. Like most works of this kind, the same name can recur in slightly different forms. Thus the footnote serves as an instant aid to the intelligence of the text.

The Commentary has grown over the years and is now almost twice the size of that of the first edition – a fact which reflects the development of Mongol studies in the last two decades. Although meant to be both historical and philological, the Commentary does not deal with *all* the linguistic features of the *Secret History*, but only with those that are relevant to the understanding of the text and are still dubious and/or contentious; the same applies to historical problems. For a much fuller treatment of individual words and terms, as well as of grammatical and syntactic peculiarities, the reader is referred to Ozawa's monumental *oeuvre*.[370] There is, unfortunately, no counterpart of Ozawa's work to solve the countless historical and geographical puzzles posed by the *Secret History*. Unsolved problems still remain, but it is my sincere hope that the Commentary has gone quite some way towards solving the major conundrums still besetting mongolists and non-mongolists alike.

In order to simplify the user's task, a number of appendices have been provided[371] together with three indices: the Commentary can thus serve not only to elucidate the text and the translation, but also to refer the reader to a wide range of topics directly and indirectly related to the *Secret History*.

Finally, the following points should be noted:

1. The text (in transcription) on which the Translation is based is the one I published in 1972 (R), duly revised.[372]
2. Except for orthographical errors, which are usually corrected and mentioned in the footnotes, the form of proper and geographical names in the Translation is that found in the *Secret History*. Variant and alternative readings are given in the footnotes and/or discussed in the Commentary. However, the tribal name Mongqol (= Mongγol) is always written Mongol,

and Činggis Qa'an is written as such, never as Činggis Qahan.[373] Also, except for a few names like 'the Mongols', 'the Tatars' and 'the Uighurs' which have practically been assimilated into most western languages, I have left all the Mongol and Turkic tribal names unchanged in the plural, thus 'the Tayiči'ut', 'the Önggüt', 'the Naiman', etc. Several of these names are, in fact, already plural forms in Mongolian. In doing so, I have followed the practice adopted by P. Pelliot, A. Mostaert, F.W. Cleaves and other scholars.[374]

3. References are usually given in abbreviated form, the abbreviations being listed in the Bibliography and Abbreviations.
4. In many instances, and almost invariably in the case of periodicals, whenever the reference is either of quite secondary importance, or concerns a brief book review or a minor contribution that is mentioned but once or twice, only the author and the periodical are cited; the title of the contribution itself is omitted. Consequently, such references are not entered in the Bibliography and Abbreviations so as to keep the length of the latter within reasonable bounds.
5. For the same reason, no romanized transcription of names of authors and titles is provided for books in Chinese and Japanese; however, the authors of articles in these languages are given in transcription since they are named (with date of publication) in the Notes to the Introduction and in the Commentary.
6. If some important contribution has been ignored in the present work, it is only through oversight or unavailability. I hope to issue in due course a Supplement updating and revising both the Translation and the Commentary. Information about any errors or omissions on my part – whether in the form of book reviews or personal communications – will be gratefully received and acknowledged.

'Αλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην;

Hesiod, *Theogony*, 35

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

[1] In the Introduction, book titles are given in full, but in the Notes they are referred to in their abbreviated form as listed in the Bibliography and Abbreviations.

[2] On the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (1662), see ET[1], ET[2], ET[3], ETI; GOM; MKYLYC; SSET; MGK; Žamc.[1], 13-35; Žamc.[2], 7-26; FKM, I, 94-111; MIs, 249-275; IEEC, 135; BM, 169-171; Poppe 1950b, 87; Morikawa 2001.

[3] See Section Seven of the Introduction.

[4] Two in Chinese, one in Manchu, three in Japanese, one in German, and one in English (partial). The complete English translation by J.R. Krueger has not yet been published. There are also several modern editions of the text in Mongolian. See ET[3], xx; MAM, 121-124.

[5] See Section Four of the Introduction.

[6] See Section Six of the Introduction.

[7] Wa, 7.

[8] Cl, xi.

[9] Wa, 7.

[10] Cl, xi.

[11] See Section Four of the Introduction.

[12] See Section Six of the Introduction.

[13] See Section Four of the Introduction.

[14] In § 272.

[15] See Section Six of the Introduction.

[16] See de Rachewiltz 1965; idem 1986/87; idem 1993/94.

[17] See the Commentary, § 282; de Rachewiltz 1998, 240, 251-253.

[18] See the Commentary, § 269.

[19] So much so, in fact, that some later (17th c.) Mongol chronicles, including ET, give this locality also as the place where Činggis was first elected *qan*. See the Commentary, § 123.

[20] Na[1], 671; Na[2], 587 (but see below, n. 34); Pelliot 1940/41, 1-2, n. 1; Ha, 148; Ko, 17-18, 199. For other scholars who have adopted this date, see de Rachewiltz 1965, 186-187 and n. 9. To those already cited, we must add Kobayashi Takashirō 小林高四郎, N. Poppe, L. Hambis, S. Kałużyński and A. Fedotov. See Kob, 312; cf. also GHK, 172-210, and Kobayashi 1969; GLME, 93; Ka, 188; Fe, 200, n. 282.

[21] Mongolia celebrated the 750th anniversary of the writing of the SH in 1990. Academician Š. Bira also shares the view that the Year of the Rat is 1240. See MHW, 17-19. Cf. also IMo, 305, and *BIAMS*, 1990.2 (6), 14. For Bira's reinterpretation of the colophon, see the Commentary, § 282 ad fin. The leading proponent before Bira was C. Damdinsürėn. See Da[1], 280 (following Ko, 199); OMT, 865. With regard to China, the two 'standard' versions of the

SH into Chinese, i.e. Da[2] and Do[1], also give 1240. See Da[2], 276; Do[1], 424, n. 1. See Ir, '元朝秘史及其复原', 81-82, for more proponents of this dating in the PRC. For divergent opinions in Mongolia and China, cf. Γa, 415-416, n. 691; Če, 494-495, n. 704; Yü TC 1982; Jinggin 1992 (an important contribution).

[22] EM, 230, 303; GKV, 'Introduction historique', v-vi.

[23] Pelliot 1940/41, 1-2, n. 1.

[24] Hung 1951, 488-490. Hung's masterly article has been translated into Chinese by Huang Shih-chien 黃時鑑 in CKYSYC 2:1982, 18-46.

[25] Mo, 264-265, n. 254. I think that Mostaert was in favour of the year 1240 because in a letter from F.W. Cleaves to Mostaert of 26 December 1962 kept in the C.I.C.M. Archives in Rome, discussing the date of the SH colophon, Cleaves states: 'date qui, à mon avis, est sûrement 1240.' I very much doubt whether he would have made such a statement if Mostaert had not been of the same opinion. Cf. below, n. 312.

[26] See Waley 1960, 529. The view that the SH could not have reached its present form till well after 1258 had already been put forward by Naka in a work published posthumously in 1915 (NMI, 'Chingisu kan jitsuroku zokuhen', 62, 64); however, Naka believed that the relevant passage in the SH was an interpolation made in the text long after its composition. See Waley, loc. cit.

[27] Ledyard 1964, 10. In n. 44 on p. 10, Ledyard points out that the evidence presented in his paper does not exclude 1276 or even 1288.

[28] Li, 210-213. Cf. also ATL, 6 and 9-10.

[29] Yü TC 1982, 157.

[30] YTL 15, 4a. Cf. Hung 1951, 487, n. 136.

[31] Uemura 1955.

[32] Doerfer 1963.

[33] Ratchnevsky 1965, 118-119; cf. ISK, 92.

[34] de Rachewiltz 1965. It should be mentioned, however, that Naka Michiyo (1907) and Ishihama Juntarō 石濱純太郎 (1940) had claimed that the original work, consisting of ten *chüan* 卷 was composed in Činggis Qan's time (Naka) or, at any rate, before 1240 (Ishihama), and that the last two *chüan*, i.e. the *Supplement* (*hsü-chi* 續集) was added in 1240, the year to which – both scholars agree – the colophon refers. See de Rachewiltz 1965, 187; Hung 1951, 466-468.

[35] See de Rachewiltz 1965, 198ff.

[36] Clauson 1966, 29-30; Mu, III, 377-378, and 391-398 (for a fuller discussion); Munkuev 1979, 24; Oz[2], II, 254, § 282, n. 1; GH, 105-121; Ir, '元朝秘史及其复原', 83ff.; Jinggin 1992, 681-685; Γa, 415-416, n. 691; Če, 494-495, n. 704; On, 173. For Murakami's views on the dating of the SH, cf. also Murakami 1978, where the author first proposes a scheme whereby the original text was composed in 1228, additions were made in 1252, and the final form of

the work was achieved in 1324 (the '1326' in the article is a printing error). With regard to Cleaves, in 1962 he was convinced that the year of the colophon corresponded to 1240 (see above, n. 25). However, in 1966 he informed me (p.c.) that he agreed with my argument in favour of 1228 (de Rachewiltz 1965). This was confirmed in his letter of 7 March 1992 which also explains why he never expressed his opinion on the subject in print. See below, n. 312.

[37] Cf., e.g., Ta, 217.

[38] See above, n. 36.

[39] See Okada 1985; idem 1989, 291-292; and CIH, 17-19. Cf. also *BIAMS*, 1998.2 (22)/1999.1 (23), 103.

[40] Pa, 16-17. Cf. Cl, lxiv-lxv.

[41] They include B.I. Pankratov, Kuo-yi Pao (Unensechin of the Borjigin), S. Jagchid, M.-D. Even and R. Pop. See Y[3], 'Predislovie', 5; Pao, 'Introduction', 1; Ja, 450, n. 2; Ev-Pop, 313, n. 79. Cf. also Irinčin's noncommittal position in YShi, 135.

[42] Mo, 264-265, n. 254; Li, 211; MHW, 24; de Rachewiltz 1965, 196.

[43] de Rachewiltz 1965, 192-193; MHW, 24-26.

[44] See Hung 1951, 466-472; de Rachewiltz 1965, 193; idem 1986/87.

[45] See de Rachewiltz 1965, 190-191; MHW, 19-20; and, with regard to Bira's thesis, cf. the Commentary, § 282.

[46] See YS[2] 29, 638; MWESC 13, 1b. Yisün Temür's election took place on 4 October 1323. Cf. RC, 104 (K, 7). By the seventh month (22 July-19 August) of 1324 the great assembly had long been dissolved, and there is no mention in the detailed records of the YS of another *qurilta* being held at that time. See YS[2] 29, 649.

[47] See Section Four of the Introduction. In the present section I have outlined the views on dating held by the major investigators of this important issue. However, for a comprehensive survey (which is not deemed necessary here), relatively minor contributions should also be taken into account, such as N. C. Munkuev's book review in *NAA* 3:1963, 138-141; J. Legrand's comments in OUMÈIX, IV/1, 169-172; Ž. Tömörcėrėn's article in *BŠUAM*, 1990.2, 33-35; Park Won-Kil in *MH* 12:2002, 105-125; etc.

[48] See SH, §§ 270, 274, 275, 276 and 277.

[49] More precisely, before August 1246 and July 1251. The germ for this idea comes from a pertinent observation first made by F.W. Cleaves (p.c.) which he might have developed in the projected vol. II of his *magnum opus*.

[50] See Section Six of the Introduction.

[51] The question of whether the body of Činggis' laws known as the *jasaq*, of which there are several references in the SH, was committed to writing in Činggis Qan's time has not yet been settled. For recent discussions see de Rachewiltz 1993; Skrynnikova 2000.

[52] Be. Süke claims, in fact, that the author of the SH must have been a member of the Borǰigit clan, largely on account of his concern with the family genealogy in the early portion of the work and the many references to members of that clan scattered throughout the text. See *ÖMNŠU*, 1986.6, 45-59; *ÖMBYS*, 1990.2, 99-103. Also, in § 165 of the SH, the narrator referring to Ong Qan's son Senggüm says, 'he spoke disparagingly of us.' The pronoun 'us' (*bidan-i*) refers to Činggis Qan's family, not to the Mongols in general, as evident from the context. Hence, the person who relates the incident, the narrator (and presumed author), appears to be a member of that family.

[53] See Ligeti's remarks cited at the end of the present section.

[54] See the Commentary, § 282. Cf. Waley 1960, 529.

[55] See YS[2] 124, 3048-3049. The rest of his biography (8 lines) is devoted to his four sons.

[56] Hung 1951, 485-486. Cf. Li, 207.

[57] On Činqqai see P. Buell in ISK, 95-111, and Buell 1994. See also the other references to him in ISK, 769a (Index), esp. pp. 152-153.

[58] See HTSL, 2a-b; CG, 92. Cf. Cleaves 1951a, 495-503. It is possible that the three lines in Mongolian at the end of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1240 were added by Činqqai. If so, we have a sample of his handwriting. See Cleaves 1961, 74, pl. I.

[59] See ISK, 110-111 (Bibliography). Činqqai is mentioned in John of Pian di Carpine's *Historia Mongalorum*. The Franciscan envoy of Pope Innocent IV met the chancellor, whom he calls 'protonotarius', at Güyük's camp in Mongolia in August 1246. See SDM, 320, 324, 325, 392, 395; MM, 63, 66-67.

[60] See Cleaves 1955a, esp. pp. 397-398, 402.

[61] See *Successors*, 215. Cf. Li, 207.

[62] See Uemura 1955, 10-12; Ba, I, '関于 "蒙古秘史" 的作者和譯者', 101; MKSYCLWC, 165-181. For Bayar, however, Činqqai was only one of several learned *bičēčis* who took part in compiling and writing the SH.

[63] For the significance of the Balǰuna oath, see Cleaves 1955a. For the brief treatment of the Balǰuna episode in the SH, see §§ 182, 183. For Činqqai and the *Tobčiyan*, see Hung 1951, 484-485.

[64] On Šigi Qutuqu see Ratchnevsky 1965; idem in ISK, 75-94; ČK[1], 202b (Index), ČK[2], 310a-b (Index).

[65] See the SH, § 203 and com. Cf. ISK,79-80.

[66] See Ha, iii (following the first edition, Leipzig, 1941, xiv); Ratchnevsky 1965, 114-120; ISK, 90-94.

[67] See Ratchnevsky 1965, 119-120; ISK, 92. Cf. the Commentary, § 269. Munkuev 1979, 12-15, is also of the opinion that Ratchnevsky's argument in favour of Šigi Qutuqu is strong since he had all the necessary qualifications, such as an intimate knowledge of Činggis Qan's family, literacy, status, etc.

[68] Hung 1951, 486. See the SH, §§ 254-264.

[69] TDMI, 442. Cf. the SH, § 257 and com.

[70] Cf. Hung's remarks in Hung 1951, 486-487.

[71] See the SH, § 135.

[72] See the Commentary, § 135.

[73] Hung 1951, 486-487.

[74] Ibid., 492.

[75] See Čoĭmaa 1994.

[76] See the Commentary, §§ 67, 68.

[77] See e.g., Š. Gaadamba in MNTSZA, 199-204 (cf. the Uighur script version in *ÖMNŠU*, 1989.1, 67-72). Gaadamba favours Argasun (= Aryasun), i.e. the Harqasun of the SH, §§ 275, 276 and 277, but the argument is weak.

[78] See Gumilyov 1974, an English version of his article in TMAE, 484-502.

[79] See Li, 206-209.

[80] Ibid., 209-210. Cf. also Whitaker 1984, 219, where the same view is propounded.

[81] See Ratchnevsky 1965, 108-112; ISK, 88-91. Cf. also KIPMX, 44-46, 77, 79.

[82] See above, n. 52. For a critical appraisal of the whole issue, see Munkuev 1979, 10-26.

[83] See Y[3], 'Predislovie', 5-17; Chen C 1986.

[84] See Li, 191ff.; Cl, 'Introduction' (pp. xvii-lxv).

[85] See Krueger 1966.

[86] See the Commentary, § 1. For a comparison with a similar usage in the *Manǰu-yin ünen maγad qauli*, see Mo, xiii.

[87] See Section Six of the Introduction, ad fin. Later chronicles like the *Tobčiyan* and the *Altan debter* were given formal titles under Chinese and Persian influence. Cf. Hung 1951, 440ff., 465ff., 471-472; Li, 201.

[88] For the difference between the Mongol language of the text in Uighur script and that in Chinese phonetic transcription, see Section Six of the Introduction.

[89] See the Commentary, § 1.

[90] On this office, see GCUMR, 127 [16].

[91] See H.L. Chan in ISK, 305-306; Hung 1951, 473.

[92] See Hung 1951, 465-466, 474, 482.

[93] These passages, limited to § 254 and § 255 and significantly missing in the AT, could have been interpolated during Möngke's reign, but I think it unlikely since all the other revisions and interpolations occurred under Qubilai and, possibly, later. This was certainly the case of title changes (*qan* > *qaγan*; see below, n. 95), and of the mention of Korea in § 274 which, since it refers to an event of 1258, could hardly have been interpolated by mistake in 1258-1259. The passage in which it occurs belongs to the section on Ögödei (§§ 269-281) which is a later addition anyway.

[94] See Section Three of the Introduction.

[95] The practice of retrospectively conferring the title of *qaγan* on Činggis Qan and his most illustrious ancestors, both direct and collateral, must have begun between 1260 and 1271. See de Rachewiltz 1983, 274, 278, n. 10.

[96] These are noted and discussed in the Commentary. As will be shown further on in this section, the lacuna in § 282 affecting the place-name following that of Šilginček must have occurred at this stage in the transmission of the Mongol text, no doubt caused by a copyist who left the word out by mistake. The fact that the omission was not noticed at the time should not surprise us, since it also passed unnoticed by all present-day Mongol and western scholars with the exception of Mostaert.

[97] We know that with regard to the *Tobčiyan* the emperor himself ordered certain insertions to be made. From the time of Qubilai onward the emperor was in fact directly involved in the compilation of historical records which had to be presented and read to him, and formally approved. See Hung 1951, 466, 473.

[98] See Section Five of the Introduction. It should be emphasized, however, that while the revised version may reflect later, e.g. pro-Tolui, biases, the tendentious attitudes already manifest in the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur* were retained, among them the minimization of the Balǰuna events and the role of Teb Tenggeri (no mention of the part he played in Činggis' election in 1206), and the falsified account of J̌amuqa's death.

[99] Likewise, the incorrect date of the Year of the Rat (= 1228) for Ögödei's enthronement (which actually took place in 1229) in § 269 is no doubt due to careless editing and it is further proof that this section does not belong to the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur*.

[100] Hung 1951, 465-481.

[101] Ibid., 470.

[102] For Qubilai's change of attitude towards Chinese officials after Li T'an's 李璮 rebellion of 1262, see H.L. Chan in ISK, 516-519. Cf. also ibid., 247-248, 257-258, 344, 346.

[103] Hung 1951, 466, 470-472. It is worth noting that the decision (recorded in the entry of 11 January 1287 in YS^2 11, 294) to translate the *Veritable Records* into Mongolian specifically mentions that the Mongol script to be employed was the Uighur script, not 'Phags-pa.

[104] Although the *Tobčiyan* is no longer extant, its Chinese counterpart for the reign of Ögödei was the second of the *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu*, i.e. the *T'ai-tsung shih-lu*, completed in 1303. This was one of the main sources for the Annals of T'ai-tsung in the *Yüan-shih*. See Hung 1951, 473, 481. A good deal of the information on military campaigns, the duties of the Guard, and taxation found in the Mongolian account on Ögödei filtered via the *Tobčiyan* and the *T'ai-tsung shih-lu* into the Annals of T'ai-tsung, albeit in a very abridged and somewhat revised form, and in other parts of the *Yüan-shih*. Cf. SH, §§ 270-280 and YS^2 2, 30-36. See Abramowski 1976, 124-134.

[105] See Hung 1951, 484. Cf. ibid., 450-451 and n. 43.

[106] See ibid., 472ff; Cleaves 1988a.

[107] See Cleaves 1988a, 67; idem 1993a, 5, 6.

[108] See Hung 1951, 459-460; Cleaves 1993a, 6. Most of the work had actually been completed by September 1370. See ibid., 5.

[109] With regard to the script used in these texts, there is no longer any doubt that it was the Uighur, not the 'Phags-pa script. In the past there has been some controversy on the subject, especially among scholars in Japan, some of whom held that the Ming scholars inherited and worked on a text of the SH in 'Phags-pa script, into which it had been transcribed from its original Uighur, and there is still some lingering interest in this theory and/or some variations of it among contemporary scholars. See GHMAKK, 21-24, n. 1; GHK, 306-363; GH, 42-69; Whitaker 1984, 220-221, 222, and Krueger 1966, 29, 30, 31 (for the relevant articles by S. Hattori and S. Murayama); LCSH, 4. A reconstruction of §§ 1-68 of the SH in 'Phags-pa script is found in Oz^1, I, 451-503. This theory, together with the earlier theories of O. Franke, S. Kozin and N. Poppe, and those of Hattori and Ozawa about the original form of the text being a Sino-Mongolian version, or an Uighur text transcribed first into 'Phags-pa and thence into Sino-Mongolian using the same technique to transcribe Chinese sounds into 'Phags-pa script (see GCR, V, 7-10, Ko, 25-26; Poppe in *HJAS* 13:1950, 268, but see ibid., 266, and Poppe 1969, 275; Li, 1-9), are now of purely historical value. The text used by the Ming scholars of the College of Literature was in Uighur script, as shown by numerous idiosyncrasies of the Chinese transcription noticed by several investigators, see HCG, 54 et passim; Mo, x et passim; Cl, lx; Li^2, 'Préface', 7-12; Y^3, 'Predislovie', 6. For a full discussion, see Li, 191-196. Cf. also *Altaica* 4:2000, 124; Thomsen 1958; Gaadamba 1993; Shagdarsürüng 1994; Y. Saitō (in Add. & Corr.), 40-52; and the Commentary, § 251. Conclusive evidence is also provided by the fact that in 1287 the *Veritable Records* (*shih-lu*) from Činggis on were to be translated into Mongolian 'in the Uighur script', not in 'Phags-pa script. See above, n. 103. The Mongol government's practice to use the Uighur script for certain writings and the 'official' 'Phags-pa script for other purposes deserves special investigation. See, provisionally, R. Finch in WAW, 94-95.

[110] For the system of transcription used, see below, n. 118.

[111] See Pelliot 1940/41, 7; HCG, 133; Cleaves 1963, 68; Mo, xi.

[112] Hung 1951, 460. Cf. Mo, 172, n. 155.

[113] The title *Yüan pi-shih* appears for the first time in an entry of 20 January 1382 (the '1582' of Hung 1951, 452, is a misprint) in the *Ming shih-lu* 明實錄. See Hung, loc. cit. The Mongol version of this title occurs in the later printed

edition, but both titles must no doubt go back to the time when the free version and the transcription were made.

[114] There is a vast literature on this famous vocabulary which has been edited, transcribed and translated into various languages. These studies are all based on the *Han-fen-lou pi-chi* 涵芬樓秘笈 edition (4th series) of 1918, which is a photo-reproduction of the 1389 edition, seven exemplars of which were in the Peking National Library. See Y^3, 'Predislovie', 12; cf., however, PTSM, 14, which lists only one exemplar. On the HIIY, see in particular, ḤSHHM, 274-275; SMG and SMD; Lew.; *Matériel I*, and *Matériel II*; 'Quelques problèmes'; de Rachewiltz 1999b; MIÜTB, 153-275 (also with reconstruction of the words in Uighur script); QIIÜ; ISMH, 203 (7.1.1); and the bibliographical references in the above publications. The ingenious system devised for the transcription of Mongol sounds with Chinese characters is examined in detail in YPSIYYTK and Lew. See also below, n. 118.

[115] On this language, which still needs a full, systematic investigation, see provisionally Chavannes 1904, 1905 and 1908; CY, passim; YTPHPCL (and Iriya Yoshitaka's 入矢義高 review in *THGH* 26:1956, 186-228); LCSH; MKI (and F. Aubin's review in *TP* 75:1989, 167-177); Zograf 1993; de Rachewiltz 1967; Cleaves 1979; GALCT; LPYYYC; YKLCTYC; SYYYTT.

[116] See Hung 1951, 452. Cf. also ibid., 448. The compilers extracted words from the *Yüan pi-shih* for inclusion in the first part of the HIIY, i.e. the Sino-Mongolian glossary, which contains 844 entries.

[117] The first five documents in the HIIY of 1389 are rescripts, an edict and a diploma issuing from the Ming government and addressed to Mongolian personages; they were originally written in Chinese and subsequently translated into Mongolian. The other seven documents consist of letters and reports of Mongol chiefs addressed to the Ming court and government; originally in Mongolian, they were subsequently translated into Chinese. For some reason, no Chinese sectional summaries were provided in the second group.

[118] Much has been written on the Chinese transcription, or rather transliteration, of the Mongolian text of the SH. Ch'en Yüan's 陳垣 detailed analysis YPSIYYTK remains the fundamental study on the subject (a translation of this work into a western language is long overdue); it must, however, be read in conjunction with Mostaert's 'Quelques problèmes.' GHMAKK may still be consulted with profit, together with Hattori 1973. For the techniques of transliteration, see also UUY (and Cleaves 1949a, 497-498), SMD; L^2, 'Préface', 14-20; and Kuz'menkov 1987 and 1993. For a comparison of the systems employed in the HIIY and the *Yüan pi-shih*, see Hung's important remarks in Hung 1951, 454-461; S. Murayama in *THG* 22:July 1961, 1-16, and TDPMKV, III, 432-433; and, of course, Lew.

[119] For an attempt at reconstructing the punctuation of the original Mongolian, see PYCPS and Street 1986/87.

[120] The 41 leaves – sole survivors of the Ming printed edition – have been reproduced in Y^2. See Hung 1951, 449-450 and n. 39 (for the location of the leaves in question in Y^2). Cf. PTSM, 26. The title in the margin is clearly *Yüan pi-shih*, not *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. See Y^2 3, 9a et passim. The title *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* that we find at the beginning and at the end of the individual chapters must have been introduced by Ku Kuan-ch'i 顧廣圻 (1776-1835), who took it from the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text, with which he was well acquainted, in 1805. Cf. Hung 1951, 437-440; Y^3, 'Predislovie', 7; YSC, '*Hsü* 序', 28. As for the Mongol rendering of the Chinese title, it is the same in all the later texts deriving from the printed edition. Cf. Y^1 1, 1a1; Y^2 1, 1a1. (For *niuča* = *ni'uča*, see the Commentary, § 170.) For the printed fragments of the HIIY, see further on, and below, n. 125.

[121] See Hung 1951, 433-435, 456, 461-465. The free summarized translation was not included in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, but the manuscript copy made in 1404 has survived. See further on under C.

[122] See HIIY, '*Hsü* 序', 2b; SMD, 8; *Matériel I*, x. This is the date of the first edition. A second edition of the HIIY was published sometime later, close to the time of the printing of *Yüan pi-shih* 'reader.' Cf. Hung 1951, 462-464. See pl. 4 of YPSIYYTK.

[123] Hung 1951, 461.

[124] The *Ming shih-lu* entry regarding the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü* is dated 20 January 1382. See above, n. 116. Cf. also *Matériel I*, x and n. 17.

[125] See Hung 1951, 462.

[126] Ibid.

[127] See HEM, 24; HEMAC, 18-21; SMRM, III, 29-30.

[128] See SMRM, II, 5-7; DHMEM, 19-20.

[129] This is somewhat at variance with the dating of 1404-1418 proposed by Hung. See Hung 1951, 462-463. I regard Hung's argument about the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* being part of the later *Enlarged Hua-i i-yü* as valid, but its subsequent inclusion in the latter has no bearing on the book itself having been printed in the Yung-lo period.

[130] Ligeti writes that the 'manuscrit mongol original (c. à d. en écriture ouigouro-mongole – I.R.) … fut même imprimé au XIVe siècle' (L^2, 'Préface', 8). I do not know on what evidence he based this statement.

[131] In H, 128-138.

[132] I.e., Y^1, Y^2 and Y^3 (Haenisch's Y, C and P).

[133] See Hung 1951, 458, n. 61.

[134] We may, however, do an injustice to the Ming copyists insofar as the three examples of incorrect readings cited by Hung, loc. cit., are not taken from B, which no longer exists, but from '*YCPS(P-P)*', i.e. from the so-called

Palladius ms., which is itself a handwritten copy of the YCPS collated by Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷博 (1728-1814) of a copy, formerly belonging to Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕 (1728-1804), of a copy of B. How can the Palladius ms. then be relied upon as a *faithful* copy of B?

[135] See Y^1 Sup. 2, 58b; Y^2 Sup. 2, 58b; Y^3 15, 12b.

[136] Mo, 260.

[137] It is possible, indeed likely, that as a result of the 'Cultural Revolution' upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s, rare works formerly in private hands eventually found their way into state or local libraries.

[138] Or the 'Ku collated copy.' Cf. Hung 1951, 446; Cl, lxiii.

[139] For a list and pagination of the 41 leaves in Y^2, see Hung 1951, 449, n. 39. As noted by Hung (op. cit., 450, n. 41), it is regrettable that the Commercial Press editors substituted the 41 leaves for the original leaves of the Ku certified text thus making the latter unavailable to the reader, instead of adding them for comparison.

[140] See Shi. Shiratori's edition has been reprinted in *LCYYWCTL*, III-IV, as well as in Su (with the addition of the Mongol text in Uighur script).

[141] Wen T'ing-shih's copy made for Naitō is now in the Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 人文科學研究所 library in Kyoto. A page of this ms. is reproduced in MSKK (pl. 1). Naka's annotated translation (Na^1) was reprinted with an index and bibliography in 1943 (Na^2). See Section Seven of the Introduction.

[142] Cf. L. Hambis' remark in his 'Avertissement' (Pe, 12): 'Paul Pelliot ... a utilisé, outre le texte publié en 1908 ... surtout celui d'un manuscrit de l'époque Ming, qui est, semble-t-il, de beaucoup le meilleur, et lui appartenait.' Apart from its historical interest in relation to the transmission of the text, this ms. does not offer any new or unusual textual variants. Of the seals affixed on the first leaf of *chüan* 1, one seems to be that of Wang Shih-to 王士鐸 (1802-89; see ECCP, 834a-836a); the other is that of Min Kuo-hsün 閔國勳, whom I have been unable to identify. The ms. in question is in the Département des manuscrits of the Bibliothèque nationale (call number Ms. Chinois 11003), and is in 6 *pen* (320 x 225mm) with 2 *chüan* in each *pen*. The line arrangement is the same of Y^1 and Y^2, but the ms. lacks continuous pagination and margin title.

[143] See Hung 1951, 443.

[144] On this, the first translation of the SH ever made, see Section Seven of the Introduction.

[145] It was to be followed by an annotated translation of the text (vol. II), a glossary (vol. III), and Pankratov's reconstruction and translation of the Mongolian text (vol. IV), none of which unfortunately ever appeared. See Y^3, 'Predislovie', 18. For the history of the Palladius ms. and its present location, see ibid., 15, and below, n. 148.

[146] A photographic reproduction of the original edition is now available in the *SLTS*.

[147] Li's work is also included in the *TSCC*, 1st ser., nos. 3907-3909. For a valuable revision of YC by Kao Pao-ch'üan 高寶全, see YCPC. Another annotated edition of Chang Mu's text by Ch'en Pin-ho 陳彬龢 (YCPS) has been reprinted in Taipei in the *JJWK* series. All the critical investigations (including geographical and other commentaries) by Chinese scholars on the 15-*chüan* text of the SH, such as the works by Ting Ch'ien 丁謙 (YTL), Shih Shih-chieh 施士杰 (YSCK) and Shen Tseng-chih 沈曾植 (YPC), are based on Chang's text.

[148] See Taube 1974; Harayama 1983; idem 1984. Cf. Also B. Temürbaγana in *ÖMNŠU* 38.1:1989, 55-64. Taube postulates the existence of *two* ms. copies of B which go under the name of 'Palladius ms.' The original ms. was given by Palladiĭ to A.M. Pozdneev in 1878 when the latter visited Peking. Pozdneev handed it over to the library of St. Petersburg University where it still is, in the Naučnaya biblioteka imeni M. Gor'kogo Sankt-Peterburgskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta (Vostočnyĭ otdel), call number Xyl. 1264. See Yakhontova 1993, 9, and p.c. of 17 March 2002. The Lu Hsin-yüan ms. utilized by Harayama is a good ms. copy of B which belonged to that famous Ch'ing bibliophile (1834-94; see ECCP, 545a-547a), and which is briefly mentioned in Hung 1951, 444, n. 26. However, the Seikadō Bunko 靜嘉堂文庫 copy is not 'a re-copy from it', but is the text originally in Lu's collection sold by Lu's son Lu Shu-fan 陸樹藩 to Baron Iwasaki Yanosuke 岩崎彌之助 (1851-1908) in 1907.

[149] Fig. 6: p. 143 of the 1982 edition. The present whereabouts of the ms. itself are unknown. After Ch'en Yüan's death in 1971, his rich book and manuscript collection went first to the Peking Normal University, then to the National Library of China (p.c. of Prof. Ch'en Chih-ch'ao, Ch'en Yüan's grandson). A search in the Rare Books collection of the National Library in January 2002 has, however, proved fruitless.

[150] The variant readings in Y^3 had, however, been published by E. Haenisch in the 'Nachtrag' of H in 1962 (pp. 128-138), but the variants listed by Haenisch concern solely the transcriptions of Mongol words, not the Chinese glosses, and the list is incomplete owing to the fact that Haenisch consulted only the defective photocopy of Y^3 which Pelliot had sent to the Peking National Library in 1933. Cf. L^2, 9-10; Taube 1974.

[151] See Section Seven of the Introduction.

[152] The future Academy of Sciences of the MPR (BNMAU Šinžlėx Uxaany Akademy) and present Academy of Sciences of Mongolia.

[153] On Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin (hereafter Lubsangdanǰin), see Žamc.[1], 80; Žamc.[2], 56 and n. 1; PLBMS, 12-14; FKM, 51-56; LDAT, 25-27; MHW, 170-172. On the composition and description of his chronicle, the *Altan tobči*, lit. *Golden Button* ('Button' = 'Historical Summary or Epitome'), by its full title *Erten-ü*

qad-un ündüsülegsen törö yosun-u ǰokiyal-i tobčilan quriyaγsan Altan tobči kemekü orosibai, or *(Herein) Contained (is the Work) Called the Golden Button Which Relates Briefly the Achievements in Governance of the Former Rulers*, see Žamc.[1], 79-82; Žamc.[2], 55-58 (cf. J.R. Krueger in *CAJ* 2:1956, 235-237); FKM, 50-60; LDAT, 27-42; MHW, 173-184. Cf. also D. Cagaan in MUZT, II, 112-122. Sometimes the AT is referred to as the *Altan tobči nova* to distinguish it from other chronicles by the same title. (For these *Altan tobči*s, cf. C.R. Bawden in *AM* 3:1953, 227-229.) For the date of composition of the AT, cf. in particular MHW, 176 ('very end of the 17th century, or the beginning of the 18th'). For the circumstances of its discovery by J̌amiyan Güng, cf. also Š. Bira in the Introduction of AT[1] (Bayan Tümen Sum in Dornod Aĭmag is at 48° 04 N and 114° 30 E); ATI, ii; Vietze 1993, 238; and Vietze & Lubsang 1993, 300 (for a different identification of the original owner of the ms. and the locality where it was found by J̌amiyan Güng in 1926). J̌amiyan Güng's name is occasionally written J̌amyang güng (or J̌amyang-güng). See Žamc.[2], 56; AT[2], xi. Cf., however, AT[4], 4; ATI, i.

[154] For the circumstances in which the ms. copy was delivered to Pelliot, see Vietze 1993, 238-239; Vietze & Lubsang 1993, 300-301. In 1946, after Pelliot's death, this copy (AT[3]) was acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale, where it is kept in the 'Fond mongol' of the Section des manuscrits orientaux (call number 131). It consists of 246 folios. See L. Hambis in *JA* 241:1953, 295.

[155] Mainly through Pelliot's articles, beginning with Pelliot 1930a.

[156] Call number F.V. 90. See N. Poppe in *HJAS* 16:1953, 275. Cf. Žamc.[1], 79; Žamc.[2], 55-56 (on p. 55, line 9 from bottom, for 'F.B.' read 'F.V.'). For a somewhat different account of the circumstances in which Vladimircov obtained the copy of the AT, see Vietze 1993, 239; Vietze & Lubsang 1993, 301. I examined the photocopy in 1988 and found it still in remarkably good condition except for a few sheets which were slightly damaged by dampness.

[157] Call number 6476 (formerly 569).

[158] On Žamcarano (J̌amsarin-u Čeveng), his life and works see I. de Rachewiltz in *EAH* 1:June 1991, 55-56, nn. 2 and 5; 10:Dec. 1995, 77 (where, however, on line 7 for *Bibliografičeskiĭ* read *Biobibliografičeskiĭ*).

[159] Žamc.[1], translated by R. Loewenthal in 1955 (Žamc.[2]). See the reviews by C.R. Bawden in *JOS* 3:1956, 395-403; and J.R. Krueger in *CAJ* 2:1956, 234-238.

[160] This text (AT[2]) circulated only in Mongolia and in the USSR, and a single western scholar, Owen Lattimore, is known to have possessed a copy of it which he obtained in Ulan Bator in 1944. See Vietze 1993, 239.

[161] Ko, 321-397. For Kozin's work, see Section Seven of the Introduction.

[162] AT[2], ix-xxi. See the reviews by N. Poppe in *HJAS* 16:1953, 275-279; C.R. Bawden in *AM* 3:1953, 227-229; and L. Hambis in *JA* 241:1953, 295-298. O. Lattimore's copy was used for the photo-reproduction.

[163] The second edition is an improvement on the first, and in place of the original preface (Šagdar[1], 5-7) has a new postscript (Šagdar[2], 190-192). A 'recast' of Šagdar[2] with additional passages in versified form and 196 footnotes by O. Süxbaatar was published in Ulan Bator in 1998 with the title *Altan tovč XLIX bot'*.

[164] MKHCSIC, the first edition of which had appeared in *CKTYNP* 2:1963, was published in Taipei by the same publisher and at the same time as Jagchid's translation of the SH (Ja). Its chief merit lies in complementing the latter by providing a Chinese translation of the epic material in the AT which is not found in the SH. For other interesting contributions by S. Jagchid to the investigation of the AT and the SH, see MKSLT, 123-146; and Jagchid 1978.

[165] LDAT. Her translation of the *Šara tuǰi* (= *tuγuǰi*) (ŠT), on which see Žamc.[1], 60-70, and Žamc.[2], 43-49, appeared in 1973. V.A. Kazakevič's annotated edition of the text was never published. See Žamc.[2], 43, n. 1.

[166] ATL. In 1967 Ligeti had already published a selection of texts from the *Altan tobči* in transcription in *Preklasszikus emlékek 3. Jüan- és Ming-kori szövegek klasszikus átírásban*, *MN* 5, 7-40.

[167] AT[4]. The AT text in this edition is divided into 333 sections which up to section 176 correspond to the SH paragraphs (as in ATL, 13-136), but no page references to the 1937 edition are provided.

[168] de Rachewiltz 1989b. Other scholars had earlier pointed out the misprints, inconsistencies and inadequacies of the 1937 edition and of Kozin's text of the AT in transcription, as well as the variant readings of the Pelliot ms., i.e. of the copy made for him by J̌amiyan Güng. Cf. AT[2], xx-xxi; Hambis, op. cit., 296; LDAT, 15-16. Regret for the lack of availability of a photo-reproduction of the original ms. had also been expressed by Cleaves in his 'Foreword' to AT[2], and by Čoyiǰi in the introduction to his edition (AT[4], 4).

[169] de Rachewiltz 1989b, 204-205.

[170] AT[1]. This edition is preceded by an introduction in Mongolian and in English by Bira. For this edition and the preceding ones, see Vietze 1993.

[171] ATI. This work is also preceded by a useful and informative 'Einleitung.'

[172] In addition to the investigations already mentioned, starting with P. Pelliot and C.Ž. Žamcarano, and down to H.-P. Vietze, scholars like Yamamoto Mamoru 山本守, Kobayashi Takashirō 小林高四郎, Yoshida Jun'ichi 吉田順一, Ozawa Shigeo 小沢重男, and Okada Hidehiro 岡田英弘 in Japan, M.N. Orlovskaya and G.I. Mikhaĭlov in Russia, Š. Čoĭmaa in Mongolia, Lee Seong-gyu in Korea, and L.V. Clark in the U.S.A. have made valuable contributions to the study of the AT. See de Rachewiltz 1989b, 199, n. 8; 200, n. 1; Clark

1978/79; and, for Prof. Ozawa's early contributions (mainly linguistic), BOM, 37 (1951-72). See also the bibliography in MNTLAT, xi-xii.

[173] See MNTLAT. For a concise introduction to the subject, see ibid., i-vi.

[174] See Žamc.[1], 82ff.; Žamc.[2], 58ff.; AT[2], xiii-xviii; Heissig 1976a; idem 1985; Lubsandorji & Vacek 1989; Okada 1995. Cf. also de Rachewiltz 1982b.

[175] Ko, 321-397 (incomplete); AT[2], xviii-xx (where, however, on p. xx, 3rd column, one must add: 'par. 265 [fin] ... page 97' and 'par. 267 [déb.] ... page 97 [fin]'); ATL (where the beginning of § 267 in AT[1], 124a, is also not mentioned). Cf. also Yoshida 1974, 68.

[176] Li, 196-200. Ligeti's analysis should be complemented with the data supplied in Yoshida Jun'ichi's masterly article (Yoshida 1972). Unfortunately AT[1] was not available to Yoshida, who used AT[2] only.

[177] Defective or missing sections are §§ 39, 176-208, 254, 255, 265, 266, 267, 269-282; enlarged sections (= lacunae in the SH) are found in §§ 47, 60, 76, 78, 170, 181, 206; enlarged sections (= interpolations) concern §§ 56, 60, 69, 74, 86, 91, 92, 94, 100, 103, 118, 132, 139, 141, 149, 176, 208, 235, 238, 245, 268. Cf. Vietze 1995a.

[178] Cf. Žamc.[1], 87-88; Žamc.[2], 61-62.

[179] See ATL, 6, where Ligeti calls the AT[1] 'une copie assez médiocre.'

[180] For the language of the AT, see YAT. Cf. also Aalto 1973; M. N. Orlovskaya in OUMĖIX, II/1, 356-360; Lee SG 2001; and Čoĭmaa 2002.

[181] See Mostaert in AT[2], xi; N. Poppe in *HJAS* 16:1953, 278; ATL, 6-8; Vietze 1993, 240-241.

[182] Cf. Poppe, op. cit., 277-278; Vietze 1995a.

[183] See above, n. 177; and Vietze 1993a, 472, 475-476.

[184] Such is the case of the long passage on Küdei Sečen's address in AT[1], 11b-12a, which refers to the election of Ambaqai Qan (SH, § 52) on which see Žamc.[1], 93-96; Žamc.[2], 65-68. For other examples of episodes or passages in AT[1] which are not found in the SH, but were recorded in the sources used by Rašīd al-Dīn and by the compilers of the SWCCL, see Li, 204ff. Cf. Žamc.[1], 83-108, Žamc.[2], 59-77, where Žamcarano discusses the differences between the parallel accounts in the SH and AT[1].

[185] See Sections Two and Four of the Introduction. For the relevance of some of these omissions, see Li, 200; however, Ligeti does not comment on the significance of the omission of the section on Ögödei.

[186] The same conclusion, viz. that Lubsangdanǰin was in possession of the original text of the SH, is tentatively reached by Vietze in Vietze 1995a, 308.

[187] This is particularly evident in the passages corresponding to §§ 262 and 263 of the SH which mention Sübe'etei's attack on Kiev and Yalawači's and Masqut's appointment in north China, both events having taken place during Ögödei's reign. (I wish to thank Dr. Paul D. Buell of Seattle, Washington, for his critical remarks on the AT version of the SH text made in his letter to me of 13 March 2002.) For the AT passages incorporated into Damdinsürèn's version of the SH, see Appendix Three . Cf. Žamc.[1], 80; Žamc.[2], 57.

[188] HCG, 333.

[189] In a letter of 15 December 1974, Poppe sent me a list of Mongol works that in his view should be translated: in order of priority the *Altan tobči* by Lubsangdanǰin is the third one (after the *Bolor toli* and the *Erdeni-yin erike*) because 'Shastina's translation is not very good.' Cf. also MHW, 171, n. 3, 172; 228; and de Rachewiltz 1989b, 202 and n. 2.

[190] CW, the original edition of which (*Le Conquérant du Monde (Vie de Gengis-khan)*) appeared in Paris in 1944 – undoubtedly the most popular and well written biography of Činggis Qan in any language – is largely, in fact almost entirely, based on the SH like many of such biographies (by M. Prawdin, R. Fox, R.P. Lister, M. Hoang, etc.). Grousset is, however, careful to point out throughout his work that the account as presented is 'the recital of the Mongol bard', the 'Gest' of so and so, 'this quaint little drama the Mongol bard has staged for us', etc. etc. See CW, 9, 35 et passim, and his revealing remarks in the 'Introduction historique' to GKV, xxvii-xxviii.

[191] Wa, 7-8; Okada 1969; idem 1972; idem 1989; CIH, 17-19 (see Section Two of the Introduction).

[192] See, especially, HCG, 3 et passim; GKV; GK; and ČK[1]. Among the more popular books on Činggis Qan, one which deserves credit for its attempt to be more selective in its use of sources is GKG, still useful today.

[193] MHW, 21, 28, 32, 34, 47. Bira's understanding of the purpose and meaning of the SH is essentially in accordance with the view expressed by Š. Nacagdorž (Š. Načuγdorǰi) in his preface to Da[1]: 'In this book is displayed in an admirable, harmonious and beautiful manner the fact that the 13th century Mongols, according to the laws of history ... struggled for the sake of establishing a centralized Mongol state ... This work is not only so much a primary source of Mongol history, but also a monument of Mongol literature.' See Da[1], 3.

[194] Ibid., 57. I think that Bira is undoubtedly right. For C.J. Halperin, however, the SH 'drew *exclusively* [my emphasis – I.R.] from oral sources' (Halperin 2000, 2).

[195] Gumilyov 1974, 205; SIK, 241-242. See Section Three of the Introduction.

[196] See Section Four of the Introduction.

[197] Cf. Pelliot's remark in HCG, 82: 'Le discours de Gengis-khan dans le § 213 de l' *Histoire secrète*, qui a des parties allitérées, peut très bien, *comme tant d'autres* [my emphasis – I.R.], être un morceau littéraire inventé de toutes pièces.'

[198] Although in Pe, 1-2 (written ca. 1920), Pelliot refers to the SH as a 'chronique', in his contribution to the entry 'Mongoli' in EI, XXIII (1934),

665a, it is designated as a 'cronaca epica.' In my opinion, 'epic chronicle' is a more accurate designation than I. Whitaker's 'heroic epic' which, apart from being a tautology, deprives the work of its historical quality. See Whitaker 1984, 219. Cf. Barthold's designations of the SH as a 'product of the heroic epos' and a 'Mongol epic' in TDMI, 43, 456. Munkuev 1979, 8, calls it an 'epico-historical work.'

[199] For the SWCCL, I have used the (unpublished) 'Index des noms mongols et chinois' prepared by P. Pelliot and L. Hambis in the Hambis Archives at the Centre de Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute-Asie, Instituts d'Asie, Collège de France, Paris. In Pe, 2-3, Pelliot had already drawn attention to the great number of proper names found in the SH. L. Bese's posthumous work on Mongolian and Turkic proper names in the SH (in Hungarian, entitled *Etnonimek*) is being edited and prepared for publication by A. Birtalan of Budapest.

[200] Cf. de Rachewiltz 1973; and the various references in the SH to the *jasaq* ('law') and the mutual obligations between lord and subjects (§§ 208, 220, 252). See also Ratchnevsky 1974, 473, n. 10; de Rachewiltz 1993; and the Commentary, § 208.

[201] Vlad.[1] and Vlad.[2] On Vladimircov's contribution, cf. Šastina 1967, 10-13; SFH, 146-147, n. 12, et passim; IAFC, 584a (Index); Krader 1958; G.N. Rumyancev in FIMN, 70-81; È.R. Rygdylon, ibid., 166-172. See also MCFN for further references on nomadic feudalism. There is a vast literature on the subject.

[202] Fletcher 1986.

[203] Lattimore 1963. Cf. his (unsigned) review of CW in the *TLS* of 9 November 1967. On this subject see also Fletcher 1986, 32ff.

[204] See the very handy topical repertories in GGMGL.

[205] I.e., Jebe, Qubilai, Jelme, Sübe'etei; and Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul, Čila'un.

[206] On the lost *Altan debter*, about which very little is known, see TDMI, 44-45; HCG, xv; Hung 1951, 470, 471; Li, 201; TM, 226b (Index); Ivanics 1997; and CCME, 88-90. Some portions of the *Altan debter* could be identified by a close comparison of Rašīd al-Dīn's chapters on Činggis Qan in SL, the corresponding sections in the SWCCL and the YS, and the SH. One of the reasons why this comparative analysis has not yet been carried out is because Rašīd al-Dīn's work is available only in the original Persian and in Russian translations (SL[1] and SL[2]).

[207] See MHW, 170.

[208] Žamc.[2], 58; see Žamc.[1], 82. Cf. Pe, 3: 'Pour la première fois également, un texte considérable nous fait pénétrer dans la vie et la pensée mongoles avant qu'aucune influence lamaïque ne soit venue les bouleverser.' For an insightful analysis of the portrayal of Činggis Qan in the SH and in the later chronicles influenced by Tibetan Buddhism, see Šastina 1977; LM, 344-348.

[209] Cf. Ligeti's statement in ATL, 9-10, that 'la prononciation fixée par les transcripteurs ne vaut que pour le dialect mongol des transcripteurs de la fin du XIV[e] siècle. Les anciennes transcriptions chinoises du mongol prouvent jusqu'à l'évidence que le système phonétique mongol des transcripteurs était différent, sur bien des points essentiels, de celui du mongol du XIII[e] siècle, parlé dans l'entourage des grands khans.'

[210] On these changes and the phonetic system of the SH, see the relevant sections of IMCS and UGPM; Lew., 88-114 (Lewicki's statements concerning the system of the HIIY are also valid for the SH, but see N. Poppe's review in *JAOS* 71:1951, 187-192); and, especially, 'Quelques problèmes.' Cf. also de Rachewiltz 1999b, 107-108, n. 54. Morphologically, we notice also the gradual disappearance of the feminine verbal forms. See Li, 195-196. For the Mongol language at the time of Činggis Qan, cf. GH, 71-90.

[211] See Ko, 399-519 (rom.); Shi (rom.); Ir; Ba; El-Ar; Oz[1], I-VI; Su.

[212] See R, 300a.

[213] See, e.g., the last paragraph (282) of the SH in the works cited above, n. 211.

[214] See Cleaves 1961, 69, 73, n. 7.

[215] Cf. also § 129, where the Ming transcribers wrote 'Onon' twice for the 'Onan' of the manuscript. Therefore, Pelliot's statement in Pe, 3, that 'à bien des égards nous pouvons mieux étudier la langue mongole de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* au moyen de la transcription chinoise que si cette *Histoire* nous était parvenue dans l'écriture mongole' is only valid if by 'langue mongole de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*' Pelliot means only the Mongol dialect spoken by the Ming transcribers.

[216] See TH (or its Mongolian version JYT) which is the best analysis of the SH vocabulary so far.

[217] Poppe 1955 lists merely 59 Turkic loan-words in the SH, 'Phags-pa script material and the HIIY; however, there are many more borrowings from Turkic languages in the SH than previously estimated. See TH and the Commentary.

[218] See de Rachewiltz 1995.

[219] In IAL, 21, Poppe states that 'Eastern Middle Mongolian is well represented by the language of the text in the so-called ḥP'ags-pa script, the language of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, and various Sino-Mongolian glossaries of the XIV century'; in Poppe 1975b we read: 'The language of the SH is Mo. [= Script Mongolian (Written Mongolian) – I.R.] but in phonetic transcription which betrays the influence of the colloquial language of that time, *i.e.* MMo. [= Middle Mongolian – I.R.]'; and in GWM (1974 ed.), 2, he simply states that the SH was 'written in 1240 in a Mongolian dialect and later

translated with Chinese characters.' In a letter to me dated 15 December 2001, Prof. M.N. Orlovskaya has confirmed that 'the language of the SH cannot be related to any modern dialect.' Cf. also FSTYTIM and Kuz'menkov 1993a.

[220] See Section Eight of the Introduction.

[221] Žamc.[1], 82, uses the term *grubost'* which means 'coarseness, rudeness', by which he no doubt meant an unadorned directness of speech in contrast to the later literary style of the 17th century.

[222] Mo, 33. See also ibid., 134.

[223] Pe, 3, and EI, XXIII, 665a (see above, n. 198). Cf. also his statement in NHHO, 25, n. 2: 'l'*Histoire secrète* abonde en données légendaires souvent contradictoires.'

[224] Wa, 7.

[225] The number of poetic passages increases of course if the non-alliterated lines are regarded as actual boundaries, rather than a sort of 'caesura', between passages. There is also no agreement among translators about a number of lines which are regarded by some as being alliterative. The figures given here are, therefore, somewhat subjective and interpretative but, by and large, correct, I think. For a convenient listing of the poetic passages, see MNTÜK, 362-428.

[226] Among them: Temüǰin, with Bo'orču's help, recovers the eight light-bay geldings (§§ 90-93); Temüǰin's flight from the Merkit, when Börte was left without a horse (§§ 98-102); Börte's rescue from the Merkit camp (§ 110); Qargil Šira's attempt on the life of five-year old Tolui (§ 214); Father Mönglik's picking up the hat of his son Teb Tenggeri when the latter was about to be killed.

[227] Cf. P. Poucha in *SM* 6:1969, 24-32. It should be noted that some of the proverbial sayings in the SH are not alliterated but have a final rhyme as, e.g., § 277: *olon ayu'ul-i /gün ükü'ül-i*, and as a result were not recognized as such by Ligeti. See L[2], 251. Cf. Cl, 218. See also the end of § 126, where To'oril Qan's injunction to Temüǰin is expressed in the same manner.

[228] BDK, 'Introduction', 14.

[229] In W. Heissig's re-edition of Ha, the poetic passages have been isolated and versified. In Pe and Mo, they have been marked by writing the alliterative syllables in bold type. In Li, they have been turned into good Hungarian poetry by the professional pen of Géza Képes. In his version (SHM), P. Kahn rendered the entire SH into poetry. Regrettably, Waley did not turn a single passage into English verse.

[230] KMGĖ, 7-11. Cf. HEKM, 9-16; and Poppe 1934, 429ff.

[231] See PPET, 9ff., 229b (Index).

[232] See, e.g., Lörincz 1975; Jagchid 1978; Sárközi 1978; Kahn 1996.

[233] See Kudiyarov 1986. Cf. also the earlier contribution by L.D. Šagdarov (Šagdarov 1973).

[234] See Section Five of the Introduction, and above, nn. 186 and 187.

[235] Vietze 1992. Cf. also idem 1995.

[236] See also Šastina's remarks on the AT versification in SMCU, 8-9.

[237] Such as MCÜD. They are discussed in the Commentary.

[238] See Cėrėnsodnom 1986. Cf. also Jagchid 1978 where several of these maxims and aphorisms from both the SH and the AT are cited.

[239] See the Bibliography under Gaadamba, as well as the volumes MNTSZA (esp. pp. 234-253) and MAAZDB (with D. Cėrėnsodnom), and Gaadamba's rich commentary in Γa. On the subject of folklore contacts of the Mongols and other nomadic peoples, cf. also Bira 1990a.

[240] Li, 6. Cf. also Bira's remarks in MHW, 27-28. For a very personal view of early Mongolian historical resources and their interpretation, see Jackendoff 1986.

[241] Cf. Munkuev 1979, 15. On the topic of instruction and entertainment in the SH, see Kahn 1996. We must not overlook the fact that for the Mongols in the early 13th century, as for the early Turks, writing – a new and unfamiliar medium – was used for very definite purposes confined almost entirely to state and administrative matters. To compile such a long text as the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur* would have been a major undertaking and nothing less than a *raison d'état* would have sanctioned it and made it possible.

[242] Fichter 1982, 165. Cf. Alan Qo'a's prophetic words at the beginning of the SH (§ 21): 'When one understands that, the sign is *clear:*/They are the sons of Heaven ... /When they become the rulers of all,/Then the common people will understand!'

[243] See B. Pankratov in his 'Predislovie' to Y[3], 14-15.

[244] It is not clear whether Pozdneev obtained the ms. of Palladiĭ's transcription and translation (two pages of which are reproduced in Y[3] between p. 10 and 11) in 1878 in Peking together with the 'Palladius ms.' (see above, n. 148), or whether he received it early in 1880, after Palladiĭ's death. See Pankratov, op. cit., 15; Yakhontova 1993, 9.

[245] See IPCLM, 29-30.

[246] In lithographic form, with the title *Transcripciya paleografičeskogo teksta 'Yuan'-čao-mi-ši'*, St. Petersburg, n.d., 112 pages. Pp. 1-59 contain the transcription and Russian interlinear translation; pp. 61-90, the reconstructed Mongol text in Uighur script; and pp. 91-112, 26 notes to the text, which on p. 90 ends in the middle of § 104 (= R, line 2511) of the SH. The first page is reproduced in Aalto 1951, 13, and p. 61 is reproduced on p. 14. A copy of this extremely rare work was given by B. Vladimircov to Pelliot in 1924. It is in the 'Fond mongol' of the Section des manuscrits orientaux of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (call number Mongol 160). A copy of this lithograph is found in the Ulan Bator State Library (call number M 49° Mon. P. 471). See Manaljaw 1975, 147-148. In 1988 I also checked the copy held in the library of the former LO (now SPb Filial) IVAN. The lithograph has no date of

publication. According to Pe, 2, it was published in 1880, but Aalto 1951, 5, thinks that it probably appeared in 1887. For other publications on the SH by Pozdneev, see ibid., 2ff. Cf. Yakhontova 1993, 10-11; MVR, 82.

[247] Cf. Pankratov, op. cit., 14; Krueger 1966, 26.

[248] See Manaljaw 1975, 148; Aalto 1951. Cf. Krueger 1966, 26.

[249] See Pankratov, op. cit., 15. The ms. is kept in Arkhiv Vostokovedov Sankt-Peterburgskogo Filiala Instituta Vostokovedeniya RAN (call number razr. I, op. 3, ed. khr. 2). See MVR, 82 (confirmed by Dr N.S. Yakhontova, p.c. of 21 March 2002).

[250] In the Section des manuscrits orientaux (call number Fond mongol 159). See de Rachewiltz 1999b, 96, n. 13.

[251] See Aalto 1951; Krueger 1966; Manaljaw 1975; Munkuev 1979; PR, 75-76.

[252] See L. Hambis in Pe, 3, n. 1; de Rachewiltz 1999b, 97, n. 17; and below, n. 258.

[253] See Cleaves 1949a, 498 (with references to other reviews). Haenisch had already published several sections of the SH in transcription in UUY.

[254] See ibid. The most important addition is the 'Nachtrag' with the list of variant readings in Y^1, Y^2 and Y^3 (pp. 124-140). Cf. Haenisch's remarks in H, 'Vorwort', vi; and Haenisch 1975, 77.

[255] See Hat-Du. The modern forms are given in parentheses.

[256] See Ko, 203-320. Cf. B. Pankratov's review in *SNV* 29:1998, 82-87 (edited by M.F. Čigrinskiĭ and I.V. Kul'ganek); Haenisch 1975, 77. Kozin's transcription is reproduced in Dar-Či. See below, n. 321.

[257] See Shi. Cf. S. Murayama's review in *TYGH* 35, 3-4:March 1953, 06-016; 36, 1:June 1953, 03-013.

[258] See Pe, 5-120. Pelliot's work was edited by L. Hambis and published posthumously. Pelliot never completely revised his transcription, but kept on adding notes and remarks on the ms., most of which have been included in Pe as footnotes. On Pe, cf. Poppe 1950a; Mo, 2-3.

[259] See H. A reprint of the 1937 edition with a new preface.

[260] See L^1. A provisional work for internal circulation only. On it, see de Rachewiltz in *AM* 18:1973, 229-231.

[261] See L^2. Cf. de Rachewiltz, loc. cit. A revised text of L^2 has been published in KCI, 6-615.

[262] See R. The transcription was essentially based on Pe (revised) and L^2, but I also took into account A. Mostaert's and F.W. Cleaves' contributions. See the 'Introduction', 2 and 8, n. 11. However, both the transcription (Part I) and the word-index (Part II) contain numerous mistakes. For a list of Additions and Corrections, see Appendix Six.

[263] See Ba. Bayar's transcription system is explained in the introduction to the work (I, 136ff).

[264] See Oz^1. The romanized transcription accompanies the Chinese phonetic transcription, the Chinese glosses and the Japanese translation of each section. The reconstruction of the text in Uighur script is found at the end of each volume. Volume I contains also a rendition of the text of §§ 1-68 in 'Phags-pa script (pp. 451-503).

[265] See Daš.

[266] See El-Ar.

[267] See Ir. A revised version in one volume of the *ÖMYS* edition of 1984-87 in the Mongol script of the preclassical period with a valuable introduction in Mongolian and Chinese.

[268] See Su. Sum'yaabaatar's transcription in Uighur script is printed alongside Shiratori's romanized transcription. The second volume of B. Sum'yaabaatar's work on the text of the SH, entitled *Mongolyn nuuc tovčoond xyalbar sudlal* (Ulan Bator, 1997), is not available to me.

[269] See St. The text of Street's transcription (Draft of 24 March 1997; Copyright John C. Street) is only available on disk from the author.

[270] See KCI, 6-615 (romanized transcription together with the Y^2 text). The transcription is based on L^2, duly revised.

[271] See Wright 1998, 285-288.

[272] This certainly applies to H, Ko, Pe and Shi.

[273] See above, n. 246.

[274] See Na^1. Cf. also Section Four of the Introduction.

[275] See Cė. The ms. of Cėnd Gün's translation of the SH (both the Mongol text and the sectional summaries) was not published photographically until 1997. For the history of the Dagur nobleman Cėnd Gün (Čengdü Güng) of Barga (1875-1932), his translation, and the ms. of his work, see ibid., 1-27; L. Uspenski in *ÖMNŠU* 38:Jan. 1989, 65-66. Cf. Da^5, 10; Manaljaw 1975, 149-150. This is the first translation ever made into modern Mongolian in Uighur script (henceforth m.M.U.s.). The translations, or rather versions, of the SH in m.M.U.s. in the present list vary a good deal in style, from very literary Written Mongolian to the contemporary written language of Inner Mongolia. However, when a version in Uighur-Mongol script (*Uyiɣurǰin Mongɣol üsüg*) retains the original form of the word in the SH, e.g. *uǰaɣur* instead of mo. *iǰaɣur*, it is regarded as a transcription of the text and placed in the first list.

[276] See Ke^1. The library of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Tōkyō Gaikakugo Daigaku) has a copy of this work. Only the first part (*degedü bölög*) was published at Kuei-hua ch'eng 歸化城, i.e. Köke Qota (= Hohhot). Cf. Mo, xix, n. 16. See below, nn. 281 and 335.

[277] See Cleaves 1949a, 499 (and A. von Gabain's review cited therein), 500ff. Cf. also Pelliot 1940/41, 3, n. 1 (Pelliot never reviewed Haenisch's translation). [u.w.]

[278] See Ko. Cf. B. Pankratov's important review of Ko in *SNV* 29:1998, 66-104, as well as Haenisch's remarks in Haenisch 1961, 141, and idem 1975, 77. Cf. also H. Franke in *MS* 47:1999, 581; Krueger 1966, 28, s.a. 1941; and de Rachewiltz 1999b, 100-101.

[279] See Al. Cf. Heissig 1943, 267 (b).

[280] See Bö. Cf. ibid., 266-267 (a); Mo, 1.

[281] See Ke^2. Cf. Heissig 1943, 267-268 (c). The text of Ke^2 is reproduced in Ke^3, 211-391. See below, n. 335. (In Mo, xix, n. 16, for 'Kalgan' read 'Koueihoua-tch'eng'). There are numerous revisions in the Ke^2 version of the *degedü bölög* (pp. 213-286 [= pp. 1-74]). K^2 is a complete translation but, like Al and Bö, without any notes or commentary.

[282] See Kob.

[283] See Na^2. This edition, improved by Abe Takeo 有高巖 and Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, contains a detailed table of contents/summary of events, a bibliography, an index and genealogical tables.

[284] See Da^1. Largely based on Kozin's translation it incorporates several passages from the AT. See Section Five of the Introduction and Appendix Three.

[285] See Ha. Cf. Cleaves 1949a, 500-534; T. Kobayashi in *TYGH* 32, 4:April 1950, 77-99.

[286] See Pe, 121-196. Cf. Mostaert's remarks in Mo, 2-3.

[287] See Te. Based on Ko and Ha.

[288] See Mo, 277, 'Note supplémentaire.' [u.w.]

[289] In *HJAS* 13:1950, 285-361; 14:1951, 329-403; 15:1952, 285-395.

[290] See Hsieh. Hsieh Tsai-shan's 謝再善 translation was published in September 1951 in Peking and reprinted in November of the same year. See Mo, 277, 'Note supplémentaire.' [u.w.]

[291] See Mo. For a complete list of the sections and passages discussed by Mostaert, see Appendix Four.

[292] See Po.

[293] See Da^2.

[294] See Da^3.

[295] See Da^4.

[296] See Yao-Ja.

[297] See Li. The poetic passages in the SH have been versified by G. Képes in this outstanding translation by the great Hungarian scholar. In the late 1960s, L. Hambis and L. Ligeti were planning a French translation which, unfortunately, did not materialize. An English version of the entire work was prepared by a team of translators at the Australian National University in 1960-62 but was never published.

[298] See Iw.

[299] See Kuo. Cf. H. Serruys in *MS* 24:1965, 477-480; N. Poppe in *CAJ* 11:1966, 234-235; M. Hashimoto in *TYGH* 52, 3:Dec. 1969, 85-95, and MNT-MXS, 47-58.

[300] See Ka.

[301] See Mu.

[302] See Ra, and Section Nine of the Introduction.

[303] This Italian translation of Ko, with an introduction by F. Maraini, was published by Longanesi & Co., Milano. Unfortunately, all the corrections to Ko by A. Mostaert (in Mo) have been ignored.

[304] See Da^5.

[305] See Do^1.

[306] The first edition was published in November 1978; the first reprint was issued in March 1979.

[307] See Ja. This is a completely revised version of Yao-Ja of 1960-62.

[308] Sultaniyaulï Magauïya, tr., *Mongoldïŋ kupïya šežiresi*, Ölgiy. This translation is based on C. Damdinsürėn's version.

[309] See Do^2.

[310] See HH. A re-issue of Ha with the poetic passages in verse form and a 'Nachwort' instead of Haenisch's 'Erläuterungen', 'Register', and other lists (Ha, 149-184).

[311] See Ba. Besides the text transcribed in preclassical Uighur script, Ba gives the parallel text in m.M.U.s., as well as in phonetic transcription (see above, n. 263).

[312] See Cl. 'This work was completed in 1956 and set in type in 1957. For personal reasons it was set aside and not published until the present.' (Ibid., iv. As a matter of fact, the final proofs of the 'Preface' are dated 9 October 1959; Cleaves continued to make changes to the translation and the two indices in the following years, as was to be expected.) In a letter to me of 7 March 1992, Cleaves wrote 'I may in due course publish a paper or two on certain problems in *The Secret History*, but Vol. II may never appear. It was my dear friend and 先生, William Hung, who was responsible for what happened. It is a long story with which Joseph Fletcher was thoroughly familiar. Because William had written a paper, as you know, on *The Secret History* [i.e. Hung 1951 – I.R.], he forbade me to publish in my "Introduction" anything that was contrary to his conclusions. That is why I did not go beyond in print what appears in the "Introduction", because I could not accept his theory of the date, etc., etc. What I have to say on that, as my students would tell you, is the same as what you yourself have stated [i.e. in de Rachewiltz 1965 – I.R.].' Originally, Cleaves was of the opinion that the SH had been written in the Year of the Rat 1240, whereas W. Hung believed it was written in 1264 (see Section Two of the Introduction); subsequently, Cleaves accepted the 1228 date, thus distancing himself even further from Hung's position. This made it impossible

to complete his 'Introduction.' As for the commentary which was to form the main portion of the second volume, Cleaves wrote to me on 29 August 1986: 'It is possible that I shall put together what I have in the way of a commentary on *The Secret History of the Mongols*, but, with the passage of time, so many articles and translations have appeared in so many languages that it would absorb most of my time to try to deal with all of them. In any case, your own commentary would fill a pressing need.' On 27 January 1992 he wrote: 'I have virtually decided not to try to complete the second volume of my translation of the *Secret History* ... There is much material to deal with – I have dozens of folders with references to much that has been published – that it would take me more years than I have to spare. I only wish that I had included all of the "Introduction" in Volume I. If the Harvard University Press does a third edition [the first edition is that, unpublished, of 1957 – I.R.], I shall make a few alterations.' In a letter of 17 March 1993, Cleaves wrote: 'As for my own Volume II of *The Secret History*, I concluded, when you told me that you were bringing out a second edition of your own, that it would be better for me to put the time that I have left into such articles as that of which [I] enclose an offprint, "The Postscript to the Table of Contents of the *Yüan shih*."' The reason for Cleaves' decision to publish Volume I is given in his letter of 18 December 1990: 'I wish to thank you for your most interesting article on the words *qaǰaru inerü* in *The Secret History of the Mongols* which is, indeed, most convincing. I was deeply touched by the reference you made to my own translation of the text. You must have observed that not a single one of the several reviews was favourable, no one of which took the slightest note of the countless problems with which I dealt in the text as a whole, but only deploring the fact that I elected to use a somewhat archaic English as the vehicle of translation precisely because the language of the text itself is archaic. By translating into contemporary English you have produced a version which is far more palatable than mine. The one by Kahn, who knows no Mongolian, ... is, in the opinion of some, far more readable than mine, but you know as well as I that, for the most part, it paraphrases what I have. It was because he was about to publish his that Joe Fletcher insisted that I publish mine as it was without further ado. The Harvard-Yenching Institute had the publisher of Kahn's put his on hold until mine appeared.' The files to which Cleaves refers in his letter of 27 January 1992 are now kept at Gilford in New Hampshire. See Wright 1998, 284-288. I should add that in August 1960, at Harvard University, Cleaves told me that one other reason for the delay in the publication of his translation was the strong criticism of some of his colleagues at Harvard, who objected to the language and style of the translation. For reviews of his translation, cf. C.R. Bawden in the *TLS* of 24 June 1983, 669; W. Heissig in *HJAS* 44:1984, 587-590; J.R. Krueger in *JAS* 43:1984, 514-515.

[313] See SHM. This poetic version of the SH based on Cl and Ra omits several passages and cannot be regarded as a proper translation. On it, see above, n. 312.

[314] See Oz[1]. This is the most important work on the SH ever published. See under 1997, and further on in the present section.

[315] See Ma.

[316] See Dor. Apparently this is based on an earlier (1980) version published by the Nei Meng-ku jen-min ch'u-pan-she 內蒙古人民出版社. [u.w.]

[317] See Ta. This very readable and reliable translation completely supersedes Ha and HH.

[318] See On; and under 1993 and 2001.

[319] See Namž. The accompanying Russian translation is a reproduction of Ko; the Buriat translation is based on it and on Damdinsürèn's version.

[320] See Da[6].

[321] See Dar-Či. The Buriat version by G.G. Čimitov had already appeared in instalments in the journal *Baĭkal* in 1989. See Či. Together with the three translations (Kalmuck, Russian and Buriat) there is also a transcription of the Mongol text reproduced from Ko, 203-320.

[322] See Γa. This version is followed by a most valuable commentary.

[323] See Fe.

[324] See Če. This version is followed by a rich commentary.

[325] This Folio edition is a recast by The Folio Society editor, Sue Bradbury, for the general reader of Onon's 1990 translation. It lacks any critical apparatus.

[326] See Pan[1]. Only 38 paragraphs are translated, and some of them only partially. No critical apparatus. See under 2000.

[327] Yu Won-su, tr., *Monggol Pisa*, Seoul: Hyean. [u.w.]

[328] See Ev-Pop. An elegant translation in which most proper names are also rendered into French (the original forms are given in the 'Index des noms propres' [pp. 319-345]).

[329] This edition was published by TEA, in the 'Collana TEA Storica', Milano. It is identical in contents with the 1973 edition.

[330] See Oz[2]. An important, revised version of the 1984-89 translation, with notes and a reproduction of the Chinese free summarized version.

[331] See Cė. Cf. above, n. 275; and Uspenskiĭ 1993.

[332] Pak Won-gil, tr., *Monggol Pisa*, Yŏkchu 1, Seoul: Tusol. [u.w.]

[333] See Pan[2]. In this newly edited and enlarged version by Yu. L. Krol' and E.A. Kuz'menkov 66 paragraphs are translated. See under 1993. As with all incomplete posthumous works, it must be used with caution. Cf. H. Franke in *MS* 47:1999, 581a-b.

[334] This edition was also published by TEA, but in the 'Collana TEA Le Storie', Milano. It is identical in contents with the 1973 edition.

[335] See Ke[3]. An interesting and useful volume. Besides the photo-reproduction of Ke[2] (pp. 211-391), it also contains an annotated transcription of Ke[2] in modern print with paragraph divisions (pp. 1-209), and a romanized transcription of the same (pp. 393-530).

[336] Entitled *The Secret History of the Mongols. The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan* (Curzon Press, Richmond, Surrey), this version is different from the 1990 edition not only insofar as the language is concerned (an improvement on the earlier edition due to Prof. Gregor Benton's editing), but also in another important respect, viz., previous parenthetical matter has now become an integral part of the text and, in spite of the new square brackets, there is no longer any certainty as to what is the translation and what is Onon's commentary. Cf., for example, § 1 (1990 ed., 1): 'his origins were from (ie his ancestors being) Börte Chino (whose name means "wolf"). His wife Qo'ai-maral (means a beautiful doe)', and § 1 (2001 ed., 37): 'He was descended from Börte Chino, whose name means "greyish white wolf", and Qo'ai-maral, the wolf's spouse, whose name means beautiful doe.' The words 'whose name means "greyish white wolf"' and 'whose name means beautiful doe' are not in the original Mongol text, they are Onon's interpolations which should be either in parentheses/brackets, or in a footnote, or in the commentary. Because of this ambiguity, the 2001 edition (which Onon also calls a 'recast from my 1990 translation', ibid., 17) cannot be used for reference purposes in the same way as the 1990 translation, which is, therefore, the only one I generally refer to in my Commentary.

[337] See Yü. This, the most recent Chinese translation by a non-mongolist, is in simplified characters and for the general reader. The free summarized version of the SH is found on pp. 506-620.

[338] Some trifling or unworthy publications have been left out. In preparing both lists (reconstructions of the Mongol text and translations of the same), I have also consulted various contributions, in particular those by N.S. Yakhontova, M. Taube and others in MO 1993. See below, n. 350. Two other translations of the SH are in preparation: one into Swedish by Staffan Rosén with the assistance of B. Sum'yaabaatar (p.c. of Dr. J.R. Krueger of 28 Jan. 2002), and the other into Spanish by Ivan Sandes (p.c. of Dr. P.D. Buell of 29 March 2002). No doubt more are in the making.

[339] See Pa.

[340] See Wei. The transcriptions of proper and geographical names are completely unreliable and § 278 is missing.

[341] See Wa. Waley's translation is partial and selective. In the 'Preface' (ibid., 7), he writes: 'Of the *Secret History* I have translated only the parts founded on story-tellers' tales.'

[342] See Cė; and above, n. 275.

[343] See RaBe. This translation has extensive annotations, but the author is not a mongolist.

[344] See I. de Rachewiltz in *AM* 18:1973, 229-231; KCI, 935-954; and Appendix Six of the present work.

[345] See above, n. 312; and Cl, xi.

[346] In his letter of 26 March 1985, Cleaves wrote: 'As you must have observed from reading the reviews of my translation, the language which I used seems to be distasteful, if not difficult to read. I am not certain, nonetheless, that I would do anything different, even if I were to do it all over again. As you know, people do not now read aloud, as they were wont to do in years gone by. If my translation were read aloud with the proper cadences, it could, I think, change a mind or two. I have read passages aloud to audiences who appeared to enjoy it.'

[347] See above, n. 312.

[348] Cf., e.g., pp. 11, § 53; 22, § 75; 46, § 111; 199, § 257; 82, § 153; and 190, § 254 (which is incomprehensible without n. 39. By using square brackets as Cleaves does, I would turn the sentence in question into the following: 'I have given you [this] advice on what, thinking about it, we – the sons, younger brothers, the many common people and our [= my] bad self – understood [to be an important question].' Cf. Mo, 185).

[349] See Cl, xiv. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1999b, 103-104 and n. 43.

[350] See IEEC, 141-144; IS, 512a-b; BM, 166-169; Laufer 1907, 210-211; OML, xiii, 45-47; Haenisch 1944; Poppe 1950b, 66-69; Enoki 1950; Krueger 1966; GKBM, 122 et passim; Poppe 1975b, 155-157; Harayama 1978; YSHKS, 379-385; MNTNST; B. Sėržav in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 283-293; D. Tömörtogoo, L. Manlažav, ibid., 294-304; MNTS, 544-587; Yakhontova 1993; Taube 1993; Cendina 1993; Bulag 1993; Išdorž 1994; Bazarova 1995; ISSMR; and the numerous references in the 'International Bibliography on Mongolian Studies' (I) in *Mongolica* 8 (29):1997, and 'World Mongol Studies' in *BIAMS*, 1992.1, 2 (9, 10). As for library catalogues, see, e.g., MAM, 182-195; CMKT, 1479-1480. The above list is by no means exhaustive, especially with regard to the Chinese and Japanese bibliographies on Yüan and Mongol studies which include publications on the SH (see below, n. 351); I have limited myself to the essential ones.

[351] From *AA* to *ZDMG*, and several of them (like *JSYS*, *CKSYCTT*, *CKYSYC*, *AA* and other Japanese periodicals) include – occasionally or regularly – bibliographical surveys of publications on Mongol/Yüan studies. See, e.g., Yamada 1973 and Murakami 1983.

[352] Of special relevance are those of the ICM (International Congress of Mongolists, Ulan Bator: OUMĖIX), of the PIAC (Permanent International Altaistic Conference), and of the IAMS (International Association for Mongol Studies: *BIAMS*), but many other conferences and symposia on Mongol studies

and on the SH in particular have been held in Europe, Mongolia, China, Japan and Korea, and in most cases the proceedings have been, or are being, published: among the recent important ones, the A. Mostaert Symposium held at Leuven, Belgium, in August 1993, the proceedings of which were published in 1999 (AMMS).

[353] See, e.g., SSA; SGOL; FIMN; SA; MS; NB; MNT, I; *Mongolica* 1(22), 1990; MNTS; MO 1993; TIM. This is particularly the case with the numerous *Festschriften* published in Japan in which so many articles on the SH have appeared over the years. Several of these (for the period 1900-50) are listed in BOM, 5-7 (arab. num.).

[354] See Poppe 1944; Haenisch 1950.

[355] See LSHM; JŚ; GHMBK and GHMBKZ. I leave aside L. Hambis' GLME which is a 'hybrid' work insofar as the language treated is partly that of the SH.

[356] See M. Weiers' masterly work UGPM; D. Tömörtogoo's MXTXÜ; N. Orlovskaya's YMT; G. Doerfer's unpublished doctoral dissertation on the syntax of the SH (Doerfer 1954, and his important article on the subject, Doerfer 1955); the numerous articles and essays by Ozawa in the appendices of Oz[1], his CMSKK (entirely devoted to the language of the SH), as well as his other publications and those of mongolists from P. Aalto to H.-P. Vietze listed in the Bibliography and referred to in the Commentary of the present work. Further contributions are listed under individual authors in the 'International Bibliography on Mongolian Studies' (see above, n. 350).

[357] See YAT.

[358] Thus, the word for 'true' in the SH and the Middle Mongolian material may be correctly 'transcribed' *maqat*, but can equally be 'interpreted' as *maɣad*, the regular form in Written Mongolian. The '*maqat*' reading is adopted, among others, by P. Pelliot, N. Poppe, L. Ligeti, A. Mostaert (in his early works), G. Kara and I. de Rachewiltz, while the '*maɣad*' reading is adopted by A. Mostaert (in his later publications), F.W. Cleaves, S. Ozawa, and D. Tömörtogoo. The name Güyüg is transcribed as such by Cleaves and Ozawa, but as Güyük by Pelliot and Ligeti. For *-w-* and *-'-*, cf. *mawu(i)* 'bad' (Pelliot, Ligeti, D. Tömörtogoo) and *ma'u(i)* (Mostaert, Cleaves, Ozawa and de Rachewiltz). See the Commentary, § 1. Likewise, should one transcribe *büyü* 'is, are' (Pelliot, Ozawa), *büyyü* (Ligeti), or *buyu* (Mostaert, de Rachewiltz)? See de Rachewiltz in *AM* 18:1973, 232; St, 1-2, n. 3. These, and related issues, require urgent attention on the part of mongolists and sino-mongolists. Cf. above, n. 210.

[359] See HW. Cf. Cleaves 1949a, 499.

[360] See RWMNT; R.; GHMBK, 281-570 (Ozawa had already published his index-vocabulary by sections in Oz[1], I-VI) and GHMBKZ, 351-400 (proper and geographical names); and KCI. R can still be used taking into account the Additions and Corrections listed in Appendix Six which supersede those

published in the *MSNl* 1:Dec. 1985, 9-13. We also owe to Vietze and Gendeng Lubsang a complete word-index to the AT[1] (ATI) which appeared in 1992.

[361] See TH and its Mongolian version ǰYT. The Chinese edition has been reprinted in Hohhot in 1991.

[362] The team consists of D. Cėrėnsodnom from Ulan Bator, G. Kara from Budapest and I. de Rachewiltz from Canberra.

[363] They are marked [u.w.]. I regret that my ignorance of the Korean language has prevented me from having access to, and making full use of, the numerous contributions of our Korean colleagues.

[364] Thus, unlike Cleaves, I have sometimes rendered the Mongolian demonstrative pronouns *ene* 'this' and *tere* 'that' with the English definite article 'the'; and I have regularly translated the numerals *qoyar* 'two' and *qurban* (= *ɣurban*) 'three' following two or three nouns in succession with the conjunction 'and.' Also, for the sake of English style, I have occasionally avoided repeating the same word several times and have paraphrased the original. In all these instances, however, I have given the literal translation in a footnote and/or in the Commentary. Nevertheless, for those who want to follow the Mongolian text word by word, Cleaves' translation is still indispensable.

[365] Mongol words in the Commentary are, of course, written in italic type except when quoting passages from the Translation, in which case the font employed is the same as that of the Translation.

[366] The transcription used in the present work follows the standard system of romanization of N. Poppe for Middle, Preclassical and Written Mongolian, which is followed by most mongolists, with occasional slight modifications. It is a somewhat improved version of the simplified system I used in R (where *č* and *ǰ* are written *c* and *j*; and *ši* is written *si*). In R, compound names are hyphenated, following Pe and L[2]. Long vowels are noted only when they result from vowel contractions through the disappearance of an intervocalic consonant. See UGPM, 23. For Written Mongolian, please note that the suffixes which are not joined to the word they modify are also separated (by a hyphen) in the transcription. However, word-endings, including part of suffixes (such as the *-un* of *-r-un*), which are normally written separately according to orthographic rules, are not separated in the transcription from the word they belong to. In doing so, I have followed the system found in DO, III, 769-809: 'Index des mots du mongol écrit et du mongol ancien.'

[367] In many cases, even if the possessive pronoun is not expressed in Mongolian, it is clearly implied from the context. Cf. Cl, 172, § 238 [13r] ' ... my daughter ... my fifth son': in both instances, 'my' is not actually expressed in the original. However, in some cases the ambiguity of the text is such that it requires the italic type (or brackets) in the translation.

[368] Cf. the following verbs: *bara-*: Cl, § 78 'to destroy'; *da'uli-*: Cl, § 110 'to ravish'; § 187 'to spoil'; *muqutqa-*: Cl, § 196 'to make an end', § 198 'to destroy'; *tala-*: Cl, § 110 'to ravish', § 135 'to spoil'; *tala'ul-*: Cl, § 186 'to spoil', § 187 'to take', § 187 'to plunder.' Also, *turuq*: Cl, § 91 'prop', § 160 'support'; *aburaǰu ök-*: Cl, § 163 'to be saved' and 'to be delivered'; *horčin*: Cl, §§ 145, 192, 195, 229 'round about'; *e'eren*: Cl, § 230 id.; etc. These so-called inconsistencies are mostly due to a too strict adherence to the Chinese interlinear gloss. The Ming translators, however, had no qualms about using various Chinese synonyms for the same Mongol word. It goes without saying that a regular Mongol expression like *Tatar irgen* can be rendered into English equally as 'the Tatar people' or 'the Tatars' according to the context.

[369] Usually in direct discourse constructions of the type *ǰarliq bolurun ... ke'en ǰarliq bol(u)ba*; *ügülerün ... kē'esü* (*ke'e'esü, ügüle'esü*) ...; *ügüle ke'en ügülerün ... ke'eǰü ilebe.* In these cases I have translated *ke'en* as 'so (*or* thus)' (so-and-so decreed, ordered, spoke), or (gave) 'the following' (order); and *kē'esü* (*ke'e'esü*) as 'Thereupon', or similar expressions, following in this Mostaert's renderings of the various forms of mo. *keme-* and *ǰarliγ bol-* in his 'Introduction' to BE, I, 21-22, n. 72, and 23-24, rather than his more literal translations in Mo. In connection with the use of the common expression *ǰarliq* (= *ǰarliγ*) *bol-* in the SH, I should point out that this calque of tu. *yarlïγ bol-*, lit. 'for an order (decree, command) to be', i.e. 'to be ordered' → 'to order', cannot be rendered consistently (as in Cl) with 'to make a decree.' In Mongolian, *ǰarliq bol-* means 'to issue an order, to order (an inferior)' as well as 'to say', in which case it is interchangeable with *ügüle-*. See §§ 233 and 234; and (within a single paragraph) §§ 255 and 270. This is confirmed by the Chinese interlinear glosses and the sectional summaries. Cf. HW, 86. For its usage in Uighur Turkic, see CBBMP, 40 (LXIII. 5); ED, 967a; and for *ǰarliq bol-* v. *ügüle-*, cf. the exact parallel with tu. *yarlïγ bol-* and *te-* (*ti-*) in works like CBBMP. What is interesting, however, is that Temüǰin does not 'issue a decree' (*ǰarliq bol-*) before § 145 of the SH, i.e. not until after his sworn friend (*anda*) and rival J̌amuqa has also been elected *qan* by his followers. In § 145, *ǰarliq bol-* and *ügüle-* are both used, and from then on they occur continuously and often interchangeably, *ügüle-* being more frequent until we reach the sections of the SH where Činggis Qan begins to issue directives and regulations for the reorganization of the army, making new appointments, etc., i.e. from § 202 onwards, when (as we would expect) the expression *ǰarliq bol-* becomes more prominent. The two meanings of this expression are found in Written Mongolian as well as in the modern dialects. Cf. Kow., 2307b; Les., 1038b; MKT, 1298a; MED, 170b; DO, 188a.

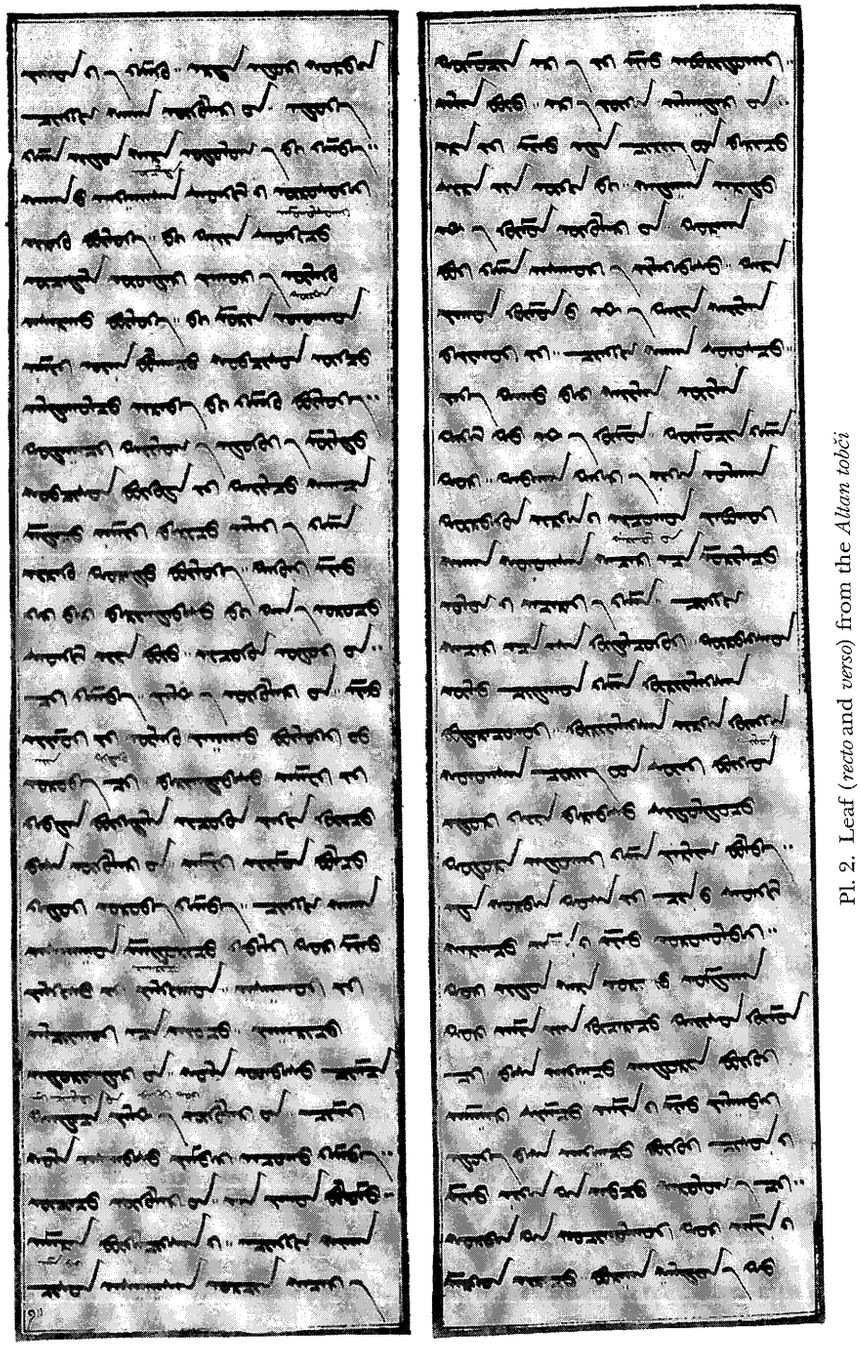
[370] I.e., not only to Oz^1 and Oz^2, but also to GHMBK, GHMBKZ, CMSKK, and GH. Further references to Ozawa's articles are given in the Commentary.

[371] In the case of Mostaert's outstanding contribution, not all the information contained in Mo has been incorporated in the Commentary. For this reason (and because of the inadequacy of the 'Index des passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* cités et traduits' in Mo, 266-267), the reader is referred to Appendix Four which contains a complete paragraph-page reference list to Mo.

[372] See Appendix Six; and above, n. 366.

[373] There is no form '*qahan*' in Mongolian, only *qa'an*(<*qaγan*>) 'ph. *qa·an*. See the Commentary, § 1.

[374] See, e.g., HCG, Mo, Cl, and Lattimore 1963b.



Pl. 2. Leaf (*recto* and *verso*) from the *Altan tobči*

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

(Figures in parentheses refer to the paragraphs of the *Secret History* in which an episode is related *or* first mentioned; figures in brackets are dates converted to the present era)

Chapter One: Genealogical account. The Mongol clans. Temüǰin's birth and betrothal.

The mythical ancestors, the blue-grey wolf and fallow doe, settle on Mount Burqan Qaldun after crossing the Tenggis (? Lake Baikal). From them originate all the Mongol (Mongqol) clans (1). The story of Alan Qo'a and her five sons (17). The exploits of Bodončar Mungqaq (24). Growth of the Mongol clans and explanation of their names based on folk etymology (40). Qabul and Ambaqai become the chiefs (*qan*) of the Mongol clans (52). Capture of Ambaqai by the Tatars allied to the Jurchens (*Kitat*) of north China (53). Qabul's grandson Yisügei Ba'atur captures Hö'elün of the Olqunu'ut, the young bride of the Merkit Yeke Čiledü (54). Qabul's son Qutula succeeds Ambaqai as *qan* and fights the Tatars without success (57). Yisügei fights and defeats the Tatars, taking their chief Temüǰin Üge prisoner. At that time Yisügei's first son from Hö'elün is born near a hill (Deli'ün Boldaq) by the Onan (= Onon) River and is given the name Temüǰin (59). Three more sons and one daughter (Qasar, Qači'un, Temüge and Temülün) are born to Yisügei (60). When Temüǰin was nine (= eight) years old, his father takes him to the Olqunu'ut people to find a bride for him. Temüǰin is betrothed to Börte, the ten (= nine) years old daughter of Dei Sečen, and is left with his future in-laws (61). On his way home Yisügei meets some Tatars who recognize him and poison him (67). Before dying, back at his camp three days later, Yisügei instructs Mönglik, the son of his faithful retainer Čaraqa of the Qongqotat, to bring back Temüǰin (68).

Chapter Two: Temüǰin's boyhood and youth.

Temüǰin returns home with Father Mönglik (69). After Yisügei Ba'atur's death, his Tayiči'ut kinsmen (from Ambaqai's line) desert the widow, taking all Yisügei's subjects with them. Mother Hö'elün and her children – her own five and two from another wife of Yisügei – are thus left to fend for themselves (70). Hö'elün brings up her children. Their precarious life on the bank of the Onon (74). Temüǰin and Qasar have a squabble with their step-brothers Bekter and Belgütei; they kill Bekter in cold blood (77). Hö'elün's 'lament' over their ghastly deed (78). The Tayiči'ut led by Tarqutai Kiriltuq suddenly reappear and kidnap Temüǰin, but he outsmarts them and escapes with the help of a subject of the Tayiči'ut, Sorqan Šira of the Suldus, and his family (79). Thieves steal eight of the nine geldings belonging to Hö'elün when she and her children are camped at Köke Na'ur, a lake south of Burqan Qaldun. Temüǰin retrieves them with the help of Bo'orču, a brave youth of the Arulat tribe (90). Temüǰin marries Börte and brings her home (94). He sends his step-brother Belgütei to Bo'orču with the invitation to join him as a companion (*nökör*), which Bo'orču accepts (95). Temüǰin, Qasar and Belgütei go to To'oril Qan of the Kereyit tribe, later known as Ong Qan (see Chapter Four), with a gift of a black sable coat which was Börte's wedding present. To'oril had formerly been Yisügei's sworn friend (*anda*). He promises Temüǰin to help him reassemble the subjects who had deserted him (96). J̌arči'udai of the Uriangqai gives his son J̌elme to Temüǰin to serve as his attendant (97). Soon after, when Temüǰin and his family were camping near the source of the Kerulen River, the Three Merkit, i.e. Toqto'a, Dayir Usun and Qa'atai Darmala, attack them and capture Börte (whom they give to Yeke Čiledü's younger brother Čilger Bökö) and Belgütei's mother (Sučigil *or* Sujigil) in revenge for Yisügei's earlier abduction of Hö'elün (98). Temüǰin escapes and hides in the forest on Burqan Qaldun. The Merkit abandon the

search for him. Temüǰin worships the mountain that has saved his life (102).

Chapter Three: Börte's rescue and election of Temüǰin.

Temüǰin turns to To'oril Qan for assistance in rescuing Börte. To'oril enlists the help of Temüǰin's cousin J̌amuqa of the J̌adaran (104). Together they fall upon the Merkit encamped on the Selengge (= Selenga) River. The Merkit are defeated and Börte is rescued (107). The Merkit chiefs and Čilger Bökö escape (111). Belgütei's mother disappears and the Merkit remnants are exterminated (112). Temüǰin thanks both To'oril Qan and J̌amuqa. Mother Hö'elün adopts Küčü, a little boy found in the Merkit camp (114). Temüǰin and J̌amuqa renew their oath of *anda*-ship, but after eighteen months of close friendship – and because of Börte's intervention – they break up (116). Temüǰin passes the Tayiči'ut camp at night. The Tayiči'ut move away and join J̌amuqa, leaving behind a boy, Kököčü of the Besüt, who is also adopted by Hö'elün (119). Many clans led by their chiefs come and join Temüǰin (120). One of them, Qorči of the Ba'arin, predicts a brilliant future for Temüǰin (121). Temüǰin is elected *qan* by Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki, the three senior clan members (from Qabul's line), who thereby renounce their legitimate claims to leadership in his favour. They give him the appellation of Činggis Qa'an (*read* Činggis Qan, 'Fierce Ruler') (123). Činggis Qan appoints several officers and puts Bo'orču and J̌elme in charge of them, thus setting up a rudimentary civil and military administration (124). He informs both To'oril Qan and J̌amuqa of his election as *qan*. To'oril Qan notifies his approval (126).

Chapter Four: Rivalry between clans and election of J̌amuqa.

J̌amuqa, informed of Činggis Qan's election as *qan*, accepts it (127). Soon after, J̌amuqa's younger brother Taičar steals some horses from J̌oči Darmala of the J̌alayir (who were Činggis' subjects); he is killed by J̌oči Darmala who retrieves the horses (128). The enraged J̌amuqa with his J̌adaran and

allied tribesmen – thirteen 'camps' (*güre'et*) amounting to 30,000 men altogether – attacks Činggis, whose forces (comprising also 30,000 men) are defeated at Dalan Baljut, near the sources of the Senggür (= Tsenkher) River. Jamuqa has the princes of the Činōs (allied to Činggis) boiled alive (129). However, other clans join Činggis' camp (130). A big feast held on the banks of the Onon turns into a fight between Činggis' men and his Jürkin kinsmen (also of Qabul's line) when Büri Bökö, a cousin of Činggis, injures Belgütei (131). Činggis and To'oril Qan join forces with the Jurchens of north China and fight the Tatars who are defeated (132). Činggis Qan is rewarded by the Jurchens with the title *ja'ut quri* ('Commander of Hundreds'?), and To'oril with that of *ong* (= ch. *wang* 'King' or 'Prince'), hence his new designation as Ong Qan (134). Mother Hö'elün adopts the infant Šigi(ken) Qutuqu found abandoned in the Tatars' camp (135). The Jürkin raid Činggis' base camp (*a'uruq*) at Lake Hariltu and are in turn attacked by Činggis who kills their two chiefs (who are also his cousins) Sača and Taiču (136). Gü'ün U'a of the Jalayir gives his two sons Muqali and Buqa to Činggis Qan. Hö'elün adopts Boroqul (Boro'ul), a little boy found in the Jürkin camp (137). She counts her adopted sons reared in her tent: Küčü (Güčü), Kököčü, Šigi(ken) Qutuqu and Boroqul (138). The origin of the Jürkin is explained (139). Činggis arranges the killing of Büri Bökö by Belgütei at a wrestling match, thus eliminating another possible contender for leadership (140). Fearful of Činggis' growing power, a number of clans ally themselves with tribes, such as the Naiman, Merkit and Oyirat, as well as the Tayiči'ut, that are hostile to him. They hold a meeting at Alqui Bulaq, near the confluence of the Argun and Gan rivers, and elect Jamuqa as *gür qan* ('Universal Ruler'), thus forming a rival coalition against Činggis Qan and Ong Qan [1201] (141). The joint forces of Činggis Qan and Ong Qan move to meet those of Jamuqa and his allies. Jamuqa's vanguard is spotted by Činggis' vanguard at Mount Čiqurqu, near Lake Buir (142). The encounter takes place at Köyiten,

where the enemy's rain-magic fails disastrously (143). The enemy leaders disperse; Ong Qan pursues Jamuqa while Činggis engages the Tayiči'ut on the Onon (144). Činggis is seriously wounded in the neck and his life is saved by Jelme (145). Sorqan Šira of the Suldus and Jirqo'adai of the Tayiči'ut voluntarily submit to Činggis. Jirqo'adai is renamed Jebe (146).

Chapter Five: More fights with the Tayiči'ut, the Tatar and the Naiman.

Činggis crushes the Tayiči'ut but their chief Tarqutai Kiriltuq escapes (148). Historical portrait of Ong Qan. Ong Qan's younger brother Jaqa Gambu submits with other Kereyit clans (150). Ong Qan, attacked by the Naiman, is forced to flee to Central Asia. He is rescued by Činggis Qan. They spend the winter together at Quba Qaya (151). Jaqa Gambu plots against Ong Qan, but his supporters are arrested and humiliated by the latter. Jaqa Gambu flees to the Naiman (152). Činggis attacks the Tatars, and defeats them at Dalan Nemürges near the Qalqa River [1202]. Altan, Qučar and Dāritai are punished for unlawfully seizing booty (153). The Tatar male population is massacred. Belgütei is punished for leaking the plan of the massacre (154). Činggis marries Yisügen and Yisüi, the two daughters of the Tatar chief Yeke Čeren (155). Yisüi's former husband, who had escaped, is found and put to death (156). Ong Qan, who in the meantime had attacked the Merkit, defeats them but does not share the booty with Činggis (157). Činggis and Ong Qan jointly attack the Naiman and defeat their chief Buyiruq Qan at Lake Kišil Baš (158). At Jamuqa's instigation Ong Qan deserts Činggis. A group of Naiman pursues Ong Qan and in a battle his son Senggüm is defeated (159). Ong Qan asks Činggis for help and Senggüm is rescued by the 'four steeds' (*dörben külü'üt*) Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un (163). In gratitude Ong Qan formally adopts Činggis as a son (164). Marriages to cement the friendship between the two families are thwarted by

Senggüm and the relationship between them turns sour as a result (165). With Ong Qan's acquiescence, J̌amuqa and Senggüm, together with Altan and Qučar, hatch a plot to ambush Činggis, but he foils them thanks to timely advice from Father Mönglik (166). Senggüm and the others then decide to capture Činggis in a surprise attack. The two herdsmen Badai and Kišiliq hear of the plan and, travelling by night, forewarn Činggis (169).

Chapter Six: Ong Qan and J̌amuqa at war with Činggis Qan.

Činggis escapes at night with his men pursued by Ong Qan and J̌amuqa. Ong Qan prepares the attack, but J̌amuqa secretly informs Činggis of Ong Qan's plan and withdraws his troops (170). A great battle takes place at Qalaqalǰit Elet, south of the Qalqa River. Both the Kereyit and the Mongols suffer considerable losses. Senggüm is wounded; so are Quyildar and Ögödei on Činggis' side (171). Činggis Qan moves to Dalan Nemürges and along the Qalqa River, counting his losses. Quyildar dies of his wounds (175). The Onggirat submit voluntarily. Činggis encamps with his 2,600 men at the Tüngge Stream from where he sends a message to Ong Qan reminding him of their former relationship and of what both Yisügei and himself have done for him. On receiving it Ong Qan swears to be loyal and faithful to him (176). Činggis also sends messages to J̌amuqa, Altan, Qučar, To'oril of the Söge'en and Senggüm, at the same time requesting an exchange of envoys. Senggüm replies belligerently (179). Činggis encamps at Lake Balǰuna, south of the Qalqa River, where he is reunited with his younger brother Qasar who has escaped from Ong Qan's camp. A futile exchange of envoys takes place between Ong Qan and Činggis Qan, prompting the latter to attack the Kereyit by surprise (182). The Kereyit are utterly defeated at J̌er Qabčiqai Pass, but Ong Qan and Senggüm manage to escape (185).

Chapter Seven: Conflict with the Naiman.

Distribution of the Kereyit people among the Mongols (186). Death of Ong Qan and Senggüm (188). Tayang Qan of the Naiman shows hostily towards the Mongols and decides to attack them (189). Činggis Qan is forewarned by Ala Quš Digit Quri of the Önggüt who refuses to ally himself with Ong Qan (190). Činggis prepares for a confrontation with the Naiman by reorganizing his army and the Guard (*kešik*) (191). He moves to the Sa'ari Steppe along the Kerulen River [1204]. The Mongols, whose horses are in poor condition and who are inferior in number, devise a clever stratagem to deceive the enemy (193). Tayang Qan is frightened by J̌amuqa's description of Činggis Qan's army leaders. J̌amuqa abandons him and again forewarns Činggis Qan (195). The Naiman are crushed at Naqu Qun. Tayang Qan dies. J̌amuqa's allies submit to Činggis. Tayang's mother Gürbesü is taken as wife by Činggis (196). The Merkit led by Toqto'a and his sons are defeated in the Sa'ari Steppe [1204]. Qulan Qatun, the daughter of the Merkit chief Dayir Usun, undergoes a virginity test before being taken by Činggis as a wife (197).

Chapter Eight: J̌amuqa's death and Činggis Qan's re-election.

Part of the Merkit population rebels against the Mongols. Toqto'a and his sons join forces with Tayang Qan's son Güčülük and the Naiman remnants. They are defeated by Činggis Qan at the Buqdurma source of the Erdiš (= Irtysh) River. Toqto'a is killed and the alliance falls apart. A further rebellion by the Merkit is also quashed (198). Činggis sends Sübe'etei Ba'atur in pursuit of Toqto'a's sons [1205] (199). J̌amuqa is handed over to Činggis by his few companions, who are immediately executed for their treachery. Dramatic dialogue between J̌amuqa and Činggis Qan. According to his wishes, J̌amuqa is killed without shedding blood and is given a proper burial (200). Činggis is elected supreme leader at a great assembly at the sources of the Onon River [1206]. Hoisting of the white standard with nine tails (*tuq*). Činggis is

(again) given the title of *qan*. He appoints Muqali as *gui ong* (= ch. *kuo-wang* 'Prince of State'), and nominates the army's ninety-five commanders of a thousand (*minqat*). J̌ebe is sent in pursuit of Güčülük (202). Činggis rewards his faithful companions with high offices in the new administration. Šigi Qutuqu is praised and put in charge of population records and legal affairs (203). The merits of Father Mönglik, Bo'orču, Muqali and J̌ürčedei are also recalled, and distinctions and rewards conferred on them (204).

Chapter Nine: Further rewards and the reorganization of the civil and military administration.

More meritorious officials are rewarded and given honours and important offices: Qubilai of the Barulas, Qunan of the Geniges, J̌elme, Tolun of the Qongqotat, Önggür, Boroqul (and his wife Altani who had saved the child Tolui's life), the female members of the *qan*'s family, Old Man Üsün, Quyildar (a posthumous award), Narin To'oril of the Negüs, Sorqan Šira, Badai, Kišiliq, Naya'a of the Ba'arin, J̌ebe, Sübe'etei, Degei, Güčügür and Mulqalqu (209). Reorganization of the Guard; the number of guards is raised to 10,000; appointment of their commanders (224). Service regulations and privileges of the guards (227).

Chapter Ten: Further military campaigns abroad and removal of Teb Tenggeri.

Činggis praises his guards and issues further regulations concerning their duties and privileges (230). Qubilai Noyan is sent on a campaign to subjugate the Qarluq tribes whose ruler Arslan Qan voluntarily submits to Činggis and is given the latter's daughter in marriage (235). Toqto'a's sons and the Merkit remnants are finally destroyed by Sübe'etei. J̌ebe deals with Güčülük and the Naiman remnants in the same way (236). The *idu'ut* of the Uighurs submits and is given Činggis' daughter Al Altun in marriage (238). Činggis sends J̌oči to subjugate the People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*) and the tribes of the north-west [1207]. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat submits

voluntarily. He and the Önggüt ruler are duly rewarded. Činggis praises J̌oči for his successful campaign (239). The Qori Tumat kill Boroqul and take Qorči and Quduqa Beki prisoners. Dörbei Doqšin leads a punitive expedition, defeats the Tumat and rescues Qorči and Quduqa Beki (240). Činggis Qan apportions the conquered people among the members of his family (242). Činggis' brother Qasar is beaten and humiliated by Kököčü Teb Tenggeri and the other six sons of Father Mönglik. Teb Tenggeri slanders Qasar. Činggis believes him and seizes Qasar for questioning. A dramatic family scene in which Qasar is freed, and Činggis reprimanded, by Mother Hö'elün (244). Teb Tenggeri, with the support of the Qongqotan and other clans, challenges Činggis' authority by humiliating Činggis' younger brother Temüge Otčigin, who complains to Činggis, rousing Börte's anger and indignation. Temüge, urged by Činggis to settle the matter, challenges Teb Tenggeri to a wrestling match. Teb Tenggeri is treacherously killed by three strong men outside the tent. A dangerous situation develops, but Činggis prevails (245). Teb Tenggeri's body is placed in a tent, but after three days it mysteriously disappears. Činggis explains the disappearance as due to Heaven's anger at Teb Tenggeri's actions, severely rebukes Father Mönglik for having allowed them, and quickly moves camp. Decline in power of the Qongqotat (246).

Chapter Eleven: Campaigns in North China and Central Asia.

Činggis Qan sets forth against the Jurchen Chin state of north China [1211]. The Mongols seize several outposts and reach the central capital J̌ungdu (Peking). The Jurchen ruler submits and pays a heavy tribute. Činggis withdraws his army (247). The Mongols then attack the Tangut Hsi Hsia kingdom (Qašin) to the west. Their king also submits and pays tribute. Činggis returns to his camp in the Sa'ari Steppe (249). The Jurchens hamper the Mongol envoys to the Chin court. Činggis launches his second campaign against Chin [1214]. The Chin ruler leaves the capital. The Mongols capture and

loot J̌ungdu. The Jurchens submit again and the Chin ruler's son with a hundred companions is sent to Činggis as hostage. Činggis withdraws his troops. Qasar seizes the Chin's northern capital Beiǰing (present-day Ta-ting). Činggis returns to his main base camp in Mongolia (251). Činggis goes to war against the 'Sarta'ul people', i.e. the Khwārazmian empire, following the murder of his envoys at Otrar. Before he leaves, Yisüi Qatun questions him about the succession. After some squabbling between Činggis' sons, the choice falls on Ögödei (254). Činggis requests the military participation of the Tanguts (Hsi Hsia) in the campaign, but they refuse (256). The campaign begins [1219]. J̌ebe, Sübe'etei Ba'atur, Toqučar and Šigi Qutuqu are sent as vanguards. The Mongols gain a great victory over J̌alaldin Soltan and Qan Melik (J̌alāl al-Dīn and Amīn al-Mulk) after an initial defeat suffered by Šigi Qutuqu. They occupy many towns, including Semisgab (Samarkand), Buqar (Bukhara) and Khwārazm's capital Örünggeči (Urgenč/Gurganj). Činggis sends Čormaqan to conquer Baqtat (Baghdad), ruled by the Qalibai Soltan, i.e. 'the Sultan Caliph' (257). Campaign of Dörbei Doqšin against the peoples between Baghdad and India (261). Sübe'etei's great campaign in the West (262). After the defeat of the Sarta'ul, Činggis appoints resident commissioners (*daruqačin*) in charge of the conquered towns. He puts two Muslims of Khwārazmian stock, Yalawači (Maḥmūd Yalavač) and his son Masqut (Mas'ūd Beg), in charge of the administration of the Central Asian towns and, later, of Kitat, i.e. the former Chin territories in north China (263). After seven years of warfare, Činggis Qan returns with much booty to his *ordos* in the Black Forest of the Tūla River [1225] (264).

Chapter Twelve: Činggis' last campaign and death, and Ögödei's reforms and 'confession.'

Činggis Qan leads a punitive expedition against the Tangut kingdom of Hsi Hsia [1226]. On the way south he falls from his horse and becomes ill. The Hsi Hsia ruler and his minister

Aša Gambu act defiantly. Činggis defeats and captures Aša Gambu (265). The Mongols carry out the systematic destruction of Hsi Hsia. Činggis rewards Bo'orču and Muqali (266). The Tangut ruler comes in person to pay homage to Činggis with rich gifts. Činggis changes his name to Šidurqu ('Upright') and orders his execution (267). Činggis orders the complete destruction of his kingdom. Činggis dies [1227] and a large part of the Tangut population is given to Yisüi Qatun (268). At a great assembly convened at Köde'ü (Ködö'e) Aral on the Kerulen River, Činggis' third son Ögödei is elected *qan* [1228] (269). Ögödei Qa'an in consultation with his elder brother Ča'adai sends reinforcements in support of Čormaqan and Sübe'etei who are fighting in the West. They are led by the eldest sons of the imperial princes. They also decide to complete the conquest of the Chin kingdom in north China (270). Ögödei leads the expedition against Chin [1231]. J̌ebe is sent as vanguard. During the campaign, Ögödei falls ill and Tolui sacrifices himself to appease the angry land and water spirits and thus saves his brother's life. (272). After the destruction of Chin and the death of its ruler, who is renamed Se'üse ('Little Slave'), Ögödei appoints officials in charge of the conquered territory and, loaded with booty, returns to the north, settling at Qara Qorum (273). Ögödei appoints Čormaqan as commander of the garrison (*tammači*) in Baghdad. Sübe'etei Ba'atur returns from his great western expedition after subjugating numerous nations and tribes. Further appointments of resident commissioners and garrison commanders (274). The princes Batu, Büri and Güyük quarrel among themselves; their squabble is reported by Batu to Ögödei who restores order (275). Ögödei renews and amplifies Činggis' earlier regulations concerning the duties and privileges of the guards (278). Tax and other reforms are introduced: levies (in sheep) for the *qan* and for the poor; establishment of storehouses; allotment of grazing grounds; digging of wells in the desert; reorganization of the post-relay service. Ča'adai and the other princes approve these measures.

Further regulations regarding the management of post stations (279). Ögödei's eight-point self-criticism: four good deeds accomplished against four 'faults' committed during his reign (281). The colophon recording the place and date [? 1228] when the writing of the work was completed (282).

THE *SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS* (*YÜAN-CH'AO PI-SHIH*)

Chapter and Paragraph Concordance

12-*chüan* text (Y^1, Y^2)		15-*chüan* text (Y^3)	
I	1-68	I	1-68
II	69-103	II	69-96
III	104-126	III	97-118
IV	127-147	IV	119-140
V	148-169	V	141-153
VI	170-185	VI	154-169
VII	186-197	VII	170-185
VIII	198-208	VIII	186-197
IX	209-229	IX	198-207
X	230-246	X	208-224
XI	247-264	XI	225-238
XII	265-282	XII	239-246
		XIII	247-264
		XIV	265-276
		XV	277-282

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER ONE

1 The origins of Činggis Qa'an.

At the beginning there was a blue-grey[1] wolf, born with his destiny *ordained* by Heaven Above. His wife was a fallow doe. They came crossing the Tenggis.[2] After they had settled at the source of the Onan River on *Mount* Burqan Qaldun, Batačiqan was born to them.

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

3 The son of Qarču, Borǰigidai Mergen, had as wife Mongqolǰin Qo'a. The son of Borǰigidai Mergen, Toroqolǰin Bayan, had a wife *named* Boroqčin Qo'a, a young lad[3] *named* Boroldai Suyalbi, and two fine geldings, Dayir and Boro.[4] Toroqolǰin had two sons, Du'a Soqor and Dobun Mergen.

4 Du'a Soqor had a single eye in the middle of his forehead: with it he could see for a distance of three stages.[5]

5 One day Du'a Soqor went up Burqan Qaldun with his younger brother Dobun Mergen. Du'a Soqor looked out

---

[1] See the Commentary.

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

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

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

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

from the top of Burqan Qaldun, and, as he did so,[1] he saw *in the distance* a band of people on the move who, following the course[2] of the Tünggelik Stream, were coming
6 that way. He said, 'Among those people on the move who are coming this way, there is a fine girl in the front seat of a black covered cart.[3] If she has not been given to *another* man, we shall ask her for you, my younger brother Dobun Mergen!' So saying, he sent his younger brother Dobun Mergen to have a look.

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

8 As for that band of people, *the matter stood thus*. The daughter of Barqudai Mergen, lord of the Köl Barquǰin Lowland, was a girl named Barquǰin Qo'a, and she had been given *in marriage* to Qorilartai Mergen, a chief of the Qori Tumat. At Ariq Usun,[4] in the land of the Qori Tumat, that girl named Alan Qo'a was born to Barquǰin Qo'a, *wife* of Qorilartai Mergen.

9 As in their land the Qori Tumat had imposed bans on one another's sable, squirrel and wild game[5] *hunting* grounds, and mutual relations were bad *as a result*, Qorilartai Mergen *separated from the Qori Tumat and* took the clan name Qorilar. Saying that the land of Burqan Qaldun was good, and that it was suitable for game hunting, he was *now* moving into *the territory of* the Uriangqai Burqan Bosqaqsan and Šinči Bayan, lords of Burqan Qaldun.[6]

---

[1] Lit., 'when he looked.'
[2] I.e., downstream.
[3] I.e., a cart covered with black felt.
[4] I.e., 'Clear Water (= River *or* Spring).'
[5] I.e., mainly deer, antelopes and wild goats.
[6] Translation uncertain. 'Burqan Bosqaqsan' may actually be a designation (lit., 'Who has erected the Burqan [? image]') of Šinči Bayan, and 'lords' (*eǰet*) an honorific plural. See the Commentary.

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

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

11 Du'a Soqor, his elder brother, had four sons. Before long, the elder brother Du'a Soqor died. After Du'a Soqor's death his four sons no longer regarded their uncle Dobun Mergen as *a member* of the family but, looking down on him, they left him and moved away. They took the clan name Dörben and became the Dörben tribe.

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

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

17 Before long, Dobun Mergen died. After his death, Alan Qo'a, although she had no husband, bore three sons who

---

[1] Or 'Hills.'
[2] Lit., 'Friend, the roast!'
[3] I.e., the head, trachea, lungs and heart.

were named Buqu Qatagi, Buqatu Salǰi and Bodončar Mungqaq.[1]

18 Belgünütei and Bügünütei, the two sons born earlier to Dobun Mergen, said to each other, behind the back of their mother Alan Qo'a, 'Although this mother of ours is without brothers-*in-law* and male relatives, and without a husband, she has borne these three sons. In the house there is only the man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut. Surely these three sons are his.' Their mother Alan Qo'a knew what they had been saying to each other behind her back.[2]

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

20 Then their mother Alan Qo'a said, 'You, my sons Belgünütei and Bügünütei, are suspicious of me and said to each other, "These three sons that she has borne, of whom, of what *clan*, are they the sons?" And it is right

21 for you to be suspicious. Every night, a resplendent yellow man entered by the light of the smoke-hole or the door top of the tent, he rubbed my belly and his radiance penetrated my womb. When he departed, he crept out on a moonbeam or a ray of sun in the guise of a yellow dog.

How can you speak so rashly?
When one understands that, the sign is *clear*:
They are the sons of Heaven.
How can you speak, comparing them

[1] I.e., 'Bodončar the Fool (*or* Simpleton).'
[2] Lit., 'behind the back of their mother.'

To *ordinary* black-headed men?
When they become the rulers of all,
Then the common people will understand!'

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

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

24 Bodončar, seeing that he was no longer counted as one of the family, said, 'Why should I stay here?' He got on a white horse with a black sore back and a mangy tail.[2] 'If I die, I die; if I live, I live!'[3] he said and left riding fast downstream along the Onan River. He went on and when he reached Balǰun Aral[4] he built a grass hut[5] and made his home there.

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

26 back and mangy tail, caught *the hawk* and reared it. When he had nothing to eat, he stalked the wild game which

[1] I.e., the family property.
[2] Lit., 'with a black stripe along the backbone, mid-back saddle-sores, and a hairless tail.'
[3] Or: 'If he dies, I will die; if he lives, I will live!'
[4] *Aral* means 'island' as well as 'peninsula.' See the Commentary.
[5] Lit., 'a grass hut-tent.'

wolves had penned in on the cliffs. He shot and killed *the game*, and fed on it together with *the hawk*; they *also* gathered up and ate the food *left over* by the wolves. And so, feeding his own gullet and his hawk, he got through that year.[1]

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

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

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

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

30 His elder brother Buqu Qatagi, saying that the younger brother Bodončar Mungqaq had left following the course of this Onan River, came in search of him. He asked those people who had moved down along the Tünggelik Stream about such-and-such a man with such-*and-such* a horse.

31 The people said, 'There is a man and a horse similar to *those* you ask about. He also has a hawk. Every day he comes to us, drinks kumis, then leaves. Where he spends the night no one really knows; but when the wind blows from the northwest, the fluff and feathers of the ducks and geese caught by his hawk are scattered and fly over here like swirling snow. He must live nearby. Now is about the time of his coming. Wait a little!'

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

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

33 Bodončar, who was trotting behind his elder brother Buqu Qatagi, said on the way, 'Elder brother, elder brother, it is right for a body to have a head, and for a coat to have a collar.'[1] His elder brother Buqu Qatagi did not attach

34 any importance to these words of his. When he repeated the same words, his elder brother *again* ignored them and did not answer. Further along, Bodončar once more uttered the same words, to which his elder brother said, 'What kind of words are those you have just been repeating?'

35 Then Bodončar said, 'These people of a short while ago who are staying on the Tünggelik Stream make no distinction between great and small, bad and good, high and mean:[2] they are all equal. They are people easy *to*

36 *capture*. Let us raid them!' His elder brother then said, 'Right. If this is so, as soon as we reach home let us consult with our brothers and raid those people!'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

43 From the wife that Bodončar himself had taken was born a son named Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči. Bodončar *also* took as concubine a housemaid of Qabiči Ba'atur's mother, who had come as dowry. She had a son by him named J̌e'üredei. At first J̌e'üredei could take part in the *J̌ügeli sacrifice in which meat is hung on a pole and offered to* 44 *Heaven*. After Bodončar's death he was excluded from it[5] because – so they said – the Adangqa Uriangqai man[6] was constantly in the house and J̌e'üredei was probably his *son*. They made him take the clan name J̌e'üreyit and he became the ancestor of the J̌e'üret.

---

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

[2] The 'J̌adaradai' or 'man of the J̌adaran *clan*' is, of course, J̌ajiradai.

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

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

[5] Lit., 'they excluded that J̌e'üredei from the *J̌ügeli*.'

[6] Bodončar's son by his Adangqa Uriangqai wife, i.e. J̌ajiradai.

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

46 The son of Qači Külük, Qaidu, was born of Mother Nomolun. The son of Qačin was named Noyagidai; because, by nature, he liked to act as a chief, *his descendants* took the clan name Noyakin. The son of Qači'u was named Barulatai. He had a big body and was a voracious eater; *therefore*, *his descendants* took the clan name Barulas. As the sons of Qačula were *also* voracious eaters, they were named Yeke Barula and Üčügen Barula;[1] they *too* had to take the clan name Barulas and it is these who became the Erdemtü Barula, the Tödö'en Barula and the other Barulas. The sons of Qaraldai did not observe seniority when they cooked[2] porridge; *therefore*, *their descendants* took the clan name Buda'at. The son of Qači'un was named Adarkidai; because he spread slanders among his elder and younger brothers, *his descendants* took the clan name Adargin. The sons of Način Ba'atur were named Uru'udai and Mangqutai; they took the clan names Uru'ut and Mangqut. Those *sons* of Način Ba'atur who were borne by the wife he himself had taken, were named Šiǰu'udai and Doqoladai.

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

---

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

[2] Lit., 'stirred.'

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

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

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

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

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

53 Ambaqai Qa'an gave his daughter *as wife* to the Ayiri'ut Buiru'ut Tatars who were living on the Urši'un River, between Lake Buyur and Lake Kölen. As he was taking his daughter to them in person, Ambaqai Qa'an was captured by Tatar J̌üyin men. When they were on their way to deliver him to the Altan Qa'an of the Kitat, Ambaqai Qa'an *contrived* to send a message *using* as messenger Balaqači, a man of the Besüt. He said to him, 'Speak to Qutula, the middle one of the seven sons of Qabul Qa'an,

[1] For this (incorrect) name, see the Commentary.
[2] Written Sača Beki elsewhere in the text.
[3] For this episode, see below, § 131.
[4] See below, § 169.

and of[1] *my* ten sons speak to Qada'an Taiši.' And he sent saying, 'When you become[2] *qa'an* of all and lord of the people, *learn* from my *example* and beware of taking your daughter in person to *her betrothed*. I have been seized by the Tatars.

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

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

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

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

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

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

his outstretched *hand*. By this time the three *men* had rounded the spur of the hill and were drawing near. Čiledü struck his fast dun mare on the rump, rode swiftly away and fled upstream along the Onan River.

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

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

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

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

Dāritai Otčigin, riding beside her, said,

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

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

57 According to the message of Ambaqai Qa'an, which had nominated both Qada'an and Qutula, all the Mongols

[1] Lit., 'elder brother', here a respectful term for 'husband.'

and Tayiči'ut gathered in the Qorqonaq Valley by the Onan and made Qutula *qa'an*. The Mongols rejoiced, and in their rejoicing they danced and feasted. After raising Qutula as *qan*, they danced around the Leafy Tree of Qorqonaq until there was

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

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

To take revenge,
To requite the wrong

for the slaying of Ambaqai Qa'an.

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

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

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

[1] I.e., 'Spleen Hill.'
[2] Or Suǰigil.

way, between *Mount* Čekčer and *Mount* Čiqurqu, he met Dei Sečen of the Onggirat.

62 Dei Sečen said, '*Quda* Yisügei, in whose direction are you going, coming this way?' Yisügei Ba'atur said, 'I have come here *on my way* to the Olqunu'ut people, the maternal uncles of this my son, to ask for a girl *in marriage for him.*' Dei Sečen said, 'This son of yours is a boy

Who has fire in his eyes,
Who has light in his face.

63 '*Quda* Yisügei, I had a dream last night, I did. A white gerfalcon clasping both sun and moon *in its claws* flew to me and perched on my hand. I told the people about this dream of mine, saying, "*Before*, when I looked, I could *only* see the sun and the moon *from afar*; now this gerfalcon has brought them to me and has perched on my hand. He has alighted, *all* white. Just what sort of good *thing* does this show?" I had my dream, *quda* Yisügei, just as you were coming here bringing your son. I had a dream of good *omen*. What kind of dream is it? The august spirit of you, Kiyat people, has come *in my dream*[1] and has announced[2] *your visit*.

64 'With us, the Onggirat people, from old days,
To have the good looks of our granddaughters
And the beauty of our daughters *is enough*:
We do not strive for dominion.
For those of you who have become *qa'an*,
We have our daughters with beautiful cheeks
Ride on a large cart to which we harness
A black male camel.
We trot them off *to the qa'an*,
And seat them by him on the *qatun*'s seat.
We do not strive for dominion, nor for people.

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

We lift our good-looking daughters,
We have them ride on a carriage with front seat;
We harness a dark male camel,
We lead them off *to the qa'an*,
And seat them on the throne, at his side.
From old days, the Onggirat people
Have the *qatuns* as shields,
Have their daughters as intercessors.
We live thanks to the good looks
Of our granddaughters
And the beauty of our daughters.
65 With our boys, *when they seek a bride*,
One[1] looks at *the wealth of* our camp;
With our girls, *when they are sought as brides*,
One[2] considers *only* their beauty.

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

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

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

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

of dogs. *Quda*, don't let him be frightened by dogs!' Then he gave him his spare horse as a pledge and went off, leaving Temüǰin as his son-in-law.

67 On the way *back*, Yisügei Ba'atur met some Tatars who were having a feast in the Šira Ke'er[1] by *Mount* Čekčer. As he was thirsty, he got off his horse *and joined them* at the feast. But those Tatars recognized him: 'Yisügei the Kiyan has come,' they said, and remembered their grievance for his former raid upon them. With the secret intent to harm, they gave him poison[2] mixing it *with his food.* On the way *back, Yisügei Ba'atur* felt ill. He went on, and when after 68 three days[3] he reached his tent, being in a bad way, he[4] said, 'I feel sick within me. Who is at hand?' When they told him that Mönglik, the son of Old Čaraqa of the Qongqotat, was close by, he called him, made him come and said to him, 'Mönglik my boy, I have young children. I left my son Temüǰin to be a son-in-law and, as I was coming back, I was secretly harmed by Tatar people on the way. I feel sick within me. You take care of your younger brothers,[5] the little ones that I leave behind, and of your widowed elder sister-in-law.[5] Go quickly and bring back my son Temüǰin, Mönglik my boy!' He spoke and passed away.

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

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

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

[4] Lit., 'Yisügei Ba'atur.'

[5] For these figurative terms, see the Commentary. Cf. also below, § 272.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER TWO

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

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

71 At these words the wives Örbei and Soqatai said,

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

Is it because you say to yourself that Ambaqai Qa'an is dead, that we are being spoken to in this way, even by

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

72 *one like* you, Hö'elün? The best scheme for you, *Tayiči'ut people*, is: Leave these, mothers and children, in the camp and move on without taking them along!'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lady Hö'elün was born
A clever woman
And she nourished her small sons thus:
Pulling firmly her tall hat

[1] I.e., 'The situation is beyond repair – it's all over.'
[2] I.e., 'late.'
[3] Lit., 'brothers.' See the Commentary.

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

[1] Lit., 'the lady mother.'
[2] Or 'full of vigour.' The meaning of the Mongolian term is not clear.
[3] Lit., 'Maimed and injured.'

Bending needle into hook,
They fished for salmon and grayling.
They made seines and dragnets,
And caught fingerlings:
Then, with grateful heart,
They fed their mother.

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

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

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

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

At that time Bekter was sitting on a hillock, guarding their nine horses, the light-bay geldings. Temüǰin, hiding from behind, and Qasar, hiding in front, were approaching and about to draw out their arrows when Bekter saw them

[1] I.e., Alan Qo'a; see above, §§ 18-22.
[2] *Qodoli*, i.e. an arrow with a round, blunt head. See the Commentary.

and said, 'Just when we cannot put up with the outrage of our Tayiči'ut kinsmen and ask ourselves who shall be able to take vengeance on them, why do you regard me as a lash in the eye, a thorn in the mouth? When

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

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

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

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

[1] I.e., Khazar.

Just when

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

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

Citing old sayings,
Quoting ancient words,

mightily reviled her sons.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

As Sorqan Šira again passed by him, he said, 'Your kinsmen are approaching, sharpening their teeth.[1] Lie just so and be careful!' And with these words he went off.

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

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

84 *Temüǰin* waited until they had completely dispersed, then he thought to himself, 'The other day, when I was

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

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

85 The sign *by which one recognized* the tent was that, after pouring out *mare's* milk, they used to churn their kumis *all* through the night until daybreak. As he went, listening for this sign, *Temüǰin* heard the sound of the churner and arrived there. When he entered the tent, Sorqan Šira said, 'Didn't I tell you to go and look for your mother and younger brothers? Why did you come here?' But his two sons Čimbai and Čila'un said, 'When a sparrow-hawk causes a sparrow to take shelter into a bush, the bush saves *its life*. How can you speak to him in this way, now that he has come to us?' And, displeased at their father's words, they smashed open *Temüǰin's* cangue, burnt it in the fire and put him into a cart loaded with wool which was *standing* behind *the tent*. They entrusted him to the care of their younger sister called Qada'an, who was told not to say *a word* to a living person.

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

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

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

89 Once they were reunited there, they left and set up camp at Kökö Na'ur[3] of *Mount* Qara J̌irügen[4] by the Senggür Stream, in the Gürelgü *Mountains* south of Burqan Qaldun. Here they stayed, killing marmots and field-mice for food.

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

Belgütei was then away marmot-hunting on[5] a short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse. He arrived on foot in the evening after sunset, leading behind him the short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse, which was so laden down with marmots that it staggered. When he was told that robbers

[1] I.e., 'You nearly caused my ruin and that of my family.'
[2] For Tarqutai's own version of Temüǰin's kidnapping, cf. below, § 149.
[3] I.e., 'Blue Lake.'
[4] I.e., 'Black Heart.'
[5] Lit., 'riding.'

had stolen the light-bay geldings, Belgütei said, 'I will go after them!' Qasar said, 'You cannot cope with them, I will go after them!' Temüǰin said, 'Neither of you can cope with them, I will go after them!' Temüǰin got on the short-haired chestnut horse and went off in pursuit of the light-bay geldings, following the tracks *left* in the grass.

He spent three *days and* nights *tracking*, and in the early morning *of the fourth day* he met on the way a brisk lad milking mares in a large herd *of horses*. When *Temüǰin* inquired about the light-bay geldings, the lad said, 'This morning, before sunrise, eight horses – light-bay geldings – were driven past here. I will show you their trail.' He made Temüǰin leave the short-haired chestnut horse there, set him on a white horse with a black back,[1] and he himself rode a fast dun mare. And without even going to his tent, he put down his leather bucket and pail, concealing them in the grass.

'Friend', he said, 'you came to me being in great trouble, but men's troubles are the same *for all*. I will be your companion. My father is called Naqu Bayan.[2] I am his only son and my name is Bo'orču.'

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

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

[1] Lit., 'with a black stripe along the backbone.'
[2] I.e., 'Naqu the Rich.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

Put on your saddle,
Open your door.'

[1] *Anda*. See the Commentary.
[2] See below, § 150.

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

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

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

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

Put her into a ragged black covered cart,
Harnessed to it an ox with dappled loins,

and moved upstream along the Tenggelik[1] Stream. As she was proceeding in the dim light – the day was breaking – some soldiers came riding at a trot towards her. They surrounded her and went up to her, and asked her who she was. Old Qo'aqčin said, 'I belong to Temüǰin. I came to shear sheep at the big tent and *now* I am returning to my tent.' On this, they said, 'Is Temüǰin at home? How far is his tent *from here*?' Old Qo'aqčin said, 'The tent – it is nearby; but whether Temüǰin is there or not I did not notice. I arose and left from the back.'

[1] = Tünggelik.

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

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

The Three Merkit were Toqto'a of the Uduyit Merkit, Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit and Qa'atai Darmala of the Qa'at Merkit. Now these Three Merkit had come to take their revenge because Mother Hö'elün had formerly been abducted from Čiledü.[3] The Merkit said to each other, 'We have now seized their women to take our revenge for Hö'elün! We have had our revenge!' So saying they descended from Burqan Qaldun and returned to their homes.

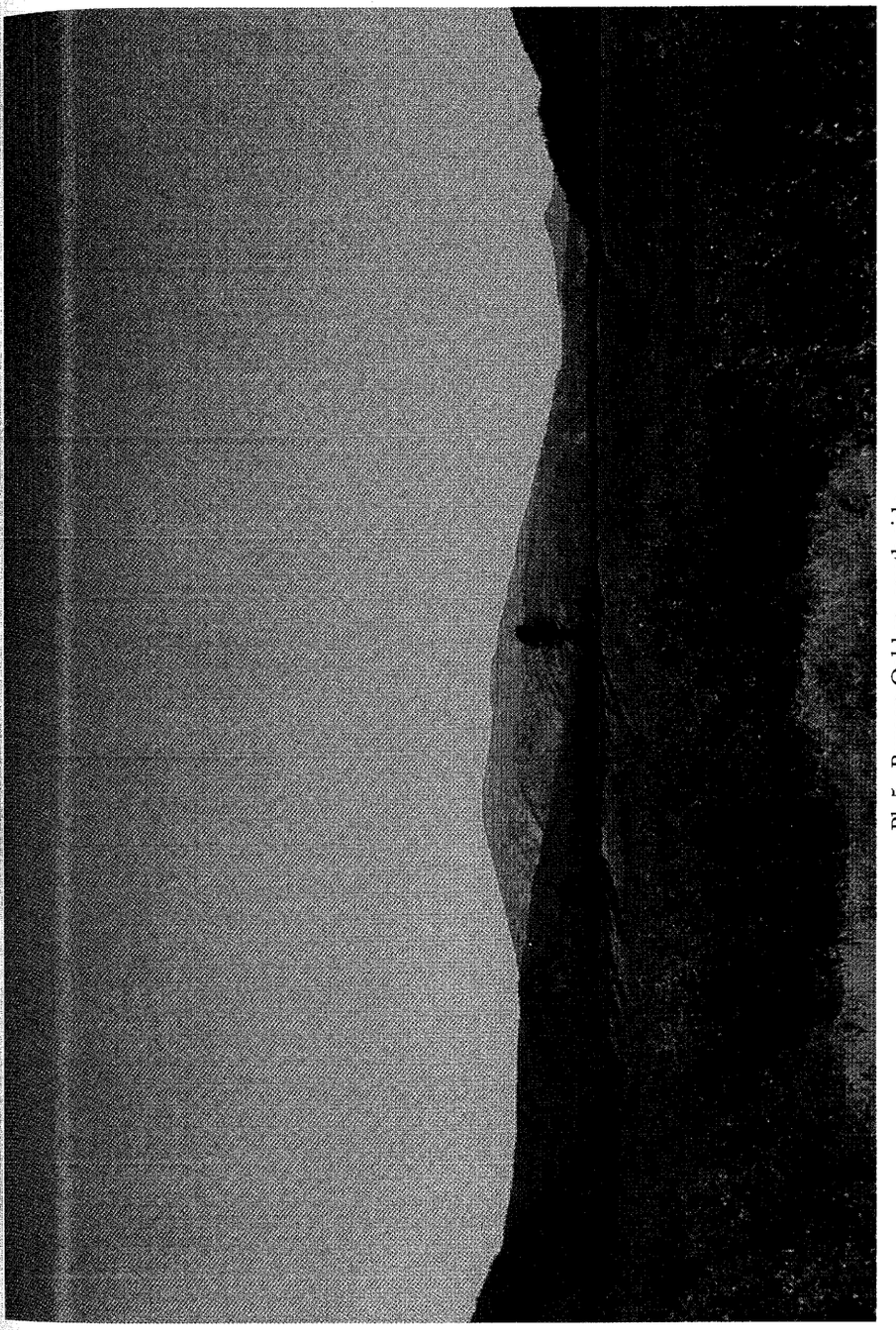
[1] I.e., Old Qo'aqčin and Lady Börte.
[2] See the Commentary for this hyperbole.
[3] See above, §§ 54-56.



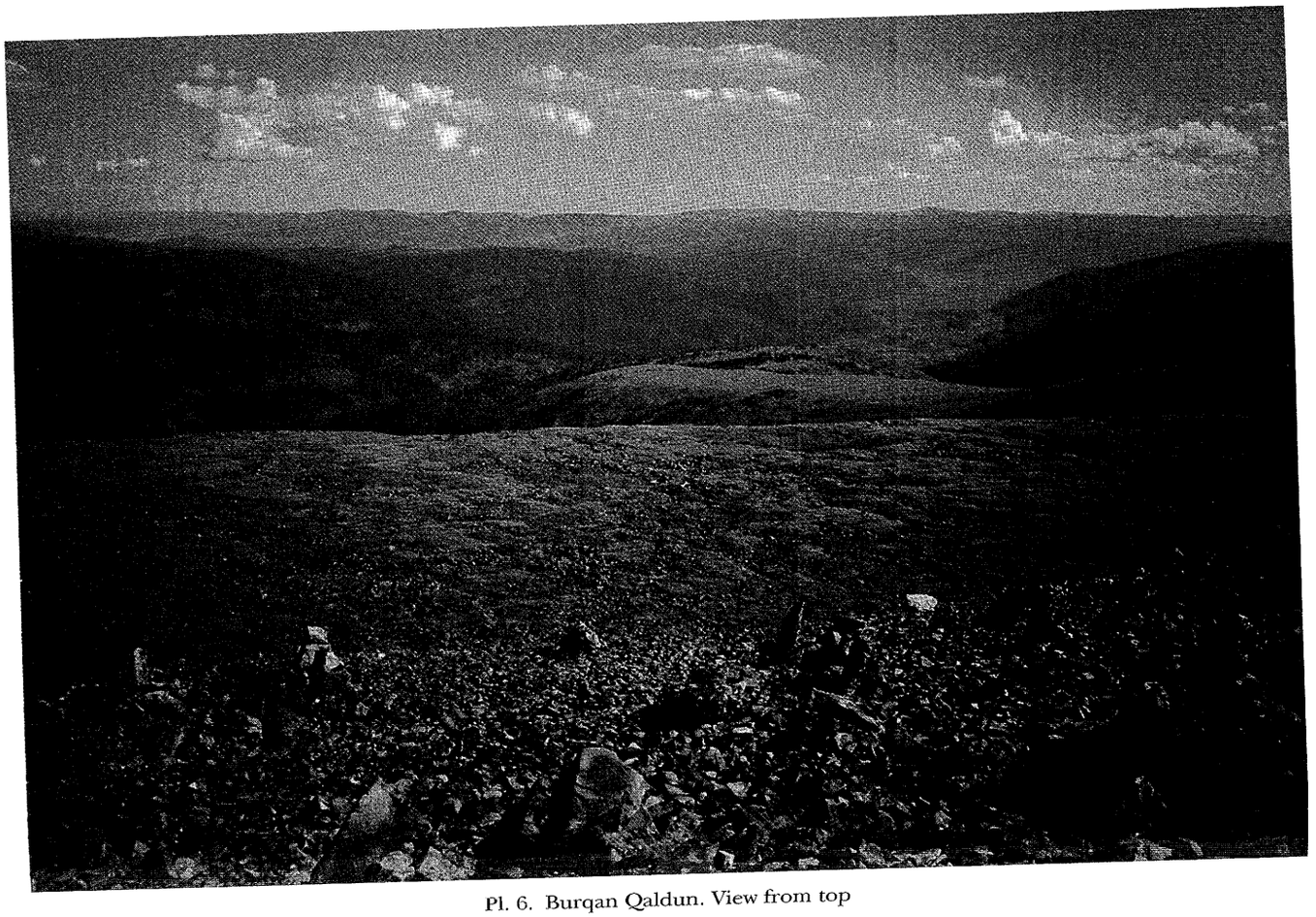
Pl. 3. Portrait of Činggis Qan



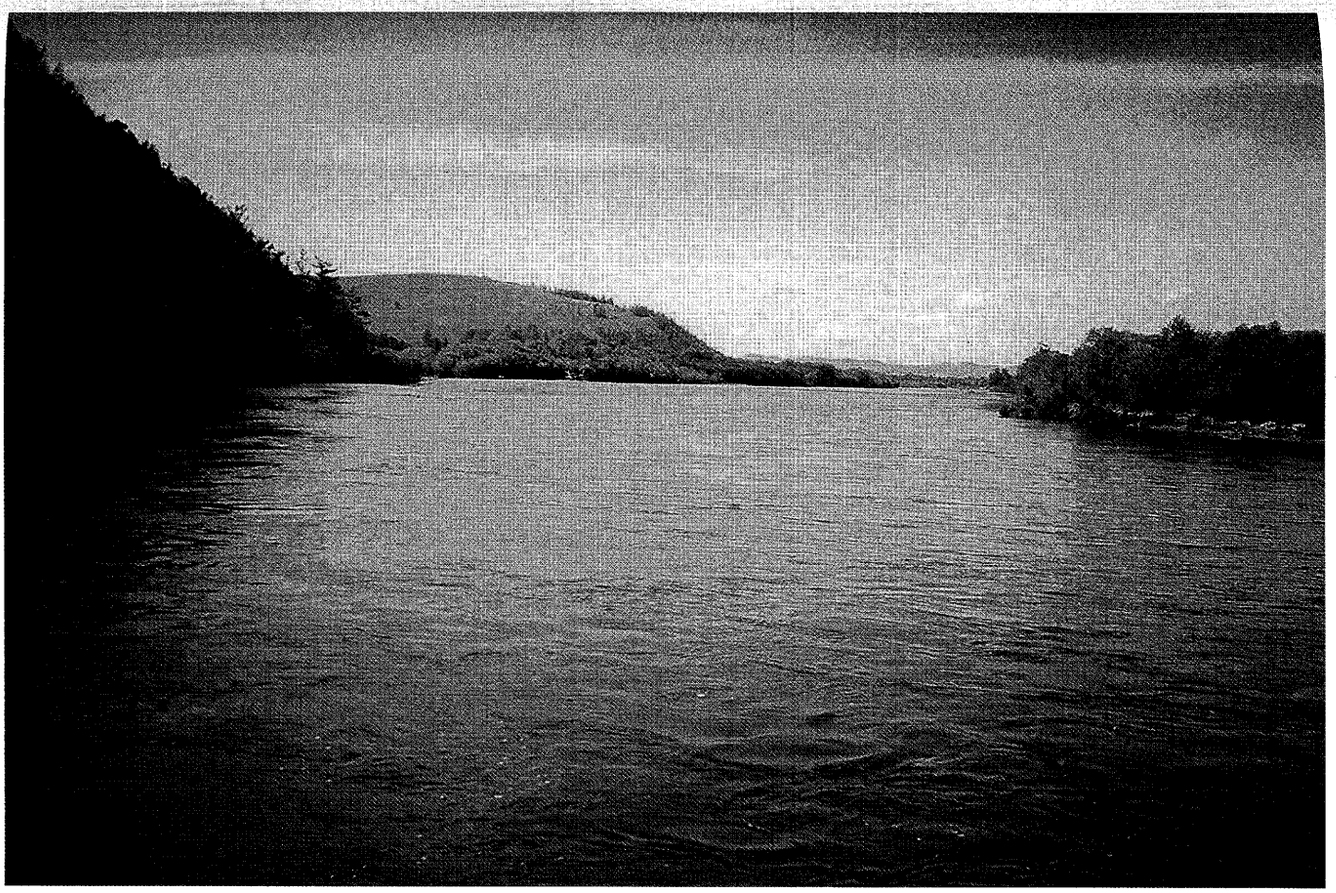
Pl. 4. Portrait of Ögödei Qa'an



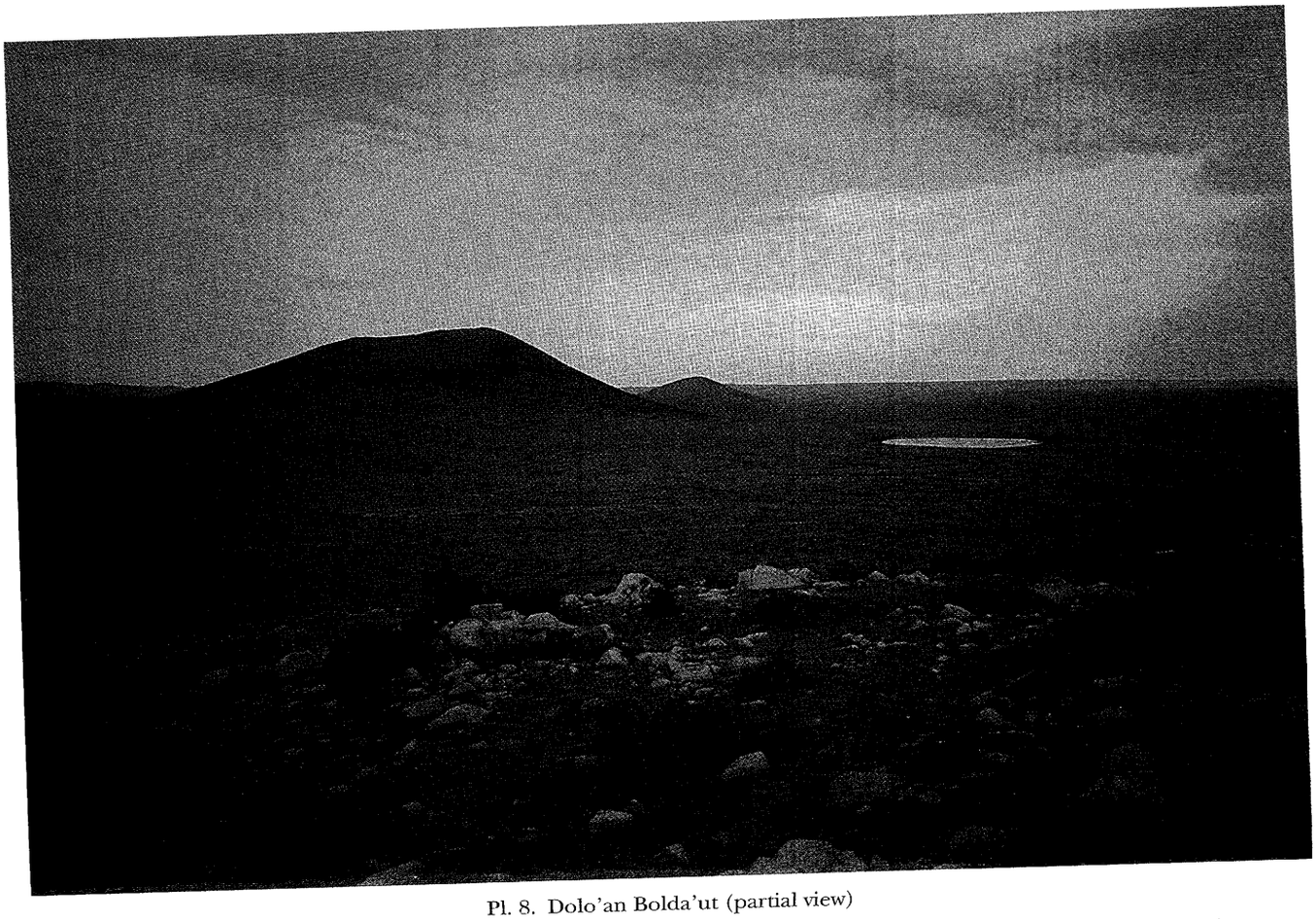
Pl. 5. Burqan Qaldun, south side



Pl. 6. Burqan Qaldun. View from top



Pl. 7. The Onon River



Pl. 8. Dolo'an Bolda'ut (partial view)



Pl. 9. Gold coin (*dīnār*) of Činggis Qan



Pl. 10. The Khentei Range of northern Mongolia (aerial view)

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

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

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

[1] = Burqan Qaldun.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER THREE

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

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

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

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

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

[1] See above, § 96.

Send a message to younger brother J̌amuqa who must now be in the Qorqonaq Valley. I shall set forth from here with two units of ten thousand[1] and form the right wing *of the army*. Younger brother J̌amuqa should set forth with two units of ten thousand to form the left wing. Let J̌amuqa decide on the time and place of our meeting!'

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

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

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

Bed has become empty,
Brought pain to my heart.

To know that his

[1] *Tümet*. See the Commentary.
[2] Lit., 'liver', i.e. close relatives.

Breast was torn apart,
Brought pain to my liver.
Taking our revenge,
Wiping out the Uduyit and U'as Merkit,
We shall rescue our Lady Börte!
Taking our vengeance,
Crushing all the Qa'at Merkit,
We shall rescue your[1] wife Börte,
Causing her to return!

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

Now, by the shortest way
We shall cross the river Kilqo –
May the sedge be in good growth!
We shall bind our rafts with it,
We shall enter *their land*.
Descending on the smoke-hole
Of that coward Toqto'a's tent,
Its proud frame[4] we shall smite,

[1] Lit., 'our.'
[2] I.e., 'He-Camel Steppe (*or* Plain).'
[3] Lit., 'Talqun Island' – but here a peninsula. Cf. above, § 24, n. 4.
[4] See the Commentary.

So it collapses;
We shall kill his wives and children
To the last one.
Of his door the sacred frame,[1]
We shall smite so it shatters;
We shall utterly destroy his people
Till nothing will be left.'

106 Further, J̌amuqa said, 'Speak to my sworn friend Temüǰin and elder brother To'oril Qan, and say to them *on my behalf*, "As for me,
I have consecrated[2] my standard
Which is visible from afar;
I have beaten my bellowing drum
Covered with the hide of a black bull;
I have mounted my swift black horse;
I have put on my armour[3]
And grasped my steel spear;
I have placed on the bowstring my arrow with its nock
Of wild peach bark.
I am ready, let us start
And give battle to the Qa'at Merkit!"
Then say to them,
"My long[4] standard, visible from afar,
I have consecrated;[5]
I have beaten my deep-sounding drum
Covered with ox-hide;
I have mounted my swift horse,
The one with a black stripe along the backbone;[6]
I have put on my leather-strapped breastplate,

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

And grasped my hilted sword;
I have placed on the bowstring my nocked arrow.
I am ready, let us fight to the death
Against the Uduyit Merkit!"

Then say to them, "After elder brother To'oril Qan has set out and, passing by my sworn friend Temüǰin on the southern side of Burqan Qaldun, comes *jointly with him*, we shall meet at Botoqan Bo'orǰi at the source of the Onan River. When I set out from here, upstream along the Onan River where[1] my sworn friend's people are – with one unit of ten thousand *taken* from his people[2] and I with one[3] from here making two units of ten thousand – going up along the Onan River we shall join forces at the appointed meeting place in Botoqan Bo'orǰi."' And he sent them off with this message.

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Descending on the smoke-hole
Of Toqto'a Beki's tent,
Of his tent the proud frame
They did smite so it collapsed;
They plundered his wives and children
To the last one.
Of his door the sacred frame
They did smite so it shattered;

They utterly plundered his people
Till nothing *more* was left.[1]

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

110 At night the Merkit people fled in disarray down the Selengge *River*, but even in the night our troops were pressing hard after the hastily fleeing Merkit. As the pillaging and plundering went on, Temüǰin moved among the people that were hurriedly escaping, calling, 'Börte, Börte!' *And so* he came upon her, for Lady Börte was among those fleeing people. She heard the voice of Temüǰin and, recognizing it, she got off the cart and came running *towards him*. Although it was still night, Lady Börte and Qo'aqčin both recognized Temüǰin's reins and tether and grabbed them. It was moonlight; he looked at them, recognized Lady Börte, and they fell into each other's arms. After this, that very night Temüǰin sent a message to To'oril Qan and to sworn friend J̌amuqa saying, 'I have found what I was looking for. Let us not travel all night; let us camp here!' He had this message delivered to them. As for the Merkit people who had been fleeing in disarray at night, while *still* scattering and on the run, they *too* stopped and spent the night right there.[4]

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

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

111 At the very beginning, Toqto'a Beki of the Uduyit Merkit, Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit and Qa'atai Darmala *of the Qa'at Merkit*, those three Merkit with three hundred men, said, 'In former days Mother Hö'elün was abducted by Yisügei Ba'atur from Yeke Čiledü, the younger brother of Toqto'a Beki', and they set out to take revenge for that. It was at the time when Temüǰin circled Burqan Qaldun three times that they captured Lady Börte.[1] They entrusted her to Čilger Bökö, the younger brother of Čiledü. As Čilger Bökö had been looking after her ever since, when he fled, deserting his own companions, he said,

'To feed on scraps of skin
Is the black crow's lot – yet
It was goose and crane
It aspired to eat.
I, brutal and base Čilger, who laid my hand
On the noble lady,
I have brought disaster
On all the Merkit.
Lowly, base Čilger,
I have come to the point
That I shall lose my black head.
To save my *one and* only life,
I wish to creep into dark gorges.
Who will act as a shield for me?
To feed on rats and mice
Is the buzzard's, that vile bird's lot – yet
It was swan and crane
It aspired to eat.
I, thieving and base Čilger, who took away
The favoured and fortunate lady,
I have brought disaster upon

[1] See above, §§ 54-56 and 100-102.

The whole of the Merkit.
Boastful, base Čilger,
I have come to the point
That I shall lose my shrivelled head.
To save my life, worth but a sheep's dropping,
I wish to creep into dreadful, dark gorges.
Who will be a shelter for my life
Which is worth but a sheep's dropping?'
Thus he spoke, and escaped, deserting his own companions.

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

Someone informed them that Belgütei's mother was 'in that *ayil*[2] *over there*.' Belgütei went there to fetch his mother, but when he entered her tent by the right-hand door, his mother, in a ragged sheepskin coat, went out by the left-hand door. Outside she said to someone else, 'I am told that my sons have become *qan*s, but here I have been joined with a base man. How can I now look my sons in the face?' So she spoke and ran off, slipping away into a dense wood. Belgütei Noyan immediately searched for her, but could not find her. He *then* shot knob-headed arrows[3] at any man of Merkit stock, saying, 'Bring me my mother!' The three hundred Merkit who had *once* circled *Mount* Burqan
Were exterminated, down to
The offspring of their offspring:
They were blown *to the winds* like *hearth*-ashes.[4]
Their remaining wives,
Those suitable to be embraced,[5]

[1] = Burqan Qaldun. Cf. above, § 103.
[2] See above, § 81, n. 1.
[3] See above, § 77.
[4] Cf. above, § 87.
[5] I.e., to be taken as concubines.

Were embraced;
Those suitable to be let into *the tent*
Through the door *and serve as slaves*
Were let in through the door.

113 Temüǰin, speaking gratefully to To'oril Qan and J̌amuqa, said 'Being taken as a companion by my father the Qan and sworn friend J̌amuqa, and with my strength increased by Heaven and Earth,
Called by Mighty Heaven,
Carried through by Mother Earth,
We emptied the breasts of the Merkit people
Who take their revenge as a man *does*,
And we tore their livers to pieces.
We emptied their beds[1]
And we exterminated their relatives;
The women of theirs who remained
We surely took captive!
Thus we destroyed the Merkit people: let us *now* withdraw!'

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

115 When Temüǰin, To'oril Qan and J̌amuqa, after joining their forces
Had smashed the lock-carts,
Had captured the splendid women
of the Merkit, they withdrew from Talqun Aral, *between* the Orqan[2] and Selengge *rivers*. Temüǰin with J̌amuqa, withdrawing jointly, went in the direction of the Qorqonaq Valley. On his way back, To'oril Qan passed by the

[1] I.e., of their wives.
[2] = Orqon (~ Orqan).

Hökörtü Valley on the northern side of Burqan Qaldun; *then* passing by Qača'uratu Subčit and Huliyatu Subčit,[1] where he hunted wild game, he withdrew in the direction of the Black Forest by the Tu'ula *River*.

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

Earlier, when they had first become sworn friends, Temüǰin was eleven years old. J̌amuqa had given Temüǰin a roebuck knucklebone, Temüǰin *in return had given him* a copper knucklebone, *and so* they had become sworn friends. Having declared themselves sworn friends, they had played knucklebones together on the ice of the Onan *River*. There they had declared each other friends by oath *for the first time*.[2]

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

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

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

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

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

[1] I.e., 'The Pass with Spruces' and 'The Pass with Aspens.'
[2] This is the first mention of their former oath of friendship.

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

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

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

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

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

[1] I.e., an excrescence or callosity on its forehead in the shape of a horn.
[2] I.e., 'of the full moon.' Cf. above, § 81.
[3] Lit., '*food for* the gullet.'

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

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

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

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

120 They travelled all that night. At daybreak they saw Qači'un Toqura'un, Qaraqai Toqura'un and Qaraldai Toqura'un, the three Toqura'un brothers of the J̌alayir *tribe*, drawing near *to join them* after having travelled throughout the night together. Then Qada'an Daldurqan of the Tarqut and his brothers – five Tarqut *in all* – also drew near. Then the son of Mönggetü Kiyan, Önggür and the others, with their Čangši'ut and Baya'ut *followers* drew near too. From

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

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

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

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

as J̌amuqa. We would not have parted from him, but a *heavenly* sign appeared before my *very* eyes, revealing *the future to me*. There came a fallow cow. She circled J̌amuqa and struck his tent-cart with her horns; *then* she butted him

[1] Here = 'cousin.' See the Commentary.
[2] Also written Ögölei, Ögöle and Ögele. For the title *čerbi*, see the Commentary.
[3] Here = 'cousin.'
[4] Here = 'cousins.'
[5] Meaning Temüǰin's brother-in-law. See the Commentary.

too, breaking one of her two horns. Being *thus left* with uneven horns, "Bring me my horn!" she kept saying, bellowing repeatedly at J̌amuqa as she stood there, *hoofing up the ground and* raising more and more dust. *Then* a hornless and fallow ox lifted up the great shaft under the tent, harnessed it on to himself and pulled it after him. As he proceeded following Temüǰin on the wide road, he kept bellowing, "Together Heaven and Earth have agreed: Temüǰin shall be lord of the people!" and "I am drawing near carrying *the people* and bringing it to him." These *heavenly* signs appeared before my eyes; they revealed *the future to me*. Temüǰin, if you become lord of the people, how will you please me for *this* augury?'

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

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

122 The Geniges, with Qunan at their head, also came as one camp. Then came Dāritai Otčigin – also one camp. From the J̌adaran came also Mulqalqu. And the Ünǰin and the Saqayit came – also one camp. When *Temüǰin* had parted company in this way from J̌amuqa and had moved further on, setting up camp at Ayil Qaraqana by the Kimurqa Stream,[1] *there came*, also separating from J̌amuqa, the sons of Sorqatu J̌ürki of the J̌ürkin, Sača Beki and Taiču – one camp; then the son of Nekün Taiši, Qučar Beki – one camp; and the son of Qutula Qan, Altan Otčigin – one camp. These, then, left J̌amuqa and moved on, and when Temüǰin set up camp at Ayil Qaraqana by the Kimurqa Stream, they

[1] See above, § 107.

joined camp with him. From there they went on, and camped at Kökö Na'ur of *Mount* Qara J̌irügen by the Senggür Stream in the Gürelgü *Mountains*.[1]

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

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

[1] See above, § 89.

[2] = a circular battue, i.e. a hunt in which the game is driven towards a central point. See the Commentary, § 115.

and made Temüǰin *qan*, naming him Činggis Qa'an.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Cut the neck of the braggart,[1]
Cleave the breast of the arrogant!'[1]

And he said, 'Let Belgütei and Qaraldai Toqura'un
Be in charge of the geldings,
Be *my* equerries!'

And he said, 'Tayiči'udai, Qutu Moriči[2] and Mulqalqu shall tend the herds of horses!'

And he said, 'Let Arqai Qasar, Taqai, Sükegei and Ča'urqan
Be my far-*flying* shafts,
Be my near-*flying* arrows!'[3]

Sübe'etei Ba'adur spoke:

'I shall be a rat,
And with the others
I shall hoard up *goods for you*;
I shall be a black crow,
And with the others
I shall gather *for you*
All that is *found* outside;
I shall be a felt covering,
And with the others
I shall try to make a cover *for you*;
I shall be a felt windbreak,
And with the others
I shall try to shelter you
From the wind on *your* tent!'

125 Thereupon, when Činggis Qa'an became *qan*, he said to Bo'orču and J̌elme, 'You two,

When I had no friend but my shadow,
Became my shadows; and truly

[1] Plural in the text.
[2] I.e., 'Qutu the Horse-herder.'
[3] A simile for trusted envoys.

Brought peace to my mind.
In my mind you shall dwell!'

And he said,

'When I had no whip
But my *horse's* tail, you
Became my *horse's* tail; and truly
Brought peace to my heart.
In my breast you shall dwell!'

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

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

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

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

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

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER FOUR

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

Poking in the flanks,
Pricking the ribs

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

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

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

That night he arrived at the fringe of his herd. He approached crouching over the mane of his horse, shot and

[1] Lit., 'us.'
[2] I.e., with stinging and malicious words. For Altan and Qučar's role, see above, § 123.
[3] Lit., 'younger brother.' See the Commentary, §§ 68 and 74.
[4] Lit., 'Cradle Spring.'
[5] I.e., 'Rump(-like) Steppe (*or* Plain).'

killed Taičar *with an arrow* that split apart his spine, then took his horses and returned.

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

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

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

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

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

In the course of feasting, one pitcher *of kumis* was first poured for Činggis Qa'an, Lady Hö'elün, Qasar, Sača Beki and others. As one pitcher was also poured *to the women* starting with Ebegei, the secondary wife of Sača Beki's father,[1] both Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určin Qatun said, 'Why didn't they pour first for me, but began with Ebegei?', and they thrashed the steward Šiki'ür. As he was being thrashed, the steward Šiki'ür said, 'What sort of thing is it, your thrashing me like this, *just* because Yisügei Ba'atur and Nekün Taiši are dead?' So he spoke and cried out loudly.

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

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

[1] Lit., 'the little mother of Sača Beki' – 'little mother' being the designation of a secondary wife or concubine.
[2] As Činggis' equerry. See above, § 124.
[3] This is the episode referred to in § 50 above.

132 Although warned in this way by Belgütei, Činggis Qa'an did not comply: breaking off tree branches, pulling out the churners of the *kumis* leather bags and grabbing them, they *started* to beat each other. *Činggis Qa'an and our men* overcame the J̌ürkin and forcibly seized both Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určin Qatun. *Later*, however, on being told, 'We[1] want to make peace', they returned both Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určin Qatun *to the J̌ürkin*.

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

133 Having learned this news, Činggis Qa'an said, 'From old days, the Tatar people have been our mortal enemies, the people who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers.[2] Now, *taking* this opportunity, let us jointly attack them!' And he sent an envoy to deliver this message to To'oril Qan: 'It is reported that the Altan Qan's *commander* Ongging Čingsang has driven the Tatar Megüjin Se'ültü and other Tatars upstream along the Ulja and is *now* approaching. Let us jointly attack the Tatars who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers. To'oril Qan, *my* father, should come quickly!'

When this message was delivered, To'oril Qan said, 'The word my son has sent is right. Let us jointly attack!' Thereupon, on the third day, To'oril Qan, having assembled

[1] I.e., the J̌ürkin.
[2] See above, §§ 53 and 67.

his troops, set out with his army and quickly went to his assistance.

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

They sent the message and having waited for six days from the time it should have come to the J̌ürkin, Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan, unable *to wait any longer*, together set out with their troops. As they approached, *moving* downstream along the Ulja to launch the attack in conjunction with Ongging Čingsang, the Tatar Megüjin and the other Tatars built a stockade there, at Qusutu Šitü'en and Naratu Šitü'en[1] by the Ulja. Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan captured those who had barricaded themselves in this way, *among them* Megüjin Se'ültü from the stockade. They killed Megüjin Se'ültü on the spot; Činggis Qa'an then took *as booty* his silver cradle and his blanket decorated with big pearls.

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

Ongging Čingsang said, 'You have done a very great service to the Altan Qan by your joint attack on Megüjin Se'ültü and by killing him. I shall inform the Altan Qan of

[1] I.e., 'Birch Rampart' and 'Pine Rampart.'
[2] I.e., 'Commander of Hundreds (?).'
[3] I.e., 'King' or 'Prince.'
[4] Gereyit in the text.

this service of yours. Let the Altan Qan decide whether a title higher than the present one[1] should be further conferred on Činggis Qa'an – whether he should be given the title of *ǰautau*.'[2] Rejoicing in this way, Ongging Čingsang withdrew from there.

On that occasion, Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan plundered the Tatars and shared *the booty*, each taking *his part*; *then* they returned to their *own* encampments.[3]

135 At the time when our troops were plundering the camp at Naratu Šitü'en where the Tatars had halted and barricaded themselves, they happened to find in the camp a little boy who had been abandoned. Taking back the little boy, who had as *nose*-ring a golden loop and who wore a gold-stitched silken waistcoat lined with sable, Činggis Qa'an gave him as a present to Mother Hö'elün. Mother Hö'elün said, 'He must be the son of a man of rank; surely he is the offspring of a man of noble origins!' The Mother named him Šikiken Quduqu[4] and brought him up as the younger brother of her five children and as her sixth child.

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

When those of us who were left at the base camp told Činggis Qa'an that they had been treated in that way by the J̌ürkin, Činggis Qa'an on hearing this news became very angry and said, 'How could we be treated in such a manner by the J̌ürkin? When we held a feast in the forest by the Onan they also thrashed the steward Šiki'ür, and it was they who also cut Belgütei's shoulder. We were told we should make peace, and gave them back both Qorilǰin Qatun and

[1] Lit., 'this.'
[2] I.e., 'Pacification Commissioner.'
[3] Lit., 'they went back and set up camp.'
[4] = Šigiken Qutuqu. See below, § 138, and the Commentary.

Qu'určin. After that, we said that we would set out and jointly attack the Tatars who, full of hatred and resentment, had from old destroyed our fathers and forefathers. Although we waited six days for the J̌ürkin, they failed us by not coming.[1] And now, by siding *in this way* with[2] the enemy, they themselves have also become our enemies!' Having said this, Činggis Qa'an moved against the J̌ürkin.

When the J̌ürkin were staying at Dolo'an Bolda'ut[3] of Ködö'e Aral[4] on the Kelüren *River*, *Činggis Qa'an* plundered their people. Sača Beki and Taiču, being few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies, escaped.[5] He pursued them and, overtaking them at the Telētü Pass, he caught Sača Beki and Taiču.

After their capture, Činggis Qa'an said to Sača and Taiču, 'What did we agree upon in the old days?' Being so addressed, Sača and Taiču said, 'We did not keep to the words we spoke. *Now* make us comply with them!'[6] And, admitting their oath, they held out their necks to *the sword.*

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

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

'Let *these sons of mine* be the slaves
Of your threshold;[7]

[1] See above, §§ 132 and 133.
[2] Lit., 'leaning on.'
[3] I.e., 'Seven Solitary Hills.'
[4] I.e., 'Barren Island', but see the Commentary.
[5] Cf. above, § 109.
[6] Lit., 'with our words.'
[7] For this expression see the Commentary.

If they stray from your threshold,
Cut off their heel tendons!
Let them be the personal slaves
Of your door;[1]
If they abandon your door,
Cut out their livers and
Cast them away!'

So saying he handed them over to him.

Čila'un Qayiči with his two sons Tüngge[2] and Qaši also came to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an and spoke thus:

"'Let them guard
Your golden threshold", so saying,
I give you *these sons of mine*;
If they depart from your golden threshold,
Put an end to their lives and
Cast them away!
"Let them lift for you
The wide *felt* door", so saying,
I give them to you;
If they desert your wide door,
Kick them in the pit of the stomach and
Cast them away!'

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

138 Mother Hö'elün reared in her tent these four: the boy called Güčü[3] found in the Merkit camp, the boy called Kököčü found in the Besüt camp among the Tayiči'ut, the boy called Šigiken Qutuqu found in the Tatar camp, and the boy called Boro'ul found in the J̌ürkin camp. Mother Hö'elün said, 'Whom *but these foundlings* will I make

[1] For this expression see the Commentary.
[2] Called Tüge in §§ 202 and 225 below.
[3] Written Küčü in § 114 above.

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

– and reared them in her tent.

139 As for the manner in which those J̌ürkin people came to be J̌ürkin, the eldest[1] among the seven sons of Qabul Qan was Ökin Barqaq, whose son was Sorqatu J̌ürki. <As they came to be J̌ürkin> *Qabul Qan*, saying that *Ökin Barqaq* was his eldest son,[2] chose *men for him* from among his own people and, having chosen them, gave him strong and mighty *men* who had

Gall in their livers,[3]
Thumbs good at shooting,
Lungs filled with courage,
Mouths full of fury,
And, all, men of skill.

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

Činggis Qa'an subjugated such a proud people and destroyed *all* those who were of the J̌ürkin clan. He[4] made the tribe and its people his personal subjects.

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

Formerly, when Büri Bökö was *still* with the J̌ürkin, seizing Belgütei with one hand and tripping him with one foot, Büri Bökö toppled him and held him down so that he could not move.[5] Büri Bökö was the strongest man among his people.

Činggis Qa'an now made Belgütei and Büri Bökö wrestle. Büri Bökö, the invincible, let himself be toppled. Belgütei, unable to hold him down, grabbed his shoulders

[1] Lit., 'the eldest brother.'
[2] Lit., 'saying that he was the eldest brother of Qabul Qan's sons.'
[3] I.e., who were brave and daring.
[4] Lit., 'Činggis Qa'an.'
[5] There is no previous mention of this episode.

and straddled him. Belgütei glanced backwards and, when he caught sight of Činggis Qa'an's eye, the Qa'an bit his lower lip. Belgütei understood. He sat on top *of Büri Bökö* and, crossing the two *ends of* his collar, he pulled them towards himself, tightening *his grip*. *As he did that*, he pressed his knee on his spine and broke it.

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

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

Of the seven sons of Qabul Qan, Ökin Barqaq was the eldest; the next one was Bartan Ba'atur, whose son was Yisügei Ba'atur. The next one after him[1] was Qutuqtu Möngler,[2] whose son was Büri. Overstepping *the line of* the sons of Bartan Ba'atur which was nearest above him *in order of seniority*, he became a companion of the proud sons of Barqaq. Because of this, Büri Bökö, the strongest man among his people, perished, his spine broken by Belgütei.

141 After that, in the Year of the Hen (1201), the Qadagin and the Salǰi'ut united, and the following[3] tribes gathered at Alqui Spring:[4] the Qadagin led by Buqu Čorogi of the Qadagin, and *the Salǰi'ut* led by Čirgidai Ba'atur of the Šalǰi'ut; the Dörben, who had made peace with the Tatar, led by Qaǰi'un Beki of the Dörben, and *the Tatar* led by J̌alin Buqa of the Alči Tatar; the Ikires led by Tüge Maqa of the Ikires; *the Onggirat* led by Terge Emel, Alqui and others of the Onggirat; *the Qorolas* led by Čonaq Čaqa'an[5] and

[1] I.e., after Bartan Ba'atur.
[2] The Qutuqtu Mönggür of §§ 48 and 50 above.
[3] Lit., 'these.'
[4] Lit., 'Sarsaparilla Spring.'
[5] ? Čo'oq Čaqa'an, ? Čo'os Čaqa'an. See the Commentary also for the other names in this section.

others of the Qorolas; *also* Buyiruq Qan of the Güčü'üt Naiman from the Naiman; Qutu, the son of Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit; Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat; and, from the Tayiči'ut, Tarqutai Kiriltuq, Qodun Örčeng, A'uču Ba'atur and other Tayiči'ut. Saying, 'Let us raise J̌amuqa the J̌aǰirat as *qan*', they jointly hacked the backs of a stallion and a mare and together swore an oath of friendship.

From there they moved downstream along the Ergüne River, and on the large promontory of the peninsula where the Kan River flows into the Ergüne, there they raised J̌amuqa as *gür qan*.[1] After raising him as *gür qan*, they decided to set out to attack Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan.

Word of this – that they had decided to attack – was sent by Qoridai of the Qorolas to Činggis Qa'an, when he[2] was staying in the Gürelgü *Mountains*.

When he received this news, Činggis Qa'an passed it[3] on to Ong Qan. As soon as Ong Qan received the news, he[4] set his army in motion and speedily arrived at Činggis Qa'an's *camp*.

142 After getting Ong Qan to come, Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan decided to move jointly against J̌amuqa. They set out downstream along the Kelüren River. Činggis Qa'an sent Altan, Qučar and Dāritai as vanguard; Ong Qan *for his part* sent as vanguards Senggüm, J̌aqa Gambu and Bilge Beki. Patrols were also dispatched ahead of these vanguards: at Enegen Güiletü[5] they set up an observation post; beyond that, at *Mount* Čekčer, they set up *another* observation post; and beyond that, at *Mount* Čiqurqu, they set up *a further* observation post.

[1] I.e., 'Universal Ruler.'
[2] I.e., Činggis Qa'an.
[3] Lit., 'this news.'
[4] Lit., 'Ong Qan.'
[5] I.e., 'Having a Single Apricot Tree (?).'

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

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

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

143 Next day *the troops* were sent forward and when they met, at Köyiten,[1] they battled. As they pressed on each other downhill and uphill, and reformed their ranks, those very same Buyiruq Qan and Quduqa, knowing how to produce a rainstorm by magic, started to conjure it[2] up, but the magic storm rolled back and it was right upon themselves that it[2] fell. Unable to proceed, they tumbled into ravines. Saying to each other, 'We are not loved by Heaven!', they scattered.

144 Buyiruq Qan of the Naiman separated *from the rest* and went towards Uluq Taq[3] on the southern side of the Altai *Mountains*. Qutu, the son of Toqto'a of the Merkit, went towards the Selengge *River*. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat went towards the Šisgis *River*, making for the forest. A'uču Ba'atur of the Tayiči'ut went towards the Onan *River*.

[1] I.e., 'Cold.'
[2] Lit., 'the magic storm.'
[3] I.e., 'Great Mountain' (tu.).

J̌amuqa plundered the *very* people who had elected him *qan*; *then* he[1] moved homewards following the course of the Ergüne. As they were dispersing in this way, Ong Qan pursued J̌amuqa downstream along the Ergüne *while* Činggis Qa'an pursued A'uču Ba'atur of the Tayiči'ut in the direction of the Onan.

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

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

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

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

When midnight had passed Činggis Qa'an revived and said, 'The blood has dried up completely; I am thirsty.' Then J̌elme took off his hat, boots and clothes – everything

[1] Lit., 'J̌amuqa.'
[2] For this reading see the Commentary.
[3] Lit., 'saying, "We shall fight!".'
[4] I.e., the refugees.

– and stark naked but for his pants, he ran into the midst of the enemy who had settled right next to them. He jumped on to a cart of the people who had set up a circular camp over there. He searched for kumis, but was unable *to find any* because *those people* had fled in disarray and had turned the mares loose without milking them.

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

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

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

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

[1] I.e., Činggis Qa'an's people.

They would have regarded me as sincere, they would have given me clothes and looked after me. Then, I would have jumped on a horse and while they were *astonished* watching me *flee*, in that brief moment I would have surely got back! So thinking, and because I wished to get *back* in time *to satisfy* the Qa'an's craving *for drink* caused by his parching thirst, thinking this and without *so much as* blinking an eye I went there.'

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

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

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

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

Qada'an.[1] The soldiers here captured my husband and were going to kill him. As my husband was being killed, I cried and wailed and called on Temüǰin to save my husband.' So she said, and the man returned and reported these words to Činggis Qa'an.

Hearing these words, Činggis Qa'an rode at a trot and reached her; he[2] dismounted near Qada'an and they embraced each other, but her husband had already been killed by our soldiers.

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

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

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

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

Sorqan Šira said, 'At heart I felt full confidence in you, but how could I make haste? Had I hurried and come to you earlier, my Tayiči'ut masters would have blown to *the winds*, like *hearth*-ashes,[3] my wife and children, and the cattle and provisions I had left behind. Because of this I did not hurry, but now *that the Tayiči'ut have been defeated* we came in haste to join our Qa'an.' When he had finished speaking, *Činggis Qa'an* said, '*You did* right!'

147 Again Činggis Qa'an spoke, saying 'When we fought at Köyiten and, pressing on each other, were reforming our ranks, from the top of those ridges an arrow came. Who,

[1] She is mentioned in § 85 above.
[2] Lit., 'Činggis Qa'an.'
[3] Cf. above, §§ 87 and 112.

from the top of the mountain, shot an arrow so as to sever the neckbone of my tawny war horse with the white mouth?'

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

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

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

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

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

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER FIVE

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

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

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

[1] The Qodun Örčeng of § 141 above.
[2] I.e., 'Reddish Rock' (tu.)
[3] Because of his corpulence. The epithet Tarqutai means 'Fat.'
[4] I.e., Tarqutai's.
[5] Lit., '*qan*.'
[6] Lit., 'pillow.' See the Commentary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] Because his father Yisügei Ba'atur was dead at the time.
[2] This is Tarqutai's justification of the episode told in § 79ff.
[3] Lit., 'opening.'
[4] I.e., when Tarqutai's sons and brothers had come up and overtaken them.

now returned. *Širgü'etü*, having waited for them to come back, moved on *together with his sons*.

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

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

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

At that, Činggis Qa'an said, 'If you had come having laid hands on your lord Tarqutai, you and your offspring would have been cut down as people who had laid hands on their rightful lord. Your thought that you could not do away

[1] Qutuqul = Quduqul below. See the Commentary.

with your rightful lord is correct.' So saying, he showed favour to Naya'a.

150 After that, when Činggis Qa'an was at Dersüt,[1] J̌aqa Gambu of the Kereyit came to join him as a companion.[2] When he arrived, the Merkit were approaching to fight. Činggis Qa'an, J̌aqa Gambu and other *chiefs* engaged them and drove them back. Then, *J̌aqa Gambu* made the Tümen Tübegen and the Olon Dongqayit, *two* scattered tribes of the Kereyit, also come and submit to Činggis Qa'an.

As for Ong Qa'an[3] of the Kereyit, previously – in the time of Yisügei Qa'an[3] – because they were living together very harmoniously, he and Yisügei Qan had declared themselves sworn friends.

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

Because Ong Qan had killed the younger brothers of his father Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan, he had become a rebel towards his paternal uncle Gür Qan and was forced to sneak away through the Qara'un Gorge[4] *to escape from him*. With *only* a hundred men he got out *of the gorge* and joined[5] Yisügei Qan. Prompted by his coming to him, Yisügei Qan moved his own army into the field and, driving Gür Qan toward Qašin, he took Ong Qan's people and returned them to him. This is why they became sworn friends.

151 After that, when Ong Qan's younger brother Erke Qara was *about* to be killed by his elder brother Ong Qan, he escaped and submitted to Inanča Qan of the Naiman. Inanča Qan dispatched his troops, but Ong Qan in his wanderings had *already* passed three cities and had made his way to

[1] = Deresüt? The text has Tersüt. See the Commentary.
[2] I.e., as a *nökör*.
[3] For Qa'an read Qan. See the Commentary.
[4] Lit., 'Dark Gorge.'
[5] Lit., 'came to.'

the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat.[1] From there, having rebelled against *the gür qan*, he passed through the cities of the Uyiqut and the Tangqut.[2] He fed himself *on the way* by milking five goats, muzzling *their kids*,[3] and by bleeding his camel.

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

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

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

'Our elder brother the Qan
Has a miserable nature; he goes on
Harbouring a rotten liver.[4]

He has destroyed his brothers and has even submitted to the Qara Kidat – and he makes his people suffer. Now, what shall we do with him? To speak of his early days, when he was seven years old the Merkit carried him off; they gave him a kidskin coat with black spots to wear, and in the Bu'ura Steppe by the Selengge *River* he pounded *grain in* a Merkit's mortar. But his father Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan raided the Merkit and there and then rescued his son. And again, when he was thirteen years old, Aǰai Qan of the Tatar carried him off together with his mother. When *Aǰai Qan*

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

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

[3] In order to prevent them from suckling the she-goat too often. See the Commentary.

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

made him look after his camels, he took with him a shepherd of Aǰai Qan and fled back home. After that, he fled again for fear of the Naiman and went to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat on the Čui River, in the country of the Sarta'ul. Then, in less than a year, he rebelled and left once more. He skirted the country of the Ui'ut and the Tang'ut.[1] Reduced to straits as he went on, he fed himself by milking five goats, muzzling *their kids*, and by bleeding his camel. He had only a blind yellowish-white horse with a black tail and mane. Being in *these* straits, he came to his son Temüǰin, who raised taxes and indeed took care of him. Now, forgetting that he kept himself alive like this thanks to his son Temüǰin, he goes on harbouring a rotten liver.[2] What shall we do *with him*?'[3]

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

Ong Qan had them brought in fetters into his tent and said to them, 'What did we pledge to each other when we passed by the country of the Ui'ut and the Tang'ut? How could I think like you?'[4] So saying, spitting in their faces, he had them freed from their fetters. After they had been spat on by the Qan *himself*, the people who were in the tent all rose and spat on them.

[1] See above, § 151 and n. 2.

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

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

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

153 After having spent that winter (1201-1202) *at Quba Qaya*, in the autumn of the Year of the Dog (1202), Činggis Qa'an engaged these Tatars in battle at Dalan Nemürges:[1] the Ča'a'an Tatar,[2] Alči Tatar, Duta'ut [Tatar] and Aruqai Tatar. Before fighting, Činggis Qa'an jointly[3] issued *the following* decree: 'If we overcome the enemy, we shall not stop for booty. When the victory is complete, that booty will surely be ours, and we will share it among ourselves. If we are forced by the enemy to retreat, let us turn back to the point where we began the attack. *Those* men who do not turn back to the point where we began the attack shall be cut down!' So he decreed with them.

They fought at Dalan Nemürges and drove off the Tatars. After they had overcome them, they forced them to rejoin their[4] tribe on the Ulqui Šilügeljit *River* and *thoroughly* plundered them. There and then they destroyed these important people: the Ča'ān Tatar,[5] Alči Tatar, Duta'ut Tatar and Aruqai Tatar.

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

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

[1] I.e., 'Seventy Felt Cloaks.'
[2] = Čaqān Tatar. See the Commentary.
[3] I.e., in concert with the other army commanders, such as Altan, Qučar and Dāritai.
[4] I.e., the Tatar.
[5] = Čaqān Tatar. See the Commentary.

'From olden days the Tatar people
Have destroyed our fathers and forefathers;
To avenge our fathers and forefathers,
And requite the wrong, for them
We shall measure *the Tatars* against the linchpin of a cart,
And kill them to the last one,
We shall utterly slay them.[1]
The rest we shall enslave:
Some here, some there, dividing them among ourselves!'

The council being concluded, as they emerged from the tent, the Tatar Yeke Čeren asked Belgütei what decision they had made. Belgütei said, 'We have decided to measure you all against the linchpin of a cart and slay you.'

At these words of Belgütei, Yeke Čeren issued a proclamation to his Tatars, and they raised a barricade. As our soldiers tried to surround and attack the Tatars that had barricaded themselves in, they suffered great losses. After much trouble, when they forced the barricaded Tatars into submission and were about to slay them to the last man by measuring them against the linchpin of a cart, the Tatars said among themselves, 'Let everyone put a knife in his sleeve and let us die *each* taking *an enemy with us as* a death-companion!'[2] And again we suffered great losses. In this way the Tatars were *finally* measured against the linchpin of a cart and exterminated.

Then Činggis Qa'an issued *this* order: 'Because Belgütei divulged the decision we took together with our kinsmen at the great council, our soldiers suffered great losses. From now on Belgütei shall not join us in great councils; until the council ends, he shall handle those who are outside and, having dealt with them, he shall judge

[1] Only those taller than the linchpin would be killed.
[2] See above, § 149.

litigations and those guilty of theft and falsehood.[1] When the council is over and after we have drunk the ceremonial wine, *only* then shall Belgütei and Da'aritai[2] join us!' So he ordered.

155 Then, on that occasion, Činggis Qa'an took *as wife* Yisügen Qatun, daughter of the Tatar Yeke Čeren. Being loved by him, Yisügen Qatun said, 'If it pleases the Qa'an, he will take care of me, regarding me as a human being and a person *worth keeping*.[3] *But* my elder sister, who is called Yisüi, is superior to me: she *is more* suitable for a ruler. Recently, a bridegroom for her was taken *into our family* as a son-in-law. I wonder now where she has gone in *all* this confusion.'

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

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

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

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

156 After having completely ravaged the Tatars, one day Činggis Qa'an sat outside drinking in company. He was sitting between both Yisüi Qatun and Yisügen Qatun, and

[1] See the Commentary.
[2] I.e., Dāritai.
[3] I.e., not as something to use and discard.

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

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

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

157 When, in that same Year of the Dog (1202), Činggis Qa'an rode against the Tatars, Ong Qan rode against the Merkit. Pursuing Toqto'a Beki in the direction of the Barquǰin Lowland, *Ong Qan* killed Tögüs Beki, the eldest son of Toqto'a, seized Toqto'a's two daughters Qutuqtai and Ča'alun and his wives,[3] and plundered his two sons Qutu and Čila'un together with their people, but *of all the booty* he gave not one thing to Činggis Qa'an.

[1] I.e., 'You Bo'orču, Muqali and the other chiefs.'
[2] Because he was a Tatar, and all the adult male Tatar prisoners had been killed (§ 154).
[3] The text has Ča'arun for Ča'alun. One should, perhaps, read: 'seized Toqto'a's two wives Qutuqtai and Ča'alun.' See the Commentary.

158 After that, Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan rode against Buyiruq Qan of the Güčügüt *clan* of the Naiman. They reached Soqoq Usun[1] by the Uluq Taq[2] where *Buyiruq Qan* was staying *at the time*.

Unable to engage in combat, Buyiruq Qan went off, crossing the Altai *Mountains*. They pursued Buyiruq Qan from Soqoq Usun and, forcing him to cross the Altai, they chased him along the Ürünggü *River* downstream at Qum Šinggir.[3]

While this was going on, a chief called Yeḍi Tubluq, who was patrolling *for Buyiruq Qan*, was pursued by our patrol. As he was about to flee up the mountain *side*, his saddle-strap broke and he was captured on the spot. Pursuing Buyiruq Qan down along the Ürünggü *River*, they overtook him at Lake Kišil Baš,[4] and there they finished him off.

159 As Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan were returning from that place, the *great* warrior Kökse'ü Sabraq of the Naiman arrayed his troops at the Bayidaraq Confluence and prepared to fight them. Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan *likewise* decided to fight and arrayed their troops; *however*, when they arrived it was *already* getting late. They said, 'We shall fight in the morning!', and passed the night in *battle* order. Then Ong Qan had fires lit in the place where he was stationed and that same night moved upstream along the Qara Se'ül[5] *River*.

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

Qan, Qan, I am the skylark
That stays *in one place*;

[1] I.e., 'Soqoq Water (= River).'
[2] A mountain already mentioned in § 144 above. Cf. below, § 177.
[3] Lit., 'of Qum Šinggir (tu. "Sand Promontory").'
[4] I.e., 'Red Head' (tu.).
[5] I.e., 'Black Tail.'

My sworn friend is
The migratory lark.

He must have gone *over* to the Naiman and has remained behind with the intention of submitting to them.'

At these words of J̌amuqa, Gürin Ba'atur of the Ubčiq[1] said, 'How can you speak so deceitfully, backbiting and slandering your upright brother?'[2]

161 Činggis Qa'an had spent the night at that same place. Early next morning, at daybreak, he wanted to fight, but when he looked across to Ong Qan's position, he found that he was no longer *there*. Saying, 'They certainly treat us like burnt offerings *at the sacrifice for the dead*,'[3] Činggis Qa'an *also* moved out from there. He crossed *the river* at the Eder Altai Confluence and, being on the move, proceeded further, setting up camp in the Sa'ari Steppe.

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

162 Kökse'ü Sabraq went in pursuit of Ong Qan. He captured the wife of *his son* Senggüm together with *all* his people. He captured *also* half the people and livestock of Ong Qan which were at Telegetü Pass,[4] and returned home.

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

163 After being pillaged by Köksegü Sabraq,[5] Ong Qan sent an envoy to Činggis Qa'an. Through the envoy he sent this

[1] The text has Ubčiqtai, but this is probably a mistake for Übčiritei. See the Commentary.
[2] Here 'brother' = 'cousin.'
[3] I.e., like something that is no longer useful and can be discarded.
[4] The Telētü Pass of § 136 above.
[5] = Kökse'ü Sabraq.

message: 'I have been robbed by the Naiman of my people and my wife. I send *this envoy* to request from you, my son, your "four steeds."[1] Let them rescue my people for me!'

Činggis Qa'an then sent Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul[2] and Čila'un Ba'atur, these 'four steeds' of his, and arrayed his troops. Before the 'four steeds' arrived, Senggüm had just joined battle *with Kökse'ü Sabraq* at Hula'an Qut;[3] his horse had been shot in the thigh by an arrow and he *himself* was about to be captured.

At that moment those 'four steeds' arrived and saved him, and they recovered his people and his wife for him – all of them. Ong Qan then said, 'Formerly his good father[4] had saved my people who had been lost like this; now, once more, his son, by sending his "four steeds", has rescued my lost people for me. As to my repaying *these* favours, let *only* the protection[5] of Heaven and Earth decide *how, and in what measure!*'

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

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

[1] I.e., the 'four stalwarts.' See the Commentary.
[2] = Boro'ul. See above, § 137.
[3] I.e., 'Red Cliffs.'
[4] I.e., Činggis Qan's late father.
[5] I.e., the protecting powers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Slandering *Činggis Qa'an*, J̌amuqa spoke: 'My sworn friend Temüǰin has messengers *sent* with secret communications to Tayang Qan of the Naiman. His mouth is saying "father" and "son", but his behaviour is *quite* otherwise. Are you going to trust him? If you do not *take him* by surprise *and* strike at him, what will become of you? If you

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

[2] Almost certainly a mistake for Qarta'an. See the Commentary.

[3] I.e., 'Difficult Sands.'

move against my sworn friend Temüǰin, I will join you *and attack* his flank!'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Senggüm sent another message saying, 'When *any* man with a mouth and a tongue says *these things*,[3] how can one not believe him?' He sent messages twice, three times, but could not *convince Ong Qan*. *Finally*, he went to him in person and said, 'Even *now*, at a time when you are *still* so

[1] Lit., 'these *very* words.'

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

[3] I.e., it is common knowledge. See the Commentary.

lively *and well*, *Temüǰin* has not the slightest regard for us. Truly, when you, his father the Qan, *will have reached the age when men*

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

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

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

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

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

They sent word *to Činggis Qa'an*: 'We shall provide Ča'ur Beki. Come and dine at the betrothal feast!' Činggis Qa'an, being *so* invited, drew near with ten men. On the way he spent the night in Father Mönglik's tent. Then Father Mönglik said, 'When we requested Ča'ur Beki, those same *people* despised us and would not provide her. How is it that now, on the contrary, they invite you to dine at the betrothal feast? Why do people who think themselves *so* important invite you, and contradicting themselves, *now* say,

[1] I.e., with Temüǰin.

"We shall provide her"? Are they right? Are they correct?[1] Son, you must proceed with caution. Let us send a *message* giving as an excuse that it is spring, our herds are lean, and we must fatten our horses *first*.'

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

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

169 Having thus pledged their word that they would surround and capture them, Altan's younger cousin, Yeke Čeren, said when he came home, 'We have decided to capture Temüǰin early tomorrow. What sort *of a reward* might be expected by someone who delivers a message with this news to Temüǰin?'[2]

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

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

Having spoken thus, Narin Ke'en also told Kišiliq, his horse-herder, 'Fetch and bring in[3] the white Merkit *horse*

[1] I.e., they are not trustworthy. See above, § 167, n. 2.
[2] I.e., the reward was certain to be handsome.
[3] From the pasture.

and the bay with the white muzzle, and tether them: tonight, towards daybreak, we'll ride out *to attack*.' So he said.

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

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

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER SIX

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

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

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

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

---

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

As they approached, J̌amuqa was advancing together with Ong Qan. While they advanced Ong Qan there and then asked J̌amuqa, 'Who are those with son Temüǰin who are likely to fight?' To his question J̌amuqa said, 'There are his people called the Uru'ut and the Mangqut; those people of his do indeed *know how to* fight:

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

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

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

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

So J̌amuqa secretly sent the following message to Činggis Qa'an: 'Ong Qan asked me, "Who are those with son Temüǰin who are likely to fight?" To his question I said, "I rate first the Uru'ut and the Mangqut." Thus I spoke, and at these words of mine those same J̌irgin were ordered to the forefront as vanguard. Ačiq Širun of the Tümen Tübegen was appointed to support the J̌irgin. [The Olon Dongqayit were appointed to support the *Tümen* Tübegen.] Qori Šilemün Taiši, leader of the thousand bodyguards of Ong Qan, was appointed to support the *Olon* Dongqayit. For his[1] support, they decided that the main body of Ong Qan's own army should stand *in readiness*. Ong Qan also told me: "Younger brother J̌amuqa, you set these troops *of mine* in battle array!", saying that he relied on me. From this I realized that he is not much of a companion. How can I set his troops in battle array *for him*? I have never been able to fight against *my* sworn friend, and Ong Qan is less capable than me. Sworn friend, do not be afraid; be on your guard!' That was the message he sent.

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

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

---

[1] I.e., Qori Šilemün Taiši's.

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

Jürčedei *then* went on the attack with his Uru'ut *troops* and overcame the Tümen Tübegen. As he advanced, crushing them and driving them back, the Olon Dongqayit charged against him, but Jürčedei crushed also the Dongqayit. After overcoming them, as he went forward, Qori Šilemün Taiši attacked him with the thousand bodyguards. When Jürčedei had also repulsed and defeated Qori Šilemün Taiši and was pressing ahead, Senggüm, without permission from Ong Qan, began to charge against him, but was shot by an arrow in *one of* his bright red cheeks. Senggüm fell there and then *from his horse*. When Senggüm fell all the Kereyit turned back and stood *guard* over him.

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

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

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

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

When the day grew light, they beheld a man approaching from the rear. As he came *closer*, it was Bo'orču.

[1] = Ögödei.

[2] From the pastures.

When he arrived Činggis Qa'an beat his breast and said, 'Let Eternal Heaven decide *what should be*!'

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] I.e., as if someone else was riding.

he left, he moved upstream along the Ulqui Šilügeljit *River* and came into Dalan Nemürges.

174 Then, from the rear,[1] Qada'an Daldurqan came up, leaving *behind* his wife and children. When he arrived, Qada'an Daldurqan reported Ong Qan's words saying, 'When Ong Qan's son Senggüm was shot in *one of* his bright red cheeks by an *učumaq arrow* and fell *from his horse*, and *the Kereyit* turned back *and stood guard* over him, *Ong Qan* then said:

"When it would have been better
Not to stir him up,
We did stir him up;
When it would have been better
Not to provoke him,
We did provoke him – *thus*, alas,
We have been the cause of their driving
A nail into my son's cheek.

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

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

If they do not come *and join* us *of their own accord*, we shall go *out*, wrap them up like dry horse dung in a skirt, and bring them here!" To these words of Ačiq Širun, Ong Qan said, "Correct! If this is so, I fear my son may be exhausted. Take care of my son, and do not shake him

[1] I.e., after Činggis Qan – to join him.

while you carry him!" Having said this he withdrew from the battlefield and returned *home*'. So spoke *Qada'an Daldurqan*.

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

They were moving on in this way, hunting for provisions as they went, when Quyildar, whose wounds had not yet healed,[1] without paying heed to a warning by Činggis Qa'an rushed after the game. He had a relapse and died. Činggis Qa'an then buried him at Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend[2] of the Qalqa.

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

Live thanks to the good looks
Of their granddaughters
And the beauty
Of their daughters,[3]

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

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

[1] See above, § 171.

[2] Or 'at the slanting cliff of the Or Bend of the Qalqa.' See the Commentary.

[3] Cf. above, § 64.

177 Then, after having obtained the Onggirat's submission, Činggis Qa'an departed and, pitching camp east of Tüngge Stream, he gave Arqai Qasar and Sügegei J̌e'ün a verbal message to be delivered *to Ong Qan*, saying, 'Tell this to my father the Qan: "We have pitched camp east of Tüngge Stream; the grass is good and our geldings have gained strength."' He *further* said, 'My father the Qan, out of what grievance did you frighten me? If you must frighten me, why don't you frighten me in such a way *at least* as to let your poor sons and poor daughters-in-law sleep to their heart's content?[1]

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

Why have you frightened them so? My father the Qan,

Have you been stung
By someone standing at the side?
Have you been stirred up
By someone coming between us?[2]

My father the Qan, what did we agree upon, the two of us? At Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut of J̌orqal Qun did we not say to each other that

Should a snake with *venomous* teeth
Provoke discord *between us*,
Let us not succumb to his provocations.
By explaining *only* mouth to mouth[3]
We shall believe *each other*![4]

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

[2] Cf. above, § 127, and below, § 201.

[3] Lit., 'by teeth and mouth.'

[4] Cf. above, § 164. For Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut of J̌orqal Qun ('Red Hills of Deer [?] Cliff'), see the Commentary.

Did we not agree to this? And now, my father the Qan, when you parted from me, did you explain mouth to mouth?[1]

Should a snake with *venomous* fangs
Spread slander about us,
Let us not give in to his slander
By explaining *only* face to face[2]
We shall believe *each other*![3]

Did we not agree to this? And now, my father the Qan, when you separated from me, did you explain face to face? My father the Qan, even if I *and my followers* are few *in number*, I gave you no cause to seek for a more numerous *group*; even if I am bad, I gave you no cause to seek for *someone* better. If a two-shaft cart breaks the second shaft, the ox cannot pull it. Like that, was I not *also* your other shaft? If a two-wheel cart breaks the second wheel, it cannot move. Like that, was I not *also* your other wheel? If we speak of former days, after your father Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan you became *qan* because you were the eldest of forty sons. When you became *qan* you killed your two younger brothers Tai Temür Taiši and Buqa Temür; when your younger brother Erke Qara was about to be killed *too*, he escaped, saving his life, and submitted to Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman. Because you had become the murderer of your younger brothers, your paternal uncle Gür Qan moved against you. When he came *upon you*, you saved your life by fleeing with a hundred men; you escaped following the Selengge *River* downstream and sneaked away through the Qara'un Gorge.[4] Then, when you got out of there, you gave your daughter Huǰa'ur Üǰin *in marriage*

[1] Lit., 'by teeth and mouth.'

[2] Lit., 'by mouth and tongue.'

[3] Cf. above, § 164.

[4] Cf. above, § 150.

to Toqto'a of the Merkit to please him.[1] Having got out from the Qara'un Gorge you came to my father Yisügei Qan and there and then said to him: "Rescue my people for me from my uncle Gür Qan." Approached by you in that manner, my father Yisügei Qan took with him Qunan and Baqaǰi from the Tayiči'ut. Saying, "I shall rescue your people for you," he arrayed his troops and set out. He pursued Gür Qan, who was at Qurban Telesüt, and twenty or thirty of his men towards Qašin; he rescued your people for you. From there you came to the Black Forest by the Tu'ula *River* and you, my father the Qan, became a sworn friend of Yisügei Qan. Then, Ong Qan my father, you gratefully said, "As for the favour of this good action of yours, I will repay your favour *even* to the children of your children – let *only* the protection of Heaven Above and Earth decide *how*, *and in what measure*!"[2] You spoke *thus* and were grateful.

'After that Erke Qara[3] requested troops from Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman and moved against you. When he came *upon you*, you saved your life by abandoning your own people and, fleeing with a few men, you went to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat on the Čui River, in the country of the Sarta'ul. In less than a year you rebelled against the *gür qan* and departed once more. Reduced to straits as you went through the country of the Ui'ut and the Tang'ut,[4] you fed yourself by milking five goats, muzzling *their kids*; you fed yourself *also* by bleeding your camel, and came to me with only a blind yellowish-white horse with a black tail and mane. When I learned that you, *my* father the Qan, had arrived in such straits, remembering that you and my father Yisügei Qan had formerly declared yourselves sworn friends, I sent as envoys Taqai and Sükegei to meet you;

[1] I.e., to establish friendly relations with the Merkit.
[2] Cf. § 163 ad fin.
[3] Written Erge Qara. Cf. § 151.
[4] Cf. above, §§ 151 and 152.

furthermore, from the Bürgi Escarpment on the Kelüren *River*, I in person went to receive you, and we met at Lake Güse'ür. Since you had arrived in *such* straits, I levied taxes and gave them to you. Because of your former declaration of sworn friendship with my father, the two of us declared ourselves father and son at the Black Forest by the Tu'ula: is that not the reason *why we did it*?[1]

'That winter I brought you into *my* camp and took care of you. When winter was over and summer had passed, in the autumn I rode against Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit. I fought with him at Mürüče Se'ül by the Qadiqliq[2] Ridge. I pursued Toqto'a Beki in the direction of the Barquǰin Lowland. I plundered the Merkit: I seized their many herds of horses and palatial tents, their grain*stores* – all – and gave it to *you*, *my* father the Qan. Your hunger I did not allow to last until noon, your leanness I did not allow to last until the middle of the month.

'Then we pursued Buyiruq Qan the Güčügür and forced him to cross the Altai from Soqoq Usun by the Uluq Taq; and, going along the Ürünggü *River* downstream, we finished him off[3] at *Lake* Kičil[4] Baš.

'As we were returning from that place, Kökse'ü Sabraq of the Naiman had arrayed his troops at the Bayidaraq Confluence and was ready for battle. But, as evening fell, we said, "We shall fight early tomorrow!", and spent the night in *battle* order. *Then* you, my father the Qan, had fires lit in the place where you were stationed and in the night moved up along the Qara Se'ül *River*. When I looked out early next morning, you were no longer in your position; you had moved out. I said, "They certainly treat us like burnt offerings *at the sacrifice for the dead*," and I moved

[1] See above, § 151.
[2] = Qadingliq. For these localities see the Commentary.
[3] Cf. above, § 158.
[4] = Kišil.

out too. Crossing *the river* at the Eder Altai Confluence, I came *back* and pitched camp in the Sa'ari Steppe.[1]

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

'Now, my father the Qan, out of what grievance do you reprimand me? To *explain* the nature of *this* grievance, send me *your* messengers. When you send them, send Qulbari Quri and Idürgen.[6] If you do not send both *of them*, send me *at least* the latter.'

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

[1] Cf. above, §§ 159, 161.
[2] Lit., 'of.'
[3] I.e., Qutu. Cf. §§ 141, 142, 144, 157, 162.
[4] See above, § 163.
[5] Cf. above, §§ 162-163.
[6] Called Itürgen in § 184 below.

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

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

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

Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to Altan and Qučar: 'When you rejected me, you two, did you say that you would leave me, *breaking with me* openly, or did you say that you would leave me after you had consulted *only* among yourselves? Qučar, when I said that, of *all of* us, you as the son of Nekün Taiši should become *qan*, you declined. When I said that you, Altan, should then become *qan* and govern us like your father Qutula Qan had been governing us, you too declined. And when I said, "You, Sača and Taiču, become the *qans*," because they were the sons of Bartan Ba'atur[1] from the senior line, I was unable to *obtain their consent*. Because my urging you to become *qan* had no effect, when I was told by you to be the *qan* I governed *the people*. Had you become *qan*, when as vanguard I would have been sent speeding after many foes, *then*, with Heaven's protection, while plundering the enemy people,

[1] An error for Barqaq Ba'atur. See the Commentary.

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

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

180 Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to younger brother To'oril: 'The reason for calling you "younger brother" *is this*: *Once* Oqda Bo'ol[4] was brought as captive by Tumbinai and Čaraqai Lingqu. Oqda Bo'ol's son was Sübegei Bo'ol. Sübegei Bo'ol's son was Kököčü Kirsa'an. Kököčü Kirsa'an's son was Yegei Qongtaqar.[5] You, To'oril, are Yegei Qongtaqar's son. You constantly flatter *Ong Qan* saying, "I will give you people" – whose *people*? Altan and Qučar are surely not going to let anyone rule my people! The reason for my calling you "younger brother" *is that you are*

[1] Cf. above, § 123.
[2] = *ǰa'ut quri*. Cf. above, § 134.
[3] I.e., the Onon, the Tūla and the Kerulen. The 'source' of the three rivers is the area of Mount Burqan Qaldun.
[4] I.e., 'Oqda the Slave.'
[5] = J̌egei Qongdaqor. See above, § 120.

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

Such is my message for you.'

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

When the messages were delivered in this way, Senggüm said, 'When did he *ever* say "*our* father the Qan"? Didn't he *rather* say "the old murderer"? When did he *ever* call me "sworn friend"? Didn't he *rather* say *that I am like* "Toqto'a the shaman wearing the tail of a Sartaq sheep"[3]? I

[1] Cf. §§ 137 and 211.
[2] I.e., 'I am the adopted son and you the natural son (of Ong Qan).'
[3] I.e., somebody to laugh at. See the Commentary for this saying.

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

And so Arqai Qasar returned from Ong Qan, but because the wife and children of Sügegei J̌e'ün were there with To'oril,[1] Sügegei J̌e'ün did not have the courage to go with Arqai and stayed behind. When Arqai arrived he reported these words *of Senggüm* to Činggis Qa'an.

182 Činggis Qa'an then left and pitched camp at Lake Balǰuna. When he was about to encamp, he met right there the Qorulas of Čo'os Čaqān.[2] These Qorulas submitted to him without fighting.

From Alaquš Digit Quri of the Önggüt came Asan[3] the Sartaq. He had a white camel and was driving a thousand wethers along the Ergüne River downstream in order to buy *pelts of* sables and squirrels. As he drew in to water *his wethers* at *Lake* Balǰuna he met Činggis Qa'an.

183 Činggis Qa'an was also watering *his animals* at the same *Lake* Balǰuna when Qasar, leaving *behind* his wife and his three sons Yegü, Yisüngge and Tuqu with Ong Qan, departed with his companions – few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies. Saying, '*I will join* my elder brother,' he searched for Činggis Qa'an. He climbed the ridges of Qara'un J̌idun,[4] but he could not find him *there*; being in *dire* straits he ate hides and sinews and went on, *eventually* joining Činggis Qa'an at *Lake* Balǰuna.

Činggis Qa'an received Qasar and rejoiced. They agreed to send messengers to Ong Qan. Through Qali'udar of the J̌e'üret and Čaqurqan[5] of the Uriangqai *Činggis*

[1] This To'oril is Sügegei's brother mentioned in § 180 above.
[2] Cf. § 141. See the Commentary.
[3] = Ḥasan.
[4] I.e., 'Dark (*or* Black) Ridge.'
[5] = Ča'urqan. See above, § 120.

Qa'an sent a message. He told *Qali'udar and Čaqurqan*, 'Tell *my* father the Qan that these are the words of Qasar,' saying:

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

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

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

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

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

And so they came, and as they were reaching the appointed place at Arqal Geügi, the envoy Itürgen seeing the signs of a multitude *in the distance*, turned back and fled. Qali'udar's horse being swift*er*, Qali'udar caught up with him, but did not venture to seize him; *instead*, going *now* in front of him, *now* behind him, he kept on obstructing *his way*. Čaqurqan's horse was slow*er*; at an arrow's shot from the rear,[1] he hit Itürgen's gold-saddled black gelding on the tip of its rump, so that it sat *on its haunches*. Qali'udar and Čaqurqan then took Itürgen captive and brought him to Činggis Qa'an. Not speaking to Itürgen, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Take him to Qasar; let Qasar decide *how to deal with him*!' They took him to Qasar who, without saying a word to him, cut Itürgen down and cast away *his body* there and then.

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

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

They fought for three nights and three days, but *our men* stood *firm*, surrounding *the Kereyit*, who on the third day were exhausted and surrendered. Ong Qan and Senggüm escaped during the night – how *they did so* was not known. One who fought *longer than the others* was Qadaq Ba'atur of the J̌irgin. When he came out to surrender, Qadaq Ba'atur said, 'We fought three nights and three days. I said to myself, "How can I let my rightful lord[2] be seized and killed before my eyes?" Unable to forsake

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

him, I struggled and kept on fighting so that he could escape and save his life. Now, if I shall be made to die, I shall die, but if Činggis Qa'an favours me, I will serve him.'

Činggis Qa'an approved Qadaq Ba'atur's words, saying, 'Is he not a *true* fighting man who says that he is unable to forsake his rightful lord and lets him escape, saving his life? He is a man worthy to be one's companion.' And favouring him, he did not have him killed. 'Because Quyildar *lost* his life,[1] Qadaq Ba'atur and one hundred J̌irgin must serve Quyildar's wife and children. If boys are born to them, they must in turn serve Quyildar's *descendants* to the offspring of *his* offspring. If girls are born to them, their parents must not betroth them according to their own wishes, for *their daughters* must be servants and attend to Quyildar's wife and children.' He gave this order favouring *Qadaq Ba'atur*.

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

[1] See above, § 175.
[2] See above, § 171.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER SEVEN

186 Thus *Činggis Qa'an* crushed and despoiled the Kereyit people, distributing them on all sides. He gave Taqai Ba'atur of the Suldus one hundred Ǐirgin *in reward* for his services. Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered *as follows*: Ong Qan's younger brother Ǐaqa Gambu had two daughters. The elder one, Ibaqa Beki, Činggis Qa'an took for himself. The younger one, Sorqaqtani Beki, he gave to Tolui. For that reason, saying that Ǐaqa Gambu and the personal subjects belonging to him should be kept together and be *regarded like* the second shaft *of a cart for himself*, he showed favour to *Ǐaqa Gambu* and did not take *his people* away from him.

187 Činggis Qa'an also gave the following order: 'Because of Badai's and Kišiliq's service, they shall have Ong Qan's golden tent *just* as it stands, with his golden bowls and vessels, together with the people who looked after them, and the Ongqoǰit Kereyit as their bodyguards. You, *Badai and Kišiliq*, enjoy *the privilege of* being freemen to the offspring of *your* offspring, allowed to carry quivers and drink the ceremonial wine!

When swiftly pursuing many foes,
If you get booty,
What you get you shall take away.
When *in a battue*
You slaughter wild beasts,
What you slaughter you shall take away.'

He further ordered: 'Because of the vital service performed by Badai and Kišiliq, and under the protection of Eternal Heaven, I crushed the Kereyit people and, indeed, gained the high throne. In future, the offspring of *my* offspring who will occupy *this* throne of mine must

successively remember those *two* who performed such service!' So he ordered.

When *the Mongols* subjugated the Kereyit people, they distributed them among each other so that nobody went short. They distributed the Tümen Tübe'en[1] and they all took of them until they had plenty. They despoiled the Olon Dongqayit in less than a day. As for the brave Ǐirgin who *used* to strip the blood-stained clothing and possessions *from the enemy*, they divided and apportioned them, but could not give some to everybody. Having in this way annihilated the Kereyit people, *Činggis Qa'an* spent that winter at Abǰi'a Ködeger.[2]

188 Ong Qan and Senggüm escaped with their bare lives[3] and went away, unwilling to submit *to Činggis Qa'an*. Ong Qan, who was suffering from thirst, was going *to drink* at Nekün Usun[4] of Didik Saqal[5] when he came across the Naiman patrolman Qori Sübeči. Qori Sübeči seized Ong Qan and although *the latter* declared, 'I am Ong Qan', *Qori Sübeči* did not recognise him and, disbelieving him, slew him on the spot.

Senggüm did not go to Nekün Usun of Didik Saqal, but bypassed it and entered the Čöl.[6] While searching for water, he[7] dismounted and stalked *some* wild asses that were standing *there*, plagued by gadflies. Senggüm's companion, the equerry Kököčü had his wife with him. With Senggüm they were altogether three of them. He[8] gave his horse to his equerry Kököčü to hold. The equerry Kököčü led the horse away and started trotting back *home*. His wife said,

---

[1] = Tümen Tübegen. Cf. above, §§ 170, 171.
[2] I.e., 'Shrunk (?) Height (*or* Elevation).'
[3] Lit., 'with nothing other than their bodies.' Cf. above, § 109 and n. 3.
[4] I.e., 'Slave Water (= Spring?).'
[5] I.e., 'Mud Beard.' See the Commentary.
[6] I.e., 'the Desert' (= the Gobi).
[7] Lit., 'Senggüm.'
[8] I.e., Senggüm.

'When you wore gold-*embroidered* clothes,
And ate tasty dishes,
He[1] called you "my Kököčü." How can you go away *now*, forsaking and abandoning in this way your lord Senggüm?' So saying, his wife stopped *there* and remained behind.

Kököčü said, 'Surely you have said to yourself, "I want to take Senggüm as my man!"' To these words his wife said, 'You call me "A woman with a dog's face;"[2] *all the same* give him at least his golden cup – let him at least draw water and drink!' Thereupon the equerry Kököčü threw the golden cup back at him, saying, 'Take it!', and trotted off.

And so he came *to us*, and upon his arrival the equerry Kököčü said to Činggis Qa'an, 'This is how I have come, leaving Senggüm in the Čöl', and he related from beginning to end everything that had been said between *himself and his wife*. Činggis Qa'an *then* ordered: 'To his wife I will show favour. As for the equerry Kököčü himself, who comes here having in this manner abandoned his rightful lord, who would now trust such a man and take him for a companion?' He cut him down and cast away *his body*.

189 Gürbesü, the mother of Tayang Qan of the Naiman, said, 'Ong Qan was the great old *qan* of former days. Bring his head here and if it is really his we shall sacrifice to it!' She sent a messenger to Qori Sübeči and had him cut off and bring back his[3] head. She recognized it and placed it on a large white felt rug. She had her daughters-in-law perform the rites *pertaining* to a daughter-in-law, ordered that the ceremonial wine be drunk and the *horse* fiddle be played, and, holding the cup, made an offering *to the head.*

The head, being then so honoured, laughed. 'It laughed', said Tayang Qan; he stamped on it *and crushed it*

[1] I.e., Senggüm.
[2] I.e., a shameless bitch – referring to an unfaithful wife. See the Commentary.
[3] I.e., Ong Qan's.

to pieces. Thereupon Kökse'ü Sabraq said, 'You have cut off the dead *qan*'s head and brought it here; the next *thing* you *do is to* crush it to pieces! This is not right. The sound of our dogs' barking has turned nasty.[1] Inanča Bilge Qan *formerly* said:

"My wife is young, but
I, her husband, have become old.
This *son of mine* Tayang
I begot *only* through magic.
Ah, *this* son of mine, born a weakling,
Has grown weak and emaciated:[2]
Will he be able to care for and control
My numerous, base and unruly people?"

So he said. Now the dogs are barking and this barking sounds as if *a calamity* is approaching. The rule of our queen Gürbesü has become harsh, and you, my *qan* Torluq Tayang, are soft. You have no thought or skill except for falconry and hunting.'

Being told so, Tayang Qan then said, 'I hear that there are a few Mongols yonder in the east. These people with their quivers terrified the great old Ong Qan of former days, causing him to desert his own companions and perish. Do they now want to be rulers themselves? Even if there are two shining lights, the sun and the moon, in the sky above – both sun and moon are indeed there – yet how can there be two rulers on earth? Let us go and bring here those few Mongols!'

At that, his mother Gürbesü said, 'What could we do with them? The Mongol people have *always* smelt bad and worn grimy clothes. They live apart, and far away. Let them stay *there*. But we might perhaps have their fine daughters and daughters-in-law brought here and, making

[1] I.e., of bad omen.
[2] Doubtful interpretation. See the Commentary.

them wash their hands, perhaps just let them milk our cows and sheep.'

On this Tayang Qan said, 'If that is so, what do they have *for us to worry about*? Let us go to those Mongols and we will surely bring back their quivers!'

190 To these words Kökse'ü Sabraq said, 'How boastfully you speak! O Torluq Qan, is this proper? You had better stop *talking*!' Despite Kökse'ü Sabraq's warning, *Tayang Qan* sent an envoy called Torbi Taš to Alaquš Digit Quri of the Önggüt with this message: 'I am told that there are a few Mongols yonder east. You be the right wing. I shall join you from here and we will take the quivers of those few Mongols!'

Alaquš Digit Quri replied to these words saying, 'I cannot be the right wing.' Having sent this message, Alaquš Digit Quri had the following communication conveyed to Činggis Qa'an through his envoy called Yuqunan: 'Tayang Qan of the Naiman is coming to take your quivers. He approached me saying that I should be the right wing, but I refused. Now I am sending you this warning, for I fear that if he comes you may be robbed of your quivers.'

Just at that time Činggis Qa'an was hunting in the Teme'en Steppe;[1] he was encircling Tülkin Če'üt[2] when Yuqunan, the envoy sent by Alaquš Digit Quri, arrived to deliver this message.

On receiving this message, and whilst *still* at the hunt, they at once discussed what to do. Many of the men said, 'Our geldings are lean, there is nothing we can do now.' To that Otčigin Noyan *retorted* saying, 'How can one make the excuse that the geldings are lean? My geldings are fat! How can we stay put when we hear such words *as these*?' Then Belgütei Noyan spoke: 'If, when one is *still* alive, an enemy is allowed to take away one's quiver, what is the

[1] Lit., 'Camel Steppe (*or* Plain).'
[2] I.e., 'Tülkin (?) Hills.'

advantage of living? Isn't it right for any man born that when he dies he should lie with his quiver and bow alongside his bones? The Naiman people are boastful, bragging that they possess a great country and a large population. If *now*, grasping the chance their boasts *afford us*, we set out on a campaign and remove their quivers, would *this* be *so* difficult? If we go forward, won't their numerous herds come to a halt and stay behind? Burdened with their palatial tents, won't they abandon them? Won't their many people depart and seek shelter in high places? How can we stay put and allow such *people* to keep boasting in this way? Let us ride against them at once!' Thus he spoke.

191 Činggis Qa'an approved these words of Belgütei Noyan and, returning from the hunt, moved from Abǰiqa Köteger[1] and set up camp at Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend of the Qalqa *River*.[2] He counted his troops and on the spot formed units of a thousand *men*, appointing the commanders of a thousand, the commanders of a hundred and the commanders of ten. Thereupon he appointed as chamberlains[3] Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi, Ögele Čerbi, Tolun Čerbi, Bučaran Čerbi and Söyiketü Čerbi. Then, having appointed these six chamberlains, he formed units of a thousand, a hundred, and ten *men*, and he chose and recruited eighty *men* to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy *men* to serve as dayguards. He recruited them from the sons and younger brothers of commanders of a thousand and of a hundred, as well as from the sons and younger brothers of mere ordinary people, choosing and recruiting those who were able and of good appearance.

Showing favour to Arqai Qasar, he then ordered: 'Let him choose himself his brave warriors and form a unit of a

[1] The Abǰi'a Ködeger of § 187 above.
[2] See above, § 175, n. 2.
[3] *Čerbin*. See the Commentary, §§ 120 and 191.

thousand to fight before me in time of battle; in the many *other* days *of peace* they shall serve as my dayguards.' He *also* said, 'Ögöle Čerbi shall be the commander of the seventy dayguards, *acting* in consultation with Qudus Qalčan.'[1]

192 Činggis Qa'an further ordered: 'The quiverbearers, the dayguards, the stewards, the doorkeepers and the grooms are to go on roster duty in day*time*. Before the sun sets they shall retire *to make way* for the nightguards;[2] they shall go out to their geldings and spend the night *there*. At night, the nightguards shall see that *those of* their *men whose duty it is* to lie all around *Our* tent do so, and they shall put on roster *those of* their *men whose duty it is* to stand at the door *to guard it*. The following morning, when We eat soup, the quiverbearers and the dayguards shall report to the nightguards; the quiverbearers, dayguards, stewards and doorkeepers shall *all* carry out their respective tasks and take their *appointed* places. When they have completed their days of service, *consisting of* a three-day and a three-night turn of duty, and have passed the three nights exactly in the same manner,[3] they shall be relieved, but the night *after their* relief, they shall *still* be on duty as nightguards, and shall spend the night lying down all around.' So he ordered.

In this way Činggis Qa'an, having formed the units of a thousand, appointed the chamberlains, recruited eighty *men* to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy *men* to serve as dayguards; he let Arqai Qasar choose the brave men,[4] and set out against the Naiman people from Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend of the Qalqa *River*.

[1] I.e., sharing command with him. Ögöle = Ögele. See above, § 120 and com.

[2] I.e., so as to be relieved by the nightguards.

[3] I.e., as ordered.

[4] See the Commentary.

193 In the Year of the Rat, on the sixteenth day of the first month of summer (17 May 1204), *the day of* the Red Circle,[1] he consecrated the standard[2] and set forth. He rode upstream along the Kelüren *River* and sent J̌ebe and Qubilai ahead to reconnoitre. When they reached the Sa'ari Steppe, the Naiman patrol was *already* there, on the top of *Mount* Qangqarqan. Our patrolmen *and theirs* went in pursuit of one another. The Naiman patrol seized one of our patrolmen who had a white horse with a rather poor saddle.[3] When the Naiman patrol caught that horse, they consulted among themselves and said, 'The Mongols' geldings are lean!'

When our *soldiers* reached the Sa'ari Steppe they halted there and discussed what to do. Then Dödei Čerbi gave the following advice to Činggis Qa'an: 'It is we who are few *in number* and, in addition to being few, we have arrived *here* exhausted. So, let us indeed halt and set up camp, spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe here until our geldings have eaten their fill. Let every single one[4] *of us* each light fires in five different places and frighten *the enemy* with *all these camp* fires. They say the Naiman people are numerous, but they *also* say that their *qan* is a weakling who has not yet come out of his tent. While we keep them in doubt with the fires, our geldings will eat their fill. When our geldings are satiated, we shall chase the Naiman patrolmen and, pressing hard on them, we shall make them rejoin the main body *of the army*. If we engage them in combat in that confusion, won't we get the better of them?'

Approving these words of advice *from Dödei Čerbi*, Činggis Qa'an gave the following order: '*Things* being so,

[1] I.e., 'of the full moon.' Cf. above, §§ 81, 118.

[2] Cf. above, § 106.

[3] I.e., a rather loose saddle.

[4] Lit., 'every living person', i.e. every individual in the camp without exception.

let them light the fires!', and he proclaimed *it as* law to the soldiers.[1] Thus, they set up camp spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe and everyone[2] was made to light fires in five different places.

At night the Naiman patrolmen, seeing *so* many night-fires from the top of *Mount* Qangqarqan, said, 'Did we not say that the Mongols are only few in number? Their *camp* fires are more numerous than the stars!' They had sent to Tayang Qan the little white horse with the rather poor saddle; *now* they sent him this message: 'The Mongol troops have set up camp so as to cover the *whole* Sa'ari Steppe; they seem to increase daily, and their fires are more numerous than the stars.'

194 When this news from the patrolmen reached him, Tayang Qan was at Qačir Usun[3] in the Qangqai *Mountains*. Upon receiving the news he sent word to his son Güčülük Qan: 'The geldings of the Mongols are lean, but *our* patrolmen say that their *camp* fires are more numerous than the stars. The Mongols are, *therefore*, many.

If we engage them *and fight them* to the end,
Will it not be difficult to disengage ourselves?
If we engage them *and fight them* to the end,
They will not blink their black eyes.
Is it advisable for us
To fight these tough Mongols
Who do not flinch *even* if their cheeks are pierced
And their black blood gushes forth?

We are told that the geldings of the Mongols are lean. Let us move, withdrawing our people across the Altai. We shall *then* reorganize our troops and lure them[4] after us as we go.

[1] See the Commentary.
[2] Lit., 'every living person', i.e. every individual in the camp without exception.
[3] I.e., 'Mule Water.'
[4] I.e., the Mongols.

We shall march until we reach the southern slopes of the Altai, fighting a dog's fight.[1] Our geldings are fat: when we have made their bellies leaner and have exhausted the geldings of the Mongols we shall *turn back and* smash into their faces.' He sent this message.

To these words Güčülük Qan said, 'Again *that* woman Tayang! He speaks such words because he has lost courage. Where would this vast number of Mongols come from? Most Mongols, together with J̌amuqa, are here with us. *That* woman Tayang,

Who *dares* not walk further than
A pregnant woman *goes* to urinate;
Who does not *even* venture so far as
A wheel-*tied* calf *reaches* for its feed,

has lost heart and has sent me that message, hasn't he?'

Güčülük Qan through the envoy had his words conveyed to his father to hurt and distress him; to these words, whereby Tayang Qan himself was spoken of as behaving like a woman, Tayang Qan said, 'May the strong and proud Güčülük not lose this pride of his on the day when we meet *on the battlefield* and slay one another! When we meet *on the battlefield* and fight to the end it will surely be difficult to disengage ourselves!'

Upon these words Qori Sübeči, a high official who held command under Tayang Qan, said, 'Your father Inanča Bilge Qan never showed a man's back or a gelding's rump to an enemy that was his match. Now you, how can you lose heart when it is *still so* early in the morning? Had we known that you would have lost courage in this manner, shouldn't we have brought your mother Gürbesü, even though she is *only* a woman, and given her command of the army? What a pity, alas, that Kökse'ü Sabraq should have become *so* old! The discipline in our army has grown lax! *This* is, surely, the *favourable* time and the destiny of the

[1] I.e., engaging in skirmishes.

Mongols *decreed by Heaven and Earth*. We are finished! Ah, weakling Tayang, it looks as if you are quite powerless.' Thus he spoke and, having struck on his quiver, he trotted off *and went his* separate way.

195 At this Tayang Qan grew angry and said, 'A life *means* to die, a body *means* to suffer: it is the same *destiny* for all! That being so, let us fight!' Moving from Qačir Usun he went downstream along the Tamir *River* and crossed the Orqon. Passing along the eastern fringe of the Naqu Cliff he reached Čakirma'ut,[1] where Činggis Qa'an's patrolmen saw him as he was approaching. They sent a message *to Činggis Qa'an* saying, 'The Naiman have arrived and are drawing near.'

When this news reached him, Činggis Qa'an said, 'The more numerous, the greater damage; the less numerous, the lesser damage.'[2] He rode against them and, having driven away their patrolmen, he arrayed his troops and together *with the army leaders* decided to advance in 'caragana' marching-order, to stand in 'lake' battle-formation and fight a 'chisel' combat.[3]

Having spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an in person formed the vanguard, putting Qasar in charge of the main body *of the army* and Otčigin Noyan in charge of the reserve horses. The Naiman withdrew from Čakirma'ut and took up position south of Naqu Cliff, along the mountain fringes. Then our patrolmen arrived driving away the Naiman patrolmen and pursuing them until they joined the main body *of their army* south of Naqu Cliff.

Tayang Qan saw them arriving thus in *hot* pursuit. At that time J̌amuqa had *also* set forth with his troops and had come with the Naiman. As he was there, Tayang Qan asked

[1] I.e., 'Three-Year-Old Deer (?).'

[2] A popular saying, used here with reference to Tayang Qan's more numerous forces.

[3] For these military tactics see the Commentary.

J̌amuqa, 'What sort *of people are* those, who are like wolves that come chasing a flock of sheep and pursuing them as far as the sheep-pen? What people are these, drawing near in such *hot* pursuit?'

J̌amuqa said, 'My sworn friend Temüǰin has been feeding "four hounds" on human flesh, leashing[1] them with iron chains. They are the ones approaching in pursuit of our patrol. Those "four hounds",

Their foreheads are of hardened copper,
They have chisels for snouts,
And awls for tongues;
With hearts of iron,
And swords for whips,
They advance feeding on dew
And riding on the wind.
On the day of killing
They eat human flesh, those ones;
On the day of battles
They make human flesh
Their provisions,[2] those ones.

Loosed from their iron chains – which had surely restrained them! – they are now full of joy and are approaching thus, slavering *at the mouth*', he said. 'Who are those "four hounds"? They are J̌ebe and Qubilai, J̌elme and Sübe'etei. Those are the four.'

Tayang Qan said, 'Let us then stay away from those vile *creatures*!' He retreated in haste and took up position astride the mountain.

When he saw them approaching from the rear and encircling them,[3] leaping in delight, Tayang Qan again asked J̌amuqa, 'What sort *of people are* these, who are like foals let loose early *in the morning* – foals that after sucking

[1] Lit., 'binding.'

[2] I.e., as provisions for the road.

[3] I.e., Tayang Qan and J̌amuqa.

their mother's milk are *always* gambolling around her?[1] Why are they approaching, encircling us in this manner?'

J̌amuqa said, 'These are called the Uru'ut and the Mangqut:

They rush after men *armed* with spears
And strip them of their blood-stained clothing;
Chasing after men *armed* with swords,
They fell and kill them,
And take away their valuables and clothing.

Do they not rejoice now as they draw near, bounding thus in delight?'

Thereupon Tayang Qan said, 'If that is so, let us stay away from those vile *creatures*!' He took up position, retreating further up the mountain.

Tayang Qan *again* asked J̌amuqa, 'Who is the one approaching from the rear, coming forward at the head *of the army* and drawing near like a greedy, slavering falcon?'

J̌amuqa said, 'The one approaching us is my sworn friend Temüǰin. Over his whole body,

There is not a *single* chink
Where a hard copper awl can drive in its spike;
Nor a *single* chink
Where a wrought-iron sewing needle
Can insert its sharp point.

My sworn friend Temüǰin is indeed drawing near, slavering thus like a greedy falcon. Have you seen him? *You* Naiman friends used *to say that* if you saw the Mongols, you would not leave them even the skin of a kid's hoof. Behold *them now*!'

On these words Tayang Qan said, '*This is* simply dreadful! Let us take position *further* up the mountain!' They climbed up the mountain and took position.

Again Tayang Qan asked J̌amuqa, 'And who is the one that is approaching from the rear *as if* in a compact mass?'

[1] Lit., 'their mother.'

J̌amuqa said, 'Mother Hö'elün has raised one of her sons on human flesh:

His body is three fathoms *high*,
And he dines on three-year old cattle;
Wearing a three-layered armour,
He is pulled along *in his cart* by three bulls.
When he swallows a man complete with quiver,
It does not get stuck in his throat.
When he gulps down a whole man,
It does not fill his stomach.
When he is angry and draws *his bow*,
And releases a forked-tip arrow,
He shoots and pierces ten or twenty men
Who are beyond a mountain;
When he draws *his bow* and releases
A long-range thin arrow,
He shoots and pierces through his enemies,
The ones he fights
Who are beyond the steppe.
When he shoots, drawing *his bow* to the full,
He covers nine hundred fathoms;
When he shoots, drawing it *only* a little,
He covers five hundred fathoms.
Different from all *other* men,
He was born a coiling dragon-snake.
His name is J̌oči Qasar.

That is he!' Tayang Qan then said, 'If this is so, let us strive for the mountain heights and go further up!' They climbed *further up* the mountain and took position.

Again Tayang Qan asked J̌amuqa, 'Who is approaching after him?' J̌amuqa said, 'He is the youngest son of Mother Hö'elün. He is called Otčigin, the Easy-going. He is an early sleeper and a late riser, yet

He does not lag behind, *when the army is* in full array;
He does not lag behind, *when the army is* in position.'

Tayang Qan said, 'If this is so, let us go up to the top of the mountain!'

196 After speaking such words to Tayang Qan, J̌amuqa separated from the Naiman and went off on his own. He sent *an envoy* to deliver a verbal message to Činggis Qa'an saying, 'Tell *this* to the sworn friend', and he said:

'At my words Tayang Qan has lost his head
And in panic he has scrambled to the heights.
Frightened to death by *the words from* my mouth
He has climbed up the mountain.
Sworn friend, take care!
Up they went, climbing the mountain,
And have lost the will to resist.

As for me, I have separated from the Naiman.' He sent *this* message.

Late in the day Činggis Qa'an surrounded the mountain of Naqu Cliff; he took up position *with his troops* and spent the night *there*.

That night the Naiman moved *from their position* and tried to escape. Tumbling down from the height of Naqu *Cliff*, they piled on top of each other; they fell breaking their bones and died crushing each other till they were *like* heaps of rotten logs.

The following morning *Činggis Qa'an* finished off Tayang Qan. Güčülük, who had been staying apart *from the rest* moved *from there* with a few men, abandoning his own companions. When *the Mongol troops* caught up with him, he set up a circular camp at the Tamir *River*, but unable to hold that camp he *again* set out and fled further away.

Činggis Qa'an utterly defeated and conquered the people of the Naiman tribe on the southern slopes of the Altai. The J̌adaran, Qatagin, Salǰi'ut, Dörben, Tayiči'ut, Onggirat and other *people* who had been with J̌amuqa also submitted on that occasion.

Činggis Qa'an had Tayang's mother Gürbesü brought to him and said to her, 'You used to say that the Mongols

have a bad smell, didn't you? Why, *then*, did you come now?' And Činggis Qa'an took her *as wife*.

197 In that same Year of the Rat (1204), in the autumn, Činggis Qa'an fought with Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit at the Qaradal Source. He dislodged him *from there* and subdued his tribe and *all his* people in the Sa'ari Steppe. Toqto'a, with his sons Qudu[1] and Čila'un and a few people, dispossessed of all but their bodies,[2] got away by flight.

When the Merkit people were thus being subdued, Dayir Usun of the Qo'as Merkit[3] took his daughter Qulan Qatun with him and came to offer her to Činggis Qa'an. On the way he was hindered by *some* soldiers and met Naya'a Noyan of the Ba'arin. Dayir Usun said to him, 'I am on my way to offer this daughter of mine to Činggis Qa'an.' Detaining him, Naya'a Noyan then said, 'Let us go together to offer your daughter.' As he detained him, he said, 'In *this* time of disorder, if you go alone, soldiers on the way will certainly not leave even you alive, and your daughter too will be in *much* trouble.' And he held Dayir Usun for three days and three nights.

After that Naya'a Noyan took Qulan Qatun and Dayir Usun, and brought them together to Činggis Qa'an. Činggis Qa'an then said, 'Naya'a, why did you detain her?' He got very angry and, ordering that *Naya'a* be rigorously and minutely questioned, made *this case a matter of* law.[4]

While they were questioning him, Qulan Qatun said, 'Naya'a said *to my father*, "I am a high officer of Činggis Qa'an. Let us *go* together to offer your daughter to the Qa'an. The soldiers on the way will be troublesome." So he warned us against *going alone*. Now, had we met with other troops but Naya'a's, no doubt we would have been

---

[1] Cf. above, § 177.
[2] Cf. above, § 109.
[3] A mistake for U'as Merkit.
[4] I.e., made a law to deal with such matters in the future.

intercepted and would have got into difficulties. Perhaps our *chance* meeting with this Naya'a was good *for us*. Now that Naya'a is being questioned, the Qa'an may condescend to inspect my body, which my father and mother bore by Heaven's will.' She had this message conveyed *to Činggis Qa'an*.

When Naya'a was questioned he said, 'I have no other face than that *known to* the Qa'an:[1]

If I come across maidens and ladies
Of foreign people with beautiful cheeks,
And geldings with fine croups,
I *always* say, "They are the Qa'an's!"

If *ever* I think differently from this, let me die!'

Činggis Qa'an approved of Qulan Qatun's testimony; then, that very day, he examined her accordingly and it turned out to be just as Qulan Qatun had stated.

Činggis Qa'an showed favour to Qulan Qatun and loved her. As Naya'a's words had been confirmed, he approved of him. He showed favour to him *too*, saying, 'He is a truthful *man*, I shall entrust him with an important task!'

[1] I.e., 'I am sincere and loyal to the Qa'an.'

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER EIGHT

198 After *Činggis Qa'an* subjugated the Merkit people, of the two wives of Toqto'a Beki's eldest son Qudu – Tögei and Döregene – he gave Döregene to Ögödei Qa'an.

Half of the Merkit people revolted and barricaded themselves in the Taiqal stronghold. Činggis Qa'an then gave orders that Čimbai, the son of Sorqan Šira, be put in command and sent him to attack the entrenched Merkit with the troops of the left[1] wing.

Unwilling to submit, Toqto'a with his sons Qudu and Čila'un – *only* a few men *altogether* – had escaped with their bare lives. Činggis Qa'an pursued them and spent the winter south of the Altai.

In the spring of the Year of the Ox (1205), he set out and crossed the Alai.[2] Güčülük Qan of the Naiman, after his people had been captured *by Činggis Qa'an*, would not submit and *with his companions* – a few men *in number* – went and made an alliance with Toqto'a of the Merkit. They came together at the Buqdurma source of the Erdis[3] River and arrayed their troops.

When Činggis Qa'an arrived they fought. Toqto'a was struck there and then by a 'random' arrow and fell. His sons could not bury him, nor could they take his body away, *so* they severed his head and took that away *with them*. Then the Naiman and the Merkit were unable, even with their united forces, to keep up the fight and fled. When they moved away and crossed the Erdiš, most of them fell into *the river* and drowned. The few Naiman and Merkit that got

[1] Read 'right' (= 'west'). See the Commentary.
[2] Arai in the text. See the Commentary.
[3] = Erdiš. Cf. below and §§ 207, 264.

through separated and went *in different directions* after completing the crossing of the Erdis.[1] Güčülük Qan of the Naiman went off and, passing through *the country of* the Ui'ur[2] and the Qarlu'ut, joined the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat who was at the Čui River in the country of the Sarta'ul. The Merkit, led by Qudu, Qal[3] and Čila'un, the sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit, went off and crossed *the country of* the Qanglin and the Kimča'ut.

After that, Činggis Qa'an turned back, crossed the Alai[4] and settled in his base camp. Čimbai utterly defeated the Merkit entrenched in the Taiqal stronghold. Then, with regard to *these* Merkit, Činggis Qa'an ordered that those to be killed were to be killed and the remainder were to be despoiled by the soldiers.

The Merkit who had submitted earlier rose again in rebellion *and tried to break out* from the base camp, but our servants in the camp brought them under control. Činggis Qa'an then spoke, saying, 'I had said that they be kept together as one *tribe*, but these same *people* have *now* revolted', and he had the Merkit distributed here and there[5] down to the last one.

199 In that same Year of the Ox (1205) Činggis Qa'an ordered Sübe'etei, who had *been provided with* an iron cart, to pursue the sons of Toqto'a headed by Qudu, Qal and Čila'un. When he sent him *on his mission*, Činggis Qa'an had the following verbal message conveyed to Sübe'etei[6]: 'The sons of Toqto'a having at their head Qudu, Qal and Čila'un left in fright and haste, *then* turned back, exchanged shots with us and went off like lassoed wild asses or stags

[1] = Erdiš. Cf. above and §§ 207, 264.
[2] Ui'urtai in the text. See the Commentary.
[3] Qat in the text. See the Commentary.
[4] Arai in the text. See above.
[5] I.e., among other groups.
[6] Written Sübētei.

with arrows *in their bodies*. If they grow wings and fly up into the sky, you, Sübe'etei, will you not fly up like a gerfalcon and catch them? If they turn into marmots and burrow into the ground with their claws, will you not become an iron rod and, digging and searching for them, catch up with them? If they turn into fishes and plunge into the Tenggis Sea,[1] you, Sübe'etei, will you not become a casting-net and a dragnet, and get them by scooping them out? And again, I send you to cross high mountain passes, to ford wide rivers; mindful of the long distance *you have to cover*, you must spare the army mounts before they become *too* lean and you must save your provisions before they come to an end. If a gelding is *already* completely exhausted it will be of no use to spare it *then*; if your provisions have *already* completely run out, how can you save them *then*? There will be many wild animals on your way: when you go, thinking ahead, do not allow your soldiers to gallop after *and hunt down* wild animals, nor let them make circular battues without limit. If you make a battue in order to give additional provisions to your troops, hunt with moderation. Except on limited battues, do not allow the soldiers to fix the crupper to the saddle and put on the bridle, but let *the horses* go with their mouths free.[2] If they so discipline themselves, the soldiers will not be able to gallop on the way. Thus, making *this a matter of* law, who*ever* then transgresses it[3] shall be seized and beaten. Send to Us those who transgress Our order if it looks that they are *personally* known to Us; as for the many who are not known to Us, just cut them down on the spot.

Beyond the rivers
You will perhaps lose courage,
But continue to advance

[1] = 'the Ocean.' See the Commentary.
[2] Lit., 'removing the bit from the mouth', so that it hung free.
[3] Lit., 'the law' (*ǰasaq*).

In the same way;
Beyond the mountains
You will perhaps lose heart,
But think of nothing else apart from *your mission.*

If Eternal Heaven grants you further strength and power, and you capture Toqto'a's sons, there is no need *for you* to bring them back: cast them away there and then!'[1] So he ordered.

Činggis Qa'an said further to Sübe'etei: 'I send you on *this* expedition because, when I was small, I was frightened by the Uduyit of the Three Merkit circling three times around Burqan Qaldun.[2] Mortal enemies like these, now gone again, swearing oaths *against me*, you shall reach, *were you to go*

To the furthest limit,
To the bottom of the deep!'

And so, in the Year of the Ox, he had an iron cart made to pursue them to the very end and sent *Sübe'etei* on his war mission with these *final* instructions: 'If you constantly think that even though We are out of sight it is as if We were visible, and even though We are far it is as if We were near, you will also be protected by Heaven Above!'

200 When *Činggis Qa'an* annihilated the Naiman and the Merkit, J̌amuqa was with the Naiman and his people were taken from him on that occasion. With *only* five companions he became an outcast. He went up the Tanglu *Mountains*, killed a wild sheep and roasted it. When it was time to eat it, J̌amuqa there and then said to his five companions, 'Whose sons,[3] having today killed a wild sheep, are eating it like this?' While they were eating the meat of that wild sheep, his five companions laid hands on J̌amuqa and, seizing him, brought him to Činggis Qa'an.

[1] I.e., 'execute them on the spot.'
[2] See above, § 103.
[3] I.e., 'What (sort of) persons?'

When J̌amuqa was brought *here* by his companions, he told *someone* to say to his sworn friend the Qa'an:

'Black crows have gone so far
As to catch a mandarin duck,[1]
Black skins[2] and slaves have gone so far
As to raise their hands against their lord.
Qa'an, my sworn friend,
How can you be mistaken?
Grey buzzards have gone so far
As to catch a wild duck,[1]
Slaves and servants have gone so far
As to seize their own master,
Surrounding him and conspiring against him.
Wise sworn friend of mine,
How can you be mistaken?'

To these words of J̌amuqa, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How could we let men live who have raised their hands against their rightful lord? To whom can such men be companions? Cut down to the offspring *of their offspring* these people who have raised their hands against their rightful lord!' So he ordered, and had the people who had laid hands on J̌amuqa cut down in his[3] very presence.

Činggis Qa'an *then* said, 'Tell J̌amuqa: "Now the two of us are united. Let us be companions! If we become *each of us like* one of the two shafts of a cart, would you think of separating yourself *from me* and being on your own? Now that we are together *once more*,

Let us each remind the other of what he has forgotten,
Let us each wake up the other who has fallen asleep.
Although you separated from me
And went a different way,

[1] For this simile, which is illustrated in the following two lines, see the Commentary.
[2] I.e., lowly or common tribesmen.
[3] I.e., J̌amuqa's.

You remain my lucky, blessed sworn friend.
On the day one kills and is killed, surely
Your heart was aching *for me*.
Although you separated from me
And went a different way,
On the day one fights one another,
Your lungs and heart were aching *for me*.

When was that? When I fought the Kereyit people at the Qalaqaljit Sands you informed me of what you had said to Father Ong Qan.[1] That was a service *you did me*. Then, the fact that you sent me a message *with the news* that you had frightened the Naiman people

Slaying them with your words,
Killing them with your mouth,

and said to me that I could regard them as such[2] – that was *another* service *you did me*.'"

201 After *Činggis Qa'an* had spoken, Jamuqa said, 'In early days when we were small, in the Qorqonaq Valley I agreed with *my* sworn friend the Qan to become sworn friends:

Together we ate food that is not to be digested,
To each other we spoke words that are not
to be forgotten,
Together we were under our blanket
Sharing it between us, *but*
Stirred up *by someone*
Coming between us,
Pricked *by someone*
Standing at the side,[3]
We parted for good.
Saying to myself that
We had exchanged weighty words,
The skin of my black face
Peeled off *in shame*;

[1] See above, § 170.
[2] I.e., as frightened to death by the Mongols. See above, § 196.
[3] Cf. above, §§ 127 and 177.

And so I have been living
Unable to come near you,
Unable to see the friendly face
Of my sworn friend the Qan.
Saying to myself that
We had exchanged unforgettable words,
The skin of my red face
Came off *in shame*;
And so I have been living
Unable to see the true face
Of my sworn friend with a long memory.

'Now my sworn friend the Qan shows favour to me and says, "Let us be companions!" But when it was the time for being companions, I was not one.[1] Now, sworn friend,

You have pacified all *our* people,
You have unified all other peoples,

and the *qan*'s throne has been assigned to you. Now that the world is at your disposal, of what use would I be as a companion to you? On the contrary, *o my* sworn friend,

I would intrude into your dreams in the dark night,
I would trouble your heart in the bright day,
I would be a louse in your collar,
I would be a thorn in the inner lapel of your coat.[2]

'I had many paternal grandmothers. When I became disloyal to my sworn friend I made a mistake. Now, in this life – *that* of the sworn friend and me – my fame has passed from sunrise to sunset. You, sworn friend, had a wise mother. You were born a hero, and as you had younger brothers, valiant companions and seventy-three geldings,[3] *you*, *my* sworn friend, excelled me. As for me, I lost my parents when I was small and had no younger brothers. My wife is a prattler, my companions untrustworthy. Because

[1] Lit., 'a companion to him.'
[2] In short, 'I would be a constant nuisance to you.'
[3] There is no mention of these geldings elsewhere in the SH.

of this I was excelled by *my* sworn friend, whose destiny was *ordained* by Heaven. If you[1] *want to* show favour to me, let me die swiftly and your[2] heart will be at rest. And if you[1] condescend to have me put to death, let them kill me without shedding blood. When I lie dead, my bones *buried* in a high place, for ever and ever I shall protect you and be a blessing to the offspring of your offspring.

'In origin I am of a different birth, *and so* I was conquered by the august spirit of my sworn friend who is of higher birth. Do not forget the words that I have *just* spoken; think of them evening and morning and repeat them among yourselves. Now do away with me quickly!'

To these words of his Činggis Qa'an said, 'Although my sworn friend has parted *from me* and has been railing against Us, I have not heard that he has plotted harm against my life. He is a man who should learn *from experience*, but is not willing to. *However*, to kill him is not in accordance with the omens; to harm his life without *good* reason is not right. He is a man of high standing. Perhaps you should give him this reason: "Once, when Čoǰi Darmala[3] and Taičar stole from each other their herds of horses, you, sworn friend J̌amuqa, wickedly stirred up rebellion *against me*. We fought at Dalan Balǰut and you forced me to take refuge in the J̌erene Gorge. You frightened me then, did you not? Now, when I say, 'Let us be companions!', you refuse; when I *offered to* spare your life, you declined." Tell him that. Say to him: "Now, according to your request, you shall die without your blood being shed."'

He ordered that *J̌amuqa* be put to death without his blood being shed and that his body[4] should not be abandoned in the open, but be given a fitting burial. He had

[1] Lit., 'the sworn friend.'
[2] Lit., 'the sworn friend's.'
[3] Called J̌oči Darmala in § 128 above.
[4] Lit., 'bones.'

J̌amuqa executed there and then, and had his body buried *as arranged*.

202 And so, when the people of the felt-walled tents had been brought to allegiance, in the Year of the Tiger (1206) they *all* gathered at the source of the Onan *River*. They hoisted the white standard with nine tails and there they gave Činggis Qa'an the title of *qan*. Then they also gave the title of *gui ong*[1] to Muqali. On that occasion too, J̌ebe was sent on a war mission to pursue *and seize* Güčülük Qan of the Naiman. Having *thus* completed *the task of* setting the Mongol people in order, Činggis Qa'an said, 'To those who sided with me when I was establishing *our* nation, I shall express my appreciation and, having formed units of a thousand, I shall appoint them commanders of a thousand.' So he decreed, and he appointed *the following* with the rank of commanders of a thousand: (1) Father Mönglik, (2) Bo'orču, (3) Muqali Gui Ong, (4) Qorči, (5) Ilügei, (6) J̌ürčedei, (7) Qunan, (8) Qubilai, (9) J̌elme, (10) Tüge, (11) Degei, (12) Tolon, (13) Önggür, (14) Čülgetei, (15) Boroqul, (16) Šigi Qutuqu, (17) Güčü, (18) Kököčü, (19) Qorqosun, (20) Hüsün, (21) Quyildar, (22) Šiluqai, (23) J̌etei, (24) Taqai, (25) Čaqa'an Qo'a, (26) Alaq, (27) Sorqan Šira, (28) Buluqan, (29) Qaračar, (30) Kökö Čos, (31) Süyiketü, (32) Naya'a, (33) J̌ungšoi, (34) Güčügür, (35) Bala, (36) Oronartai, (37) Dayir, (38) Müge, (39) Buǰir, (40) Mönggü'ür, (41) Dolo'adai, (42) Bögen, (43) Qudus, (44) Maral, (45) J̌ebke, (46) Yuruqan, (47) Kökö, (48) J̌ebe, (49) Udutai, (50) Bala Čerbi, (51) Kete, (52) Sübe'etei, (53) Möngkö Qalǰa, (54) Qurčaqus, (55) Geügi (56) Badai, (57) Kišiliq, (58) Ketei (59) Ča'urqai, (60) Onggiran, (61) Toqon Temür, (62) Megetü, (63) Qada'an, (64) Moroqa, (65) Dori Buqa, (66) Iduqadai, (67) Širaqul, (68) Da'un, (69) Tamači, (70) Qa'uran, (71) Alči, (72) Tobsaqa, (73) Tungquidai, (74)

[1] I.e., 'Prince of State.'

Tobuqa, (75) Ajinai,[1] (76) Tüyideger, (77) Seče'ür, (78) J̌eder, (79) Olar Güregen, (80) Kinggiyadai, (81) Buqa Güregen, (82) Quril, (83) Ašiq Güregen, (84) Qadai Güregen, (85) Čigü Güregen, (86, 87, 88) Alči Güregen *leading* the three Onggirat thousands, (89, 90) Butu Güregen *leading* the two Ikires thousands, (91, 92, 93, 94, 95) Alaquš Digit Quri Güregen of the Önggüt *leading* the five Önggüt thousands. Excluding the People of the Forest,[2] the commanders of a thousand of the Mongol people appointed by Činggis Qa'an were ninety-five.

203 'Those ninety-five commanders of a thousand whom I have nominated, together with the sons-in-law', further said Činggis Qa'an, 'have been entrusted with units of a thousand and' – Činggis Qa'an declared – 'I shall *now* reward those among them who are *most* deserving.' And he said that the commanders having at their head Bo'orču and Muqali should come. At that time Šigi Qutuqu was inside the tent. When *Činggis Qa'an* told him, 'Go and summon them!', Šigi Qutuqu said, 'Have Bo'orču and Muqali been of greater assistance than others? Have they given better service than others? If you want to give rewards, surely I was not less useful, surely I did not give lesser service?

From the time I was in the cradle
And grew up at your noble threshold,
Until this beard sprouted on my chin,
I did not think of anyone else *but you*.
From the time I had a piss-pot at my crotch
And, being at your royal threshold, I grew up
Until this beard sprouted at my mouth,
I did not make a single false step.
She[3] let me lie at her feet

[1] Read Ačinai.
[2] I.e., the forest tribes of the north and north-west. See the Commentary, § 207.
[3] I.e., Mother Hö'elün.

And brought me up as her own son;
She let me lie at her side
And brought me up as the younger brother
of her children.[1]

Now, what kind of reward will you give me?'

To these words of Šigi Qutuqu, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Are you not my sixth younger brother? To you, my late-born younger brother, the reward: you shall be allotted the *same* share as the younger brothers; furthermore, on account of your services, you shall not be punished for *up to* nine crimes.' So he ordered.

And he said, 'When, protected by Eternal Heaven, I am engaged in bringing the entire people under *my* sway, be

Eyes *for me* to see with,
Ears *for me* to hear with.[2]

Divide up all the *subject* people and apportion them to *Our* mother, to Us, to *Our* younger brothers and sons according to the name of the people,[3]

Splitting up those that live in felt-walled tents,
Separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors.

Let no one disobey your word!'

Further, he entrusted Šigi Qutuqu with *the power of* judgement over all and said to him, 'Of the entire people,

Curbing theft,
Discouraging falsehood,

execute those who deserve death, punish those who deserve punishment. Furthermore, writing in a blue-*script* register *all* decisions about the distribution and about the judicial matters of the entire population, make it into a book.[4] Until the offspring of *my* offspring, let no one alter any of the blue writing that Šigi Qutuqu, after deciding in accordance with

[1] See above, § 135.
[2] Cf. above, § 138.
[3] I.e., according to their importance and lifestyle (nomadic or settled populations).
[4] I.e., into a permanent record.

me, shall make into a book with white paper. Anyone who alters it shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*.'

Šigi Qutuqu said, 'How can a late-born younger brother like me take the same and equal share *as that of the others*? If the Qa'an *wants to* reward me, let him decide in favour of granting me *the people* from the towns that have walls of *pounded* earth.' So he requested, and to these words *of his Činggis Qa'an* said, 'You yourself have determined your own *part*; you decide!'

After he had made *Činggis Qa'an* favour him thus, Šigi Qutuqu went out and, calling the leaders with Bo'orču and Muqali at their head, let them into *the tent*.

204 Činggis Qa'an then addressed Father Mönglik and said: 'You fortunate and blessed *man*,

Who at birth were born together *with me*,
When growing, grew up together *with me*,[1]

how many times have you helped and protected me? Among those *was the occasion* when Father Ong Qan and sworn friend Senggüm deceitfully invited me to the betrothal feast and on the way I spent the night in Father Mönglik's tent.[2] Had you, Father Mönglik, not dissuaded me *then*, I would have gone right

Into whirling waters,
Into a blazing fire.

Recalling only that service *of yours*, how could *anybody* forget it until the offspring of *their* offspring? Recalling that service, I will henceforth let you occupy the seat at the very beginning of this side *in my tent*. Yearly and monthly I shall consult with you,[3] and I shall give you gifts and favours. I shall be attending on you, until the offspring of *your* offspring!' So he declared.

[1] Cf. below, § 211.
[2] See above, § 168.
[3] I.e., to seek advice.

205 Further Činggis Qa'an spoke to Bo'orču: 'When I was small I was robbed of eight horses, the light-bay geldings.[1] I spent three days and nights on the way pursuing them and, as I was going, we met each other. Then you said to me, "You came because you are in difficulties; I will join you as a companion!" and, without a word even to your father in the tent, you who were then milking a mare, concealed your leather bucket and pail in the grass. You made me leave my short-haired chestnut horse and set me on a white horse with a black back, and you yourself rode a fast dun mare. You left your herd of horses without a master and in haste became my companion in the steppe. Again we spent three days and nights in pursuit before we reached the circular camp with the stolen light-bay geldings. They were standing at the edge of the camp. We stole them, drove them away and brought them back, the two of us. Your father was Naqu Bayan. You, his only son, what did you know *about me* when you became my companion? You became my companion because of your brave heart. Afterwards I kept on thinking about you and when I sent you Belgütei to ask you to join me *again* as a companion,

You jumped on your chestnut horse with the arched back,
You tucked your grey woollen cloak behind you,

and came to join me.[2] And when

The Three Merkit came against us and
Thrice circled Burqan Qaldun,
That mountain you circled with me.[3]

And when, after that, we passed the night at Dalan Nemürges *with our troops* pitched opposite *those of* the Tatar people, the rain poured down incessantly day and night. Saying that I ought to get my night's rest, you covered me with your felt cloak so that the rain would not

[1] See above, §§ 90-93.
[2] See above, § 95.
[3] See above, § 103.

fall upon me and throughout the night you stood beside me shifting one of your feet only once. *This* was indeed a sign of your bravery. Other than that, what brave deeds of yours am I to mention? You two, Bo'orču and Muqali,

You urged me to carry out what was right,
You persuaded me not to do what was wrong,

and *in this way* made me gain this throne. Now you shall sit higher than all *the others* and shall not be punished for *up to* nine crimes. Bo'orču will be in charge of the ten thousand *men* of the right wing which extends *westwards* up to the Altai *Mountains*.'[1] So he ordered.

206 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Muqali, 'When we set up camp near the Leafy Tree in the Qorqonaq Valley around which Qutula Qan used to dance,[2] because the words that a heavenly sign foretold to Muqali were a clear portent, I there and then, thinking of *his father* Gü'ün Qo'a,[3] pledged my word to Muqali. Accordingly, he shall *henceforth* sit upon a seat [above all others] and shall be *gui ong*[4] of all the people, *and so it shall be* until the offspring of Muqali's offspring.' He gave him the title of *gui ong* and ordered: 'Let Muqali Gui Ong be in charge of the ten thousand *men* of the left wing which extends *eastwards* up to the Qara'un J̌idun *Mountains*.'[5]

207 Činggis Qa'an said to Qorči, 'You *once* made a prophecy *about me* and, from the time I was small until now, for a long time

When it was wet,
You suffered the wet with me;
When it was cold,
You suffered the cold with me.

[1] See the Commentary.
[2] See above, §§ 57 and 117.
[3] The Gü'ün U'a of § 137 above.
[4] For this title, see the Commentary.
[5] See the Commentary.

Indeed, you have constantly been a beneficent spirit[1] *to me*. At that time *you*, Qorči, said, "If the prophecy comes true and if it is fulfilled by Heaven according to your wishes, let me have thirty women." Now, because it has come true, I shall favour you. Look at the fine women and fine girls of the people who have submitted *to us* and choose thirty women *from among them*.' So he ordered.

Further, he ordered: 'On top of the three thousand Ba'arin *that he already leads*, Qorči, together with Taqai and Ašiq, shall *add to the number so as to* make up a full ten thousand with the Činōs of the Adarkin, the Tö'ölös and the Telengüt, and Qorči shall be their commander. Freely establishing his camp along the Erdiš *River* up to the People of the Forest, Qorči shall reduce the People of the Forest to submission and be in charge of the ten thousand.' And he ordered: 'The People of the Forest must not act this way or that without Qorči's agreement. Those who act without his agreement, he should not hesitate *to kill them*.'

208 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to J̌ürčedei, 'Your *most* important service was at the time when we were fighting with the Kereyit at the Qalaqalǰit Sands and were worrying *about the outcome of the battle*. Sworn friend Quyildar *then* made an oath but you, J̌ürčedei, carried out his task. In carrying it out you, J̌ürčedei, attacked and overcame the J̌irgin, the Tübegen, the Dongqayit, Quri Šilemün[2] *and his* thousand bodyguards, the best troops – all of them – and, reaching the main body *of their army*, you shot an *učumaq arrow* into *one of* Senggüm's bright red cheeks.[3] Because of this, "the door was opened and the reins *were loosened*" *for me* by Eternal Heaven.[4] Had Senggüm not

[1] *Nendü qutuq*. For this expression, see the Commentary. For Qorči's prophecy, see above § 121.
[2] I.e., Qori Šilemün Taiši. See above, § 170.
[3] For these events, see above, §§ 170-171, 174.
[4] I.e., Heaven opened the way to Činggis' success.

been wounded, what would have become of us? That was indeed Jürčedei's great*est* and *most* important service.

'When he separated from me, moving along the *river* Qalqa downstream, I constantly thought of Jürčedei as if he were the shelter *afforded* by a high mountain. He *then* went off[1] and we arrived at Lake Balǰuna to water *our animals*. When we set out again from Lake Balǰuna, Jürčedei went ahead to reconnoitre. We took the field against the Kereyit and, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth, we utterly defeated and subdued the Kereyit people.[2] The *most* important people[3] being cut off, the Naiman and the Merkit lost heart; they could no longer fight and were scattered.

'In the struggle in which the Merkit and the Naiman scattered, J̌aqa Gambu of the Kereyit was *allowed*, by reason of his two daughters, to stay with his own subject people as a whole *group*. But when, for the second time, he became hostile and separated from us, Jürčedei lured him with a stratagem and, after seizing him, made an end of J̌aqa Gambu who had broken with us for good. For the second time we exterminated and plundered the people of that J̌aqa Gambu. This was surely Jürčedei's second service.'

Because, on the day one kills and is killed,
He disregarded[4] his life;
Because, on the day one meets death together,
He fought to the death,

Činggis Qa'an favoured Jürčedei and gave him Ibaqa Beki *as wife*. He said to Ibaqa, 'I did not say that you have a bad character and that in looks and appearance you are ugly. You, who have entered into my heart and limbs, and who have come to me taking your place in the rank *of my principal wives*, I present to Jürčedei in deference to the

[1] On his mission to the Onggirat. See above, § 176.
[2] See above, §§ 182-183, 185.
[3] I.e., the Kereyit.
[4] Lit., 'forsook.'

great principle *whereby services are duly rewarded, to* Jürčedei

Who, on the day we fought,
Was *our* shield,
Who against the enemy people
Was *our* shelter;
He brought together the people
Who had become divided,
He united the people
Who had scattered.[1]

I have given you to him being mindful of the principle *of rewarding these* services of his. In future, when my descendants sit on Our throne, mindful of the principle *regarding* services that have thus been rendered, they should not disobey my words. Until the offspring of *my* offspring, they are not to abolish Ibaqa's *rightful* place *among my wives*.'[2] So he ordered.

Činggis Qa'an said further to Ibaqa, 'Your father J̌aqa Gambu gave you two hundred servants as dowry; *he gave* you *also* the steward Ašiq Temür and the steward Alčiq. Now you are going to the Uru'ut people; go, but give me one hundred out of your servants[3] and the steward Ašiq Temür to remember you.' And he took *possession of* them.

Činggis Qa'an spoke again to Jürčedei and, showing favour to him, gave the following order: 'I give you my Ibaqa. As to your four thousand Uru'ut, you will be in charge of them, won't you?'

[1] Cf. the words in §§ 96 and 104 above.
[2] I.e., she would retain her former rank at court.
[3] In the text *ingǰes* for *inǰes*. See the Commentary.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER NINE

209 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Qubilai, 'For me you pressed down

The necks of the mighty ones,
The buttocks of the strong ones.

You, Qubilai, J̌elme, J̌ebe and Sübe'etei[1] – these "four hounds" of mine – when I sent you off, directing you *to the place* I had in mind,[2]

When I said, "Reach *there*!",
You crushed the stones *to be there*;
When I said, "Attack!",
You split up the rocks,
You shattered the shining stones,
You cleft the deep waters.[3]

When I sent you, Qubilai, J̌elme, J̌ebe and Sübe'etei, my "four hounds", to the place I had designated, if Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un Ba'atur – these "four steeds"[4] of mine – were at my side, and when the day of battle came and I had J̌ürčedei and Quyildar standing before me with their Uru'ut and Mangqut *troops*, *then* my mind was completely at rest. Qubilai, will you not be in charge of all military affairs?' So he ordered, favouring him.

Further, he said, 'Because of Bedü'ün's stubbornness,[5] I was displeased with him and did not give him a unit of a thousand. You are the right *person to manage* him! You shall be the commander of a thousand with him and you will

[1] Written Sübegetei.
[2] Lit., 'which I had pointed out.'
[3] Cf. above, §§ 72 and 147.
[4] See above, § 163.
[5] See the Commentary.

proceed in consultation with each other.'[1] And he added, 'Afterwards We shall examine Bedü'ün's *conduct*.'[2]

210 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Qunan of the Geniges, 'For you, the commanders with Bo'orču and Muqali at their head, and for *you*, the chamberlains Dödei, Doqolqu and others, this Qunan was *like*

A male wolf in the dark night,
A black crow in the bright day:
When we were on the move he did not stop,
When we halted he did not move on.
With a stranger
He did not put on another face,
With a mortal enemy
He did not put on a different face.

Do not act without the agreement of Qunan and Kökö Čos. Act *only* in consultation with them.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'The eldest of my sons is J̌oči. Qunan, at the head of the Geniges, shall be a commander of ten thousand under J̌oči. Qunan, Kökö Čos, Degei and Old Üsün – these four are the four that never hid *from me* what they saw, never concealed *from me* what they heard.'

211 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to J̌elme, 'Old J̌arči'udai, carrying his bellows on his back – J̌elme was still in the cradle – came down from Burqan Qaldun and gave sable swaddling-clothes when I was born at Deli'ün Boldaq on the Onan *River*.[3] Since he became my companion, *J̌elme* has been

The slave of *my* threshold,
The personal slave of *my* door.[4]

J̌elme's merits are many. Fortunate and blessed J̌elme,

[1] See above, § 191.
[2] For Bedü'ün see above, § 120. There are no further references to him in the SH.
[3] See above, § 97.
[4] See above, §§ 137, 180.

Who at birth was born together *with me*,
When growing, grew up together *with me*,[1]
and *whose companionship with me* has its origin in the sable swaddling-clothes, he shall not incur punishment if he commits *up to* nine crimes.' So he ordered.

212 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Tolun, 'Why is it that you, father and son, will *each* be in charge of a separate thousand? When you gathered[2] the people – you, *Tolun*, being one of the two wings of your father – you strove together and together gathered the people. It is, indeed, because of that that I gave you the title of chamberlain.[3] Now, will you not form your own thousand with *the people* that you have acquired yourself and constituted *as your own patrimony*, and *act* in consultation with Turuqan?' So he ordered.

213 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to the steward Önggür, 'You, the three Toqura'ut and the five Tarqut, and you, Önggür, son of Mönggetü Kiyan, with *your* Čangši'ut and Baya'ut, have formed one camp for me.[4] You, Önggür,

You did not go astray in the fog,
You did not separate from the others in the fight.
When it was wet
You suffered the wet with me;
When it was cold,
You suffered the cold with me.[5]

Now, what kind of reward will you take *from me*?' At this Önggür said, 'If you allow me to choose the reward, as my Baya'ut brothers are scattered about among all the various tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Baya'ut brothers.'

[1] See above, § 204.
[2] I.e., 'conquered.'
[3] *Čerbi.* See above, § 191.
[4] See above, § 120.
[5] Cf. above, § 207.

Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'Yes, be it so! Bring together your Baya'ut brothers and you take command – one thousand!' He said further, 'When you, the two stewards Önggür and Boro'ul,[1] distribute food to the right and left sides,

Do not let it fall short
For those who stand or sit
On the right side;
Do not let it fall short
For those who are placed in a row –
Or who are not –
On the left side.

If you two distribute *the food* in this way, my throat will not choke and my mind will be at rest. Now, Önggür and Boro'ul, ride off and distribute food to the multitude.' So he ordered, and pointing out their seats, he said, 'When you take your seats, you must sit so as to look after the food on the right and the left sides of the large *kumis* pitchers.[2] Sit with Tolun and the others in the centre *of the tent*, facing north.'

214 Again, Činggis Qa'an spoke to Boroqul, saying, 'As for Šigi Qutuqu, Boroqul, Ğüčü and Kököčü – the four of you – my mother

On the *bare* ground she found you,
In *other* people's camps.
She placed you close to her legs,
She treated you as her own sons
And brought you up with care;
She stretched your necks
And made you into adults;
She stretched your shoulders
And made you into men.[3]

[1] = Boroqul.
[2] I.e., of the wine table.
[3] See the Commentary. Cf. below, § 254.

She surely brought you up in order to make you the companions for us her sons. Who knows how many favours and services you have returned to my mother for the favour of having brought you up! Boroqul, you became my companion and

When we made swift sorties on rainy nights
You did not let me spend the night with an
empty stomach;[1]
When we were engaged in battle with the enemy
You did not let me spend the night without soup.

Again, we crushed the Tatar people who, full of hatred and resentment, had destroyed *our* fathers and forefathers. At the time when

We were taking revenge,
We were requiting the wrong,

by killing the Tatar people to the last one, measuring them against the linchpin of a cart,[2] and as they were being slain, Qargil Šira of the Tatar escaped and became an outcast. Then, reduced to straits and suffering from hunger, he came *back* and entering the tent said to *my* mother, "I am a beggar."[3] When he was told, "If you are a beggar, sit there", he sat at the end of the bench on the western side *of the tent*, near the inside of the door.

'At that moment, Tolui, who was five years old, came into *the tent* from outside. Then, as he ran out *again*, Qargil Šira rose and *seizing* the child pressed him under his arm. He went out and, as he was going forward feeling for and drawing out his knife, Boroqul's wife, Altani, was sitting on the eastern side of *my* mother's tent. When mother cried, "The boy is done for!", Altani followed her out and running together with her caught up with Qargil Šira: *with one hand* she seized his plaits and with the other she seized the hand

[1] I.e., in spite of the difficulty of making a fire in the rain.
[2] See above, § 154.
[3] Lit., 'a seeker of good things.'

that was drawing the knife. She pulled *it so hard that* he dropped the knife. At that very moment, north of the tent, J̌etei and J̌elme were killing a hornless black ox for provisions. At Altani's cry they both[1] came running, holding their *butchering* axes, their fists red *with the animal's blood*. With axe and knife they slew Qargil Šira of the Tatar on the spot.

'While Altani, J̌etei and J̌elme were arguing among the three of them whose chief merit it was for having saved the life of the child, J̌etei and J̌elme said, "If we had not been there and if, by running fast and arriving *in time*, we had not killed him, what could Altani, a woman, have done? *Qargil Šira* would have harmed the life of the child. The chief merit is certainly ours!" Altani said, "If you had not heard my cry, how could you have come? And when I ran and caught up with him, seizing his plaits and pulling the hand that was drawing the knife, if the knife had not dropped, wouldn't he have done harm to the child's life before J̌etei and J̌elme arrived?" When she had finished speaking the chief merit went, *by general consent*, to Altani. Boroqul's wife became the second shaft *of a cart* for Boroqul and was useful in *saving* the life of Tolui.

'Again, when Boroqul was fighting *with us* against the Kereyit at the Qalaqalǰit[2] Sands, Ögödei was hit by an arrow in the neck vein and fell *from his horse*. Boroqul got off his horse and stopped by him, sucked the clotting blood with his mouth and spent the night with him. The following morning he put him on a horse, but as *Ögödei* could not sit up they rode double, *Boroqul* clasping Ögödei from behind and continuously sucking the *wound*-clogging blood, so that the corners of his mouth were red *with it*; *and so* he came, bringing Ögödei *back* alive and safe.[3] In return for my

[1] Lit., 'J̌etei and J̌elme.'
[2] Qalqalǰit in the text.
[3] See above, § 173.

mother's suffering in bringing him up, he was indeed of service in *saving* the lives of my two sons. Boroqul was a companion to me: he never tarried

At *my* beck and call,
At *my* voice and its echo.

If Boroqul commits *up to* nine crimes he shall not be punished.' So he ordered.[1]

215 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* said, 'Let Us reward Our female offspring!'[2]

216 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Old Üsün, 'Üsün, Qunan, Kökö Čos and Degei, these four, without hiding or concealing, have always reported to me what they saw and heard; they have always informed me of what they thought and comprehended. In the Mongol tradition it is customary for a senior ranking personage to become a *beki*. You are a descendant of Elder Brother the Ba'arin. As to the rank of *beki*, you Old Üsün, who are from among *us* and senior to Us, shall become a *beki*. When one has been raised to *the rank of beki*,

He shall wear a white dress
And ride a white gelding;
He shall sit on a *high* seat
And be waited upon.

Furthermore, yearly and monthly I shall hold discussions with you *to seek your advice*.[3] Let it be so!' So he ordered.

217 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Because of sworn friend Quyildar's service of first opening his mouth *and speaking* at the time of battle,[4] disregarding[5] his life, let his *descendants* to the offspring of *his* offspring receive the

[1] There follows a sentence identical with that in § 215. This is due to a scribal error and should be deleted.
[2] There is a lacuna in the text. See the Commentary.
[3] Cf. above, § 204.
[4] See above, § 171.
[5] Lit., 'forsaking.'

bounty *granted* to orphans.'[1] So he ordered.

218 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Čaqān Qo'a's[2] son Narin To'oril, 'Your father Čaqān Qo'a was fighting zealously before me at the battle of Dalan Baljut when he was killed by Jamuqa.[3] Now, To'oril, for your father's services you shall receive the bounty *granted* to orphans.' To this To'oril said, 'If you are to favour me, as my Negüs brothers are scattered about among all the various tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Negüs brothers.' Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'If so, after having brought together your Negüs brothers, you will be in charge of them to the offspring of *your* offspring, won't you?' So he ordered.

219 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Sorqan Šira, 'At the time when I was small, when out of jealousy I was seized by Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut and his brothers, then *you* Sorqan Šira, because my kinsmen[4] were jealous of me,[5] with your sons Čila'un and Čimbai, made your daughter Qada'an take care of me, hid me and *later*, releasing me, you sent me away.[6] Mindful of that good service of yours, *whether*

In the dark night in my dreams,
In the bright day in my heart,[7]

I certainly kept the memory of it; but you did come late to me from the Tayiči'ut. If I show favour to you now, what kind of favour do you wish?'

Sorqan Šira, who was together with his sons Čila'un and Čimbai, said, 'If you are to favour me, let me have the free use of grazing grounds. Let me settle on and freely use

[1] Cf. above, § 185.
[2] This is the same personage called Čaqa'an U'a (of the Ne'üs) in §§ 120 and 129 above.
[3] See above, § 129.
[4] I.e., the Tayiči'ut. Cf. above, § 76.
[5] See above, § 82.
[6] See above, §§ 85-87.
[7] Cf. Jamuqa's words in § 201 above.

the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge *River*. As for other favours in addition *to this*, let Činggis Qa'an decide!'

To these words, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Settle on the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge and, indeed, have free use of its grazing grounds. You shall be a freeman, allowed to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine to the offspring of *your* offspring.[1] You shall not incur punishment for *up to* nine crimes.' So he ordered.

Further, Činggis Qa'an, showing favour to Čila'un and Čimbai, gave the following order: 'Thinking of the words that you, Čila'un and Čimbai, once spoke, how will you be satisfied?[2] Čila'un and Čimbai, if you *want to* say what you have in mind or request *something* that you lack, do not tell an intermediary *about it*. You in person,[3] through your own mouths, tell me yourselves what you have thought, request from me yourselves what you lack.'

Further, he gave the following order: 'You, the freemen Sorqan Šira, Badai and Kišiliq, you too, as freemen,

When swiftly pursuing many foes,
If you get booty,
What you get you shall take away.
When in a battue
You hunt wild beasts,
What you slaughter you shall take away.[4]

As for Sorqan Šira, he was but a retainer of Tödege of the Tayiči'ut.[5] Badai and Kišiliq were but horse-herders of Čeren.[6] Now, with my support, enjoy *the privilege of* being freemen, allowed to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine!'

[1] For these privileges, see the Commentary.
[2] Translation uncertain. See the Commentary.
[3] Lit., 'by your own bodies.'
[4] Cf. above, § 187.
[5] See above, § 146.
[6] I.e., Yeke Čeren. See above, § 169.

220 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Naya'a, 'When Old Širgōtü,[1] together with you – his sons Alaq and Naya'a – seized Tarqutai Kiriltuq and, proceeding on his way to us, arrived at the Qutuqul Bend, Naya'a there and then said, "How can we go on, seizing and making away with our rightful lord?" And, unable to make away with him, you set him free and sent him away.

'When Old Širgōtü, together with *you* – his sons Alaq and Naya'a – arrived, then Naya'a Bilǰi'ür said, "We laid hands on our rightful lord Tarqutai Kiriltuq and were coming *here*, but we could not make away with him. We set him free and sent him off, and came to offer our services to Činggis Qa'an. We said to ourselves that had we come having laid hands on our lord, it would have been said of us: 'People who have laid hands on their rightful lord – how can they be trusted in future?' So, we could not make away with our lord."

'Then, because the reason why he could not make away with his rightful lord was *the fact that* he had been mindful of the great principle,[2] I approved of his words and said, "I shall entrust him with an *important* task."[3] Now, Bo'orču will be in charge of the ten thousand of the right wing; and I put Muqali in charge of the ten thousand of the left wing, giving him the title of *gui ong*.[4] Now, Naya'a will be in charge of the ten thousand of the centre.' So he ordered.

221 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* said, 'J̌ebe and Šübe'etei shall *each* be commanders of a thousand over as many of *those people* that[5] they themselves have acquired and constituted *as their own patrimony*.'

[1] The Širgü'etü of §149, where this event is narrated.
[2] I.e., the principle of mutual obligations between lord and subject. Cf. above, § 208.
[3] Cf. above, § 149.
[4] See above, § 200 and com.
[5] Lit., 'as many of theirs as.'

222 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* made the shepherd Degei bring together the unregistered households and put him in charge of a thousand.

223 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* said, 'As the carpenter Güčügür[1] lacks subjects *to form a unit of a thousand*, let *these* be collected from here and there *and given to him*. Since, from among the J̌adaran, Mulqalqu has been a perfect companion *to me*, you two – Güčügür and Mulqalqu – be jointly in command of a thousand and consult with one another.'

224 Činggis Qa'an made commanders of a thousand those who had established the state with him and who had suffered with him. Forming units of a thousand, he appointed the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten. Forming units of ten thousand, he appointed the commanders of ten thousand. The commanders of ten thousand and of a thousand to whom reward seemed appropriate, he rewarded; those who were to be commended, he commended. He gave them the following order: 'Formerly, I had eighty men to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy men to serve as dayguards. Now, by the strength of Eternal Heaven, my power has been increased by Heaven and Earth and I have brought the entire people to allegiance, causing them to come under my sole rule,[2] so now choose men to serve on roster as dayguards from the various thousands and recruit them for me. When you recruit them and have nightguards, quiverbearers and dayguards enrolled, recruit them so as to make up a full ten thousand.' So he ordered.

Further, Činggis Qa'an proclaimed the following order to the various thousands regarding the selection and recruitment of the guards: 'When guards will be recruited for Us, and the sons of commanders of ten thousand, of a thousand and of a hundred, or the sons of ordinary people, will enter *Our service*, those shall be recruited who are able and of good appearance, and who are deemed suitable to serve by Our side. When recruiting the sons of commanders of a thousand, they shall *each* bring with them ten companions and one younger brother. When recruiting the sons of commanders of a hundred, they shall *each* bring with them five companions and one younger brother. When recruiting the sons of commanders of ten, or the sons of ordinary people, they shall *each* bring with them three companions and, likewise, one younger brother; and they shall be provided with fully equipped mounts *supplied* by the units to which they originally belonged. When strengthening *in this guise the number of* those who will be placed to serve by Our side, the ten companions to be given to *each of* the sons of the commanders of a thousand must be drawn from the units of a thousand and the units of a hundred from which they originally came. Whether *or not* they have a share *of goods* given by their fathers and regardless of the number of men and geldings that they have personally acquired and constituted *as their own patrimony*, a levy shall be raised – independently of their personal share *of goods – of mounts and men* according to the amount fixed by Us and, levying *men* and preparing *mounts* in this manner, they shall be given to them. And exactly in the same manner, independently of their personal share *of goods* and levying in precisely the same way, five companions *each* shall be given to the sons of commanders of a hundred, and three companions *each* to the sons of commanders of ten, as well as to the sons of ordinary people.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'As to the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, and the numerous *ordinary* people who have received this order of Ours, or who have heard it, anyone who transgresses it shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*. As to the people who have been recruited to

[1] The Küčügür of § 120. See also above, §§ 124 and 202.
[2] Lit., 'to enter into my only reins (= control).' See the Commentary.

serve on roster for Us, if any of them are unsuitable *for duty* because they evade it, regarding their service by Our side as *too* difficult, we shall recruit others *in their stead* and we shall punish those people and send them to a distant place, out of *Our* sight.'

And he said, 'People who come to Us in order to learn to serve inside *the tent* by Our side shall not be hindered.'

225 Since Činggis Qa'an had issued an order, choosing *guards* from the units of a thousand and, according to the same order, choosing the sons of commanders of a hundred and of ten, as they came forward – formerly there were *only* eighty nightguards – he brought *their number* up to eight hundred. And he said, 'On top of the eight hundred, *add to the number so as to* make up a full thousand.'

He ordered, 'Those who *want to* enrol in the nightguards shall not be hindered.' And he ordered, 'Yeke Ne'ürin shall be the commander of the nightguards and he shall be in charge of a thousand.'

Earlier four hundred quiverbearers had been chosen. Choosing them *anew*, he said, 'Yisün Te'e, the son of J̌elme, shall be the commander of the quiverbearers and he shall *act* in consultation with Tüge's[1] son, Bügidei.'

And he ordered, 'When the quiverbearers together with the dayguards join *to form* the various companies,[2] Yisün Te'e shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; Bügidei shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; Horqudaq shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; and Lablaqa shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers. *These four* shall make their quiverbearers join the various companies of dayguards to carry quivers and so be

[1] This Tüge is the Tüngge of § 137 and the Tüge of § 202 above. Although there is no previous mention of the four hundred quiverbearers, see § 192 above for their duties.

[2] I.e., the separate watches.

their commanders. Yisün Te'e shall *add to the number of* quiverbearers to make up a full thousand and be the *overall* commander.'

226 *Činggis Qa'an*, bringing *the number of* dayguards who had formerly enrolled with Ögele Čerbi up to a full thousand, said, 'Ögele Čerbi from the family of Bo'orču shall be in charge of them.' He said, 'As for one thousand dayguards, Buqa from the family of Muqali shall be in charge of them.'[1] He said, 'Alčidai from the family of Ilügei shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards.' He said, 'Dödei Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards and Doqolqu Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards.' And he ordered, 'Čanai from the family of J̌ürčedei shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards; Aqutai from the family of Alči shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards; Arqai Qasar shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards – one thousand chosen brave warriors – who, in the many days *of peace* shall serve as dayguards, and in the days of battle shall stand before me and be brave warriors.'

Thus, there were eight thousand dayguards chosen from the various thousands; there were also two thousand nightguards with quiverbearers. *Altogether* there were ten thousand guards.

Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'The ten thousand guards attached to Us shall be strengthened and become the main body *of the army*.' So he ordered.

227 Further, when Činggis Qa'an issued the order appointing those who were to be the elders[2] of the four companies of dayguards on roster duty, he said, 'Buqa shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them[3] and take his turn of duty. Alčidai shall be in charge of one

[1] Lit., 'of one thousand dayguards.'

[2] I.e., the senior officers.

[3] Lit., 'the guards'; i.e. he shall dispose them in due order.

company of guards; he shall marshal them and take his turn of duty; Dödei Čerbi shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them[1] and take his turn of duty. Doqolqu Čerbi shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them[1] and take his turn of duty.' So he appointed the elders of the four companies on roster duty.

Činggis Qa'an promulgated the order about taking turns of duty, saying, 'On taking his turn of duty, the commander of the company will himself muster the guards who are to serve on roster *and then* take his turn of duty; after spending three *days and* nights with them *the company* shall be relieved. If a member of the Guard fails to take his turn, the guard that has so failed shall be disciplined with three strokes of the rod. If the same guard fails again – for the second time – to take his turn of duty, he shall be disciplined with seven strokes of the rod. If, once more, the same man, without being sick in body and without having *first* consulted the commanders of the company, if the same guard fails once more – *that is* three times – to take his turn of duty, *thus* regarding his service by Our side as *too* difficult, he shall be disciplined with thirty-seven strokes of the rod and shall be sent to a distant place, out of *Our* sight.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'The elders of the companies shall proclaim this order to the guards every third turn of duty. If the elders of the companies do not proclaim it they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment.* When the guards have heard the order, if they contravene it and fail to take their turn of duty according to the order they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment.*' So he ordered.

He said, 'Elders of the companies, do not reprimand my guards, who have enrolled *as guards* equal *to you*, without my permission and merely on the ground of seniority. If *any of them* breaks the law report it to me. Those liable to

[1] Lit., 'the guards.'

execution We shall certainly cut down. Those liable to be beaten We shall certainly compel to lie down and have them beaten. If you yourselves merely on the ground of seniority lay hands on my guards who are equal *to you* and strike them with a rod, as requital for strokes of the rod you shall be repaid with strokes of the rod, and as requital for fists you shall be repaid with fists.'

228 Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'My guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a thousand; the attendants of my guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a hundred and of ten. If outside leaders of a thousand, regarding themselves as equal to and a match for my guards, quarrel with them, *We* shall punish the persons who are leaders of a thousand.' So he ordered.

229 Further, Činggis Qa'an issued the *following* order and proclaimed it[1] to the commanders of the various companies: 'When the quiverbearers, the dayguards *and the stewards* take their turn of duty, they shall carry out their day duties, each at his respective post. As the sun sets, they shall retire *so as to be replaced* by the nightguards and, going outside, they shall spend the night *there.* At night, the nightguards shall spend the night beside Us. The quiverbearers shall leave, turning over their quivers – and the stewards their bowls and vessels – to the nightguards. *The following morning*, the quiverbearers, dayguards and stewards who have spent the night outside shall stay at the horse station while We eat Our soup; *then*, they will report to the nightguards. When We have finished eating *Our morning* soup, the quiverbearers shall return to their quivers, the dayguards to their *appointed* place and the stewards to their bowls and vessels. Those who take their turn of duty on roster must *all* act thus, in precisely the same manner, according to this ordinance.' So he ordered.

[1] Lit., 'the order.'

He said, 'Any person who moves about crosswise at the rear or front of the Palace after sunset shall be arrested and the nightguards shall hold him *in custody* for the night. The following morning, the nightguards shall question him. When the company is relieved, the *incoming* nightguards shall hand over their passes and *only then* come in and take their turn of duty; the outgoing nightguards when relieved shall likewise hand *theirs* over and depart.'

He said, 'The nightguards at night lie down all around the Palace; *you*, nightguards who stand guarding the door, shall hack *any* persons entering at night until their heads are split open and their shoulders fall *apart*, *then* cast them away. If *any* persons come at night with an urgent message, they must report to the nightguards and communicate *the message to me* while standing together with the nightguards at the rear[1] of the tent.'

'No one is to sit in a place above the nightguards.[2] No one is to enter *the precinct* without permission from the nightguards. No one is to walk up beyond the nightguards. One must not walk between the nightguards. One must not ask the number of nightguards. The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk up beyond them.[3] The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk between them. And the nightguards – with regard to *any* person who shall have asked their number – the nightguards shall seize the gelding that that person was riding that very day, with saddle and bridle, together with the clothes that he was wearing.' So he ordered.

Eljigedei,[4] even though he was a trustworthy *person*, was he not arrested by the nightguards when in the evening he happened to walk up beyond them?

[1] I.e., at the northern side.
[2] I.e., between the nightguards and the tent.
[3] Lit., 'the nightguards.'
[4] The Eljigidei of §§ 275 and 278 below.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER TEN

230 Činggis Qa'an said,

'My elder nightguards who, in the cloudy night,
Lying down around my vented tent[1]
Ensured that I slept in quiet and peace,
You have made me gain this throne.[2]
My blessed nightguards who, in the starry night,
Lying down all around my Palace tent,
Ensured that I was without fear in my bed,
You have made me gain the high throne.
My true-hearted nightguards who in the swirling snowstorm,
In shivering cold, in pouring rain, taking no rest,
Stood all around my latticed tent
Bringing peace to my heart,
You have made me gain *this* throne of joy.
My trustworthy nightguards, who in the midst
Of trouble-making enemies, not blinking an eye,
Stood all around my felt-girt tent
Withstanding *their onslaught*;
My watchful nightguards who, *hearing the enemy's*
Quivers of birch-bark barely rattling,
Stood up without delay;
My swift-moving nightguards who, *hearing the enemy's*
Quivers of willow-wood barely rattling,
Stood up not *a moment* too late;
My blessed nightguards, *from now on*
You shall call *yourselves* "the elder nightguards."

[1] I.e., a tent with a smoke-hole at the top.
[2] See above, § 205.

The seventy dayguards who had enrolled with Ögöle Čerbi[1] shall be called "the great dayguards." The brave warriors of Arqai[2] shall be called "the elder brave warriors." The quiverbearers Yisün Te'e, Bügidei and the others shall be called "the great quiverbearers."' So he ordered.

231 *Činggis Qa'an* said, 'As for my ten thousand personal guards who have come *to serve* in my presence, chosen for personal service from the ninety-five thousand,[3] you, sons *of mine* who will later sit on my throne to the offspring of my offspring, considering these guards as a keepsake *from me*, give them no cause for dissatisfaction, but take good care of them! These ten thousand guards – will they not be called my beneficent spirits?'[4]

232 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'The nightguards shall be in charge of the female attendants[5] of the Palace, the "sons of the household",[6] the camel-keepers and the cowherds, and they shall take care of the tent-carts of the Palace. The nightguards shall take care of the standards and drums, and the spears *arranged* beneath *them.* The nightguards shall also take care of the bowls and vessels. The nightguards shall supervise Our drink and food. The nightguards shall supervise and cook the uncut meat and food as well: if drink and food are lacking, we shall seek them from the nightguards who have been entrusted with their supervision.' And he said, 'When the quiverbearers distribute drink and food, they must not distribute them without permission from the supervising nightguards. When they distribute food, they shall first distribute it beginning with the nightguards.' And he said, 'Entering into and going out from the Palace

[1] See above, § 120 and com.
[2] I.e., Arqai Qasar.
[3] See above, § 202.
[4] See above, § 207.
[5] *Čerbin ökit.* See the Commentary.
[6] I.e., young domestic slaves.

tent must be regulated by the nightguards. At the door, the doorkeepers from the nightguards shall stand right next to the tent. Two from the nightguards shall enter *into the tent* and oversee the large *kumis* pitchers.' And he said, 'The campmasters from the nightguards shall go *before Us* and set up the Palace tent.' And he said, 'When We *go* falconing or hunting, the nightguards shall go falconing and hunting with Us; *but* exactly one half of them shall stay at the carts.'

233 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'If We Ourselves do not go on a military campaign the nightguards must not take the field without Us.' So he said, and gave the following order: 'After being thus instructed *by Us*, the chamberlains in charge of troops who transgress the order and, out of jealousy for the nightguards, send them out on campaign, shall be guilty *and liable to punishment.*' And he said, 'You say, "Why is it that soldiers from the nightguards are not sent out on campaign?" It is the nightguards that watch over my golden[1] life. When I go falconing or hunting, they toil with *me*; being charged with the administration of the Palace, *whether this* is moving or stationary, they look after the carts. Is it an easy *thing* to spend the night watching over my person? Is it an easy *thing* to look after the tent-carts when the main base camp is in movement or settled? The reason why We say that they[2] must not take the field separately and without Us, is because We say *to Ourselves* that they have *already* so many and quite distinct duties.'

234 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* gave the following order: '*Some* of the nightguards shall decide on judicial matters together with Šigi Qutuqu.' And he said, '*Some* of the nightguards shall take care of quivers, bows, breastplates and weapons, and they shall distribute them. Managing *some* of the geldings, they shall load the *hunting* nets *on to them.*' And

[1] I.e., royal.
[2] I.e., the nightguards.

he said, '*Some* of the nightguards, together with the chamberlains, shall distribute the satin.' And he said, 'When the quiverbearers and the dayguards have reported on *the establishment of* the encampment, the quiverbearers such as Yisün Te'e and Bükidei, and the dayguards such as Alčidai, Ögöle and Aqutai, shall take up duty on the right[1] side of the Palace.' And he said, 'The dayguards such as Buqa, Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi and Čanai shall take up duty on the left[2] side of the Palace.' And he said, 'Arqai's brave warriors shall take up duty in front[3] of the Palace.' And he said, 'The nightguards, having taken care of the tent-carts of the Palace, shall take up duty in the proximity of the Palace, on the left[2] side.' And he said, 'Dödei Čerbi shall constantly supervise the Palace: all the guards who are dayguards, and, round about the Palace, the "sons of the household" of the Palace, the horse-herders, shepherds, camel-keepers and cowherds.'[4] He appointed him and gave the following order: 'Dödei Čerbi shall take up duty and be constantly present, at the rear[5] of the Palace,

Eating scraps of leftovers,
Burning dried dung.'[6]

235 *Činggis Qa'an* sent Qubilai Noyan to fight against the Qarlu'ut. Arslan Qan of the Qarlu'ut came to submit to Qubilai. Qubilai Noyan took Arslan Qan back with him and made him pay homage to Činggis Qa'an. Because he had not opposed resistance, Činggis Qa'an showed favour to Arslan and said, 'I shall give him a daughter *in marriage*.'

236 Sübe'etei Ba'atur, who had been *provided with* an iron cart,[7] had gone on a campaign in pursuit of the sons

[1] I.e., western.
[2] I.e., eastern.
[3] I.e., at the southern side.
[4] See above, § 232.
[5] I.e., at the northern side.
[6] For fuel.
[7] See above, § 199.

of Toqto'a of the Merkit led by Qutu and Čila'un. He overtook them at the Čui River, destroyed them and came back.

237 J̌ebe, pursuing Güčülük Qan of the Naiman, overtook him at Sariq Qun.[1] He destroyed Güčülük and came back.

238 The *iḍu'ut* of the Ui'ut[2] sent envoys to Činggis Qa'an. Through the envoys Atkiraq and Darbai he had the following petition conveyed to him:

'As if one saw Mother Sun
When the clouds disperse;
As if one came upon the river water
When the ice disappears,[3]

so I greatly rejoiced when I heard of the fame of Činggis Qa'an. If through your favour, O Činggis Qa'an, I were to obtain

But a ring from your golden belt,
But a thread from your crimson coat,

I will become your fifth son and will serve you.'

Činggis Qa'an, in reply to those words and showing favour to him, sent the following message: 'I shall give him a daughter and let him become my fifth son. The *iḍu'ut* must come, bringing with him gold, silver, small and big pearls, brocades, damasks and silks.' The *iḍu'ut* rejoiced because he had been favoured; and taking with him gold, silver, small and big pearls, silks, brocades, damasks and satins, he[4] came and paid homage to Činggis Qa'an. Činggis Qa'an favoured the *iḍu'ut* and gave him *his daughter* Al Altun *in marriage*.

239 In the Year of the Hare (1207), *Činggis Qa'an* sent J̌oči with the troops of the right wing on an expedition against the People of the Forest. Buqa went with him acting as a

[1] I.e., 'Yellow Cliff'; possibly an error for Sariq Qol. See the Commentary.
[2] I.e., the ruler of the Uighurs.
[3] I.e., melts.
[4] Lit., 'the *iḍu'ut*.'

guide. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat came to submit ahead of the Tümen Oyirat. He came and, acting as a guide, led J̌oči to *the territory* of the Tümen Oyirat and made them submit at the Šiqšit *River*.[1] J̌oči brought the Oyirat, Buriyat, Barqun, Ursut, Qabqanas, Qangqas and Tubas under submission.

When he reached *the territory of* the Tümen Kirgisut, their[2] leaders Yedi Inal, Aldi Er and Örebek Digin – *these* leaders of the Kirgisut – came to submit. Bringing with them *gifts of* white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables, they paid homage to J̌oči.

After J̌oči had subjugated the People of the Forest from the Šibir, Kesdim,[3] Bayit, Tuqas, Tenlek,[4] Tö'eles,[5] Tas and Baǰigit up to this side,[6] he came back bringing with him the commanders of ten thousand and of thousands of the Kirgisut and the leaders of the People of the Forest. He caused them to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an with *gifts of* white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables.

Činggis Qa'an welcomed Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat, saying, 'He came to submit before *the others*, leading the Tümen Oyirat.' And he showed favour to him, giving Čečeyigen to his son Inalči. He gave J̌oči's daughter Qoluiqan[7] to Törölči, elder brother of Inalči. He gave Alaqa Beki to *the ruler of* the Önggüt.

Činggis Qa'an favoured J̌oči, saying, 'You, eldest of my sons, who only *now for the first time* have left home, you have been lucky. Without wounding or causing suffering to man or gelding in the lands where you went, you

[1] The Šisgis River of § 144 above.
[2] Lit., 'of the Kirgisut.'
[3] Written Kesdiyim.
[4] Read Teleng (pl. Telengüt). See the Commentary.
[5] The Tö'ölös of § 207 above.
[6] I.e., 'up to our side (= territory).'
[7] Huluiqan in the text.

came back having subjugated the fortunate[1] People of the Forest. I shall give *this* people to you.' So he ordered.

240 Further, he sent Boro'ul Noyan to fight against the Qori Tumat people. As Daiduqul Soqor, the leader of the Tumat people, had died, his wife Botoqui Tarqun was governing them.[2] Upon reaching *their territory*, Boroqul Noyan *with two others* – three men *altogether* – set out from the main army to proceed ahead of it. In the evening, as they were going along a trail in the dense forest and were off guard, they were attacked from the rear by their[3] patrolmen, who blocked the trail. Boroqul Noyan was caught and killed.

When Činggis Qa'an learnt that the Tumat had killed Boroqul, he was greatly angered and prepared to move in person *against them*, but Bo'orču and Muqali pleaded with him[4] until he desisted. Thereupon he appointed Dörbei Doqšin of the Dörbet and commanded him thus: 'Set the army in strict order, pray to Eternal Heaven and strive to subdue the Tumat people!'

Dörbei set the army in order and beforehand made a decoy manoeuvre[5] along the paths, trails and passes where the army was *expected* to advance and which *enemy* patrols would keep under surveillance. *Then*, *going* by paths trodden by the red bull,[6] he issued an ordinance to *his* warriors that, with regard to all the men in the army, if anyone lost heart *and refused to proceed*, they should beat him, and he made *each* man carry ten rods *for this purpose*; he *also* had axes, adzes, saws, chisels and weapons prepared for the men. Along the paths trodden by the red bull he had

[1] Because they had peacefully submitted to the Mongols, thus gaining Činggis' favour.
[2] Lit., 'the Tumat people.'
[3] I.e., the Tumat's.
[4] Lit., 'Činggis Qa'an.'
[5] Lit., 'falsely caused *troops* to move.'
[6] Probably a large deer or an elk is meant.

them chop, hew and saw the trees that stood in the way, *thus* making a road *for the army to pass*.

They went up the mountain and, *as though falling* on to the smoke-hole of the tents[1] of the Tumat people who were busy feasting, they *took them* by surprise and plundered them.

241 Earlier Qorči Noyan and Quduqa Beki had been seized by the Tumat and were there, with Botoqui Tarqun. The way in which Qorči was seized *was the following*: When *Činggis Qa'an* said, 'The girls of the Tumat people are beautiful; let him take thirty wives[2] *from among them*!', *Qorči* went, intending to take the girls of the Tumat people, but *these* people, who had formerly submitted, *now* rebelled and seized Qorči Noyan.

When Činggis Qa'an learnt that Qorči had been seized by the Tumat, he said, 'Quduqa knows the ways *and manners* of the People of the Forest', and sent him *to them*, but Quduqa Beki was also seized.

After he had brought the Tumat people completely under submission, *Činggis Qa'an*, because of the death[3] of Boroqul gave one hundred Tumat *to his family*. Qorči took thirty girls. *Činggis Qa'an* gave Botoqui Tarqun to Quduqa Beki.

242 Činggis Qa'an decreed that he would apportion the *subject* people among *his* mother, children and younger brothers. When he gave *them their share*, he said, 'The one who toiled *most* gathering[4] the people was mother. The eldest of my sons is J̌oči. The youngest of my younger brothers is Otčigin.' To *his* mother, together with Otčigin's share, he gave ten thousand people. The mother was dissatisfied, *thinking them too few*, but she did not complain.

[1] For this simile, cf. above, §§ 105 and com., 109.
[2] Lit., 'thirty women.'
[3] Lit., 'bones.'
[4] I.e., rallying.

To J̌oči he gave nine thousand people. To Ča'adai he gave eight thousand people. To Ögödei he gave five thousand people. To Tolui he gave five thousand people. To Qasar he gave four thousand people. To Alčidai he gave two thousand people. To Belgütei he gave one thousand five hundred people.

He said, 'Dāritai joined the Kereyit.[1] I shall wipe him from my sight.' On that, Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Qutuqu spoke saying, '*This action would be*

Like extinguishing one's own *hearth*-fire,
Like destroying one's own tent.

As a reminder of your good[2] father, only your paternal uncle is left. How can you do away with him? He *acted* without thinking, so spare him. Allow the youngest brother of your good father, together with *his people*, to let the smoke of their camp swirl up!' And they reasoned with him until *he was so moved that*

He snuffled, as if
He had smoke in his nose.

'Right!' – he said, and thinking of his good father, he calmed down at the words of Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Qutuqu.

243 *Činggis Qa'an said*, 'I have given ten thousand people to mother and to Otčigin, and *for them* I have appointed the four commanders Güčü, Kököčü, J̌ungsai and Qorqasun. For J̌oči I have appointed the three *commanders* Qunan, Möngke'ür and Kete. For Ča'adai I have appointed the three *commanders* Qaračar, Möngke and Idoqudai.'

Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Ča'adai is headstrong and is, by nature, punctilious. Köke Čos shall stay at his side evening and morning, and shall tell him what he thinks.'[3] So he ordered.

[1] Gereyit in the text.
[2] I.e., 'late.'
[3] I.e., 'he shall advise him.'

For Ögödei he appointed both Ilüge and Degei. For Tolui he appointed both J̌edei and Bala. For Qasar he appointed J̌ebke. For Alčidai he appointed Ča'urqai.[1]

244 The sons of Father Mönglik of the Qongqotan were seven. The middle one was Kököčü Teb Tenggeri. Those seven ganged up and beat Qasar.

When Qasar, kneeling before Činggis Qa'an, told him that he had been beaten by the seven Qongqotan who had ganged up *against him*, Činggis Qa'an was angry about other *matters*. While Qasar was *still* talking, Činggis Qa'an in his anger said to him, '*In the past* you have done *nothing* but *claim* that you would not be vanquished by *any* living being. How is it that you have *now* been vanquished?' At this Qasar wept, *then* rose and left.

Qasar was vexed and for three days *in succession* did not come *before Činggis Qa'an*.

After this, Teb Tenggeri said to Činggis Qa'an, 'The decree of Eternal Heaven *concerning* the ruler has been *fore*told by *heavenly* signs[2] *as follows*: once they say that Temüǰin will hold the nation, once that[3] Qasar *will*. If you don't strike at Qasar by surprise, there is no knowing *what will happen*!'

On these words, Činggis Qa'an that very night rode off to seize Qasar. When he left, Güčü and Kököčü informed the mother[4] that he had gone to seize Qasar. When the mother heard *this*, straightaway – it was *still* night – she harnessed a white camel and set out in a black covered cart, travelling all night.

On her arrival at sunrise, Činggis Qa'an had tied up *the opening of* Qasar's sleeves, removed his hat and belt, and

[1] Some of the names in this section appear elsewhere in the SH in slightly different forms. See the Commentary.
[2] Cf. §§ 121 and 206 above.
[3] Lit., 'they say that.'
[4] I.e., Hö'elün.

was interrogating him. Činggis Qa'an, surprised by the mother descending upon him, became afraid of her.[1]

The mother was furious. As *soon as* she got there and dismounted from the cart, she[2] herself untied and loosened Qasar's sleeves, *the opening of* which had been tied up, and gave *back* to Qasar his hat and belt. The mother was *so* angered that she was unable to contain her fury. She sat cross-legged, took out both her breasts, laid them over her knees and said, 'Have you seen them? They are the breasts that suckled you, and these[3] are the ones who, rushing out *of my womb*,[4]

Have snapped at their own afterbirth,[5]
Have cut their own birth cord.

What has Qasar done? Temüǰin used to drain this one breast of mine. Qači'un and Otčigin between them did not drain a single breast. As for Qasar, he completely drained both my breasts and brought me comfort until my bosom relaxed. He used to make *my* bosom relax. Therefore,

My able Temüǰin
Has skill of mind.[6]
My Qasar has skill in archery
And might, and so he was wont
To shoot and subdue
All those on the run, shooting at him.
With long-distance arrows he was wont
To shoot and subdue
All those on the run, in fear *of him*.

But now, saying that you[7] have destroyed the enemy people, you can no *longer* bear the sight of Qasar.' So she spoke.

[1] Lit., 'of the mother.'
[2] Lit., 'the mother.'
[3] I.e., 'you two.'
[4] Translation uncertain. See the Commentary.
[5] Cf. above, § 78.
[6] Lit., 'of bosom.'
[7] I.e., Temüǰin.

After Činggis Qa'an had at last calmed the mother, he said, 'I was afraid of mother getting *so* angry and *really* became frightened; and I felt shame and was *really* abashed.' And saying, 'Let us withdraw!', he withdrew *and returned home*. But, without letting the mother know, he stealthily took away the subjects[1] of Qasar and let Qasar have *only* one thousand four hundred people. That is how, when the mother learned *this*, the thought of it made her go quickly *into decline*. J̌ebke of the J̌alayir then left in fright and fled into the Barquǰin *Lowland*.

245 After that, the 'people of nine tongues'[2] gathered under Teb Tenggeri. Many from Činggis Qa'an's horse station *also* decided to gather under Teb Tenggeri. When they had thus gathered, the people who were subject to Temüge Otčigin went over to Teb Tenggeri. Otčigin Noyan *then* sent his messenger, by name of Soqor, to request *the return of* the people who had departed. Teb Tenggeri said to the messenger Soqor, 'I am grateful to both Otčigin and you',[3] and, after beating him, sent the messenger Soqor back on foot, forcing him to carry his saddle on his back.

Greatly affected by the beating of his messenger Soqor and his returning on foot, Otčigin the following day – Otčigin himself – went to Teb Tenggeri and said, 'I sent my messenger Soqor *to you*, but you beat him and sent him back on foot. Now I have come to request *the return of* my people.'

On that, the seven Qongqotan from all sides surrounded Otčigin, saying, 'You were right to send your messenger Soqor.' Otčigin Noyan, being dealt with *in this way* and fearing to be seized and beaten *by them*, said, 'I was wrong to send my messenger.' The seven Qongqotan *then* said, 'If you were wrong, kneel down and make amends', and they had him kneel down behind Teb Tenggeri.

[1] Lit., 'the people.'

[2] Possibly Kereyit tribesmen distributed among the Mongols. See the Commentary.

[3] For the gift of the horse – said sarcastically, of course.

Otčigin was not given his people; so, early next day, when Činggis Qa'an had not yet got up and was still in bed, he[1] went into *his tent*. He wept and, kneeling down, said, 'As "the people of nine tongues" had assembled under Teb Tenggeri, I sent a messenger called Soqor to request from Teb Tenggeri *the return of* the people subject to me. They beat my messenger Soqor, they made him carry the saddle on his back, and he was sent back on foot. When I in person went to request *the return of my people*, I was surrounded from all sides by the seven Qongqotan, who compelled me to make amends and kneel down behind Teb Tenggeri.' And he wept.

Before Činggis Qa'an could utter a sound, Lady Börte sat up in bed, covering her breasts with the edge of the blanket. Seeing Otčigin weep, she *herself* shed tears and said, 'What are those Qongqotan doing? They recently ganged up and beat Qasar. And now, why do they make this Otčigin kneel down behind them? What kind of behaviour is this? Thus they covertly injure even these younger brothers of yours *who are* like cypresses and pines. And truly, later

When your body, like a great old tree,
Will fall down,
By whom will they let govern your people
Who are like tangled hemp?
When your body, like the stone base of a pillar,
Will collapse,
By whom will they let govern your people
Who are like a flock of birds?

How will people covertly injuring in this fashion your younger brothers, *who are* like cypresses and pines, *ever*

[1] I.e., Otčigin.

allow my three or four little "naughty ones"[1] to govern while they are *still* growing up? What are those Qongqotan doing? *Now* that you have let them *ill*-treat your younger brothers in such a way, how do you view *all this*?' So spoke Lady Börte and shed tears.

On these words of Lady Börte, Činggis Qa'an said to Otčigin, 'Teb Tenggeri is coming now. Whatever you may *wish to* do *to him* within your power, it is for you to decide!' Whereupon Otčigin rose, wiped away his tears and, going out *of the tent*, stood in readiness with three strong men.

After a while, Father Mönglik came with his seven sons. The seven all entered and, as Teb Tenggeri sat down on the right side of the *kumis* pitchers,[2] Otčigin seized the collar of Teb Tenggeri, saying, 'Yesterday you compelled me to make amends. Let us *now* measure up to each other!' – and, holding his collar, dragged him towards the door. Teb Tenggeri, *then*, facing Otčigin, seized his collar and wrestled with him. As they were wrestling, Teb Tenggeri's hat fell in front of the fireplace. Father Mönglik took his hat, smelled it and placed it in his bosom. Činggis Qa'an said, 'Go out and match each other's strength and might.'

Otčigin dragged Teb Tenggeri out. The three strong men who had earlier been standing in readiness at the threshold of the door faced Teb Tenggeri. They seized him, dragged him out *further*, broke his back and cast him *down* at the end of the *line of* carts of the left side.[3]

Otčigin came *back* into *the tent* and said, 'Teb Tenggeri had compelled me to make amends. When I said, "Let us measure up to each other", he was not willing *to wrestle* and lay down pretending *that he could not get up*. Not much of a companion, is he!'

[1] I.e., 'my sons.'
[2] I.e., of the wine table. See above, § 213.
[3] I.e., the east side.

Father Mönglik understood and, shedding tears, said, 'I have been your companion

Since the brown earth
Was *only* the size of a clod,
Since the sea and rivers
Were *only* the size of a rivulet.'

At these words, his six Qongqotan sons barred the door and disposed themselves around the fireplace. When they rolled up their sleeves, Činggis Qa'an became frightened. Being pressed *by them*, he said, 'Make way, I am going out.' As soon as he stepped outside, quiverbearers and dayguards surrounded Činggis Qa'an and stood by.

Činggis Qa'an saw that after breaking his backbone, they[1] had cast Teb Tenggeri *down* at the end of the *line of* carts. He had a grey tent brought from the back and placed over Teb Tenggeri, saying, 'Fasten the harnessing *to the carts*, we shall move on.' And he moved on from there.

246 After they had covered the smoke-hole of the tent in which they had placed Teb *Tenggeri*, had blocked the door and put people to keep watch, on the third night at dusk *Teb Tenggeri* opened the smoke-hole of the tent and came out bodily *through it*. When they investigated closely, it was established that it really was Teb *Tenggeri who had been seen* in that part *of the tent*.[2]

Činggis Qa'an said, 'Because Teb Tenggeri laid hands on my younger brothers and spread baseless slanders among them[3] *in order to sow discord*, he was no longer loved by Heaven, and his life, together with his body, has been taken away.'

Činggis Qa'an then railed at Father Mönglik saying, 'By not restraining your sons' nature, you *and your sons* began thinking that you were equal *to me*, and you have paid

[1] I.e., the three strong men.
[2] I.e., over the smoke-hole.
[3] Lit., 'among my younger brothers.'

for this with Teb Tenggeri's life.[1] If I had known that you had such a nature, you would have been dealt with like J̌amuqa, Altan, Qučar and the others.' So he railed at Father Mönglik.

When he had finished railing at him, he said further, 'If one retracts in the evening what one has said in the morning, and retracts in the morning what one has said the *previous* evening, surely one will only be criticised until he is covered with shame. I have earlier pledged my word *to you*. Enough of this matter!' And, his anger abated, he showed favour to him *again*. He said, 'Had you restrained your ambitious nature, who among Father Mönglik's offspring would have *dared to* consider himself equal *to me*?' After Teb Tenggeri had been annihilated, the *proud* air of the Qongqotan was *much* reduced.

[1] Lit., 'head.'

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER ELEVEN
(= SUP. 1)

247 After that, in the Year of the Sheep (1211), Činggis Qa'an set out against the Kitat people. He took Vuǰiu,[1] crossed over Hünegen Daba'an, took Söndiivu and sent J̌ebe and Güyigünek Ba'atur as vanguards.

On reaching Čabčiyal, *seeing that* the Čabčiyal Pass was defended, J̌ebe there and then said, 'We shall entice them and get them to move and come *after us*. Then, let us put them to the test!' So saying, he turned back. *When they discovered that* he had turned back, the Kitat troops said, 'Let us pursue him!', and they went in pursuit until the valleys and the mountains were completely covered *with them*. Upon reaching the spur of Söndiivu, J̌ebe turned back, rushed forth against the enemies who were approaching in successive *waves* and routed them. Činggis Qa'an, pressing on with the main body of the army, dislodged the Kitat *from their positions*, crushed the valiant and bold J̌üyin troops of the Qara Kidat and the J̌ürčet, slaying them until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs as far as Čabčiyal.

J̌ebe took the gate of Čabčiyal, and after he had captured the passes and crossed over them, Činggis Qa'an pitched camp at Šira Degtür.

Launching the attack on J̌ungdu, he sent troops to various towns and cities, ordering them to attack. He sent J̌ebe to attack the city of Dungčang. *J̌ebe* reached the city of Dungčang but, unable to take it *by storm*, turned back and went as far as the distance of a six days' *march from there*.

[1] For the identification of the localities in north China mentioned in this and the following sections, see the Commentary.

Then – *the enemy* being unaware – he returned and, marching throughout the night, *each soldier* leading a *spare* horse by hand, he arrived at the moment when *the enemy* was unprepared and took the city of Dungčang.

248 After taking the city of Dungčang, J̌ebe returned and joined Činggis Qa'an.

When J̌ungdu was under siege, a high official of the Altan Qan, Ongging Čingsang, advised the Altan Qan as follows: '*This is* the destiny and *favourable* time *decreed* by Heaven and Earth.[1] Could it be that the time has come when the great throne will pass *to a new ruler*? The Mongols are coming in great might: they have crushed our valiant and bold élite J̌üyin troops of the Qara Kitat[2] and the J̌ürčet, slaying them until they were utterly destroyed. Even Čabčiyal *Pass*, on which we were relying, they have wrested *from us*. If we now set *our* troops in order and send them out *to fight*, should they again be crushed by the Mongols, they will no doubt scatter *and return* to their various cities. And, if we rally them against their will, they will turn against us and will no *longer* be our friends. If *you*, the Altan Qan, grant *permission*, let us for the present submit and come to terms with the ruler of the Mongols. If the Mongols agree to withdraw, after their withdrawal we shall there and then take up another different counsel. It is said that the men and geldings of the Mongols find *our* country unsuitable and fall victim to epidemics. Let us give a princess to their ruler, and to the men in *his* army let us send out gold, silver, satin and goods in abundance. Who knows whether they will *or will* not agree to our proposal?'

When Ongging Čingsang had given his advice, the Altan Qan approved these words of his, saying, 'Let it be so!' *Then*, offering submission, he sent to Činggis Qa'an a princess by name of Gungǰu[1] and from J̌ungdu he sent out to the men in *his* army gold, silver, satin and goods – as much as, in their judgement, their strength *and that of their horses* could carry. He *also* sent Ongging Čingsang to Činggis Qa'an.

When they came and submitted themselves, Činggis Qa'an agreed to their proposal. He ordered back the troops that were attacking the various towns and withdrew. Ongging Čingsang accompanied Činggis Qa'an as far as the spurs called Moǰiu[2] and Vuǰiu, and *then* returned. As for the satin and goods, our troops loaded as much as *their horses* could carry and moved away, tying up their loads with *bands of* heavy silk fabric.

249 In the course of that military campaign, *Činggis Qa'an* set out towards the Qašin people. When, moving in their direction, he reached *their country*, Burqan *Qan* of the Qašin people said, 'I shall submit and, becoming your right[3] wing, I shall serve you.' And he offered his daughter, called Čaqa, to Činggis Qa'an.

Further, Burqan Qan said, 'Hearing of Činggis Qa'an's fame we were in awe *of you*. Now your august person has arrived, you have come to us, and we are *indeed* awed by your majesty. Being awed, we the Tang'ut people have said, "We shall become your right[3] wing and we shall serve you." When we serve you, *know that*

We are the ones who live in permanent camps,
We are the ones who have towns with pounded-earth *walls*.

And so, when we become your companions,
In waging a swift campaign,
In fighting a deadly combat,

[1] Cf. above, § 194.
[2] = Qara Kidat.

[1] This is not the name of the lady in question, but the Chinese term *kung-chu* meaning 'princess.'
[2] An error in the text. See the Commentary.
[3] I.e., west.

We shall not be able to hasten into a swift campaign,
We shall not be able to fight a deadly combat.
But if Činggis Qa'an shows favour to us, we the Tang'ut people,
We shall bring forth many camels
Reared in the shelter of the tall feather-grass:
We shall turn them into government property
And we shall give *them to you.*
We shall weave woollen material and make satin,
And we shall give *them to you.*
Training falcons to fly loose *at game,*
We shall gather them
and *all* the best ones we shall send *to you.*' Thus he petitioned *Činggis Qa'an.* And having spoken, he kept to his word. He levied camels from his Tang'ut people and, bringing *so many* that it was impossible to drive *any more of them,* he gave *them to Činggis Qa'an.*

250 On that campaign Činggis Qa'an obtained the submission of the Altan Qa'an[1] of the Kitat people and took a large quantity of satin. He *also* obtained the submission of Burqan of the Qašin people and took a great number of camels.

Having *thus* obtained the submission of the Altan Qan of the Kitat people, named Aqutai, and[2] of Iluqu Burqan of the Tang'ut people in that campaign of the Year of the Sheep (1211), Činggis Qa'an returned *home* and set up camp on the Sa'ari Steppe.

251 Again, after that, since Jubqan and many other envoys of ours who were sent to Jau Gon to seek allegiance had been hindered by the Altan Qa'an[1] Aqutai of the Kitat people, in the Year of the Dog (1214) Činggis Qa'an set out once more against the Kitat people. On setting out he said,

[1] *Read* Qan.
[2] Lit., 'and having obtained the submission.'

'After they had already submitted themselves, how could they hinder the envoys sent to Jau Gon?'

Činggis Qa'an moved in the direction of the Tunggon Pass, ordering Jebe to go by way of Čabčiyal. Realizing that Činggis Qa'an had gone by the Tunggon Pass, the Altan Qan entrusted the command of his troops to Ile, Qada and Höbögetür, saying, 'With the army blocking *the passage* and disposing the Red Coats as vanguard, fight for the Tunggon Pass and do not let them cross the defile!' And he sent Ile, Qada and Höbögetür in haste with the troops.

When *Činggis Qa'an* arrived at the Tunggon Pass, the Kitat troops came to intercept him, saying, '*Our* soil!'[1] Činggis Qa'an fought against Ile, Qada and Höbögetür and put to flight Ile and Qada. Tolui and Čügü Gürigen[2] *then* arrived and, charging at their flanks, forced back the Red Coats, repulsed and *completely* defeated Ile and Qada, and slew the Kitat until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs.

When the Altan Qan learned that his Kitat troops had been slain and destroyed, he fled out of Jungdu and entered the city of Namging. As the remnants of his troops were dying of starvation, they ate human flesh between them.

Because Tolui and Čügü Gürigen had performed well, Činggis Qa'an greatly favoured both of them.[3]

252 Činggis Qa'an set up camp at Qosivu, *then* in the Šira Ke'er[4] of Jungdu. Jebe broke down the gate of Čabčiyal and, having routed the *enemy* troops who were holding Čabčiyal, came and joined Činggis Qa'an.

When the Altan Qan moved out of Jungdu, he appointed Qada as *liušiu*[5] in Jungdu before leaving *the city.* When Činggis Qa'an had the inventory taken of the gold,

[1] I.e., 'Let us defend our soil!'
[2] The Čigü Güregen of § 202 (no. 85).
[3] Lit., 'both Tolui and Čügü Gürigen.'
[4] I.e., 'Yellow Plain.' See the Commentary.
[5] I.e., as temporary vicegerent or governor.

silver, goods, satin and *other* things *gathered* in J̌ungdu, he sent the steward Önggür, Arqai Qasar and Šigi Qutuqu *to do it*. As these three were approaching, Qada went ahead to greet them, taking with him gold-*embroidered* and patterned satins. He came out of J̌ungdu and welcomed them.

Šigi Qutuqu said to Qada, 'Formerly, the goods of this J̌ungdu, and the very *city of* J̌ungdu, did belong to the Altan Qan. Now J̌ungdu surely belongs to Činggis Qa'an. How can you give us the goods and satins of Činggis Qa'an, stealing them and bringing them *here* behind his back? I shall not take them.' Thus spoke Šigi Qutuqu and did not take them, but the steward Önggür and Arqai took them. After making the inventory of the goods and *other* things of J̌ungdu, these three came back *to Činggis Qa'an*.

Činggis Qa'an then asked Önggür, Arqai and Qutuqu, 'What did Qada give you?' Šigi Qutuqu said, 'He brought and gave us gold-*embroidered* and patterned satins. I said to him, "Formerly, this J̌ungdu belonged to the Altan Qan. Now it has surely become Činggis Qa'an's *property*. How can you, Qada, give us Činggis Qa'an's goods, stealing them behind his back?" *Thus* I said and did not take them, but Önggür and Arqai took what *Qada* had given them.' So spoke Šigi Qutuqu.

Činggis Qa'an then mightily rebuked Önggür and Arqai. *As for Šigi Qutuqu*, he greatly favoured him, saying, 'You, Šigi Qutuqu, have been mindful of the great norm *concerning one's obligations to the qan*.'[1] And he said, 'You shall be

Eyes for me to see with,
Ears for me to hear with!'[2]

253 After the Altan Qan had entered Namging, he submitted himself in person and, making obeisance, sent his son called

[1] Cf. above, § 220.
[2] See above, §§ 138 and 203.

Tenggeri, with a hundred companions, to Činggis Qa'an to serve as a dayguard *and hostage*.

As *the Altan Qan* had been brought under submission by him, Činggis Qa'an said that he would withdraw. There and then he withdrew by the Čabčiyal *Pass*, sending Qasar along the sea *coast* with the troops of the left[1] wing. He sent him with the following instructions: 'Set up camp at the city of Beiging.[2] After you have subjugated the city of Beiging,[2] proceed further and cross *the country of* Vuqanu of the J̌ürčet. If Vuqanu intends to offer resistance, go for him. If he submits, pass through their[3] border towns, go along the rivers Ula and Na'u, and crossing the Ta'ur River upstream, join forces with me at the main basecamp.' With Qasar he sent J̌ürčedei, Alči and Tolun Čerbi from among the *army* commanders.

Qasar brought the city of Beiging[2] into subjection, forced Vuqanu of the J̌ürčet to submit and subjugated the towns which were on the way *there*. Qasar *then* proceeded upstream along the Ta'ur River and settled at the main base camp.

254 After that, as Činggis Qa'an's one hundred envoys with Uquna at their head had been held up and slain by the Sarta'ul people, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How can my "golden halter" be broken[4] by the Sarta'ul people?' And he said, 'I shall set out against the Sarta'ul people,

To take revenge,
To requite the wrong

for *the slaying of* my hundred envoys with Uquna at their head.'

[1] I.e., east.
[2] Buiging? See the Commentary.
[3] I.e., the J̌ürčet's.
[4] I.e., 'How can my sovereign authority be infringed?' The 'golden halter' refers to the firm bond uniting the Mongol *qan* to other rulers who owed him allegiance.

When he was about to set out, there and then Yisüi Qatun respectfully gave the following advice to Činggis Qa'an: 'The Qa'an has thought of

Establishing order over his many people,
Climbing high passes,
Crossing wide rivers
And waging a long campaign.

Still, living beings who are but born *to this world* are not eternal:

When your body, like a great old tree,
Will fall down,
To whom will you bequeath your people
Which is like tangled hemp?
When your body, like the stone base of a pillar,
Will collapse,
To whom will you bequeath your people
Which is like a flock of birds?[1]

Of your four sons, the heroes whom you have begotten, which one will you designate *as your successor?* I have given you *this* advice on what, thinking about it, we – the sons, younger brothers, the many common people and my poor self[2] – understood *to be an important question.* Your order[3] shall decide!'

So she advised him and Činggis Qa'an declared: 'Even though she is only a woman,[4] Yisüi's words are more right than right. No matter who – younger brothers and sons, and you Bo'orču, Muqali and others – no one has advised me like this. And also

I forgot,
As if I would not follow the forefathers;
I slept,
As if I would not be caught by death.'

[1] Cf. above, § 245.
[2] Lit., 'and Us "the bad one."'
[3] I.e., 'word.'
[4] Lit., 'a lady-person.'

Having said *this*, he said, 'The eldest of my sons is J̌oči. What do you, *J̌oči*, say? Speak up!' But before J̌oči could utter a sound, Ča'adai said, 'When you say, "J̌oči, speak up!", do you mean *by that* that you will appoint J̌oči *as your successor?* How can we let ourselves be ruled by this bastard offspring of the Merkit?'[1]

At these words, J̌oči rose and grabbing Ča'adai by the collar, said, 'I have never been told by *my* father the Qan that I was different *from my brothers.* How can you discriminate *against* me? In what skill are you better *than I?* Only in your obstinacy you are, perhaps, better. If we shoot arrows at a long distance and I am outdone by you, I shall cut off my thumb and throw it away! If we wrestle and I am defeated by you, I shall not rise from the place where I have fallen! Let the order[2] of *my* father the Qan decide *which of us is better*!'

So he said, and as J̌oči and Ča'adai both stood holding each other by the collar, with Bo'orču pulling J̌oči by the arm and Muqali pulling Ča'adai by the arm, Činggis Qa'an listened and sat without saying a word.

Then, Kökö Čos, who was standing on the left side, said, 'Ča'adai, why are you so hasty? It was you, among the sons, for whom your father the Qan had cherished hopes. Before you were born,

The starry sky was turning upon itself,
The many people were in turmoil:
They did not enter their beds *to rest*,
But fought against each other.
The crusty earth was turning and turning,
The entire nation was in turmoil:
They[3] did not lie on their coverlets *to rest*,
But attacked each other.

[1] For the implications of Ča'adai's insulting words, see the Commentary.
[2] I.e., 'word.'
[3] I.e., the people.

At such time *your mother was abducted.*
It was not her wish:
It happened at a time
When men met, *weapons in hand.*
She was not running away *from her home*:
It happened at a time
Of mutual fighting.
She was not in love *with someone else*:
It happened at a time
When one *man* slew another.

You speak so as to harden the butter of your mother's affection, so as to sour the milk of *that* august lady's heart.[1]

From the warm *womb*, *coming forth*
Suddenly, were you *two*
Not born from the same belly?
From the hot *womb*, *coming forth*
Abruptly, were you *two*
Not issued from a single womb?
If you incur blame
From your mother who has borne you
From her heart, her affection
For you will grow cold:
Even if you appease her
It will be of no avail.
If you incur reproach
From your mother who has borne you
From her belly,
Even if you lessen her reproach
It will be of no avail.
When your father the Qan
Established the whole nation,
His black head was bound to the saddle,
His black blood was poured

[1] 'Butter' and 'milk' indicate softness and loving kindness respectively.

Into a large leather bucket.[1]
His black eyes he did not wink,
His flat ear he did not rest on a pillow:
Of his sleeve he made a pillow and
He spread his robe *for a mattress.*
Easing his thirst with his own saliva,
Eating the flesh between his teeth for supper,

he strove fiercely, and

Till the sweat of his brow reached the soles of his feet,
Till the sweat from the soles of his feet went up to his brow,

he applied himself earnestly *to his great task.* It was the time when your mother, together *with him*, suffered hardship:

Pulling firmly her tall hat
Over her head,
Tying tightly her belt
To shorten *her skirt,*
Fastening her tall hat
Over her head,
Fixing her belt
To tighten *her waist,*
She brought you up, her *sons.*[2]
As she gulped *her food*
She gave you half of it;
Her throat choking *with pity*
She gave you all of it,
And she herself went hungry.
Stretching your shoulders,
"How shall I make them into men?"
She said *to herself.*
Stretching your necks,

[1] I.e., he was in constant danger of losing his life. For these images see the Commentary.

[2] Cf. above, § 74.

"How shall I make them into adults?"[1]
She said to herself.
Cleaning your whole body,
Causing you to lift your heels
And learn how to walk,
She made you reach
Up to men's shoulders,
Up to geldings' cruppers.

And *even* now, does she not wish to see the happiness of you, her *sons*? Our august Qatun, *in bringing you up* had a heart

As bright as the sun,
As wide as a lake.'

So he spoke.

255 Thereupon, Činggis Qan said *to Ča'adai*, 'How can you speak thus about J̌oči? Isn't J̌oči the eldest of my sons? In future do not talk like that!' So he said, and at these words Ča'adai smiled and said, 'I shall not dispute J̌oči's strength, nor shall I reply to *his claims* of skill:

"*Game* that one has killed *only* with one's mouth
Cannot be loaded on one's mount;
Game that one has slain *only* with one's words
Cannot be skinned."

The eldest sons are J̌oči and I.[2] We shall, in cooperation with each other, serve *our* father the Qan.

Whichever of us[3] evades *his duty*
Shall have *his head* split open;
Whichever of us lags behind
Shall have his heels cut across.

But it is Ögödei *among us* who is steady *and reliable*: let us, *therefore*, agree on Ögödei. As Ögödei is close to *our* father

[1] Cf. above, § 214.
[2] Lit., 'we.'
[3] Lit., 'The one of us who.'

the Qan, if *the Qan* instructs him on the great array of the "teachings of the hat",[1] *this* will be fine!'

So he spoke, and at these words Činggis Qa'an said, 'What do you say, J̌oči? Speak up!' Whereupon, J̌oči said, 'Ča'adai has just said it: Ča'adai and I[2] shall, in cooperation with each other, serve *the Qan*. Let us agree on Ögödei.' So he spoke, and Činggis Qa'an declared as follows: 'Why should you *two* go so far as to cooperate with each other? Mother Earth is wide: its rivers and waters are many. Extending the camps[3] that can be easily divided, We shall make *each of you* rule over a domain and We shall separate you.' And he said, 'You J̌oči and Ča'adai, keep to your word:

Do not let yourselves be scorned by people,
Do not let yourselves be laughed at by men.

Formerly, Altan and Qučar had pledged their word like that,[4] but because they failed to keep their word, how were they dealt with? What happened to them? Now, with you, We shall separate *also some* of the offspring of Altan and Qučar: seeing them, how can you be remiss *in your duties*?'

Having spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Ögödei, what do you say? Speak up!' Ögödei said, 'When *my* father the Qa'an, favouring me, tells me to speak, what am I to say? How can I say that I am not able *to do so?* I shall say that I will certainly try according to *my* ability. Later, if perchance *some* among my descendants will be born *so worthless that*

Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass,
They would not be eaten by an ox;
Even if one wrapped them in fat,
They would not be eaten by a dog,

[1] I.e., on how to be a *qan*. See the Commentary.
[2] Lit., 'we.'
[3] I.e., the grazing grounds.
[4] I.e., 'as you did.'

will they *not* "miss the elk breadthwise *just as* the rat lengthwise?"[1] I'll say as much as that. What else shall I say?'

So he spoke, and at these words Činggis Qa'an declared as follows: 'If Ögödei speaks such words, *that* will do.' Further, he said, 'Tolui, what do you say? Speak up!'

Tolui said, 'Being at the side of my elder brother[2] whom *our* father the Qa'an has *just* designated,

I shall remind him of what he has forgotten,
I shall wake him up when he has fallen asleep.
I shall become a friend of *the word* "yes"
And the whip of his chestnut horse.
Not being remiss in *my* "yes",
Not being absent from the ranks,
I shall go forth for him on a long campaign
Or fight in a short fight.'

When *Tolui* had spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an approved, saying, 'Descendants of Qasar, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Alčidai, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Otčigin, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Belgütei, appoint one of you to govern. If, thinking in this way and appointing one of my descendants to govern, you do not rescind my order by contravening it, *then* you will not err, you will not be at fault. Supposing that the descendants of Ögödei are *all* born *so worthless that*

Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass,
They would not be eaten by an ox;
Even if one wrapped them in fat,
They would not be eaten by a dog,

is it *possible* that among my descendants not *even* a single one will be born who is good?' So he spoke.

[1] I.e., just like an unskilled hunter; in other words, they will be totally unfit to govern.
[2] I.e., Ögödei.

256 When Činggis Qa'an set out on the campaign, he sent envoys to Burqan of the Tang'ut people *with a message* saying: 'You said that you would be *my* right[1] wing. As the Sarta'ul people have broken my "golden halter",[2] I have set out to call them to account *for their action*. You set forth *too* as the right wing *of my army*.'

When *the message* he had sent *was received*, and before Burqan could utter a word, Aša Gambu forestalling him said, 'Since *Činggis Qa'an's* forces are incapable *of subjugating others*,[3] why did he go as far as becoming *qan*?' So saying, he did not dispatch auxiliary troops *to him* and sent back *the envoys* with haughty words.

Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How can we *bear* being spoken to in this manner by Aša Gambu?' And he said, 'The best plan *would be for us* to send *troops* against them at once by detouring in their direction. What difficulty would there be *in that? But now*, when we are indeed moving in the direction of other people, let that pass. If I am protected by Eternal Heaven, when I come back pulling in strongly *my* golden reins,[4] then surely this matter shall be *dealt with*!'

257 In the Year of the Hare (1219), Činggis Qa'an set out against the Sarta'ul people crossing the Alai.[5] From among the ladies, he took with him on the campaign Qulan Qatun and, having entrusted Otčigin Noyan from among his younger brothers with the main base camp, he moved forth. He sent J̌ebe as vanguard. He sent Sübe'etei in support of J̌ebe and sent Toqučar in support of Sübe'etei.

As he sent these three *ahead* he said, 'Go *round the*

[1] I.e., west.
[2] See above, § 254.
[3] I.e., on their own, without assistance.
[4] I.e., at the end of the campaign. Cf. below, § 275.
[5] Arai in the text. Cf. above, § 198.

outside, coming out at the other side[1] of the Sultan[2] and, waiting for Us to arrive, attack him from your side.' So saying he sent them forth.

J̌ebe then went and, passing the cities of Qan Melik without touching them, he bypassed them on the outside. Behind him, Sübe'etei bypassed them in the same manner without touching them. But Toqučar, *coming* behind him,[3] attacked the border towns of Qan Melik and pillaged his peasants. Because his towns had been attacked, Qan Melik rose in rebellion *against us* and joined J̌alaldin Soltan.

J̌alaldin Soltan and Qan Melik moved against Činggis Qa'an. Šigi Qutuqu went as vanguard before Činggis Qa'an. J̌alaldin Soltan and Qan Melik fought with Šigi Qutuqu. They defeated Šigi Qutuqu and, pressing on, approached as far as Činggis Qa'an; at that moment, however, J̌ebe, Sübe'etei and Toqučar came in from behind J̌alaldin Soltan and Qan Melik, overcame them and utterly destroyed them. By so doing,[4] they prevented them from joining forces in the cities of Buqar, Semisgab[5] and Udarar.[6] They pursued them as far as the Šin River and when, being pressed, the Sarta'ul started throwing themselves into it,[7] many of them did indeed perish there, in the Šin River. J̌alaldin Soltan and Qan Melik fled upstream along it,[8] saving their lives.

Činggis Qa'an advanced along the Šin River upstream and went to plunder Batkesen. He reached the Eke Stream

[1] I.e., at the back.
[2] = Soltan, i.e. J̌alaldin Soltan mentioned below.
[3] I.e., Sübe'etei.
[4] Lit., 'Overcoming them.'
[5] An error for Semisgen.
[6] For the identification of the localities in this and the following sections, see the Commentary.
[7] Lit., 'into the Šin River.'
[8] Lit., 'along the Šin River.'

and the Ge'ün Stream, and set up camp in the Baru'an Plain. He sent Bala of the J̌alayir[1] in pursuit of J̌alaldin Soltan.

Činggis Qa'an, greatly favouring J̌ebe and Sübe'etei, said, 'J̌ebe, you were named J̌irqo'adai. When you came *to me* from the Tayiči'ut, you indeed became[2] J̌ebe. Toqučar, of his own will, attacked the border towns of Qan Melik and caused him[3] to rebel *against us*. Making *this a matter of* law, we shall execute him!' However, in the end he did not execute him, but having severely reprimanded him, he punished him by demoting him from his command of the army.

258 Then Činggis Qa'an, returning from the Baru'an[4] Plain, sent *his* three sons, J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei, saying, 'Cross the Amui River with the troops of the right[5] wing and set up camp at the city of Ürünggeči.' He sent Tolui, saying, 'Set up camp at Iru, Isebür and many other towns.' Činggis Qa'an himself encamped at the city of Udirar.[6]

The three sons, J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei sent the following request: 'Our troops are completely assembled. We have reached the city of Ürünggeči. Of *the three of* us, according to whose words should we act?' Upon their request, Činggis Qa'an sent a message to them ordering that they should act according to the words of Ögödei.

259 Then Činggis Qa'an, having brought the city of Udurar[7] to submission, set out from the city of Udurar and pitched camp at the city of Semisgab.[8] Setting out from the city of Semisgab, he pitched camp at the city of Buqar. Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an waited for Bala and spent the summer at the

[1] J̌aliyar in the text.
[2] I.e., 'were named.' See above, § 147.
[3] Lit., 'Qan Melik.'
[4] Barula in the text.
[5] I.e., west.
[6] The Udarar of § 257 and Udurar of § 259.
[7] See above, § 258 and n. 6.
[8] See above, § 257 and n. 5.

ridge of Altan Qorqan in the *former* summer quarters of the Soltan.[1] *From there* he sent messengers to Tolui, saying, 'The weather[2] has become warm. The other troops must set up camp *too*. You *come and* join Us.'

When he sent *this message*, Tolui had captured the cities of Iru, Isebür and others, had destroyed the city of Sisten and was just destroying the city of Čuqčeren. When the messengers gave him this message, Tolui, having destroyed the city of Čuqčeren, returned to pitch camp and joined Činggis Qa'an.

260 J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei, *these* three sons *of Činggis Qa'an*, subjugated the city of Örünggeči:[3] they shared the people of the cities among all three of them but did not give Činggis Qa'an a share.

When these three sons came to set up camp, Činggis Qa'an reprimanded J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei – the three sons *in question* – and for three days did not allow them into his presence. Then Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Quduqu[4] petitioned as follows: 'We caused the Soltan of the Sarta'ul people, who had refused to submit, to abase himself and we conquered his cities and peoples. The city of Örünggeči,[3] which was taken and shared, and the sons *of yours* who took it and shared it among themselves, all belong to Činggis Qa'an. Now that, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth, we have caused the Sarta'ul people to abase themselves like this, we – *the men of* your entire army – are rejoicing and are content with ourselves. Why is the Qa'an so angry? The sons have realized their mistake and are indeed afraid. Let *this* be a lesson for their future *conduct*! We fear lest the sons' natural *ardour* may be discouraged *as*

[1] = Sultan. Here Muḥammad Šāh is almost certainly meant.
[2] Lit., 'the year.'
[3] = Ürünggeči.
[4] = Qutuqu. See above, § 135.

a result of this. Will you not, *therefore*, show favour to them *again* and allow them into your presence?'

Upon their petition, Činggis Qa'an, appeased, allowed the three sons J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei into his presence. He rebuked them

Quoting ancient words,
Citing old sayings,

and reprimanded them

To the point where they almost sank
In the place where they stood,
To the point where they could not wipe off
The sweat of their brow.[1]

Just as he was addressing them with reprimands and admonitions, Qongqai Qorči, Qongtaqar Qorči and Čormaqan Qorči – these three quiverbearers – *also* petitioned Činggis Qa'an as follows: 'Like grey falcons that have just begun training, the sons are barely learning *how* to wage a military campaign, and, at such a time, you rebuke them in this way, piling abuse on them.[2] Why? We fear lest the sons, being afraid, will lose heart. From *the place* where the sun sets to *the place* where it rises there are enemy people. If you incite us – your Tibetan dogs – and send us *on a mission*, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth we shall bring *back* for you enemy people, gold, silver, satin, goods and subjects. If you say, "Which people?", we say, "Here in the west there is one called the Qalibai Soltan of the Baqtat people." Let us move against him!' So they petitioned him. The Qa'an was appeased by these words and *his anger* abated.

Činggis Qa'an approved *their proposal* and issued the *following* order, favouring the three quiverbearers Qongqai, Qongtaqar and Čormaqan: 'Qongqai of the Adargin and Qongtaqar of the Dolonggir shall stay at my side.' He sent

[1] Because they were sweating so profusely.
[2] Lit., '(on) the sons.'

Čormaqan of the Ötegen on a campaign against the Baqtat people and the Qalibai Soltan.

261 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* sent Dörbei Doqšin of the Dörbet on a campaign against Aru,[1] Maru and the city of Abtu of the Madasari people between the Hindus people and the Baqtat people.

262 Further, he sent Sübe'etei Ba'atur northwards to campaign as far as the countries and peoples of these eleven tribes: Qanglin, Kibča'ut, Bajigit, Orusut, Majarat, Asut, Sasut, Serkesüt, Kešimir, Bolar and Kerel;[2] and, making him cross the rivers Idil and Jayaq rich in waters, *he sent* Sübe'etei Ba'atur *to campaign* as far as the city of Kiwa Menkermen.

263 Further, having completed the conquest of the Sarta'ul people, Činggis Qa'an issued an order setting up resident commissioners[3] in the various cities. Two Sarta'ul of the Qurumši clan – father and son – called Yalawači and Masqut, came from the city of Ürünggeči. They told Činggis Qa'an about the laws and customs of cities; *whereupon the latter*, being adequately informed as to *these* customs, appointed his[4] son Masqut the Qurumši, putting him in charge, with our resident commissioners, of Buqar, Semisgen, Ürünggeči, Udan, Kisqar, Uriyang, Güsen Daril and other cities. He[5] brought *back with him* his[6] father Yalawači and put him in charge of the city of Jungdu of the Kitat.

Because, from *among* the Sartaq[7] people, Yalawači and Masqut were adept in the laws and customs of cities,

[1] An error for Iru. Cf. above, §§ 258, 259.
[2] The text has incorrectly Raral. For all these names see the Commentary.
[3] *Daruqačin* and, further down, *daruqa*. See the Commentary.
[4] I.e., Yalawači's.
[5] I.e., Činggis Qa'an.
[6] I.e., Masqut's.
[7] = Sarta'ul.

Činggis Qa'an appointed them, with *our* resident commissioners, putting them in charge of the Kitat people.

264 *Činggis Qa'an* spent seven years in *the country of* the Sarta'ul people. Then, at the time when he was waiting for Bala of the Jalayir, Bala, having crossed the Šin River, was pursuing Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik as far as the country of the Hindus. He lost track of Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik and, *even though* he sought them as far as the middle of *the country of* the Hindus, he was unable *to find them* and returned. He came back pillaging the people on the border of the Hindus and seizing many camels and many gelded billy-goats.

Then Činggis Qa'an returned *home*. On the way he spent the summer on the *river* Erdiš. In the autumn[1] of the Year of the Hen (1225) – the seventh year *of the campaign* – he settled at his Palaces[2] in the Black Forest by the Tūla.[3]

[1] Read 'spring' (*qabur*) for 'autumn' (*namur*).
[2] *Ordos*, i.e. the royal encampment.
[3] = the Tu'ula of §§ 96, 104, 115, 164, 177 and 178 above.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER TWELVE
(= SUP. 2)

265 After spending the winter *there*,[1] Činggis Qa'an said, 'I shall set forth against the Tang'ut people.' He counted his troops anew and in the autumn of the Year of the Dog (1226) set forth against the Tang'ut people. From *among* the ladies, he took with him Yisüi Qatun.

In the winter, Činggis Qa'an, riding *his steed* J̌osotu Boro,[2] on the way hunted the many wild asses of Arbuqa. When the wild asses passed *close* by them J̌osotu Boro took fright. Činggis Qa'an fell off the horse and, his body being in great pain, he halted at Čo'orqat.

He spent that night *there* and the following morning Yisüi Qatun said, 'Princes and commanders, consult each other *on what to do*: the Qa'an has spent the night, his body hot *with fever*.' Thereupon, the princes and commanders assembled and Tolun Čerbi of the Qongqotan advised as follows: 'The Tang'ut people

Are ones who have towns with pounded-earth *walls*,
Are ones who live in permanent camps.
They won't leave, carrying off their towns with
pounded-earth *walls*;
They won't leave, abandoning their permanent camps.[3]

Let us withdraw. Then, when the Qa'an's body has cooled down, we shall set out again!'

When he spoke *thus*, all the princes and commanders agreed with his words and petitioned Činggis Qa'an *accordingly*, but Činggis Qa'an said, 'The Tang'ut people will say

[1] I.e., at his *ordos* in the Black Forest of the Tūla. See above, § 264.
[2] I.e., 'Reddish Grey.'
[3] See above, § 249.

that we turned back because we lost heart. However, if we send envoys to them and watch right here at Čo'orqat which turn my illness takes,[1] and withdraw after considering their reply,[2] that would be fine.' And so he sent envoys to carry the following message: 'In the past, you, Burqan, said, "We, the Tang'ut people, shall be your right[3] wing."[4] Although told so by you, when I sent you a request *for troops*, saying that I was going on a campaign because the Sarta'ul people had not agreed to my proposal, you, Burqan, did not keep your promise and did not give me troops, but came out with mocking words.[5] As I was moving in a different direction at the time, I said that I would call you to account later. I set out against the Sarta'ul people and being protected by Eternal Heaven I brought them duly under submission.[6] Now I have come to call Burqan to account for his words.'

Burqan said, 'I did not speak the mocking words.' Thereupon Aša Gambu said, 'I spoke the mocking words. As for now, if you Mongols, who are used to fighting, say, "Let us fight!", *then* turn towards the Alašai and come to me, for I have an encampment in the Alašai,

I have tents of thin woollen cloth,
I have camels laden *with goods*.

Let us fight there! If you need gold, silver, satin and *other* goods, turn towards Eriqaya and Eriǰe'ü.' He sent this message to Činggis Qa'an.

When his words were conveyed to Činggis Qa'an, his body was *still* hot *with fever*. Činggis Qa'an said, 'This is enough! When one lets oneself be addressed so boastfully, how can one withdraw? Even if we die let us challenge

[1] Lit., 'trying the illness.'
[2] Lit., 'their (i.e. the Tang'ut's) word.'
[3] I.e., west.
[4] See above, §§ 249 and 256.
[5] A reference to Aša Gambu's words in § 256 above.
[6] Lit., 'I forced them into righteousness.'

their boasts!' And, saying, 'Eternal Heaven, you be the judge!', he moved in the direction of Alašai.

He arrived *there* and fought with Aša Gambu. He overcame Aša Gambu and forced him to barricade himself up on the Alašai. He captured Aša Gambu and plundered his people

Who had tents of thin woollen cloth,
Who had camels laden *with goods*,

until they were blown *to the winds* like *hearth*-ashes.

He *then* gave the following order: 'Kill the valiant, the bold, the manly and the fine Tang'uts, and let the soldiers take for themselves as many of the common Tang'uts[1] as they can lay hands on and capture.'

266 Činggis Qa'an spent the summer on Časutu[2] *Mountain*. He sent troops against the Tang'uts

Who had tents of thin woollen cloth,
Who had camels laden *with goods*,

and who, with Aša Gambu, had made for the mountains and were offering resistance. He caused *his troops* to plunder them as planned until they were utterly destroyed.

Then, showing favour to Bo'orču and Muqali, he ordered that they should take as much *booty* as in their judgement their strength *could carry*.

Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered to reward Bo'orču and Muqali as follows: 'Since I did not give you *a share* of the Kitat people, the two of you take and divide equally between yourselves the Jüyin of the Kitat people. Go and make their fine sons follow you, holding your falcons. Bring up their fine daughters and make them arrange the hems of your wives' skirts. The trusted friends of the Altan Qan of the Kitat people are the Qara Kitat Jüyin people who have destroyed the ancestors of the Mongols. Now, you two, Bo'orču and Muqali, are my trusted friends.'

[1] I.e., of the Tang'ut population at large.
[2] I.e., 'Snowy.'

267 Činggis Qa'an moved away from Časutu *Mountain* and set up camp at the city of Uraqai. After setting out from the city of Uraqai, while he was destroying the city of Dörmegei, Burqan came to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an.

Burqan then paid homage, presenting himself with *gifts such as*, in the first place, golden images of Buddha; *then* golden and silver bowls and vessels, nine of each *kind*; boys and girls, nine of each; geldings and camels, nine of each; and all sorts *of other objects* arranged in nines according to their colour and form. *Činggis Qa'an kept* the door closed and made Burqan pay homage *outside the tent*.

On that *occasion*, when Burqan paid homage, Činggis Qa'an felt revulsion within his heart. On the third day, Činggis Qa'an issued an order giving Iluqu Burqan the name Šidurqu.[1] Being *thus* visited by Iluqu Burqan Šidurqu, Činggis Qa'an then ordered that Iluqu be put to death and that Tolun Čerbi seize and execute him *with his own hands*.

Afterwards, when Tolun Čerbi reported that he had seized Iluqu and killed him, Činggis Qa'an ordered as follows: 'When I approached the Tang'ut people to call *Iluqu Burqan* to account for his words, and on the way hunted the wild asses of Arbuqa, my body being in pain, it was indeed Tolun who, concerned about my life, spoke words of advice and said, "Let it heal!"[2] We came *here* on account of the poisonous words of an enemy and with *Our* strength increased by Eternal Heaven, who gave him into Our hands, we took Our revenge. Tolun shall take *for himself* this movable palace brought by Iluqu, together with the bowls and vessels.' So he ordered.

268 After he had plundered the Tang'ut people and, making Iluqu Burqan *change his name* to Šidurqu, had done away with him, and after having exterminated the Tang'ut people's mothers and fathers down to the offspring of their

[1] I.e., 'Upright.' See the Commentary.
[2] See above, § 265.

offspring, maiming and taming[1] (?), *Činggis Qa'an* gave the following order: 'While I take my meals you must talk about the killing and destruction *of the Tang'ut* and say, "Maimed and tamed, they are no more."'

Because the Tang'ut people gave their word but did not keep it,[2] Činggis Qa'an for the second time took the field against them.[3] Having destroyed the Tang'ut people, Činggis Qa'an came back and in the Year of the Pig (1227) ascended to Heaven. After he had ascended *to Heaven* a great part of the Tang'ut people was given to Yisüi Qatun.

269 In the Year of the Rat (1228), the princes of the right hand[4] headed by Ča'adai and Batu; the princes of the left hand[5] headed by Otčigin Noyan, Yegü and Yisüngge;[6] the princes of the centre headed by Tolui; the princesses, the imperial sons-in-law, the commanders of ten thousand and *those* of a thousand, all assembled in full force at Köde'ü Aral on the Kelüren *River*. In accordance with the very decree by which Činggis Qa'an had nominated him they installed Ögödei Qa'an as *qan*.

Elder brother Ča'adai installed his younger brother Ögödei Qa'an as *qan*. The nightguards, the quiverbearers and the eight thousand dayguards who had been protecting the precious life of their father Činggis Qa'an, the personal slaves and the ten thousand guards who had been in close attendance on the person of my[7] father the Qan were *all* handed over by elder brother Ča'adai and Tolui to Ögödei Qa'an. The domain of the centre they handed over to him in the same manner.

[1] *Muquli musquli*. See the Commentary.
[2] Lit., 'did not keep to the word.'
[3] Lit., 'against the Tang'ut people.'
[4] I.e., of the west.
[5] I.e., of the east.
[6] Written Yisünge. See § 183 and com.
[7] A mistake for 'his'? See the Commentary.

270 Ögödei Qa'an, having concluded the installation of himself as *qan* and the transfer of the ten thousand guards on internal duty *together with* the domain of the centre to himself, held first *of all* a consultation with elder brother Ča'adai, *whereupon* he sent Oqotur and Mönggetü on a campaign in support of Čormaqan Qorči who had taken the field against the Qalibai Soltan of the Baqtat people – a people not dealt with by his father Činggis Qa'an.

Earlier on, Sübe'etei Ba'atur, campaigning against Meket, Menkermen Keyibe and other cities, had crossed the rivers Adil[1] and J̌ayaq rich in waters, and had reached as far as the Qanglin, Kibča'ut, Baǰigit, Orusut, Asut, Sesüt, Maǰar, Kešimir, Sergesüt, Buqar and Kerel peoples.[2]

As Sübe'etei Ba'atur had been put in a difficult situation by these peoples, *Ögödei Qa'an* sent forth Batu, Büri, Güyük, Mönge and several other princes in support of Sübe'etei. He ordered that Batu should be in command of all those princes who went on the campaign and that[3] Güyük should be in command of *all the troops* coming from the centre.[4] He *further* ordered, with regard to those who went on the campaign, that the princes in charge of a domain should send the eldest of their sons into the field and that the princes who were not in charge of a domain, the commanders of ten thousand, of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, and any commoners, whoever they might be, should *also* send the eldest of their sons into the field. Likewise, the princesses and imperial sons-in-law should send the eldest of their sons into the field.

Further, Ögödei Qa'an said, 'This principle of sending the eldest sons on a campaign originates from elder brother

[1] The Idil of § 262 and Eǰil of § 274, i.e. the Volga.
[2] For all these names, which already appear in § 262 above, see the Commentary.
[3] Lit., 'and ordered that.'
[4] I.e., those belonging to the main body of the army.

Ča'adai. Elder brother Ča'adai came and said to me, "I shall send Büri, the eldest of my sons, on the campaign in support of Sübe'etei. If the eldest of the sons goes into the field, the army will be larger *than before*. If the troops who set forth are numerous, they shall go *to fight* looking superior and mighty. The enemy people beyond consist of many states, and there, at the end *of the world*, they are hard people. They are people who, when they become angry, would rather die by their own swords. I am told they have sharp swords." So he said when he came.' *Then* Ögödei Qa'an said, 'By these words and by the zeal and strength of Our elder brother Ča'adai, let us send out the eldest of the sons.' And he proclaimed *this order* everywhere. Such is the way in which he sent Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge and the other princes into the field.

271 Further, Ögödei Qa'an sent *the following message* to elder brother Ča'adai asking for advice: 'I have sat on *the throne made* ready by my father Činggis Qa'an. Will *people not* say of me, "By what merit has he sat on it?" If elder brother Ča'adai agrees, since our father the Qa'an has left *matters* with the Altan Qan of the Kitat people unfinished, I shall now move against the Kitat people.' So he sent *this message* asking for advice.

Elder brother Ča'adai sent *a message in reply*, expressing his agreement as follows: 'What obstacles are there? Place a capable man in charge of the main base camp and set forth. I shall send out troops from here.'

272 Having put Oldaqar Qorči in charge of the Great[1] Palaces,[2] in the Year of the Hare (1231) Ögödei Qa'an set out against the Kitat people. He sent forth J̌ebe as vanguard. Thus he crushed the Kitat troops, slaying them until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs. He crossed Čabčiyal and

[1] I.e., 'the Qa'an's.'
[2] § 272 begins here.

ordered his troops to advance and attack their[1] towns and cities in every direction. *Then* Ögödei Qa'an pitched camp at Šira Degtür.[2]

There Ögödei Qa'an fell ill. When he lost his speech and was in *great* distress, various shamans and soothsayers were ordered to divine *the cause of the illness. They said*, 'The lords and rulers[3] of the land and rivers of the Kitat are raging violently *against the Qa'an now* that their people are plundered and their cities and towns are destroyed.' When they divined by inspecting the entrails of victims and said *to the lords and rulers of the land and rivers*, 'We shall give, as substitute *for the Qa'an*, people, gold and silver, cattle and food', *the illness* did not abate and they[4] raged even more violently. When they divined *further* by inspecting the entrails and said, 'Could a person from the *Qa'an's* family serve *as a substitute*?', the Qa'an, opening his eyes, requested water, drank it and asked, 'What has happened?'

The shamans *then* reported to *the Qa'an* as follows: 'The lords and rulers of the land and rivers of the Kitat people are raging violently *against you now* that their land and waters are destroyed and their people plundered. When we divine by inspecting the entrails of victims and say, "We shall give anything as substitute", with renewed anger they rage even more violently. When we say, "Could a person from the *Qa'an's* family serve *as a substitute*?", *the illness* abates. Now your order shall decide!'

After they had made their report, *the Qa'an* said, 'Who is at my side from among the princes?' To these words Prince Tolui, who was at his side, said, 'Even though there were elder brothers above you and younger brothers below you, our fortunate father Činggis Qa'an chose you, elder

[1] I.e., the Kitat's.
[2] See above, § 247 and com.
[3] I.e, the powerful spirits.
[4] I.e., the land and river spirits.

brother the Qa'an, as one would *choose* a gelding, feeling you as one would *feel* a wether *to make sure it is fat*. To your person he showed the great throne and upon you he placed the burden of many people for you *to govern*. As for myself, I was told by him, "Being at the side of *your* elder brother the Qa'an,

Do remind him of what he has forgotten,
Do wake him up when he has fallen asleep."[1]

Now, if I lose you, my elder brother the Qa'an,

Whom shall I remind of what he has forgotten,
Whom shall I wake up when he has fallen asleep?

In truth, if my elder brother the Qa'an dies,

The numerous Mongol people
Would be left orphans;
The Kitat people
Would rejoice at their good fortune.

I shall take the place of my elder brother the Qa'an.

I have cleft the back of the trout,
I have rent the back of the sturgeon;
I have conquered *those* in the fore,
I have pierced *those* afar.[2]
And fair of face,
And tall of stature

am I. Shamans, cast your spells and make your incantations!'

Thus he spoke, and as the shamans made their incantations Prince Tolui drank the magic water. *Then* he sat for a moment and said, 'I have become drunk. While I recover from my drunkenness, let elder brother the Qa'an decide *how best* to take care of his younger brothers[3] who

[1] Cf. above, §§ 200 and 255.

[2] I.e., the enemies who came forward and were near, as well as those who stayed back. See the Commentary.

[3] Tolui actually means the nephews of Ögödei, i.e. his own sons. Cf. above, § 68.

are orphaned and young, and of his younger sister-in-law Berüde who is widowed, until they are able to look after themselves. I have said all I have to say. I have become drunk.' On that, he passed out. Such is the manner in which he died.

273 Then *Ögödei Qa'an* destroyed the Altan Qan and gave him the name Seüse.[1] He despoiled him of his gold, silver, gold-*embroidered* and patterned satins, possessions, piebald horses and young slaves. Having established scouts and garrison troops, and having appointed resident commissioners in Namging, J̌ungdu and in cities everywhere, he peacefully returned *home*, setting up camp at Qara Qorum.

274 Čormaqan Qorči brought the Baqtat people under subjection. When Ögödei Qa'an learned that the land was reputedly good and that the things *therein were also reputedly* good, he ordered as follows: 'Čormaqan Qorči shall reside at that very place *as commander of* the garrison troops. Every year he shall make *people* deliver yellow gold, *naq*-fabrics,[2] brocades and damasks with gilded *thread*, small and big pearls, fine Western[3] horses with long necks and tall legs, dark brown *Bactrian* camels and one-humped *Arabian* dromedaries, pack-mules and *riding* mules, and he shall send them *to Us*.'

Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge and several other princes who had gone on a campaign in support of Sübe'etei Ba'atur brought the Qanglin, Kibča'ut and Baǰigit *people* under submission. *They crossed the rivers* Eǰil[4] and J̌ayaq, destroyed the city of Meget, slew the Orusut and plundered them until they were utterly crushed. They ravaged and brought under submission the peoples of Asut, Sesüt, Bolar,

[1] I.e., 'Little Slave.'

[2] A type of gold brocade fabric produced in western Asia.

[3] I.e., Arab.

[4] The Idil of § 262 and Adil of § 270, i.e. the Volga.

Mankerman[1] Kiwa and other cities. Having established resident commissioners and garrison troops they returned home.

Ögödei Qa'an sent Yisüder Qorči on a campaign in support of J̌alayirtai Qorči who had earlier on been campaigning against the J̌ürčet and the Solangqas. He ordered that he reside *there as the commander of* the garrison troops.

275 From the Kibčaq campaign, through messengers, Batu sent the following report to Ögödei Qa'an: 'By the strength of Eternal Heaven and the good fortune of *my* uncle the Qa'an, I have destroyed the city of Meget, I have ravaged the Orusut people and brought eleven countries and peoples duly under submission. When we turned back, pulling in the golden reins,[2] we decided to hold a parting feast. A large tent was set up and, as we began feasting, since I was quite the eldest among those princes who were present, I was the first to drink one or two bowls of the ceremonial wine. Büri and Güyük became angry with me *because of that*, refused to join the feast and rode off. As they rode off, Büri said, "Since Batu, then, is equal *to us*, why should he have drunk first?

Old women with beards *like him*,
Who pretend to be one's equal,
One should push with one's heels,
One should trample under one's feet."

On that Güyük said, "Those old women with quivers *like Batu* – let us also strike their bosoms with a stick of *burning* wood – those ones!" And Elǰigidei's son Harqasun said, "Let's attach a wooden tail to them!"[3] So, just at the time when, having been sent to ride against a rebellious people of a different race,[4] we were asking ourselves whether we had

[1] = Menkermen. For all these names see the Commentary.
[2] I.e., at the end of the campaign. Cf. above, § 256.
[3] To mock them.
[4] Lit., 'liver.'

been successful, Büri and Güyük spoke to us in this way and we parted in disaccord. Now, the order of *my* uncle the Qa'an shall decide *the matter*!' Thus he reported.

276 At these words of Batu, the Qa'an became very angry. He did not allow Güyük into his presence but said, 'Following whose counsel does this mean *creature* fill his mouth with talk against a person senior to him? May he *and he* alone rot like an egg! He has turned against the bosom of a person who is senior to him. *Therefore*,

We shall place him in the vanguard:
We shall make him climb the town walls
Which are as high as mountains
Until the nails of his ten fingers are worn away;
We shall place him in the garrison army:
We shall make him climb the town walls
Which are made of hard-pounded *earth*
Until the nails of his five fingers are ground down.

And you, wretched, wicked, mean Harqasun, in imitation of whom have you filled your mouth with *such* boastful talk against Our family? Let us send Güyük and Harqasun *away* together. We could cut down Harqasun, but you would *then* say that We showed partiality. As for Büri, tell Batu to send him to elder brother Ča'adai, informing him *of the matter*. Let elder brother Ča'adai decide on it!'

277 *Then* Mönggei[1] from among the princes, and Alčidai, Qongqortāi, J̌anggi and other commanders from *among* the commanders, respectfully advised *the Qa'an* as follows: 'A decree of your father Činggis Qa'an *stated that* field matters should be decided in the field, just as domestic matters should be decided in the tent. *Now*, the Qa'an is angry with Güyük. *This* is a field matter: will the Qa'an not show favour and send *Güyük* to Batu, entrusting *him with the decision*?' So they advised him.

[1] The Mönggе (= Möngke) of §§ 270 and 274 above.

The Qa'an approved their words and agreeing *to their request* allowed Güyük into his presence. He rebuked him with the following words of admonition: 'It is said about you that when you went on the campaign, in the course of it,

You did not leave *unlashed* the buttocks
Of *any* man with buttocks;

And it is *also* said about you that

You crushed the spirit[1]
Of *every* man in the army.

Do you imagine that the Orusut people have submitted out of fear of that fury and anger of yours? And thinking as if you alone have brought the Orusut people under submission do you *now* go on, with pride in your heart, rebelling against a person who is senior to you? In the pronouncements of Our father Činggis Qa'an, was he not accustomed to say that

"The multitudes *of people* make one afraid,
The depth *of water* makes one die"?

You pretend that you have accomplished it alone, whereas you set out under the shelter of Sübe'etei and Büǰek, and with the full force *of the army*, to bring the Orusut and Kibča'ut under submission. You took one or two Orusut and Kibča'ut, but while you haven't yet acquired *as booty* even the hoof of a kid, you make yourself into a hero; having left home but once, you pretend that you alone have accomplished everything and come out with *such* abusive and provocative language. *But now*, owing to Mönggei, Alčidai, Qongqortāi, J̌anggi and the others, who

Being at my side as *faithful* companions
Have restrained my agitated heart,
Being *like* a broad ladle
Have calmed the overboiling cauldron,

I say, "Right! *This* is a field matter. They have said that it is Batu's *concern*. Let *then* Batu decide on Güyük and

[1] Lit., 'mien (*or* countenance)', i.e. the morale and self-confidence.

Harqasun."' He sent *them both to him*, and said, 'Elder brother Ča'adai shall decide about Büri.'

278 Further Ögödei Qa'an ordered: 'In proclaiming the *present* order which announces anew the duties of all the guards – nightguards, quiverbearers and dayguards – who have served my father Činggis Qa'an, I command that in what*ever* capacity they previously acted in accordance with the order of *my* father the Qa'an, so shall they act in the same capacity now. The quiverbearers and the dayguards shall, in accordance with the previous *order*, carry out their day *duties*, each at his post. While there is *still* sun*light*, they shall retire *so as to be replaced* by the nightguards and they shall spend the night outside.'[1] So he ordered.

And he ordered the following: 'At night, the nightguards shall spend the night beside Us. The nightguards shall stand at the door and around the *Palace* tent. The nightguards shall patrol the rear and front of the Palace. The nightguards shall seize people who move about at night – after sunset – and shall hold them *in custody* for the night. After the multitude *of men* has dispersed, except for *those* nightguards who have spent the night *on duty and are to be relieved*, the nightguards shall seize anyone who by mingling with them has entered the precinct.[2] They shall split their heads open and shall cast them away. If at night a person comes with an urgent message he must report to the nightguards and communicate *the message to me* while standing together with the nightguards at the rear[3] of the tent. The supervisors Qongqortai, Širaqan and others, together with the nightguards, shall supervise *all* comings and goings at the Palace tent. And because Elǰigidei, even though he was a trustworthy *person*, was arrested by the nightguards when in the evening he happened to walk up

[1] Cf. above, § 229.
[2] Lit., 'inside.'
[3] I.e., at the northern side.

beyond them, the nightguards *too*, who *like those who arrested Elǰigidei* do not contravene the orders, are worthy of confidence.' Thus he spoke, and issued the following order: 'One must not ask the number of nightguards. One must not walk beyond the nightguards' post. One must not walk between the nightguards. The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk beyond or between them.[1] With regard to *any* person who shall have asked their[2] number, the nightguards shall seize the gelding that *that person* was riding that day, with saddle and bridle, together with the clothes that he was wearing. No one is to sit above the place of the nightguards. The nightguards shall take care of the standards and drums, and of the spears, bowls and vessels *arranged* beneath *them.* The nightguards shall supervise drink and food – the uncut meat.'[3]

And he ordered: 'The nightguards shall take care of the tent-carts of the Palace. If We Ourselves do not go on a military campaign, the nightguards must not take the field separately and without Us.[4] When We go falconing or hunting, exactly one half of the nightguards shall stay at the tent-carts of the Palace and the *other* half shall go with Us. The campmasters from *among* the nightguards shall go *before Us* and set up the Palace. The doorkeepers from *among* the nightguards shall stand right next to the door. The *commander of a* thousand Qada'an shall be in charge of all the nightguards.'

Further, when he appointed the commanders of the various companies of nightguards, he said, 'Qada'an and Bulqadar, forming one company, shall consult together; when taking the same turn of duty they shall stay on the

[1] Lit., 'who walk between the nightguards.'
[2] Lit., 'of the nightguards.'
[3] Cf. above, § 232.
[4] Cf. above, § 233.

right and left[1] side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly.* Amal and Čanar, consulting together, shall form one company; when taking *the same* turn of duty, they shall *stay* on the right and left[1] side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly.* Qadai and Qori Qačar shall consult together and, when taking the same turn of duty, they shall stay on the right and left[1] side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly.* Yalbaq and Qara'udar, consulting together, shall form one company; when taking *the same* turn of duty, they shall stay on the right and left[1] side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly.* Further, the company of Qada'an and Bulqadar, and the company of Amal and Čanar – these two companies – shall encamp on the left[2] side of the Palace and take their turn of duty *there.* The company of both Qadai and Qori Qačar and the company of both Yalbaq and Qara'udar – these two companies – shall encamp on the right[3] side of the Palace and take their turn of duty *there.*'

And he ordered: 'Qada'an shall be in charge of these four companies of nightguards. Further, the nightguards shall stand around the Palace right next to my person, and they shall lie down guarding the door.[4] Two men from the nightguards shall enter into the Palace and be in charge of the large *kumis* pitchers.'

Further he ordered: 'As to the quiverbearers, Yisün Tö'e, Bükidei, Horqudaq and Labalqa,[5] forming four separate companies and marshalling their quiverbearers of the bodyguards, shall respectively join the four separate companies of the dayguards to carry quivers.'

[1] I.e., west and east.
[2] I.e., east.
[3] I.e., west.
[4] Cf. above, § 229. See the Commentary.
[5] = Lablaqa. See above, § 225.

Further, when he appointed elders[1] of the dayguards' companies from *among* the offspring of those who had earlier been in charge of them, *he ordered*: 'Alčidai and Qongqortaqai[2] who were earlier in charge of them, after consulting together and having marshalled one company of dayguards, shall join *the dayguards' service*. Temüder and J̌egü after consulting together and having marshalled one company of dayguards shall join *the dayguards' service*. Mangqutai, who had been in charge of the reserve, shall marshal one company of dayguards and join *the dayguards' service*.'

Further, the Qa'an ordered as follows: 'Elǰigidei shall be in command *of the Guard* and all the commanders *of companies* shall act according to Elǰigidei's word.'

Further, he ordered: 'If a member of the Guard when *called* on duty fails to take his turn, in accordance with the previous order[3] he shall be disciplined with three strokes of the rod. If the same member of the Guard fails again – for the second time – to take his turn of duty, he shall be disciplined with seven strokes of the rod. If, once more, the same man, without sickness or *other* reason and without having *first* consulted the elder of the company, for the third time fails to take his turn, *thus* regarding his service by Our side as *too* difficult, he shall be disciplined with thirty-seven strokes of the rod and shall be sent to a distant place out of *Our* sight. Further, if the elders of the companies do not muster the guards who are to serve on roster with them and fail to take their turn of duty, We shall punish the elders of the companies. Further, the elders of the companies shall proclaim this order to the guards at the time when they[4] take

[1] I.e., the senior officers. See above, § 227.
[2] = Qongqortāi. See above, § 277.
[3] See above, § 227.
[4] I.e., the guards.

every third turn of duty[1] and at the time when they are relieved. When the guards have heard the order, if they fail to take their turn of duty We shall punish them according to the *previous* order.[2] But if the elders of the companies do not proclaim this order to the guards they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*. Further, elders of the companies without permission from Us shall not, merely on the ground of seniority, reprimand my guards who have enrolled as *guards* equal *to them*. If *any of them* breaks the law let it be reported to Us. Those liable to death We shall certainly cut down. Those liable to punishment We shall certainly discipline. If, without informing Us, they themselves[3] on the ground of seniority lay hands on *my guards*, as requital for fists they shall be repaid with fists, and as requital for strokes of the rod they shall be repaid with strokes of the rod.'[4] Thus he spoke.

Further, he ordered as follows: 'My guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a thousand; the attendants of my guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a hundred and of ten. If outside leaders of a thousand quarrel with my guards We shall punish those who are leaders of a thousand.'[5]

279 Further, Ögödei Qa'an said, 'We shall not cause suffering to the nation that Our father Činggis Qa'an established with *so much* toil. We shall make *the people* rejoice, causing them to rest

Their feet upon the ground,
Their hands upon the earth.

Sitting *now* on *the throne made* ready by Our father the Qa'an, so that people do not suffer, every year from these

[1] I.e., every third shift.
[2] See above, § 227 ad fin.
[3] I.e., the elders of the companies.
[4] See above, § 227 ad fin.
[5] See above, § 228.

people one two-year-old sheep out of *every* flock shall be given *as levy* for *Our* soup.[1] They shall *also* provide one sheep out of *every* hundred sheep and give it to the poor and needy within the same *unit*. And when the *Qa'an*'s brothers and the numerous troops[2] and guards gather together *at feasts and meetings*, how could drink *for all* be levied every time from the people? From the various units of a thousand of different areas mares shall be provided and milked, and the mare-milkers shall be the ones to tend them. The campmasters shall constantly provide replacements *of mares* and shall *in turn* be herders of the milch mares. And when the *Qa'an*'s brothers gather together We shall give them gifts and rewards. Conveying satins, *gold and silver* ingots, quivers, bows, breastplates, weapons and the land-tax grains into the storehouses, We shall have *people* guarding them: storemen and grainkeepers must be selected from different areas and made to guard *the storehouses*. And, dividing camps[3] and waters, We shall give them to the people. If We select campmasters from the various units of a thousand to reside in the camps, that will surely be *an* appropriate *measure*.

'Moreover, as there is nothing but wild animals in the Čöl[4] country, Čanai and Ui'urtai, being put in charge of the campmasters, shall make them dig wells in the Čöl for people *to live in this* rather vast *area*, and they shall build brick walls *around the wells to protect them from wild animals*.

'Further, when the messengers ride in haste We allow them to ride moving freely among the population, and *as a result* the pace of *these* riding messengers is slow and they are an affliction on the people. Now We shall settle the

[1] I.e., for the support of the Qa'an.
[2] I.e., the Qa'an's family and the officers.
[3] I.e., the grazing grounds (*nuntuq*).
[4] Lit., 'the Desert' (= the Gobi; cf. above, § 188), but see the Commentary.

matter once and for all by providing post-station masters and post-horse keepers from the various units of a thousand of different areas, by setting up a post station at every stage, by not allowing the messengers to move freely among the population unless on urgent business, but *instead* by having them ride in haste through the post stations. If we do this, it will surely be *an* appropriate *measure*.

'When Čanai and Bolqadar,[1] being well informed, proposed these measures to Us We considered that they were indeed right *and said*, "Let elder brother Ča'adai decide. If these measures under discussion are appropriate and he approves them, let *the decision* come from elder brother Ča'adai."'

After *Ögödei Qa'an* had sent this message, *a reply* came *from* elder brother Ča'adai, saying, 'I approve these very measures about which you have asked me in your message – all of them. Thus, act *accordingly*!'

Further, elder brother Ča'adai's word came, saying, 'From here I shall have post stations connecting with *yours*.[2] Also, from here I shall send messengers to Batu, and Batu shall have his post stations connected with *mine*.' And a further word came *from him*, which he sent saying, 'Of all the measures, the one *concerning* the establishment of post stations is the most appropriate that has been proposed.'

280 Thereupon Ögödei Qa'an said, 'Elder brother Ča'adai and Batu, and the other brothers, princes of the right hand[3] – all of them; Otčigin Noyan and Yegü, and the other brothers, all the princes of the left hand;[4] the princesses and sons-in-law of the centre, and the commanders of ten thousand, of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, have all together approved the following: "If, for the soup of the

[1] The Bulqadar of § 278 above.
[2] I.e., to facilitate communications.
[3] I.e., of the west.
[4] I.e., of the east.

Universal Ruler[1] one provides *every* year one two-year-old wether out of *every* flock, it won't be a *burden* at all. To provide one one-year-old sheep out of *every* hundred sheep and give it to the poor and needy is good. If we have post stations set up and provide post-station masters and post-horse keepers *to manage them* there will be peace for the many peoples, and for the messengers in particular convenience in travelling." They unanimously approved *this*.'

Having taken counsel with elder brother Ča'adai regarding the order of the Qa'an, and *this* having been approved by elder brother Ča'adai, all the people from the various units of a thousand of different areas according to the Qa'an's order were made to provide every year one two-year-old wether out of *every* flock for the soup *of the Qa'an*, and one one-year-old sheep out of *every* hundred sheep *for the poor and needy*. They were made to provide mares, and herders of milch mares were *also* assigned. They were made to provide herders of milch mares, storemen and grainkeepers. They were made to provide post-station masters and post-horse keepers, and measuring the distance between each stage they had post stations set up. Aračan and Toqučar were put in charge of them. At a single stage of the post there had to be twenty post-horse keepers, and at every stage there had to be *a post station with* twenty post-horse keepers each.

The Qa'an ordered: 'With regard to the geldings *to be used* as post horses, the sheep *to be used* as provisions, the milch mares, the oxen to be harnessed to carts, and the carts, from the amount fixed by Us from now on,

If one causes *even* a piece of string to be lacking,
He shall be guilty *and liable*
To "splitting in half along the top of the head";[2]

[1] I.e., for the support of the Qa'an. Cf. above, § 279.
[2] I.e., to the confiscation of half his goods.

If one causes *even* a spoon-*shaped* spoke
of a wheel to be lacking,
He shall be guilty *and liable*
To "splitting in half along the nose."'[1]

281 Ögödei Qa'an said, '*This* I have done after I sat on the great throne of my father:

'I campaigned against the J̌aqut people[2] and I destroyed them.[3]

'As my second deed, I had post stations set up so that our messengers could ride in haste *all* along the way; and for that *purpose* I had all necessities conveyed *to the post stations*.

'As to the next[4] deed, I had wells dug in places without water and had *the water* brought forth, thus providing the people with water and grass.

'Further,[5] I established scouts and garrison troops among the people of cities everywhere and so I let the people live *in peace*, causing them to rest

Their feet upon the ground,
Their hands upon the earth.[6]

'After my father the Qa'an I have indeed added four *good* deeds *to his*.

'But, being placed on the great throne by my father the Qa'an and being made to take upon myself the burden of my many peoples, I was at fault to let myself be vanquished by wine. This was indeed one fault of mine.

'As to my second fault, to listen to the word of a woman without principle, and to have the girls of my uncle Otčigin's domain brought to me was surely a mistake. Even

[1] I.e., to the confiscation of half his goods. See the Commentary.
[2] I.e., the people of north China. See the Commentary.
[3] Lit., 'I destroyed the J̌aqut people.'
[4] I.e., the third.
[5] I.e., as the fourth deed.
[6] See above, § 279.

though I was the Qa'an and lord of the nation, to participate in wrong and unprincipled actions, this was indeed one fault of mine.

'To secretly injure[1] Doqolqu was also a fault *of mine*. And why was it a fault? *Because* to secretly injure Doqolqu who strove fiercely in the service of his rightful *lord*, my father the Qan, was a fault and a mistake. Who will now strive so fiercely in my service? *Therefore*, I have myself acknowledged the fault of having secretly harmed, without discernment, a person who diligently observed the principle *of loyalty* in the service of my father the Qa'an and *in the service* of all.

'Further,[2] being greedy and saying *to myself*, "What if the wild animals born with their destiny *ordained* by Heaven and Earth go over to *the territory of* my brothers?", I had fences and walls built of *pounded* earth *to prevent the animals from straying*. As I was *thus* confining them, I heard resentful words *coming* from my brothers. *That*, too, was a fault *of mine*.

'After my father the Qa'an, I have indeed added four *good* deeds *to his*, and four deeds *of mine* were surely faults.' Thus he spoke.

282 The writing *of this book* was completed at the time when the Great Assembly convened and when, in the Year of the Rat, in the month of the Roebuck, the Palaces were established at Dolo'an Boldaq of Köde'e Aral on the Kelüren *River*, between Šilginček and [...].[3]

[1] = 'poison'? Cf. above, § 68.
[2] I.e., as the fourth fault.
[3] The name of the second locality is missing owing to a lacuna in the text.



Pl. 11(a). Mongol archer



Pl. 11(b). Mongol horseman shooting backwards



Pl. 12. The 'Stone of Chingis'

COMMENTARY

(In the Commentary, references to n. [note] and nn. [notes] 'above' and 'below' are to the paragraph [§] entries in the Commentary, *not* to the footnote[s] to the translation. References to the latter are to the paragraph number followed by the note number, e.g. 'see § 165, n. 3.')

§ 1. This, the first section of the SH, deals with the origins of Činggis Qan's family, traced back to the partly mythical ancestors of the Mongqol (mo. Mongγol) tribe and its various branches or clans (*oboq*, mo. *oboγ*). The opening line *Činggis Qa'an-nu huǰa'ur* forms, as it were, a title for the whole genealogical portion of the work, viz. §§ 1-60. Scholars such as the pioneers Pelliot and Haenisch, and more recently Damdinsürèn, Doerfer, Gaadamba, Ozawa and Onon, do not regard the opening line as a title, but connect it logically with the following sentence ('The origin [= the original ancestor] of Činggis Qa'an was ...') in accordance with the Chinese sectional summary (Y^2 1, 1b). See Pe, 121; Ha, 1; Da^5, 19; TMEN, I, 317; Γa, 7; Oz^1, I, 4; Oz^2, I, 13; On, 1 (and 2001 ed., 37); Če, 35. Cf. also Vietze 1995a, 304-305. However, as surmised by Naka (Na^1, 1; Na^2, 1; cf. also NMI, 42-43) and subsequently confirmed and explained by Poppe, Cleaves and Mostaert, the opening words stand *per se*. See the discussion in Hung 1951, 466ff.; and Mo, ix-xx. There are arguments in support of both interpretations (cf. Oz^1, I, 4-8), but like Ligeti, Murakami, Cleaves, Vietze and others, I am also in favour of separating the first line from the rest. See Li, 9; Mu, I, 5; Cl, 1; Vietze 1995a, 309; PYCPS, 39; and Section Four of the Introduction. An exact parallel is found in *The Gospel According to Matthew* which begins with the words 'Book of the origin of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham.' Christ's genealogy (Mt. 1:1-17) is followed by an account of his life which forms the main portion of the work, just as the life of Činggis Qan forms the main portion of the SH.

In the Chinese text, the opening line of the work is preceded by the Chinese title: *The Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty*

Chapter One (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chüan i* 元朝秘史卷一), followed by the Chinese transcription of the Mongolian translation of *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, viz. *Mongqol-un niuča* (= *ni'učа*) *to*[*b*]*ča'an*. As shown by other investigators, this was almost certainly the Chinese title given to the work by the Ming editors, who also created a Mongolian title for it in Chinese transcription. See Hung 1951, 484-485; Mo, ix-x; and Section Four of the Introduction.

Činggis Qa'an (w.f. Činggis Qaγan) is the appellation of the conqueror in the later Mongol tradition; the one assumed by, or rather conferred on Temüjin and by which he was known in his lifetime, was Činggis Qan. The change from Činggis Qan to Činggis Qaγan probably occurred early in the reign of Qubilai (1260-94), and the SH text, which originally only had Činggis Qan throughout, was amended accordingly. For this question and the use of the titles *qan* and *qa'an* in the Mongol period, see de Rachewiltz 1983, and below, n. 125; for the meaning of the word *činggis*, see below, n. 123. Cf. also nn. 202 and 269. For the etymology of *qan* and *qa'an* (= mo. *qaγan*), see de Rachewiltz 1989. Cf. also CLC, 312-313; HCWLYTT, 62-71, no. 16; Kałużyński 1978, 128; V.S. Taskin in MO 1986, 213-218; Fletcher 1986, 22; Hattori 1987; and Rybatzki 2000, 230. Ligeti has restored the original title Činggis Qan in his translation (Li, 9 et passim); I prefer to retain the title as given in the transmitted text, standardizing however the form *qa'an*, which in the Chinese transcription appears as *qa'an* and *qaḥan* (for the respective frequency of these two forms see R, 294a and 285b-286b). In certain circumstances, and in particular in the groups *a'a* (< *aγa*), *a'u/e'ü* (< *aγu/egü*) and *ü'ü* (< *ügü*), the introduction by transcribers in China, western Asia and the Near East of an *-ḥ-* or a *-w-* (*-v-*) is merely a device to 'bridge' the hiatus created by the disappearance of the intervocalic velar stops *-γ-/-g-*, hence *qaḥan* = *qa'an*, *baḥadur* = *ba'adur*, Baharitai = Ba'aritai; *čilawun* = *čila'un*, *mawu* = *ma'u*, *baqawur* = *baqa'ur* (< *baγaγur*), Hulawu/Hülewü = Hula'u/Hüle'ü,

Boltavut = Bolda'ut, *ǰewün* = *ǰe'ün*, *güčüḥün* = *güčü'ün*; etc. See IM, 433a; LH, 1266; HCG, 34; VMI, 18; Pelliot 1925, 249, n. 2 (for *-'- ~ -ḥ-*); Cleaves 1949b, 436 (for *-w-* and *-ḥ-* = *-'-*); Mo, 63, n. 58; *Matériel II*, 16-17; and 'Quelques problèmes', 258-259. With regard to *qaḥan* = *qa'an*, see especially Cleaves 1948, 452, n. 14, and Mo, 63, n. 58. See also Hambis 1960, 149: '*qa'an* (*qaḥan*).' For a discussion of this problem and a different interpretation, cf. Ozawa 1968; Hattori 1987. I do not share D. Tömörtogoo's view (see MXTXÜ, 84) that pmo. *aγa* > mmo. *aḥa* > *a'a* because the form *qaḥan* in the SH occurs virtually next to *qa'an* in the same paragraph, which shows that the two forms were used interchangeably by the Ming transcribers. See, e.g., § 257. Cf. also *čaḥan* (= *ča'ān*) ~ *ča'a'an* in § 153. However, for purely philological reasons it is useful to indicate the forms with *-ḥ-* and *-w-* (when the latter also = *-'-*) in a word-index, as in R and KCI. For the representation of the hiatus in the foreign transcriptions of Mongol words, cf. Ligeti's important remarks in VMIN, 115-116, n. 12. See also ibid., 115-119 (concerning the value of the *wāw*). Although I have adopted the present system of notation throughout the work, because of frequent inconsistencies and the inherent ambiguity of both the Chinese and the Arabic-Persian transcriptions (cf., e.g., RH, 263, no. 16, and n. 4), one cannot exclude the possibility of coexistence of residual intermediate *-w-* forms (e.g. *ǰalawu* and *ǰala'u*, *mawu* and *ma'u*, *čilawun* and *čila'un*) in 14th century (spoken) Mongolian – as indeed postulated by many Mongolists. However, I regard the actual existence of a form like *qaḥan* next to *qa'an*, which is attested only in the SH and the HIIY, as extremely improbable. For two important recent contributions to the understanding of the *Problematik* of the intervocalic hiatus in Middle Mongolian, see Miller 2002, and Y. Saitō (in Add. & Corr.), 105-120, 215. As for the *n*-gemination (*qa'an-nu*), cf. ibid., 53-84, 85ff.

For the word *huǰa'ur* (= pmo. *uǰaγur*; mo. *iǰaγur*) 'origin, root, source, beginning', hence 'ancestry', see Hung 1951, 467; Mo, xiii; TMEN, no. 395. For Vietze, however, *huǰa'ur* must be

taken, *sensu lato*, as meaning 'clan.' See Vietze 1995a, 307-308. On *uǰaɣur ~ iǰaɣur*, cf. UGPM, 199.

The blue-grey, or bluish, wolf (*börte činō*; mo. *börte činua*) and the fallow doe (*qo'ai maral*; pmo. *qoɣa[i] maral*; mo. *quua/quuva/qua maral*) in the early legend of Mongol origins are real animals, as in the mythology of the ancient Turks whose totemic ancestor was likewise a wolf. However, in the later Mongol tradition they became a human couple: Börte Činua and Гooa Maral, i.e. Blue-grey Wolf and Beautiful (reading *ɣooa* 'fair, beautiful' for *qoɣa*, etc. 'fallow') Doe. This is not surprising, since from ancient times the Mongols, like the Turks and other peoples, used names of animals as proper names. See Mo, xvi-xviii; Sodnom 1964, 40; Ligeti 1970, 305; Uray-Köhalmi 1987, 137-140. Cf. P.B. Konovalov in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 54-70, and MNT, I, 35-39; S. Kleinmichel in *UAJ*, N.F. 11:1992, 103-111; Bulag in MNT, I, 95-98; Bira 1990b, 14ff.; idem 1991, 40 (however, Bira's position is somewhat ambiguous, cf. Bira 1998/99, 17; idem 2000, 58; and MTSTBS, 355). The 'modern' interpretation is still held to this day in Mongolia and China, and also has followers in Europe. Cf. ČXC, 21; MNT, 6; Do[1], 1, 3-4, n. 3; On, 1; Ev-Pop, 251, n. 1 (uncertain); Yü, 1. For a discussion on the meaning of the word *börte*, see de Rachewiltz 1997. For *činō*, mo. *činua* 'wolf (*Canis lupus*)', and the reading *činō* v. *čino* in the SH, see below, n. 129. Cf. also On, 1, n. 4, for a highly hypothetical date (AD 758) for the birth of the (human) ancestor called Börte Činō. For the wolf in ancient Turkic mythology, cf. Clauson 1964; Sinor 1982, 223 et passim; Golden 1997, 88-93. For mmo. *qo'ai* 'fallow' (an ancient feminine form of *qo'a* ?), see Mo, xv-xvi; TMEN, no. 293; Oz[1], I, 18-21, n. 10; and, as part of a name, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. *Maral* is the hind or doe, female of the *buqu* (= mo. *buɣu*), on which see below, n. 12.

As with so many other socio-cultural traits and traditions, the Turkic and the Mongolian-speaking tribes of Inner Asia shared a common heritage. The Mongolian Heaven Above, or Heaven-on-High (*de'ere tenggeri*; mo. *degere tengri*), also

commonly referred to as the Eternal Heaven (*möngke tenggeri*) is, of course, the Blue Sky Above (*üze kök täŋri*) and the Heaven Above (*üze täŋri*) of the early Turks – the physical sky or firmament being identified in both cultures with the Supreme Power governing the destiny of all creatures. Hence the 'destiny', ordained by Heaven Above, of the blue-grey wolf from which originates the line of the future Činggis Qan. Here the mythical wolf is 'endowed with destiny' (*ǰaya'atu*; mo. *ǰayaɣatu*) from Heaven; later, in the Lamaist historiographical tradition, Börte Činua will be transformed into a descendant of the legendary rulers of India and Tibet, and into a Buddhist avatar; the correlation with the shamanistic Heaven is still evident in his designation as 'son of Heaven' in the Tibetan *Blue Annals* and the 17th century Mongol chronicles. See ANT, 47. Cf. also the biography of Altan Qan of the Tümed (ETNS, 8): *degere tngri-yin ǰayaɣa-bar törögsen ... Temüǰin suu-tu Činggis Qaɣan*; and ibid., 15. As is known, the *qaɣan*s of the Orkhon Turks were also designated as 'Heaven-born' (*täŋridä bolmiš*, see GOT, 279b; cf. Bira 1974, 67; idem 1977, 197) and, indeed, the expression 'Heaven-born' (*t'ien-sheng* 天生) is also found in the Chinese sectional summary of § 1 of the SH (Y^2 1, 1b) rendering *de'ere tenggeri-eče ǰaya'atu*. As Š. Gaadamba has conclusively shown, in the early Mongol world-conception reflected in the SH, to be endowed with a destiny from Heaven Above, i.e. to be born by the destiny of Heaven (and Earth), is not an exclusive characteristic of Činggis' legendary ancestor, but a quality shared by *all* living creatures (cf. §§ 197 and 281). See MNTSZA, 25-30. Cf. also Gaadamba in *MSu* 6:1969, 68-69, 106; Bira 1991, 42ff.; Onon 1996, 168. In my view, the fact that Heaven is mentioned at the very outset of Činggis' genealogy – as it usually is at the beginning of the Orkhon inscriptions – indicates a special intervention of the Supreme Power in the origin of the conqueror's lineage, as will be the case throughout the career of the future conqueror. See §§ 80, 113, 125, 187, 208, etc. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1973; Skrynnikova

1989a. For an example of the later usage of the expression 'born by (= with) a destiny of (= from) Heaven', cf. Cleaves 1951, 54 [18], 69 [18]. For an extensive discussion on the Turco-Mongolian conception of Heaven, see Roux 1956. See also Roux 1962, 19-24; Jagchid 1978, 89-90; IBŠ, 143-152, 225; MKSLT, 73-80; Yang Shao-yu 楊紹猷 in *MTYC*, 1983.1, 45ff.; Fletcher 1986, 30-32; Pritsak 1988, 753; Sárközi 1993; Beffa 1993; Beffa & Hamayon 1995; Fedotov 1996, 143ff.; Even 1999, 166ff. For the term *tenggeri ~ tenggiri* (*täŋri, tngri, tengri, tegri*), see Pelliot 1944d, 169ff.; Ligeti 1965, 267-270, no. 1; VMI, 68; Krueger 1963; O. Maenchen-Helfen in *AJP* 87:1966, 80-83; HCWLYTT, 119-121, no. 27; Cleaves 1967, 260 and n. 68; UGPM, 199; RH, 198, no. 1; Kara 1990, 328; BT, II, 375a (Index); Tuguševa 2000; and, especially, TMEN, no. 944. In the SH, the form *tenggeri* occurs sixty-five times and *tenggiri* only five times. See R, 316b-317a. For the alternation *tenggeri ~ tenggiri*, cf. also *Matériel II*, 1-2 (1r, 2-3). For some remarks on the terminology of the SH and the Orkhon inscriptions, cf. L. Bold in *CMJS* 4:1995, 403-411. The etymology of the word *tengri* (tu. *täŋri*) remains obscure. However, following Pelliot's perceptive remarks (op.cit., 170, n. 3; cf. also Ligeti 1950, 168-169, n. 2) and Doerfer's pertinent comments (TMEN, no. 944, 584-585), I am inclined to think that it is a very early borrowing from ch. *t'ien* 天 'heaven, sky' (ach. **t'ien*). The Chinese word may have passed into proto-Turkic or proto-Mongolian via a Tungus or paleo-Asiatic intermediary, which would account for the ending *-ri*, possibly a plural suffix of respect. This suffix is still productive as a plural suffix in Manchu, although its use is limited to only two cases, but significantly meaning 'male ancestor' (*mafa* → *mafari*) and 'female ancestor' (*mama* → *mamari*). For the plural of respect, cf. pmo. *degedüs*, lit. 'the supreme' (pl.) = 'the Emperor.' Cf. Cleaves 1949, 103, n. 46; idem 1950, 124, n. 206; *Lettres*, 79. For the passage (**t'ien* >) **ten* > *teng* (*täŋ*), cf. mo. Činqai ~ Čingqai (in Chinese transcription Chen-hai 鎮海 and Ch'eng-hai

稱海) < uig. *sinqay* < ch. *hsin-chiai* 新戒 'novice' [ach. **siĕn-kăi*]). Cf. also mo. *tenčire- ~ tengčire-* 'to worry', etc. For the expression (*tenggeri*) *ǰaya'atu töreksen*, see also Pürevžav & Baasanbam 1996, 158; DO, 658b; and Cleaves 1951, 89, n. 87, where the SH formula is compared to a similar one in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338 in memory of J̌igüntei. One can also compare it with the opening words of the so-called 'Pilgrims' Inscriptions' of 1323 from Tun-huang: *tngri-eče ǰayaritu törögsen* 'born with a sign from Heaven.' See MPr, 33; Mo, xv, n. 13. On the charismatic power conferred on a heavenly-ordained ruler, see also KHIV, 62ff.

For *aǰi'ai* (= pmo. *aǰiγai ~ aǰigi*), the feminine form of *aǰu'u* (= pmo. *aǰuγu ~ aǰuγui*), praeteritum imperfecti of *a-* 'to be', see Doerfer 1955, 248ff.; UGPM, 156-157, § 34; JŚ, 132, § 223; YMT, 88-89. Cf. Mo, xvi; LSHM, 84, n. 70.

Tenggis, glossed in the interlinear translation as 'name of *a body of* water' (*shui ming* 水名) is otu. and uig. *teŋiz* 'sea, ocean', with the regular passage *ŋ* > *ngg* and *z* > *s*. For this word and its connotations in Turkic and Mongolian, see Mo, xvii; NMP, I, 298-299; ED, 527a-b; TMEN, no. 1192; Poppe 1955, 41; G. Kara in *JA* 269:1981, 320. Cf. also K. Shiratori in *KZ* 3:1902, 132. In § 199 a Tenggis Dalai, or Tenggis Sea, is mentioned, but in a metaphorical sense. However, AT[1], 4a, b, in the passage corresponding to § 1 of the SH, also has Tenggis Dalai and we cannot, therefore, exclude *a priori* that the word *dalai* has been dropped from the original recension of the SH. Tenggis can, of course, simply be rendered as 'the sea' or 'a great lake', as Jagchid and Murakami do (see Ja, 3; Mu, I, 5; cf. Na[2], 2); it is reasonable to suppose that it refers to a specific body of water, and various scholars in the past have identified it with different lakes and even with a river. According to Li Wen-t'ien (YC 1, 3a-4a), Shih Shih-chieh (YSCK, 1a) and Kozin (who, however, is uncertain, see Ko, 604), Tenggis is the Caspian Sea; for Pėrlėė (Pėrlėė[2], 9, Pėrlėė[4], 95; cf. also GGMGL, 35) and Ozawa (Oz[1], I, 4, 21-22, n. 12) it is the River

Tengis (Tengis Gol) of northern Mongolia (51° N 101° E), but, more recently, an unspecified 'lake' (Oz[2], I, 13); Tamura (Tamura 1973, 1-14) identifies it with Lake Khulun (= Hulun) or Dalai Nōr, in present-day northeastern Inner Mongolia; S.A. Gurulev (Gurulev 1974; cf. also TBG, 13-26; ČITB, 4, 13, 82ff.) is convinced that it is Lake Baikal; and, finally, T'ing Chien (YTL 1, 1b) thinks it is the same as the Tünggelik Stream of the SH (§ 5 et passim). But Tenggis appears to be a sea or large lake (*dalai*), not a river. As for Lake Hulun, the identification of Tenggis with this lake is not likely, because at the time the SH was composed the Hulun Nōr was called Kölen Na'ur, see § 53. And, contrary to what is stated by Gurulev (TBG, 17), Tenggis was indeed the name of the Caspian in the 13th century. In the YS, the Caspian is mentioned four times under the name K'uan T'ien-chi-ssu hai 寬田吉思海, 'The Wide Tengis Sea' (see GGS, III, 2399a; cf. P. Pelliot in *JA* 15, 2:1920, 166), almost certainly corresponding to pmo. (Yeke) Tenggis Dalai. For the expression *yeke tenggis* 'the great sea', see Cleaves 1959, 44 [12v9]. In the 17th century the Caspian was still called Deŋiz by Turkic-speaking people. See MR, I, 297, n. 722. The Aral Sea and Lake Balkash were likewise called Teŋiz, as noted by Doerfer (TMEN, III, 206; cf. VWTD, III, 1045). This is not surprising seeing that the word *teŋiz* designates *any* vast expanse of water, like the word 'sea' in many languages, a lake being regarded since remote antiquity as an inland sea. Cf. ger. *See* and *Meer* both meaning 'lake'; and the Dead Sea, Aral'skoe More, Ch'ing-hai (mo. Köke Naγur 'Blue Lake'), Nio no umi (= Lake Biwa), etc. Hence, the term may certainly have been applied to the Baikal in early times as Gurulev claims, not without reason. ('Baikal' is a Tungus word meaning 'ocean.') The Baikal is, geographically speaking, the best candidate for the First Ancestor's crossing, being just north of Mount Burqan Qaldun where he and his mate the fallow doe eventually settled. Furthermore, later sources, such as AT and AT (anon.), do indicate that the Tenggis Sea crossed by Börte Činua was 'in the north.' See AT[1], 4a; LDAT, 53; and MCAT, 36, 113. Cf. Mo, xix. As we shall see, these indications are in no way decisive since the whole question of the migration of the Mongqol tribe is a very complex one. And, one might add, the second mention of Tenggis as Tenggis Dalai (see above) in § 199, which obviously does not designate a *specific* body of water, helps keeping the problem of identification in suspense.

Whatever is meant by 'Tenggis', the identification of Mount Burqan Qaldun is no longer doubtful. Burqan Qaldun corresponds to the present-day Khentei Khan (Xėntiĭ Xan), in the Great Khentei Range (Ix Xėntiĭn Nuruu) in northeastern Mongolia (48° 50 N 109° E). From the top of Khentei Khan one can see the sources of both the Onon, the Onan of the SH, and the Kerulen (Xėrlėn) rivers. It was this sacred mountain – with its historical and legendary association as the ancestral home of Činggis' forebears – which the conqueror chose as his final resting place (see below, § 268). See RBC, 72, 95ff.; Poppe 1956, 33, n. 2; Pėrlėė[2], 6 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 87); Schubert 1973; Boyle 1970, 45; idem 1973, 75, 76; ČXĖBN, 8-35; and the discussion in de Rachewiltz 1998, 239-249 (also for further references). For the Khentei Range, cf. also Cegmid 1993. The name Burqan Qaldun has been rendered by Pelliot (NMP, I, 340) as 'Buddha-Cliff', but Rinčėn, on the basis of Dagur and the Mongolian shamanistic tradition, claims that its meaning is actually '(Mountain of) the Willow-God', or '(Mountain of) the Sacred Willow.' See Rintchen 1950. Cf. On, 1, n. 6, for a somewhat different interpretation. Pelliot's rendering of *qaldun* as 'cliff' is supported by the Chinese gloss in § 164 and the fact that the name 'Buda Ündür' for Burqan Qaldun is used by Rašīd al-Dīn (*ündür* means 'heights' in Mongolian). See NMP, I, 342, 346. Cf. also *Successors*, 228, 310, 314; Barthold & Rogers 1970, 209, 215-216. The interpretation of *qaldun* as 'cliff' is accepted by Poppe, op. cit., 34, and other scholars; it should be emphasized, however, that the word *qaldun* meaning 'cliff' is not attested in Mongolian *except* in § 164 of the SH; in all other cases it is part of the mountain's name. Poppe, op. cit., n. 6,

refers to the mountain called 'Qaldud-un ǰirüken' ('The Heart of the Qaldud') west of the Tangsuγ Tala ('Marvellous Plain') of the Tūla River mentioned in the famous inscription of Čoγtu Tayiǰi at Čaγan Baising, to prove that 'the word *qaldun*, plural *qaldud*, occurs in Written Mongolian [as an appellative noun meaning "mountain" – I.R.] as late as the XVIIth century.' See ITB, 10, 21 (cf. the Mongolian text, ibid., 31-32, 44). However, in the Tibetan text Mount Burqan Qaldun is called 'Kaltun sÑiṅ-po', i.e. 'The Heart of the Kaltun', and three lines later 'Purhan Kaltud.' The Mongolian text refers only to 'Qaldud-un ǰirüken', obviously combining the first name of the mountain with the plural form 'Qaldud' of the second name of the Tibetan text. The reason why a plural Mongol form was used in the Tibetan text is probably because the mountain in question is 'adorned' (according to the inscription) with six other high peaks, thus forming a mountain complex dominated by Burqan Qaldun. In view of this, the 'Qaldud' of the Mongolian text need not be taken as the plural of a noun signifying 'mountain' as stated by Poppe. We are still dealing with a proper name that *may* mean 'mountain.' For the meaning of *burqan* (uig. *burχan* 'Buddha') in otu. and mo., see TMEN, no. 732; Rahder 1966. On the toponym Burqan/Pourkán, cf. D. Theodoridis in *AOH* 42:1988, 87-91. For Burqan Qaldun see also L. Dar'sürèn in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 129-132; and MBMTTS, 238 (where the proposed etymology of *qaldun* < *γal* + *-dun* is untenable).

For the Onan River (Onan Müren), i.e. the Onon, which, together with the Kelüren River (Kelüren Müren), i.e. the Kerulen (or Kerülen; kh. Xèrlèn), figures so prominently in Mongol history, see Poppe 1956, 35-36; Boyle 1973, 75-76; Hambis 1974, 33-34. Cf. also MBT, 230a (Index) for the form with *a*. For the word *teri'ün* (= mo. *terigün*) 'source', lit. 'head', cf. HCWLYTT, 44-45, no. 11.

Both the AT and AT (anon.) say that the clan name 'Mongγol' originates from Börte Činua and Γooa Maral (see AT[1], 4b; LDAT, 53; MCAT, 36, 113), but no such statement is found in the SH, possibly because this fact is already implied in

the opening line of the work: *Činggis Qa'an-nu huǰa'ur*. Later in the SH the tribe of the Mongols proper is called 'the Mongqol people (*or* tribe)' (*Mongqol ulus*, *Mongqol irgen*). On the basis of the SH account it would appear that the original nucleus of this tribe, represented by the blue-grey wolf of the legend, migrated from an area beyond the Tenggis to the region of the Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan, where it settled. We know that in the time of Činggis Qan, the habitat of the Mongqol tribe was in the Onon-Kerulen region, south and south-east of the Great Khentei – the 'Onankerule' of William of Rubruck's *Itinerarium*. See SF, 208; MM, 123; MWR, 125 and n.2; RCAC, 104. According to another ancient account recorded by Rašīd al-Dīn, these early 'immigrants', led by Börte Činō, came from an enclosed valley of the Ergene Qun, a name which means, according to Rašīd, 'steep cliff.' There they had lived and multiplied after their almost complete annihilation by the Turks two thousand years before the birth of Činggis Qan. On their journey to 'another country' (*dīgar valāyat*) they had to cross the arm or branch of a river (*šāxī az daryā*), which must have been wide as, in order to cross it, they had to build a *kalak*, i.e. a raft made of a large quantity of brushwood. (It is worth noting in this connection, that AT and other later chronicles state that Börte Činua went to 'another country' [*ǰad-un γaǰar*] after crossing the Tenggis Sea, see AT[1], 4a; MCAT, 36.4; WG, 81, 105, 106, n. 5, 255-256). Cf. SL[2], I/2, 9-10; I/1, 153-154; and SL[1], 13 (1868: Persian text), 6. In the legends about the origin of the Turks recorded in the Chinese sources we find the same themes: a cavern leading to a plain enclosed by mountains where the wolf's descendants lived and multiplied for several generations before coming out and eventually settling south of a mountain range. One of the legends has it that the original ancestors of the Turks lived to the west of the Western Sea (note again this reference to a large body of water), and that their tribe was defeated and exterminated by a neighbouring country. Only one boy survived, who was reared by the she-wolf. Later he had intercourse with her and made her pregnant. The wolf then fled

(or, according to another version, was transported by a spirit) east of the Western Sea, to a mountain north (or north-west) of Kao-ch'ang (Turfan). It was in a cavern in the mountain that the she-wolf took refuge and gave birth to ten boys. They took wives from the outside and their descendants eventually migrated to the south of the Chin-shan (Altai). In another tradition, likewise recorded in a Chinese source, there is mention of a white deer with golden horns coming out of the ancestral cavern. A useful comparison of these legends and their variants is found in Sinor 1982, where the Mongol legends of origin are also discussed (see, esp., pp. 240-242, 247-249). Cf. also PSIT, 32-34; RTM, 188-195; Boyle 1975; and, more recently, Gaadamba 1984, 118-119. The localization of Ergene Qun presents some problems. By taking Ergene = Argun, i.e. the Argun River, and on other grounds, Tamura placed the original habitat of the Mongols in the region of the middle Argun and the Khailar (Hailar) plain, from where they subsequently migrated in a southwesterly direction to the basin of the Onon, crossing the Hulun Nōr, i.e. the Tenggis of the SH. See Tamura 1973, 1-14. (For Ergene Qun = the Argun River, cf. SL^2, I/1, 74, n. 3, 153, n. 1; I/2, 9, n. 1.) On the other hand, the origin legends of the Turks recorded in the Chinese sources state explicitly that the ancestral cavern was in the mountains north, or north-west, of Kao-ch'ang; it was from there that the forebears of the Turks migrated to the southern slopes of the Altai. If, as Pelliot assumed, this is the same cavern connected with an enclosed valley or plain of the Ergene Qun, then the latter was clearly situated also in the west, and not in the east as inferred by Tamura. See Pelliot 1929, 214, n. 2. However, Sinor (op. cit., 235) is of the opinion that the 'ancestral cavern', where in later times the Turkish *qaγan*s went every year in person, or sent officials, to sacrifice, was a real cavern, whereas the Ergene Qun cavern is a legendary place, and the two should not be confused. I think that Sinor is right. Moreover, the first element of the name Ergene Qun is almost certainly an alternative form of Ergüne, i.e. the Argun (cf. SH, § 141), while Qun is mmo. *qun*

'cliff, rock, steep bank' (see HW, 72; TMEN, no. 309). In any case, whether Ergene Qun ~ *Ergüne Qun was a real place or not is of little or no relevance insofar as the Mongol legends of origin are concerned. As noted by Pelliot (loc. cit.), these are a borrowing from the Turkish legends and cannot therefore be regarded as reflecting historical events such as a movement of tribal groups from eastern or western Mongolia, or from the north. The ancestral wolf, the crossing of a large body of water (lake or river), the migration to a mountain site and even the presence of a deer – all these elements are common to the two traditions, of which the Turkish is historically the earliest and thus, presumably, the original one. Cf. RTM, 190; FFSSA, 321ff.; *YSLT* 1:1982, 220. In view of this, I believe that it is futile to attempt to identify the Tenggis with a real lake or river, and the totemic ancestors with real people. An illustration of a rock drawing of a female figure together with an 'elk-hind' on a cliff overlooking the Tūla River north of Ulan Bator is found in Lattimore 1963a (facing p. 5). Lattimore believes that this is a representation of Γooa Maral and 'the first corroborative evidence that she was a genuine 12th-13th century figure.' Such a conclusion seems unwarranted, particularly as there are serious doubts as to the genuineness of the rock drawing itself (E.A. Novgorodova, p.c.). I also consider as speculative the thesis proposed by Murakami, who contends that 'the Mongol legend is to be understood as a kind of story orally handed down by successive clan Shamans, and reflects partly the actual history of their migration from the place of their origin as well as later developments in the new settlements and partly the true picture of the dual system of Mongol tribal society' (Murakami 1964, 1243). All we can say is that the ancestors of the 'Mongqol' tribesmen, who in the 12th-13th centuries inhabited the Onon-Kerulen region (south and south-east of the Great Khentei), had at some undetermined time been under the political and cultural influence of the Turks to the extent of grafting their own body of traditions on the Turkish legends of origin with due modifications, such as the change in sex of the ancestral wolf

and the metamorphosis of the deer into the fallow doe and the wolf's mate. Conversely, we must assume that the Mongol legend is of much more recent origin and was borrowed from the Turks *after* the Mongols rose to power in the 13th century to give the 'golden lineage' of Činggis Qan a fitting genealogy and an origin worthy of the great conqueror. Personally, I am in favour of this assumption. Cf. HCG, 118. On this and other issues raised by § 1 of the SH, see de Rachewiltz 1992. Thus the only reliable datum is the establishment of Mongqol tribesmen in the Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan area several generations before Činggis Qan, a fact illustrated by the unfolding of the story in the subsequent sections of the SH. As to the actual origin of these tribesmen, i.e. their history from T'ang times (when the tribal name 'Mongγol' appears for the first time in a Chinese source, the *Chiu T'ang-shu*, see de Rachewiltz 1996, 199ff.), through the Sung, Liao and Chin periods, the task of re-examining the various and often contradictory references found in the Chinese sources is beyond the scope of the present work. One problem that deserves special attention is the critical analysis of the data found in the Chinese sources collected and published by Wang Kuo-wei in the light of the information contained in Rašīd al-Dīn's work and in the SH. See, provisionally, MKK; KSK, 422-442; Pėrlėė 1963 (highly conjectural and unreliable); Ratchnevsky 1966; Hambis 1970; Tamura 1973; LCSTMKK. Cf. also Pelliot 1929a, 126-128; CLC, 145-157; Aubin 1974, 11-12 and 15, n. 11; Ch'en Te-chih in *NCTHHP*, 1981.1; Cheng Ying-te 鄭英德 in *CNHP*, 1983.2; ČK[1], 5-11 (= ČK[2], 7-12); Serruys 1982, 475-476; ASK, II, 24-37. Some Chinese sources have so far escaped the attention of western scholars; among them TCHP which contains (19, 21a-b) the earliest Chinese account of Mongol origins (Pelliot had no access to this work except through Naka's occasional quotations). Cf. below, n. 7. At the same time, it is necessary to take into account the ethnographic data collected by medieval travellers, perceptively discussed in

Viktorova 1978. For the later Turco-Mongolian tradition of common origin, see Dobrovits 1994.

Although the blue-grey wolf has earlier been referred to as the First Ancestor, this designation should properly apply to Batačiqan, the offspring of the wolf and the fallow doe, for he was the first *human* ancestor in the lineage, and according to Rašīd al-Dīn, the first to achieve royal power: he is in fact called Batači Qa'an by the Persian historian (SL[2], I/2, 9). Rašīd, whose genealogy of Činggis Qan does not agree in many respects with that of the SH, recorded a different tradition. It is debatable whether the name Batačiqan should be read Batači Qan, following Rašīd, as some scholars do (see, e.g., Do[1], 14; Du, 1; Ma, 3; cf. GGMGL, 91). The attribution of *qan*-ship to this early forebear of Činggis Qan is no doubt a later development and indeed at variance with the SH account, which makes Qabul the first in the lineage to bear the title of *qan* (§ 52). Furthermore, AT[1], 4b, calls the son of Börte Činua 'Bata Čaγan' (cf. the 'Bata-Čigan' of Ko, 79, and the 'Batcagaan' of Da[5], 19), almost certainly a corruption of Batačiqan or Batačiγan. The endings *-qan*, *-γan* are fairly common in Mongol names, e.g. Čormaγan, Daldurqan, Ča'urqan (*-qan* is the so-called diminutive suffix; *-γan*, as a den. noun suffix, is an ancient suffix, no longer productive in pmo., which deserves investigation; cf. below, nn. 40, 280). It is difficult to determine whether we should read Batačiqan or Batačiγan. The etymology of this name remains obscure in spite of suggestions that it may derive from tu. (Kara-Kirghiz) *badačï* 'herdsman' (VWTD, IV, 1518). See Mu, I, 10-11, n. 8; cf. Doronatib in CKMKS, 1, n. 2; and Ž. Tömörcėrėn in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 151-153. For the problem of Mongol names and their interpretation, see below, n. 2.

The complex issue of the lineage of Činggis Qan and its ramifications into the various clans of the Mongqol tribe has been dealt with by several scholars. See, in particular, Yamaguchi 1951; Poucha 1954 (but cf. Bese 1979!); Tamura 1973, 15-19; Yoshida 1984; Whitaker 1984; Murakami 1985;

Hesse 1985. See also Šastina 1975. Unfortunately, many of the problems concerning Činggis' own lineage and the origins of the Mongol clans cannot be solved because the traditions recorded in the Persian and Chinese sources and in the SH cannot be reconciled with each other. Some of these discrepancies will be pointed out in the Commentary.

For the verb *nuntuqla-* (= mo. *nutuγla-*) 'to set up (a nomadic) camp, to settle down', see Oz[1], I, 27-29, n.17. For *nuntuq* ~ *nutuq*, see also Vlad.[2], 283b (Index); IMCS, 166.

§ 2. Many proper names in this and the followings paragraphs are accompanied by epithets or form meaningful compounds, e.g.: *mergen* 'skilful (archer), clever' (on this term, see TMEN, no. 363; Oz[1], I, 34-35); *boro'ul*, probably from *boro* 'grey' (cf. HCG, 374); *qača'u* 'obstinate, stubborn'; *qo'a* 'beautiful, fair'; *bayan* 'rich'; *soqor* 'blind (in one eye), one-eyed'; *mungqaq* 'fool, simpleton'; Yeke Nidün 'Big Eye'; etc. As we shall see, other personal names are followed by designations of kinship relationships (with overtones of respect), plain terms of respect, designations of rank and honorary titles, such as *ečige* 'father'; *eke* 'mother'; *aqa* 'elder brother (*or* cousin)', used also as a term of respect; *otčigin* 'youngest son and guardian of the hearth'; *güregen* 'son-in-law'; *qatun* (~ *qadun*) '*qan*'s wife, lady of high rank'; *üǰin* 'lady'; *ebügen* 'old man, elder' (a term of respect); *qorči* 'quiverbearer'; *ba'urči* 'cook, steward'; *čerbi* 'chamberlain'; *noyan* 'chief, commander, official, nobleman'; *beki*, an official title; *bökö* 'strong man' (applied to wrestling champions); *ba'atur* 'brave, valiant'; *sečen* 'wise'; and many more. Occasionally, an official title is used as a proper name, e.g. Qorči (see below, n. 120). Sometimes the epithet precedes the name, e.g. Yeke Čeren 'Big Čeren' (on this name see, however, n. 169 below). Some titles added to the names are of Chinese origin, e.g. *taiši*, from ch. *t'ai-shih* (**tai-ši*) 太師 'Grand Preceptor' (but see below, nn. 50 and 55). In fact, several ancient Mongol titles are of non-Mongolian origin, including *üǰin* and *ba'atur*. See below, nn. 43, 50, and 55. Personal

names are often meaningful, but in many cases the original meaning is unknown. Names ending in *-dai/-dei*, *-tai/-tei*, and *-ǰin* (~ *-čin*) for female beings, indicate the ethnic origin of the bearer. Thus, Borǰigidai Mergen means 'The Clever (of the) Borǰigin (a Mongqol clan)'; Mongqolǰin Qo'a 'The Fair (of the) Mongqol (fem.)'; and so on. Individual cases, where the meaning is clear and/or relevant, will be discussed in the Commentary, but I have not attempted to interpret all the proper names of the SH, as has been done in Ev-Pop. An important comprehensive study of these names, both Turkic and Mongolian, by the late L. Bese of Budapest, was partially completed but has not yet been published (as at April 2003). See the Introduction, n. 199; and, provisionally, Bese 1974, idem 1978, idem 1980, idem 1988; Poppe 1975; Šastina 1975; Li, 141, n. 3; cf. also Vlad.[1], 74 (= Vlad.[2], 93); Vinkovics 1985; Khabtagaeva 2001, 103 and n. 15.

Tamača is called Tamač and Tamač Qan by Rašīd (SL[2], I/2, 9, 10), and Tamačin in AT[1], 4b. See HCG, 401.

Qoričar Mergen, id. in SL[2], I/2, 9, 10; Qoričir (read Qoričar) Mergen in AT[1], 4b. Qoričar is a name in *-čar/-čer* from *qori*, here probably the tribal name Qori, on which see below, n. 8. Cf. HCG, 30, 69, 423; Bese 1974, 92; Poppe 1975, 161.

A'uǰam Boro'ul, incorrectly written Quǰam Boraγul in SL[2], I/2, 10, and Uγuǰam Boγorul in AT[1], 4b. Cf. HCG, 374; Cleaves 1949a, 501. For *boro* 'grey', see TMEN, no. 785; Poppe 1977, 131-133.

Sali Qača'u, *deest apud* Rašīd; AT[1] 4b, gives Sali Γalčaγu (for Γačaγu). Sali is a fairly common name in Uighur. Its original – and correct – form was Šäli, which is a transcription of ch. *she-li* 闍梨, a Buddhist title corresponding to skr. *ācārya* 'teacher.' See Hamilton 1984a, 425-431. *Qača'u* (w.f. *γačaγu*) 'stubborn', a deverbal noun in *-'u* (*-γu*) from *qača-* (= mo. *γača-*) 'to be obstinate.' Cf. GWM, 46, § 152; Bese 1974, 92, 93.

Yeke Nidün ('Big Eye'), id. in SL[2], I/2, 10, and AT[1], 4b.

Sem Soči, the Sim Sauči of SL[2], I/2, 10; Sem Soči in AT[1], 4b. *Sem* means 'silent', here probably in the sense of 'taciturn.' Cf. HCG, 54.

Qarču, the Qali Qarču of SL[2], I/2, 10; Qaračus in AT[1], 4b. 'Qali Qarču' is almost certainly the result of a confusion in the text or in Rašīd's source between Sali Qača'u and Qarču, which accounts for the disappearance of the former in Rašīd's genealogy and Yeke Nidün becoming the son of A'uǰam Boro'ul instead of Sali Qača'u.

§ 3. Borǰigidai Mergen, id. in AT[1], 4b. The genealogy recorded by Rašīd al-Dīn follows a different tradition, with Dobun Bayan (the Dobun Mergen of the SH, see below) given as the son of Qali Qarču. For an important contribution to the study of genealogies in the SH, see Ardaǰab 1993.

Borǰigidai is the ethnicon in *-dai/-dei* of Borǰigin (pl. Borǰigit). See above, n. 2; Poppe 1975, 162-163. The Borǰigin clan of the Mongqol tribe was the clan allegedly established by Bodončar several generations later. See § 42 and com. The etymology of the name Borǰigin is uncertain. The unreliable interpretation given by Rašīd (*borǰigin* = 'man with dark blue eyes') accounts, through a further misunderstanding, also for the imaginary grey (pmo., mo. *boro*), or cat's eyes of Činggis Qan, regularly ascribed to the conqueror by modern authors. See Pelliot's important remarks in HCG, 118-120; cf. Vlad.[1], 47, 71ff.; Vlad.[2], 57, 89ff.; ČK[1], 13-14 (= ČK[2], 14-15). More likely, *borǰigin* derives from *borǰin* 'wild duck' + the suffix *-gin* (~ *-kin*), see TMEN, no. 101 (esp. p. 224); Poppe 1975, 165; and Bese 1988, 20-21. For the Borǰigin clan, besides the fundamental work by Lomi (MBOT), see also Yamaguchi 1951; Badamxatan 1969; Murakami 1985. With regard to Borǰigidai Mergen, the AT[1], loc. cit., adds that he was born 'at the source of the Budaγan Boγorčin which flows at the southern side of Burqan Qaldun.' Cf. LDAT, 53. The Budaγan Boγorčin River is undoubtedly the present-day Bogdyn Gol, a right-bank tributary of the Kerulen (Xėrlėn) River.

Mongqolǰin Qo'a is the Mongγolǰin Γooa of AT[1], 4b. Mongqolǰin is the feminine ethnicon in *-ǰin* of Mongqol. See TMEN, no. 367; MÜIT, 2838a; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; and above, n. 2. This is the first mention in the SH of the tribal name Mongqol (= pmo., mo. Mongγol), on which see in particular MKK (and Pelliot's review in *TP* 26:1929, 126-128); Hambis 1970 and GK, 7-9; Mo, 8; Doerfer 1970, esp. pp. 73-77; Serruys 1982, 475-479; ČK[1], 5 (= ČK[2], 217-218, n. 37); HCWLYTT, 239-244, no. 76; CLC, 145; YSLC, 412-413; HSR, II, 24-37; Bosson 1992; and, more recently, de Rachewiltz 1996. The name Mongqol *tout court* occurs for the first time in the SH in § 52. As for *qo'a* (= pmo. and mo. *γooa*, not *γoγa* as in Shi 1, 2b, and Ir, 4) 'fair, beautiful', see Mo, xvi; VMI, 44; MSMOS, 30.

Toroqolǰin Bayan is contracted to Torqolǰin Bayan in AT[1], 4b. According to Poppe 1975, 167, Toroqolǰin ~ Torqolǰin is a proper name in *-lǰin* from *torqon/torqan* 'silk' (cf. §§ 135, 238). For *bayan* 'rich', cf. TMEN, no. 714; BT, II, 84.

Boroqčin Qo'a (AT[1], 4b: Boroγčin Γooa) means 'Grey Beauty.' *Boroqčin* (*boroγčin*) is the fem. form in *-qčin* (*-γčin*) of the colour *boro* 'grey.' See Poppe 1975, 164-165; Khabtagaeva 2001, 135; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

J̌ala'u(*i*) (= mo. *ǰalaγu*) 'young, youth' and, by extension, 'young manservant, serf, domestic.' Cf. lat. *puer* 'young boy, lad; a boy for attendance' → 'a servant, slave.' For *ǰala'u* see Vlad.[2], 86; VMI, 37; TMEN, no. 1797; RH, 263, no. 16. Cf. §§ 93, 156 and com.

Boroldai Suyalbi is the Boroldai Qubilai (an obvious textual corruption) of AT[1], 4b. Boroldai is another name derived from *boro* 'grey' + suff. *-ldai/-ldei*, on which see Poppe 1975, 163; Khabtagaeva 2001, 110. For this name, see HCG, 51; NHHO, 63-64; Mo, 103.

Dayir 'brown', as in § 245 *dayir etügen* 'the brown earth.' The entry in HW, 34, is incorrect; see Mostaert 1962, 202; Mo, viii, n. 2; Cleaves 1949a, 501-503, 532. The form *büle'e* (the second past, or praesens perfecti, of *bü-* 'to be') alternates in the

SH with *büle'ei*, *büliyi*; on all these forms, which correspond to mo. *bülüge ~ bülügei*, *bülege ~ bülegei*, see 'Trois documents', 460; UGPM, 149-152, § 33; JŚ, 129-131, §§ 218-220.

'Fine geldings' renders *külü'üt aqtas* (= mo. *külügüd aγtas*). *Külük* (pl. *külü'üt*), is a loan-word from tu. *külüg*, *külük* 'famous champion, hero', and also 'a fine (*or* race) horse, steed.' See HCG, 340; Poppe 1955, 40; TMEN, no. 1686; Chiodo 1994, 220. Cf., however, Choimaa 1997, where the author attempts to show that the term *külüg* in the SH must be understood only in the sense of 'famous, glorious, renowned, brave, intelligent' and the like, and not in that of 'steed, courser.' Cf. below, nn. 163 and 205. For *aqta* 'gelding', see TMEN, no. 8; RH, 275, no. 21.

Du'a Soqor (AT[1], 4b: Duua Soqor), the Mongol cyclop. *Soqor* means 'blind', or rather 'one-eyed'; cf. yak. *soχχor* 'one-eyed.' See also NHHO, 103, n. 3; Cl, 1, n. 2; RH, 275, no. 17. For this personage, cf. Murakami 1964, 1168-1179 (cf. MTSK, Index, 14a); Gaadamba 1968, 71; idem 1981, 76-77; Cėrėn-sodnom 1987, 154-156. According to Gaadamba, Du'a = kirg. *döö* 'giant', but this etymology is by no means certain.

Dobun Mergen, the Dobu Mergen of AT[1], 4b, and Dobun Bayan ('Dobun the Rich' instead of 'Dobun the Clever') of SL[2], I/2, 8-12. According to Rašīd, Dobun Bayan was the son of Qali Qarču. *Dobu*, without final *n*, means 'hill, mound' (Les., 255b); it is also used as a proper name; however, *dobun* is probably the same word found in Yakut with the meaning of 'strong, cruel.' Cf. Uray-Köhalmi 1970, 249-250; idem 1987, 142-144.

§ 4. 'In the middle of his forehead' (*manglai dumda*). *Manglai* (mo. id.) means 'forehead' as here and in § 254; 'tip', as in § 116; and 'vanguard', as in § 142. For this word, besides HW, 107, see VMI, 53; TMEN, no. 369; and RH, 204, no. 17. Cf. also Les., 527a; and below, n. 142. *Ne'ürit*, plural of *ne'üri* (= mo. *negüri*) 'nomadic stage', i.e. the distance between two nomad camps; from *ne'ü-* (= mo. *negü-*) 'to transmigrate, nomadize.' See HW, 116. The SH term is glossed *negüdel*, 'nomad camp, transhumance', in AT[1], 4b. Cf. Cėrėnsodnom

1987, 153-154. For an estimate of the actual distance, see Če, 275, n. 6. For the usage of the number three in measures of time, space or distance and as a symbolic number in the SH, see Moses 1996, 79; MNTB, 14ff. Cf. also below, n. 60. For *qaǰar* (= mo. *γaǰar*) 'place' → 'distance', cf. MÜIT, 1237b.

§ 5. 'One day' (*niken üdür*). For mmo. *üdur*, mo. *edür* 'day', see IMCS, 48.

'A band of people' (*niken bölök irgen*). For *bölok* (= mo. *bölög*) 'band', see Cleaves 1953, 81-82, n. 18. The term *irgen* has the following meanings: 1) 'people' (in general) as here; 2) 'people' – as subjects real or potential (*ulus irgen*, *emčü irgen*, *Sartaqcin irgen*, *il bulqa irgen*), in which case it has a somewhat pejorative tinge; and 3) 'people' – as members of a particular group or tribe and, by extension, the tribe itself, in which case it is often unnecessary to translate it, e.g. *Merkit irgen* 'the Merkit people (*or* tribe)', i.e. 'the Merkit.' Cf. Vlad.[2] 73; TMEN, no. 16; KHIV, 14ff., 22ff. (also in relation to the term *ulus*); Kałużyński 1977, 79-81; and the remarks below, nn. 9 and 53.

'Following the course of the Tünggelik Stream', i.e. going downstream (*huru'u*, mo. *uruγu*). The Tünggelik Stream (Tünggelik Qoroqan; *qoroqan* = mo. *γoroqa*[*n*] 'small river'), along which that migrating group of people was proceeding, could not originate from Mount Burqan Qaldun (Khentei Khan) since in this case the people in question, by following its course downstream, would have gone further away from Burqan Qaldun instead of approaching it (the text literally says that they were 'approaching coming in': *oroǰu ayisuqu*). This is, of course, assuming that the *huru'u* of the SH (which is confirmed by AT[1], 5a) is not a textual error. The text also implies that they must have been still a fairly long way from Burqan Qaldun, since Du'a Soqor, the cyclop with the long-range eyesight, spotted them from the top of the mountain. These migrants were coming from the country of the Qori Tumat (see §§ 8-9) who, as we know, at the time inhabited the Barquǰin Lowland (Barquǰin Tögüm). See HCG, 63, 288. In other words, they

were migrating from the Barguzin river valley in the north to the Onon-Kerulen region in the south, their ultimate destination being the territory of the Uriangqai lords of Burqan Qaldun. According to Pelliot, op. cit., 386, the Tünggelik Stream is one of the upper tributaries of the Kerulen, not better identified. Pėrlėė[2], 11 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 101), also failed to identify the Tünggelik Qoroqan of § 5 with a particular river in the Burqan Qaldun area (cf. also Pėrlėė[1], 74, and below, n. 28; there is some confusion in Pėrlėė[2] between 'Tüngelik Gorokan' and 'Tenggelik Goroka' – it is the latter which, according to Pėrlėė, is in the vicinity of Burqan Qaldun). In his review of AT[2], Poppe wrote that in that work 'some place-names are identified with their modern equivalents, e.g. the name of the river *Tünggelig γoruqan*, mentioned many times in the *Secret History* is explained on page 8 and *passim* as *Čünggür tala*.' See *HJAS* 16:1953, 278. However, according to Pelliot, op. cit., 384, the '*čünggür tala*' (read *čöngkör tala*) of the AT[3] simply means 'vallée creuse.' Cf. mo. *čöngkör* 'depression, hollow.' The identification of the Tünggelik is, indeed, controversial and has given rise to various misunderstandings. See HCG, 382-386. Cf. Badamxatan 1992, 91; IĖDGMT, 12-15; CKA, 8 (F9), 55b. For my part, I think that this river may well be the same 'Tengelik Gorikhon' described in detail by A.M. Pozdneev in his MIM[1], II, 472-475 (cf. MIM[2], II, 315-317). At the end of the 19th century, this 'little river' (*rečka*) originated in a marshy area called Tengelik Büridü (= Bürd), was fed by the Bain Gōl, and flowed into the Tergeljiin Gōl, (the present-day Tėrėlž Gol) in a valley north-east of the Tsenkir, i.e. the Senggür (kh. Cėnxėr) River, itself a left-bank affluent of the Kerulen. The valley in which both the Tengelik and the Tergelji flow is, according to Pozdneev, 64 km long and 6.4 km. wide: 'It is bounded on both sides by low mountains whose summits are covered with woods. As you ride through the valley, you cannot help remembering the Mongols' antiquity' (MIM[2], II, 317). If this identification is correct, the Tünggelik Qoroqan and its valley – the 'hollow valley' to which the AT refers – must be, as

far as I can judge, about 80 km due south of Khentei Khan. This distance between Burqan Qaldun and the Tünggelik may seem excessive even for Du'a Soqor's extraordinary eyesight, but we must not forget that we are dealing here with a legendary or semi-legendary account, and one which is not even corroborated by Rašīd al-Dīn, who makes no mention of either Du'a Soqor or the migration of the Qori Tumat led by Qorilartai Mergen. The identification proposed above is supported, albeit indirectly, by the localization of the Bürgi Escarpment (Bürgi Ergi) mentioned in § 96, and the proximity of the latter to the Tünggelik Stream. See below, nn. 96 and 100. It is, however, pointless to speculate further on the route followed by the Qori Tumat tribesmen on the move.

The name Tünggelik derives from *tüngge* (= mo. *tüngke*) 'overgrown with feather grass; intermittently flooded area' (Les., 853b) + the denominal noun suffix *-lik* (*-lig*/*-liγ*) denoting abundance of something. See GWM, 42, § 127; cf. Dondukov 1988. On the etymology of this name, see HCG, 384-385. It should be noted, however, that in Mongolian the word *tungγalaγ* meaning 'clear, pure, limpid, transparent' is often applied to water and streams. Tünggelik (Tünggelig) could be a front-vowel form of *tungγalaγ* (~ **tünggeleg* ~ *tünggelig*), but it is unlikely.

§ 6. 'In the front seat of a black covered cart' renders *niken qara'utai tergen-ü ölǰige-de*. *Qara'utai tergen* was the expression designating the fine two-wheeled carts covered with black felt described by Marco Polo, which were used by the Mongol chiefs. See MP[1], I, 168-169. They were also called *qara'u* (§ 55) and *qara tergen* (§ 244) 'black carts' – to distinguish them from the ordinary four-wheeled wagons. The etymology of *qara'utai*, an adjective in *-tai* formed on *qara'u*, is a subject of controversy, although the actual meaning is clear and confirmed by the AT gloss (although these are not always reliable). See AT[1], 5a, (cf. Poppe in *HJAS* 16:1953, 277); HCG, 259; Vlad.[2], 41; Cleaves 1949a, 517, 518; TMEN, no. 277. For the 'black

carts', the term *tergen* and Mongol carts and wagons in general, see Vlad[2], 50-51; MGVM, 140a; Ratchnevsky 1966, 236, n. 2; Khomonov 1970, 34; RAL, 198-199; MSR, 120; Aubin 1974, 12, 15, n. 15; Novgorodova 1975. 'Black carts' (皁車) are also mentioned by Li Chih-ch'ang in the HYC, A, 16b; cf. TOA, 65. For a different interpretation, see Oz[1], I, 51 (I cannot agree with Prof. Ozawa regarding *qara ūtai*, because the corresponding passage in AT[1], 5a, has *qarayutai*, one word, glossed as *sekür*, on which term see Poppe, loc. cit.). As for *öljige*, its meaning is 'the front seat (of a cart).' Cf. kalm. *ölžg* [*ölžeg*] id. (KaRS, 414b; p.c. from N.P.)

'If she has not been given to *another* man', i.e. in marriage. For the implications of this sentence in the Mongolian society of the time, cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 515-516. *Gü'ün* ('ph. *kü'ün*, pmo. and mo. *kümün*) 'man': for an explanation of why the Chinese transcription of the SH renders the Mongolian syllable *kü* with *gü* in words like *kümün*, *küčü(n)* (*güčü*[*n*]), *kür-* (*gür-*), cf. HSR, III, 157-171, and 'Quelques problèmes', 240-243.

'He sent' (*ileba* = *ilebe*). The verb 'to send' in the SH is *ile-*, which I transcribed as *ilē-* (see R, 238b-239a). Cf. AT[1], 5a: *ilegebe*. Since the form *ilege-* is attested in Preclassical Mongolian alongside *ile-* (cf., e.g., Cleaves 1959, 49b), i.e. *ile-* ~ *ilege-*, I assumed that *ilē-* ~ *ilege-* (> *ilē-*). Cf. L[1], 16: *ilēbe* (the '*ilebe*' of L[2], 23, is probably a misprint). Actually, this may not be the case. Cf. *Lettres*, 26-27; and Cleaves 1994, 17-18, n. 19. If so, all forms of *ilē-* in R must be changed into *ile-*. The same would apply to L[2] throughout. For the transcription of the perfective ending *-ba* instead of *-be* in the SH, see Hung 1951, 455.

§ 7. Alan Qo'a, mo. Alan Гоoa, i.e. 'Alan the Fair', occupies a prominent position in early Mongol historical tradition. In later historical sources her name appears as Alun and Alung Гоoa, as, e.g., in AT[1], 5a (the 'Alan' of ATL, 15, § 8, is an error for 'Alun'); ET[3], 25r09, 13, 26 (cf. GOM, 59); MCAT, 38, 115. (The forms Alun Гоoa and Alungγooa have been adopted –

erroneously in my opinion – by some modern scholars, such as Do[5], 20, and, following him, Ma, 27-28, Du, 3, and Če, 36). On *qo'a* 'fair, beautiful' (not to be confused with *qo'ai* 'fallow'), see above, n. 1, and TMEN, no. 293. Rašīd al-Dīn has recorded a tradition concerning Alan Qo'a, her husband Dobun Bayan (= Dobun Mergen) and her children, which in part is at variance with that of the SH. See SL[2], I/1, 152-156; I/2, 9-16. Cf. HCG, 433b. In the YS, the genealogy of Činggis Qan begins with Alan Qo'a 'the mother of his ancestor in the tenth generation Bodončar.' See YS[2] 1, 1; CH, 8. The tradition regarding Činggis' ancestry recorded in the YS and the TCHP (19, 21a-b, which also confirms the reading Alan) differs from that of the SH and is close to that found in SL. For a comparison of the account in YS with Rašīd al-Dīn's work and the SH, cf. Tamura 1973, 15-19; Yoshida 1984; Hambis 1970; Boyle 1975; HCG, 5 et passim. On Alan Qo'a, and the name Alan (Alun), see also Murakami 1964, especially pp. 1162-1168; Pėrlėė's contribution in *Mongol Ard Ulsyn ėrt, dundad üeiĭn xot suuriny tovčoo*, Ulan Bator, 1961 (not available to me; for a Japanese translation, see Pėrlėė[3], 2-4; Oz[1], III, 573-576); MW, 172-174, n. 12; and Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

For the words *ökte'ei üdü'üi* 'had not yet been given', cf. the words *iregei üdügüi* 'had not yet come' of the great Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362. See Cleaves 1949, 102, n. 39. On *üdü'üi* (= pmo. *üdügüi*; mo. *edügüi*, *edüi*) 'not yet', see Ozawa's remarks in Oz[1], I, 59-62.

§ 8. 'As for that (lit. "those") band of people' (*tede bölök irgen ber*). The plural demonstrative pronoun *tede* is due to the presence of the collective noun *irgen*. Cf. Street 1990, 187.

Barqudai (Mergen) and Barquǰin (Qo'a) are both names derived from Barqu or Barqun, the tribe then inhabiting the region of the Barquǰin (modern Barguzin) River east of the Baikal. The respective forms of these names in Written Mongolian are Baryudai Mergen, Baryuǰin Гоoa, Baryuǰin and Baryu(n). Cf. above, n. 2, and Rybatzki [2003], s.v. The

descendants of these tribesmen are the Barguzin Buriat, who still live in the same region, and the Bargu Buriat or Bargut, who several centuries ago migrated from the Baikal to that region in Manchuria (NW Inner Mongolian AR, Hulun Buir Meng) called Barga after them. The Barqun (sing. of Barqut) tribe is mentioned in the SH, § 239, and many references to it are found in the YS and Rašīd al-Dīn's work. Cf. HCG, 6, 63, 288-289; NMP, I, 77-78. See, in particular, SL[2], I/1, 121-122, where it is stated that the Baryut, Qori, Tulas and Tumat tribes lived close to each other in the same region on the side of the Selenga River called Baryuǰin Töküm. This name appears several times in the SH as Köl Barquǰin Tögüm (as in the present section), as Barquǰin Tögüm (~ Töküm, §§ 157, 177) and simply as Barquǰin (§§ 109, 177, 244). From these references it appears that Barquǰin Tögüm, lit. 'Depression of Barquǰin' or 'Barquǰin Lowland', i.e. 'the depression where the Barqut live' ('Trois documents', 462, n. 49), was the name of the Barguzin valley encompassing, *sensu lato*, the vast area between and, probably, beyond the lower course and estuary of the Barguzin River in the north and those of the Selenga in the south. 'Bargu' and the 'Plain of Bargu' mentioned by Marco Polo (MP[1], I, 63, 70) are without any doubt to be identified with this area, as already pointed out by Pelliot (NMP, I, 78). Since in Mongolian *köl* 'foot' designates the mouth or estuary of a river, the Köl Barquzin Tögüm was, in all likelihood, the river valley of the Barguzin, extending from the present Ust Barguzin to Barguzin and Barguzinski. See ibid., 77; HCG, 287-288; Zoriktuev 1990. Cf. Pėrlėė[2], 8 (and Pėrlėė[4], 93); IBŠ, 273-274; and, more recently, PB, 34ff. Poppe 1956, 33-34, identifies Köl Baryuǰin Töküm with Transbaikalia. However, Poppe renders *köl* as 'lake' and takes 'Lake Baryuǰin' to be Lake Baikal. For *köl* 'mouth (of a river)', see HCG, 288. According to the SH, Barqudai Mergen was lord (*eǰen*) of the Köl Barquǰin Lowland. Because of his name, and that of his daughter Barquǰin Qo'a, it is clear that he must have been the leader of the Barqut (he is not mentioned, however, by Rašīd al-Dīn); but it is likely that the

term *eǰen* also has a territorial connotation, as in § 9, implying that Barqudai Mergen was *the* Barqut leader of the Köl Barquǰin Lowland (as distinguished from other Barqut leaders ?). For the term *eǰen*, see K. Sugita in *EM* 10:1979, 49ff.; RH, 269, no. 6.

Qorilartai Mergen: Qorilartai is the ethnicon of Qorilar, the clan which, according to § 9, was established by this personage. Cf. Bese 1974, 92; Poppe 1975, 161. He is called 'a chief (*noyan*) of the Qori Tumat.' For the term *noyan* 'chief, commander, official, nobleman', see Cleaves 1959, 67, n. 33; TMEN, no. 389; Fletcher 1986, 17; HCWLYTT, 39-41, no. 9. Cf. also below, n. 216. (In RH, 201-202, nos. 27, 28, *noyin* [= *noyan*] is given as the equivalent of tu. *beg* 'chief', incorrectly rendered into English as 'the prince.' Cf. ibid., 116, no. 11.) Neither Qorilartai Mergen nor the Qorilar clan are mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn. Qori Tumat is a double tribal name designating the two related tribal groupings of the Qori and the Tumat who, as we have seen above, inhabited the Barquǰin Lowland. The two names appear together here, in § 9 and in § 240. In § 240 Boro'ul Noyan is sent on a campaign against the Qori Tumat; except for the first mention, these people are called throughout the section either 'Tumat' or 'the Tumat people.' From this we may infer that either the Qori Tumat were a 'branch' or subtribe of the Tumat, probably the dominant one, or that Qori Tumat was a lose designation of the Tumat, which we know were tribes of fur-hunting People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*) scattered over a wide area at the time (see below, n. 240). Cf. the cases of the Ayiri'ut Buiru'ut Tatar, the Uduyit and U'as Merkit, etc. See HCG, 4, 63, 273-277, 287. For the Qori tribe, see ibid., 62-64; Boyle 1975, 62. The name Qori has been preserved in the most important subdivision of the present-day Buriats, living between the Uda and Khilok rivers, east of Lake Baikal. AT[1], 5a, has erroneously conflated the (Köl) Barquǰin Tögüm with the Qori Tumat. For the form Tümed v. Tumad, see HCG, 400 (cf. Pelliot 1920, 175); Šastina 1975, 233.

'At Ariq Usun ..., that girl named Alan Qo'a was born ...', lit. 'That *girl* was the girl named Alan Qo'a born ... at Ariq

Usun …' (I have rephrased the sentence because of the words 'a girl named' in the previous sentence). Ariq Usun ('Clear Water') is identified by Pėrlėė[2], 4 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 86) with the Arik River (Arigiĭn Gol) just east of Lake Khubsugul at 50° N 101° E. This is a distinct possibility, for some of the Tumat tribes did indeed live in the forest region between the Baikal and Khubsugul lakes; however, according to the Chinese gloss (Y[2], 1, 5b and 6b), Ariq Usun is the name of a place and not of a river, but such a designation carries no weight. For the word *ariq* (= mo. *ariγ*) 'clear, pure', cf. TMEN, no. 469; Poppe 1955, 38. *Usu(n)* 'water' is a term used to designate *any* expanse of water, including rivers. See SMT, 25; Cėv., 601a; TMEN, no. 47.

§ 9. 'In their land the Qori Tumat', lit. 'in their land of the Qori Tumat.' The opening sentence of this section, having, as it does, two subjects (Qorilartai Mergen and the Qori Tumat) is somewhat ambiguous, and various translators have translated it differently. I am of the opinion that the Qori Tumat people are the subject of *both* the verbs *qorilalduǰu* and *ma'ulalduǰu*, although this interpretation is at odds with that of the Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 1, 6b), which is followed by Haenisch, Pelliot, and others. Cf. Ha, 2; HCG, 60; Cl, 2. See, however, Vlad.[2], 41. For *ma'ulaldu-* (= mo. *maγulaldu-*) 'to be on bad terms', cf. Mo, xix. Qorilartai Mergen was himself a Qori Tumat and therefore one of the people directly affected by these bans on hunting, hence his resentment which led to the establishment of a separate clan, the Qorilar, and the subsequent migration to Burqan Qaldun. In this and the following paragraphs the SH gives explanations for the origin of the Mongol clans, such as the Qorilar, mostly on the basis of popular and often fictitious etymologies suggested by word similarities. In the folk tradition recorded by the SH, the names Qorilar (< Qori) and Qorilartai (< Qorilar) are related to the verb *qorila-* 'to forbid, to ban', with a story woven around this etymology to support it. See HCG, 60; Cl, 2, n. 4.

Buluqan (= pmo. *buluγan*) 'sable (*Martes zibellina*)' is mo. *bulaγa(n)* id. On it, see Colmon 2002, 163-164. *Keremün* is the common squirrel (*Sciurus vulgaris*). See ibid., 167. By 'wild game (*or* animals)' (*görö'e*, *görö'esün*) are meant mainly deer, antelopes and wild goats (N.P., p.c.). On Mongol hunting in medieval times, see below, n. 27.

Qorilar oboqtu boltǰu is, literally, 'becoming one having the *oboq* Qorilar', i.e. 'taking (= assuming) the *oboq* Qorilar', obviously in place of that of Qori Tumat. In the Mongol kinship system of the 12th-13th centuries, the *oboq* (= mo. *oboγ ~ omoγ*) was a joint patrilinear descent group with a common name, usually also sharing a common legend of origin and a traceable genealogical relationship. The totality of the related *oboq*-clans and their subjects constituted the tribe (*irgen* or *ulus irgen*). The leaders of these *oboq*-clans originating from the same male ancestor (*ebüge*) had a common 'bone' (*yasu*[*n*]), i.e. lineage or stem (cf. ger. *Stamm*) and were regarded as members of the same family, i.e. kinsmen (*uruq*); hence they were bound by the rule of exogamy which was strictly observed.

In view of this, *yasu(n)* cannot be considered a 'subclan', as it is sometimes referred to, but rather a common line of descent from which originated, at each level, the separate, or 'segmented', lineages of the *oboq*-clans; it would then be more correct to say that *yasu(n)* was the 'clan' and *oboq* a 'subclan.' (In some instances *yasun* has been rendered as 'family' *sensu lato*, see Cleaves 1951, 53[3], 67[3], 75, n. 19.) However, in view of the fact that in the 12th century the *oboq* already plays an important role in social organization, we shall refer to it here as the 'clan.' At the beginning of Činggis Qan's career several of these clans, such as the Tayiči'ut, the Uru'ut and Mangqut, and the J̌ürkin, had greatly expanded and had become large, virtually independent 'tribes' (*irgen*), even though as *oboq*-clans they were still all branches, or subgroups, of the Mongqol tribe. Cf. also the case of the Dörben in § 11, where it is specifically stated that the four sons of Du'a Soqor 'took the clan name Dörben and became the Dörben tribe.' As noted by Munkuev,

the ethnonym 'Mongqol' referred, at least in the second half of the 12th century, to all the tribes whose leaders were the descendants of the legendary Alan Qo'a. See Munkuev 1979, 381. (Incidentally, Munkuev's article is one of the most perceptive descriptions of the growth and development of Mongol tribal society in the 12th-13th centuries.) It is therefore true that by then, as pointed out by M. Mori and others, the *oboq* as such no longer played a political role. In the SH the term *oboq* is consistently rendered as *hsing* 姓, i.e. 'clan name'; significantly, this term is absent from the HIIY and it is virtually ignored by the Muslim authors of the Mongol period. See Vlad.[2], 56-74 et passim; Kotwicz 1939/49, 160-163; Mori 1955; OSSSE, 47-65; SOMTPN, 326ff.; Nakamura 1967; Kałużyński 1977, 81-85; idem 1986, 213ff.; CW, 27; HCG, 122-123; TMEN, no. 572 (and no. 405 for *yasun*); MSR, 127; K. Sugita in *EM* 10:1979, 37, 41, 49ff.; Fletcher 1986, 16; Kałużyński 1989; Skrynnikova 1990a; idem 1994, 9ff.; Cleaves 2001a, 52-53, n. 84; KHIV, 13 et passim; and the vast literature quoted in the above works.

We have no information about Šinči Bayan, or Šinči the Rich, lord of Burqan Qaldun, who belonged to the Uriangqai (= Uriyangqai) tribe. On this important tribe, part of which inhabited at the time the forest region of the Khentei, see NMP, I, 337; Šastina 1975, 240-241, 244; Altanorgil in MNT, I, 142-152; Buyandelger 1996; Jackendoff 1977 (for the 'connection' between the Uriangqai and the Mongqol tribe, and the episode described in this section of the SH [p. 7ff.]); and, especially, Uray-Köhalmi 2002. On the 'forest' Uriangqai of the 13th-14th centuries and their modern descendants in eastern Tuva, see *Successors*, 108, n. 51; IÉT, 13-14 et passim. Cf. also Badamxatan 1992, 90. For the tribal name, see below n. 12. The passage in which Šinči Bayan's name appears is a very controversial one. The text runs as follows: *Burqan Qaldun-nu eǰet Burqan bosqaqsan Šinči Bayan Uriangqai-tur ne'üǰü ayisun aǰu'u*. Most translators, relying on the Chinese interlinear version and on the strength of the plural *eǰet* 'lords', regard the

words *Burqan bosqaqsan* as a proper name and read 'Burqan Bosqaqsan and Šinči Bayan, lords of Burqan Qaldun', even though 1) *Burqan bosqaqsan* is a most unusual name, literally meaning 'who has raised Burqan' (*bosqa-* is 'to elevate, raise, erect' – normally used in connection with monuments, buildings or any other structures); 2) this 'name' is absent in the sectional summary, which merely says (Y^2 1, 6b) that Qorilartai Mergen moved with his whole family to 'Šinči Bayan, lord of Mount Burqan'; and 3) the corresponding passage in AT^1, 5a, makes no mention of *Burqan bosqaqsan*, but has instead *Burqan Uriyangqai* followed by *Singsing Bayan* (= *Šinči Bayan*). The 'two names' interpretation has been adopted by Haenisch, Pelliot, Shiratori, Ligeti, Cleaves, Bayar, Taube and myself among others. However, we should mention that Kozin, Damdinsürèn, Gaadamba, Murakami, Doronatib, Ozawa, Onon and Even and Pop follow the 'one name' interpretation and regard the words *Burqan bosqaqsan* as qualifying Šinči Bayan. Naka (Na^1, 7; Na^2, 6) lists the names Burqan Bosqaqsan Šinči Bayan Uriangqai in succession, adding in a note that, translated, they mean 'Šinči the Rich, of the Uriangqai clan, who raised Burqan.' Jagchid (Ja, 11) ignores the two puzzling words, explaining (p. 12, n. 3) that they are perhaps a later Lamaist addition, since they are not found in the original translation (i.e. in the Chinese sectional summary), and on the ground that they cannot constitute a proper name. The two words *Burqan bosqaqsan* are, indeed, most difficult to interpret, for a literal rendering does not make much sense; to understand them as 'who has opened up (inaugurated, etc.) Mount Burqan' is, in my view, to stretch the meaning of *bosqa-* to the limit. Gaadamba is of the opinion that Šinči is not a person's name as generally assumed, but the name of a shamanistic forest goddess; he takes the word *burqan* in the meaning of *ongγon* (pl. *ongγod*) '(shamanistic) spirit inhabiting a material object, tutelary deity; shamanist ancestral idol' (see Les., 614a). The expression 'lord of Burqan Qaldun' would thus refer to this deity regarded by the ancient Mongols as the tutelary spirit of Mount Burqan. See

MNTSZA, 71-82 (his article originally appeared in *SE* 4, 1-5:1969, 17-27; cf. Aubin 1974, 13). This is an ingenious theory, but the linguistic argument adduced by Gaadamba has been criticized by Poppe in *UAJ* 43:1971, 237-238; the historical and folkloristic data are drawn from late sources and must be used with caution. Nevertheless, Gaadamba's interpretation of *Burqan bosqaqsan* as 'who has set up the *ongγod*' (*ongodyg bosgoson*) cannot be dismissed outright. Cf. Onon's interpretation 'Shinchi-bayan established (shamanistic) deities as the spirit-lords of Burqan-galdun' (On, 2001 ed., 40). Indirect support for the one name theory comes also from the text of the AT[1], 5a, which, instead of *Burqan Qaldun-u eǰed*, has *Burqan Qaldun-a-ača*. This is probably a corruption of the original and the suffix *-ača* is almost certainly *eče* (read *eǰe*), a copyist's mistake for *eǰen*. If so, the original ms. may have had *eǰen* (in the singular), and the plural form *eǰed* of the SH could well be either another copyist's error or a deliberate emendation (cf., e.g., the case of 'Dörbed' for 'Dörben' cited in Žamc.[2], 62; many other similar instances may be found). All this could easily have happened and *if* it did, then *Burqan bosqaqsan* must be an expression qualifying the single proper name Šinči Bayan. In such a case, my interpretation would be 'he who has erected the Burqan', and I would understand 'Burqan' not as the name of the mountain, but as a word designating either a religious image or statue, or perhaps more likely, a natural feature of the mountain, such as a rock formation or the configuration of a cliff in the shape of an image or figure with numenous connotations (which may in turn account for the very name of the mountain). *Burqan* meaning 'religious image, idol' (as an extention of its original meaning of 'Buddha' < uig. *burχan* id.; see n. 1) is well attested in Mongolian. See, e.g., the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346, line 6 (Cleaves 1952, 69, 79); Les., 139b; Do, 98b; Cėv., 110a (2). The term is applied to both shamanistic and Buddhist images. Later folk tradition may have attributed the 'raising' of this 'image' – which in time would naturally come to represent the tutelary spirit of the mountain –

to one particular individual, Šinči Bayan, who may somehow have been associated with the cult of the mountain as surmised by Gaadamba. It is a fact that, after Činggis Qan's death, the Uriangqai tribesmen of Burqan Qaldun became the traditional guardians and keepers of the 'forbidden' precinct on the mountain where the *qan* and members of the imperial family were buried. I feel sure that this was due to a pre-existing and long standing special relationship between the Uriangqai chieftains and the sacred mountain of their territory. Cf. Ev-Pop, 42 and 254, n. 28. With regard to stone images of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas found in Mongolia, it should be mentioned that the 'Great Buddha' on the bank of the Khalkha River in eastern Mongolia – a 20-meter high statue which according to Okladnikov 1958 (cf. *MSt* 9:1985/86, 79-82) may go back to the Liao and Chin periods – is undoubtedly of a much later date. See Haining 1992. On the shamanistic images in human shape, such as felt 'dolls' and figures representing ancestors and deities used chiefly for domestic worship and later known as *ongγod*, see for the early period (13th c.) MM, 9, 10, 80, 96, 141, 184, 197; HDM, 143, n. 14; JWR, 59-60, n. 1; GR, 262; RCAC, 17-18; DBSS, 81-85 (cf. *MSt* 7:1981/82, 77-79); RTM, 233-234. All this is rather speculative, and the fact remains that, as pointedly noted by D. Cėrėnsodnom (Če, 277, n. 10), in the SH we have the form *eǰet*, a plural, and that the Ming editors, who knew their Mongolian, 1) refrained from translating the two words *Burqan bosqaqsan* (which they could easily have done), and 2) they did not leave a blank in the interlinear version, as they would have done in a doubtful case; instead, they have glossed them as a 'person's name' (人名). According to Uray-Köhalmi 1987, 144-145, the form *eǰet* is a *pluralis majestatis* (or, rather, *pluralis numinis*, as she calls it) and the words '*Burqan bosqaqsan šinǰi bayyan uriangqai*' comprise the long ritual name of the single tutelary deity of Burqan Qaldun, viz. 'Uriangqai Baian, zum Gott erhobene Erscheinung.' Cf. Uray-Köhalmi 2002, 255 and n. 6. This is, in my opinion, a most unlikely interpretation in view of the fact that we are dealing

here *specifically* with Qorilartai Mergen's migration to another territory, and the occurrence, only a few lines before, of the term *eǰen* with the meaning of 'lord' of a territory (see § 8). I am, therefore, following the interpretation of the Ming editors, albeit with serious reservations on account of the complex problems outlined above. For some rather far-fetched etymologies of the name Šinči (< ch. *hsien-sheng* 先生 'a title of respect for a teacher and one's senior; Sir'; and = mo. *sinǰiči*, *sinǰigči*, *sinǰigeči* 'fortune-teller, prognosticator'), see Bürinbatu 1991, 525-529; cf. Ev-Pop, 255, n. 28; On, 2001 ed., 40 and n. 87. I think that Šinči simply means 'Token (*or* Mark)', i.e. of good fortune = mo. *sinǰi*, *singsi* id.

§ 10. Bügünütei (*deest* in AT[1], 5b. The gloss 'Begünütei' opposite 'Belgünütei' in AT[2], I, 9, followed by AT[3], AT[4], and ATL [p. 15, where 'Bügünütei' is a misprint for 'Begünütei'] is an addition by C. Žamcarano, who incorrectly inserted it in the Ulan Bator ms. See Žamc.[1], 87, n. 1, and Žamc.[2], 62, n. 1; cf. Pelliot 1930a, 200. The name does appear as Begünütei in AT[1], 6a [= § 18], etc. Cf. ATI, 138b) and Belgünütei are the eponymous ancestors of the Bügünüt and Belgünüt clans respectively. See § 42. In SL[2], I/2, 10-11, the two brothers are actually called Belgünüt and Bügünüt and in this (inverse) order. In §§ 18, 19, 20, 23, 42 of the SH the order of the two names is likewise inverted, as in the AT and ET[1], 25r12 (cf. GOM, 59). It seems likely, then, that Belgünütei, not Bügünütei, was the elder of the two brothers. On this problem, see Pelliot, op. cit., 199-200; idem 1940/41, 4-5, n. 1. For the names Belgünütei and Bügünütei, cf. Bese 1978, 361, no. 10, and 362, no. 12 respectively.

§ 11. 'Before long (*tedüi atala*, lit. "while it was so much as that" = "in a short while") the elder brother Dobun Mergen died (*ügei bolba*).' For *ügei bol-* 'to become nonexistent, to disappear', i.e. 'to die', cf. Cleaves 1948, 313.

'As *a member* of the family', lit. 'in the kin' (*uruq-a*). For the term *uruq* (= mo. *uruγ*) 'family, kin' < tu. *uruγ* 'seed, progeny', see TMEN, no. 468; Poppe 1955, 42; MSR, 132, 133; Fukushima 1985; KHIV, 18-22.

Du'a Soqor's sons were four (*dörben*), hence the clan name Dörben they took when they separated from their uncle Dobun Mergen – another example of popular etymology to explain the origin of a clan. As noted by Pelliot (HCG, 401), Rašīd al-Dīn has recorded an analogous tradition, but it concerns the four sons of Tamač, i.e. Tamača (see § 2), who separated from their elder brother Qaiči (this name appears in different forms in the mss.) Mergen, i.e. Qoričar Mergen. See SL[2], I/2, 9-10. On the Dörben tribe and the later Mongol tradition concerning its origin, see Pelliot, loc. cit. Cf. also TMEN, no. 203; S. Colmon and T. Mönxcécég in MNT, I, 57-60; and *EAH* 10:Dec. 1995, 63, 71. The SH says that the Dörben clan became the Dörben tribe (*irgen*). On this point, see my remarks in n. 9 above.

For the verb *gē-* (= mo. *gege-*) 'to reject, forsake' used as an auxiliary verb, see Aalto 1973, 36-37.

§ 12. Toqočaq Heights (*ündür*): an unidentified mountain in the Khentei Range. Instead of Toqočaq Ündür, AT[1], 5b, has *dobučaγ ündür* 'hillocks and heights', i.e. 'hills; elevated place.' Thus, according to the AT version, Dobun Mergen 'went out hunting in the hills.' Cf. LDAT, 306-307, n. 27. In view of the ambiguity of the Uighur-Mongol script and, possibly, a slight corruption in the text, the Ming editors may have misread the word *dobučaγ* and turned it into the place-name Toqočaq (= Toqočaγ). There is some disagreement between the interlinear version and the sectional summary. The former glosses Toqočaq as 'place-name' and *ündür* as 'name of mountain'; the latter says that Toqoča[q] Ündür is the name of the mountain (Y[2] 1, 8a). However, this may simply be due to inadvertence: the mss. used by the authors of the continuous and of the summarized translations evidently all had a *q*, not a *b*, in the second syllable of the word in question. For the term *ündür* (= mo. *öndör*) 'height(s)', see SMT, 22; TMEN, no. 57.

'A man of the Uriangqai tribe', lit. 'an Uriangqadai man', Uriangqadai being the ethnicon in *-dai(/-dei ~ -tai/-tei)* of Uriangqa(n) (pl. Uriangqat) ~ Uriangqai. Cf. Poppe 1975, 163. The form Uriangqai (= Uriyangqai; cf. AT[1], 5a) appears in § 9; Uriangqan (= Uriyangqan; cf. AT[1], 31b) in § 120. The form Uriangqa is attested, *inter alia*, in the YS; see GGS, I, 161a, 162b. I have used the form Uriangqai throughout. (The 'Uriyangqaǰin' in Cl, 269a, last line, is an oversight for 'Uriangqaǰin.')

Abit (= pmo. *abid*) 'entrails' seems to be a plural of **abin*. According to Poppe (p.c.), **abin* < **arbin* ~ **harbin*. Cf. kh. *xarvin* 'the lower belly.' For the disappearance of the *-r-*, see Poppe in *UAJ* 26:1954, 340-342. Cf. mo. *qarbiraγ ~ qabirγa* 'rib' (on this word, which occurs also in the present section, see TMEN, no. 267; and RH, 211, no. 6). See, however, the important remarks on *abidla-* and *abid* in Mo, 228-230. For roasting (*šira-*) and other methods of Mongolian cooking in the 12th and 13th centuries, cf. Buell 1999, 207-208. For the animal itself – a *buqu* (= pmo., mo. *buγu*; kh. *buga*), i.e. the red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) – see Colmon 2002, 162-163.

§ 13. 'Friend, share the quarry!' renders *nökör širolqa da*, lit. 'Friend, the roast!' Apparently it was an ancient and accepted custom for a hunter to share his quarry with anyone who shouted '*širolqa*!', lit. 'Roast!' – an ellipsis for 'Give me some of your roast (i.e. of your prey)!' See Mostaert 1949, which critically reviews Pelliot 1944a, and which also contains a reference (p. 476, n. 9) to W. Eberhard's important note on *širolγa* in *Oriens* 1:1948, 220-221. On *širalγa*, *širolγa*, cf. also TMEN, no. 242, and Mo, 82, n. 77. According to Gaadamba (MNTSZA, 11-24), the expression *nökör širolqa-da* (dat.-loc.) reflects the ancient steppe custom of sharing the hunter's prey as a way of showing one's worth as a friend in need. Thus for him the meaning of this expression is 'the friend (*nökör*) *is known* in the *širolqa* (*širolqa-da*)', i.e. by the sharing of the roast (= prey). For the survival of this custom (and further references), cf. G. Kara in MO 1993, 220-224. The episode is discussed in the wider context of the 'Uriangqai connection' in Jackendoff 1977, 8ff.

As for the word *nökör*, a key term in the tribal society of the time, it has two basic meanings: 1) 'friend', 'mate' (in the common Anglo-Australian usage); and 2) 'companion-at-arms, comrade' – a rather inadequate rendering. In this acceptation *nökör* is comparable to the *družinnik* 'bodyguard' (< *drug* 'friend') of Kievan Rus, the Merovingian *antrustion* and the Danish or late Old English *housecarl* (*huscarl*). The Mongol *nökör* was, in fact, a young man or fully-fledged warrior who, of his own free will, declared his allegiance and gave his support to a chief, or prospective chief, of another clan or tribe, thus forming with other liegemen like him a body of personal retainers bound in a special relationship of trust to the chosen leader and enjoying special privileges. The *nököt* (= mo. *nököd*, pl. of *nökör*) played a vital role in the transformation of Mongol society from tribal to feudal in the lifetime of Činggis Qan. They were the élite warriors of the leader's bodyguard and in time of peace assisted him in domestic and administrative matters where personal loyalty and trust were paramount. On this important institution, see Vlad.[1], 87ff.; Vlad.[2], 110ff. (cf. the selections of salient characteristics in TMEN, I, 522-523); M. Mori in *THG* 5:1952, 56-68, and *SZ* 61:1952, 690-716 (cf. Sugita 1979, 42-43); Li, 147, n. 90 (particularly relevant); J. Németh in *AOH* 3:1953, 1-23; Cleaves 1959, 69-70, n. 69; Lattimore 1963b, 58-59; Munkuev 1977, 387; Lattimore 1978, 130-132; Isono 1978, 85-87; idem 1983, 40-41; Fletcher 1986, 17-18, 20. For the use and spread of the word *nökör*, see TMEN, no. 388; A. Róna-Tas in OUMÉIX, IV/3, 138; MNTK, 593a, s.v. '*nyögér*'; Shimo 1996; HCWLYTT, 205-207, no. 62; RH, 233, no. 11 and n. 4. (An important unpublished note on *nökör* by A. Mostaert is in a file in the C.I.C.M. Memorial Library at Kessel-Lo in Belgium.)

'Keeping for himself the main portion *of the animal* which has the lungs, and the skin', i.e. the main portion plus the skin, renders *a'ušgitu ǰildü arasun inu abču. Inu* is here the pronoun

'its', i.e. of the three-year-old deer. The word *ǰildü* is interesting. In the interlinear translation it is glossed 'the breast *of the animal* cut in half', i.e. the breast-half of the animal. There is no mention of the head of the animal, but the sectional summary says: 'The man of the Uriangqai, taking down (i.e. removing) the head and the skin together with the lungs, kept them for himself' (Y^2 1, 8b; but Pelliot 1944a, 103, n. 1, understands differently). Mmo. and pmo. *ǰildü* corresponds to mo. *ǰülde*, kh. *züld* and bur. *zülde*, which is a special term for that portion of the slaughtered animal comprising the attached head, trachea, lungs and heart. Cf. Cėv., 290b; Les., 1055a; MED, 185a; and MNTSZA, 6-7, n. 1. In Buriat, *zülde* refers specifically to the *praecordia* and the liver region. This was traditionally considered the main or 'central' part of the carcass and the one which the hunter kept for himself by right. Cf. TH, 300 (≒ ǰTY, 520-521). Hence the secondary meaning of *ǰülde* as 'the core or kernel of something; the essential or necessary part' (Cėv., 290b; MKT, 1349b; MKeT, 3041a [3]). Cf. below, n. 214. The trachea and lungs, as well as the heart, had no doubt also a symbolic value as channels and seat of the vital spirit. There is no question, therefore, of the Uriangqan keeping for himself 'the lowest kind of offal', as Waley 1960, 523, claims, largely because of a misinterpretation of the Chinese version; nevertheless, the hunter showed his generosity as a *nökör* by giving Dobun Mergen *all* the rest of the meat. Since there is no single word in English for *ǰildü*, I have rendered it as 'the essential portion *of the animal*.' For *a'ušgi* (= mo. *ayuški*) 'lungs', cf. MA, 108b: *a'uški*, and dag. *aurki*, with $*s^{i} > š > r$; see IMCS, 67, 125.

§ 14. 'Leading his son *by the hand*' (*kö'ün-be'en kötölǰü*). For *kötöl- ~ kötel-* 'to lead (by the hand, on a leash)', cf. below, n. 66.

§ 15. 'Dobun Mergen asked him, "To which clan do you belong?"', lit. 'When Dobun Mergen asked him, saying, "What *kind of* person *are* you?"' Cf. § 38 and *Ordosica*, 53, n. 29.

'The man', lit. 'that man.' For the Mongolian demonstrative pronouns *ene*, *tere* 'this', 'that' having at times the value of the English article 'the', cf. Street 1990, 172.

'I am a man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut' (*bi Ma'aliq Baya'udai*). For Baya'udai, cf. Poppe 1975, 162, and above, n. 12. Ma'aliq Baya'ut seems to be a double ethnic name. The first element is unknown; Baya'ut, on the other hand, is a well-known tribal name. The Baya'ut (= mo. Bayaγud) were the hereditary household servants of Činggis Qan's family – a role which finds its origin and justification in the legendary account recorded in the SH (§§ 15-16). See Yao Chia-chi's 姚家積 remarks in *YSLT* 2:1983, 95. On the Baya'ut tribe and Rašīd al-Dīn's somewhat different version of the story, see HCG, 78, 86-89. Cf. also SH, §§ 120, 213.

'I am in desperate straits' renders *yadaǰu yabumu*, lit. 'I am going (*yabumu* = *yabun amu*, cf. AT^1, 5b) being unable *to cope*.' Note, however, that *yabu-*, as it is often the case in the SH, plays here the role of an auxiliary verb expressing the imperfective 'Aktionsart' of the main verb. See Aalto 1973, 35-36; cf. Mo, 195, 237, n. 221. On the role of the father in deciding the fate of his children in the Mongolian society of the time, see Ratchnevsky 1976, 511, 524, n. 15; idem 1987, 69.

§ 16. For *öre'ele* 'one of two, one of a pair', cf. Mo, 11.

'To be a servant in his house', lit. 'he employed him within the tent' (*ger dotora ǰaruǰu aqu büle'e*). *J̌aru-* means 'to use, employ (for service, on errands or missions).' The derivation from *ǰar* 'order, declaration, promulgation, publication' proposed by K.H. Menges in *RP* 2:1949, 229, is subject to caution, as indeed his entire notice concerning ital. *ciarlatano* (ibid., 229-231).

§ 17. Buqu Qatagi is the ancestor of the Qatagin, Buqatu Salǰi of the Salǰi'ut and Bodončar Mungqaq, or Bodončar the Fool, the ancestor of the Borǰigin. Cf. below, § 42. The same account is given by Rašīd al-Dīn, but with variant spellings of the names of the first two sons. See SL^2, I/2, 14-15; cf. HCG, 394, 400, also

for the correct form Buqu Qatagi. The account in YS[2] 1, 1, ascribes the paternity of Buqu Qatagi and Buqatu Salǰi to Dobun Mergen (there is no mention of Bügünütei and Belgünütei); Bodončar is the only son born through supernatural intervention: a white beam of light which, in Alan Qo'a's dreamstate, entered the tent through the smoke-hole, changed itself into a 'gold-coloured supernatural man' (金色神人) and made her pregnant. Cf. CH, 8. A slightly different version is found in TCHP 19, 21a. On the names of the three sons of Alan Qo'a, see also Poucha 1954, 447-448; Bese 1974, 94; idem 1979, 57; MNTSZA, 77ff. (see also the various references to Bodončar in this work). With regard to Bodončar it should be noted that this name subsequently became synonymous with 'ancestor'; it still survives with this meaning in Kalmuck. See KW, 48b; KaRS, 104a. Cf. Ev-Pop, 255-256, n. 39. For Dobun Mergen's lineage see also the section in *Chapitre CVII*, 9-10.

The name Bodončar seems to be formed by *bodong* 'wild boar' + the suffix *-čar*, on which see Poppe 1975, 161. The epithet *mungqaq* (= mo. *mungqaγ*) is usually rendered as 'fool'; perhaps a more appropriate rendering would be 'simpleton' or 'simple', as in CW, 9. However, in § 121 he is called Bodončar Boqdo (= mo. Boγdo), i.e. Bodončar the Holy One or, perhaps more aptly, Bodončar the Wise (cf. the Chinese gloss 賢明 for *boqda ~ boqdo* in the SH; HW, 16). Cf. U. Erdenebat in *CMJS* 4:1995, 365-376. For the word *mungqaq*, cf. Cleaves 1986a, 2-3. Bodončar was by no means a fool and behind his apparent foolishness, or rather eccentricity, there lay a good deal of practical wisdom as will become apparent. Bodončar is, in fact, the characterization of a human type that is found in, and has been described by, most other cultures in the past: the half-wit who in the end outwits those who had scorned and rejected him. In the YS[2] 1, 1, he is described as a man unusual in appearance, sombre and taciturn.

§ 18. 'Without brothers-*in-law* and male relatives', lit. 'without brothers, and without *üye qaya*.' By 'brothers' (*aqa de'ü*) are meant the brothers of the deceased husband Dobun Mergen. *Üye qaya*, glossed as 'branch relatives' (房親), is a kinship term designating collateral paternal kinsmen, i.e. male cousins once or twice removed. See Cleaves 1949a, 503-504; OSSSE, 61-62; Les., 915b: *qayalid* (pl. in *-lid* of *qaya*) 'second cousin on the father's side.' Cf. also DO, 324b. Here we have a reference to the ancient Mongol and, generally, Inner Asian practice of levirate, according to which the dead husband's brother or next of kin had to marry the widow. See Vlad.[2], 58; Ratchnevsky 1968; Hambis 1979, 389; Holmgren 1986, 151ff. For *bö'etele* 'although, while', the converbum terminale of the defective verb *bö-* (= mo. *bü-*) 'to be' (see GWM, 103, § 384), see the interesting contribution by S. Ozawa in *ÖMYS*, 1988.1, 52-55.

'The man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut' – but, according to § 15, it was the man's little son who had been taken into Dobun Mergen's tent. The contradiction has been discussed by various scholars; it seems that both father and son had joined the household, not merely the child. See Pelliot 1930a, 199; Li, 142, n. 18; Jackendoff 1977, 19ff.

For *te'ün-ü'ei* (= *tegünügei*) 'belonging to him, his', cf. *Lettres*, 78, n. 243; Mo, 5.

§ 19. 'One day in spring.' For some interesting remarks on the calendar and time computing of the medieval Mongols, see Ts'ai CC 1980; Clark 1998; and Rybatzki (in Add. & Corr.).

'While she was cooking some dried lamb', lit. 'while boiling dried sheep' (*köngšilemel qonin činaǰu*). *Köngšilemel* is a noun in *-mel(/-mal)* from *köngšile-* 'to dry meat (by smoking, for the winter)', the original meaning of the verb being 'to singe the hair'; thus, 'dried meat' is, literally, 'that whose hair has been singed.' Cf. bur. *xünšüü* (= *köngšigü*) 'the bad smell of burnt hair or meat' (N.P., p.c.). For somewhat different etymologies, see TH, 216-217 (= ǰYT, 374); Oz[1], I, 111-112; El-Ar, 33, n. 1. Cf. also Vlad.[2], 47 and n. 3.

Niǰi'el 'one each' corresponds to mo. *niǰeged* id. The form in *-l* is found only in dag. *niǰēl*. The development of this form is

explained by Poppe in IMCS, 108. Cf. THHTT, 163a; TH, 138 (= ǰYT, 240).

'Immediately' is, literally, 'how could they have stopped it?' (*ya'u bayi'ulqun*), i.e. they did it without interruption, right away.

'The five *sons* each took the five bound arrow-shafts in turn', lit. 'All five, taking turns, each person holding one of the five bundled arrow-shafts (*müsüt*).' *Müsüt* is the plural of *müsü(n)*, an obsolete word meaning 'rod, (arrow-)shaft'. Cf. § 240. Jackendoff's reservations (Jackendoff 1977, 20-22) on this score are unwarranted: the parallel passage in AT[1], 6a, has *müsün*, and there is no doubt that the *Urtext* of the SH had this word and not *sümün* or *sümüt* 'arrows.'

As for the story of Alan Qo'a, her sons and the bundle of arrows, it is, as pointed out by several investigators, an ancient folklore motif which purports to demonstrate the advantage of unity and solidarity, particularly – as in the present instance – in times of danger or under threat. The fable, with its obvious moral, is found in Aesop's collection ('The Father and his Sons' or 'The Husbandman's [Divided] Sons', see EF, 39-41, no. 86); this motif is also found in the body of traditions of various nomadic peoples of eastern Europe and Asia, such as the Scythians and the T'u-yü-hun, long before the Mongols. In ǰuvainī's work the parable is transferred to Činggis Qan and his sons. It is also reported in the later Mongol and Tibetan chronicles, albeit with some variations. See GGMGL, 45-46, and Poucha 1954, 448-449 (cf., however, Ligeti's criticism in Li, 142, n. 19; Bese 1979, 56); HWC, 41, 594; TYH, 5-6 (for the translation from the *Wei-shu* [6th c. AD] of the relevant passage concerning the T'u-yü-hun chief A-ch'ai and his sons); Serruys 1958, 285, n. 38; Gaadamba 1968, 71-72; Yao Ts'ung-wu in *TLTC* 22:1961, 1-3; Jagchid 1978, 95-96; Moses 1987, 63-65; Bira 1990a; idem 1990b, 14ff. Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1976, 524, n. 8, and Roux 1977, 20-21, for the symbolism of the arrow; and P. Khorloo in OUMĖIX, VI/2, 384-389. Commenting on the story concerning A-ch'ai, Pelliot wrote [P.P.-M.G.]: 'Alan Qo'a et le paquet de flèches, cf. Pompée et la queue de cheval.' Cf. also his remarks in Pelliot 1936, 357: 'Dans l'histoire des flèches liées ensemble (*čuqlaǰu* non 'culaju'), analogue à l'apologue de la queue de cheval dans l'histoire romaine, … .' Pelliot no doubt refers in both instances to the well-known anecdote related by Plutarch in his Life of Sertorius, XVI; cf. also Valerius Maximus, *Fact. ac dict. memor. lib.* VII, 3. 6.

§ 20. 'You, my sons Belgünütei and Bügünütei', lit. 'You, my two sons Belgünütei and Bügünütei.' For this and other instances (e.g. §§ 23, 45, 49, 71, 76, 77) where the numeral plays the role of the conjunction 'and', cf. Bese 1987.

'Of what *clan* are they the sons?' Cf. above, § 15: 'To which clan do you belong?', lit. 'What *kind of* person *are* you?' In both instances, 'what' (*ya'un*) refers to the clan or tribe to which the person(s) in question belonged and which, more than anything else, established his/her or their identity and affiliation. See Vlad.[2], 56-57.

§ 21. The resplendent (*čeügen* = *če'ügen*; see below, n. 72) yellow man (*šira gü'ün*) who visited Alan Qo'a and who crept out of her tent in the guise of a yellow dog (*šira noqai*) is obviously a personification and metamorphosis of Heaven (*tenggiri* ~ *tenggeri*, see above, n. 1), as Alan Qo'a explicitly says in the alliterative passage ('They are the sons of Heaven'). The story reminds us of the numerous transformations of Zeus, for similar purposes, in Greek mythology. The colour yellow (*šira*) associated with both the man and the dog is the colour of gold (*altan*) which is, in turn, a symbol of supreme power and leadership, of royal authority (see below): the offspring of such a union is destined 'to become the rulers of all', as Alan Qo'a prophetically says in the same passage. The brightness of the personage, the 'light' element (radiance, moonbeams, sunrays), and the smoke-hole and door top, which permit the light to enter, are all elements associated with the sky, and hence with Heaven. (The smoke-hole, the door top, the door frame and the threshold have all numenous connotations, see §§ 105 and 246;

cf. MM, 11, 63, 118, 178.) The involvement of Heaven goes back to the very origin of the family line (see above, n. 1). The mystical connotations of the dog, on the other hand, are not so clear and perhaps of no special significance: the dog is traditionally associated with, and often assimilated to, the wolf and symbolizes fierceness. See, e.g., §§ 78, 195; cf. also § 66. (The traditional image of the dog among the Mongols is discussed by Gaadamba in MNTSZA, 31-40; cf. Poppe 1964b, 166; Hashimoto 1976; Uray-Köhalmi 1987, 147-149). We may infer from this legend that Alan Qo'a's descendants conceived by the heavenly man-dog were destined to rule the world as fierce and fearsome masters. This element of 'fierceness' is especially highlighted, in the case of Temüǰin, in the poetic passage of § 78. In a strong military and aggressive society, fierceness and inspiring awe and fear in the enemy were the qualities most sought in and expected from the leader. This, I believe, has an important bearing on the later choice of the title Činggis Qan borne by Temüǰin. See below, nn. 59 and 123. For 'yellow' = 'golden' = 'royal, imperial, pertaining to the supreme chief', see Serruys 1962, and the important remarks in CEME, 60-70. Cf. the designation *syra orda* (= *šira ordo*) 'Yellow Camp' of Güyük's encampment near Qara Qorum and of Batu's encampment on the lower Volga (> 'Golden Horde'). See HDM, 28, 141, n. 9; SDM, 230, 339. Cf. also the reference to the 'golden tent' (*altan terme*) of Ong Qan in § 184; and the 'golden smoke-hole' and 'gold-capped pavilions' in the Dede Qorqut epic (BDK, 11, 39, 54). N. Poppe (p.c.) suggests that by a 'yellow man' is meant, perhaps, a blond man; and that by a 'yellow dog' a light-coloured dog (not necessary yellow) is meant. Cf. Poppe 1977, 128-129, nos. 56, 57. Pelliot, on the other hand, suggested (Pe, 124, n. 1): '"Jaune" = idée d'or; allusion aux images divines dorées du bouddhisme?' The point is discussed further in HCG, 118, 120-121, in relation to the story, current in the 13th-14th centuries, that the descendants of Yisügei (and hence of Alan Qo'a) were 'yellow in colour' – probably a reference to the light colour of the hair of some of

them. Pelliot (op. cit., 120) refers to the colour yellow in our passage as 'en quelque sorte "solaire", et correspond en outre aux images dorées des divinités.' For the legend of the supernatural conception of Alan Qo'a's children in the Persian, Tibetan and late Mongol sources, and its diffusion, see SL^2, I/2, 14; GGMGL, 42-45 (also for some interesting parallels); CLC, 282-283; MHW, 4ff., 41-43; Bira 1990; idem 1990b, 14ff., 1991, 40-42; and Bira 2000, 59-61 (for a possible Manichaen influence on the legend). Cf. also MAR, 17-19. For the correct interpretation of the passage 'Every night ... the door top of the tent', see Cleaves 1949a, 504-505. For *erüge* 'smoke-hole, sky hole (of a tent)', cf. Khomonov 1970, 36; and below, n. 230.

'How can you speak so rashly (*or* wildly, inconsiderately) (*deleme*)?' For *deleme*, see DO, 137b.

For *bili-* 'to rub, stroke', see Ligeti 1960, 237.

'When one understands that', lit. 'When (*or* if) one understands by that.'

'To *ordinary* black-headed men (*qara teri'ütü gü'ün*).' The 'common people' at the end of the passage are called *qaraču*, a noun deriving from *qara* 'black' (for the den. noun suff. *-ču*, see GWM, 41, § 115; Khabtagaeva 2001, 134). For *qaraču*, see also TMEN, no. 274. One of the several connotations of 'black' in Mongolian is 'ordinary, low-class.' See Poppe 1977, 121, no. 12. Cf. SOMTPN, 202. The same usage is found in Turkic, see ED, 643b; cf. Choi Hyong-won in *AH* 9:1999, 291. Thus, *qara teri'ütü gü'ün* and *qaraču* are synonymous. 'Black' refers to the colour of the skin through constant exposure to the sun and weather, a characteristic of common, poorer people; 'white', by contrast, being a sign of wealth, nobility and rank. Cf. the expression '*panza nera*', i.e. 'black belly', which in the old Roman dialect designated, for the very same reason, people of the lower working classes and paupers in general. Cf. also BDK, 10; Khabtagaeva 2001, 93. For other parts of the body called 'black' in a derogatory or insulting way in Mongolian, cf. the expression 'blackish face' in Ordos (DO, 310b). I think that 'black' in the present passage is contrasted with the

'yellow/golden' characteristic of the supernatural being and, by implication, of his and Alan Qo'a's exalted descendants, viz. the future rulers of the 'black-headed ones.' It is worth noting in this connection that, although in the SH the blue-grey wolf appears as the totemic ancestor of the Činggiside line, the supernatural intervention responsible for the birth of Bodončar – Činggis' direct forefather – makes the line of descent from the wolf a purely 'formal' genealogy. Cf. the case of Jesus Christ's traditional genealogy from Abraham and David to Joseph as given in the Gospel according to Matthew. Neither Dobun Mergen nor Joseph were the *real* fathers of Bodončar and Jesus, but in both cases the genealogy was not invalidated. Since the supernatural conception motif is common to many cultures in the ancient world, a key story in Buddhism and the central theme in Christianity, it is impossible to determine whether Heaven's intervention in the case of Alan Qo'a is a purely native tradition, or due to some culture contact through a Central Asian intermediary. In view of the fact that the early legend of Mongol origins and Činggis' ancestry is, in all probability, a later fabrication and that it owes much to Turkish influence, one cannot exclude the direct or indirect contribution of Nestorian Christianity, which was present already (as is well known) in Činggis' immediate entourage well before 1206 through personages of Turkish-Nestorian background like Čingqai, on whom see Section Three of the Introduction. For the motif of miraculous births in Mongolian (and Korean) myths, cf. Fedotoff 1996a.

§ 22. For *söyü'er* (= pmo. *sǫyüger*) 'admonition, teaching', see Mo, 242-243, and n. 227; and below, n. 260.

'Were born of one womb', lit. 'were born from a single belly (= womb).'

'Like those (lit. "that") single arrow-shafts' (*tere niǰi'el müsüt metü*) and 'like the (lit. "that") bound arrow-shafts' (*tere čuqtai müsüt metü*). For the unusual occurrence of a singular pronoun (*tere*) with a plural noun (*müsüt*, pl. of *müsün*, cf. AT[1], 6b), see Street 1990, 186.

For the adverb *tuqar* (= mo. *tuγar*) 'just now, a little while ago', cf. Gantogtokh 1989, 121.

§ 23. 'The five brothers divided the livestock among themselves', lit. 'The brothers divided among the five of them their livestock and food (*adūsun ide'e*).' *Adūsun* ~ *adu'usun* (= pmo., mo. *aduγusun*, *adaγusun*), means 'four-legged, domesticated animal: cattle, livestock'; *ide'e(n)* (= pmo., mo. *idege*[*n*]) means 'food.' These two words together form a so-called '*mot-couple*' (for this expression, see Pelliot 1944, 75; Mo, 42-43), the meaning of which is the same as that of the first element of the compound, i.e. *adūsun* 'livestock.' The expression *adu'usun ide'en* appears again in § 272, in a passage translated and discussed by Mostaert (Mo, 225-233; see, especially, p. 231). In §§ 39 and 132 we find *adu'u ide'en*. *Adu'u(n)* (pmo., mo. *aduγu*[*n*]) means 'herd (of horses or cattle): horses, cattle' (cf. TMEN, no. 10; HCWLYTT, 244-246, no. 77); and, as pointed out by Ozawa (Oz[1], I, 135, n. 2), this word together with *ide'e(n)* forms a compound which is synonymous with *adūsun* (*adu'usun*) *ide'e(n)*. The expression *adu'u ide'e(n)* has survived in Buriat with the meaning of 'cattle; herd of horses', and in Ordos with the meaning of '(herd of) horses.' See Mo, 231. Cf. Kałużyński 1992/93, 277-278. In the interlinear version and sectional summary these expressions are translated *literally*, i.e. 'livestock (*or* herds of horses) and food', except for § 23, where in the sectional summary (Y[2] 1, 15a) *adūsun ide'e* is rendered as 'family possessions, property' (家私), the livestock representing, of course, the wealth of the family. We find the same rendering in Li, 11. Most scholars, including Mostaert and Cleaves (see Mo, 233; Cl, 5, 8, 62, 212), follow the Chinese version and understand 'herd(s) (*or* cattle, *or* horses) and food (= provisions)', as I have done in my earlier translation. However, in 1979 N. Poppe pointed out to me that the expression *adūn id'ēη* occurs in the Buriat epic Jirensei with the meaning of

'horses and cattle (lit. "food").' See Poppe 1980, 263, lines 3352-3353. The correct interpretation of the two synonymous expressions in the SH had already been given in 1947 by Damdinsürèn, who rendered them as *aduγu mal* 'livestock.' See Da[1], 28, 30.

For *qubi* 'share (of the patrimony)', see TMEN, no. 294; Murakami 1961 (cf. MTSK, 191-196, 198, 204, 214); Murakami 1983, 102; Sugita 1979, 45. For inheritance in early Mongol society, see Vlad.[2], 62-68; Ratchnevsky 1987, 73.

With regard to the term *buda'u* 'stupid, foolish, half-wit', Cleaves stated: 'In *buda<u>'u* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*buda<u>'u* and *Bodončar*)' (Cl, 5, n. 13). I am not sure whether in this particular instance Cleaves is correct, since Bodončar already had the nickname, or epithet, of *mungqaq*. For *buda'u* = pmo. *budaγu*, mo. *bidaγu*, see Cleaves 1949, 127, n. 230.

§ 24. 'Why should I stay here?', lit. 'While here (= so long as I am here), what (is the advantage)?'

'He got on a white horse with a black sore back and a mangy tail' (*qol da'aritu qodoli se'ültü oroq šingqula unuǰu*). A literal translation would be: 'He rode on a white (*or* grey-white) horse with a black stripe along the backbone having mid-back wounds *caused by the saddle*, and a hairless tail.' For *oroq šingqula* see Ozawa's remarks in Oz[1], I, 140-141, n. 2 (where, however, 苞灰 is, I think, a printing error for 苍灰); and Rassadin 1995, 113. Cf. § 193 *šingqulaqan* 'little white horse.' For the important term *qol* (= mo. *γool*), meaning here 'mid, part in the centre' of the horse, i.e. his back, cf. TMEN, no. 307; Poppe 1967, no. 7. *Da'aritu* is a denominal noun in *-tu* formed on *da'ari* (= mo. *daγari*) 'wound or sore caused by the rubbing of the saddle'; see TMEN, no. 1868 (p. 177). *Qodoli* (= mo. *γodoli*), is the name of a particular type of arrow with a blunt, knob-like head, usually made of bone (see below, n. 77). A '*qodoli* tail' may have been an expression meaning 'a tail like a *qodoli*-arrow', i.e. bare and with a butt-end – a hairless stub of a tail, but this term is simply glossed 'bald' in the interlinear version.

'If I die, I die; if I live, I live!', i.e. 'Whether I live or die it's all one to me!' See VG, 54; Waley 1960, 523; and Cl, 5. Cf. also AT[1], 6b ('If I die or live, let my destiny decide!'), and Γa, 233, nn. 79 and 80. However, Ligeti, Ozawa, Even and Pop, and others (including, formerly, Cleaves and myself [in Ra, I, 122]) are of the opinion that the passage should read 'If he (i.e. the horse) dies, I shall die; if he lives, I shall live', or 'If he dies, let me also die! If he lives, let me also live!' See Li, 11; Oz[2], I, 22; Ev-Pop, 24. Cf. also Cleaves 1949a, 505; Cl (1956 unpubl. version, 5); Mo, 95; Vietze 1994, 654. Disagreement on the correct interpretation of Bodončar's words will no doubt continue.

For *talbi-* 'to ride fast', see Mo, 49; cf. Aalto 1973, 36.

Balǰun Island (Balǰun Aral) is an unidentified island, or more probably a peninsula on the Onon, possibly at the confluence of this river with the river Balj or Boldja, i.e. the present-day Balž Gol (the Balji Gol and Balj Gol of GM) at 49° 07 N 111° 50 E. See HCG, 41-42; Hung 1956, 21-23. Cf. Poppe 1956, 40. It is not to be confused with Dalan Balǰut and Lake Balǰuna of §§ 129 and 182. On these place-names, cf. L. Dar'sürèn in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 132-134. *Aral* usually means 'island', but it also has the meaning of 'peninsula; area at, or near, the confluence of two rivers (i.e. comprised between them)', as in the case of Talqun Aral (§ 105) and of the famous Ködö'e Aral. See SMT, 16; TMEN, no. 11; and below, n. 136 (for Ködö'e Aral).

'A grass hut' renders *ebesün nembüle ger*, lit. 'a grass hut-tent.' For *nembüle* (= mo. *embüle*) '(grass) hut', cf. dag. *nembelge* 'roof.' For the expression *embüle ger* 'thatched hut', see Gol., I, 91c. Cf. Khomonov 1970, 36!

§ 25. For *qarčiqai* (= mo. *qarčaγai*) 'hawk, falcon (*Astur palumbarius*)', see TMEN, no. 278. Cf. RH, 227, no. 20.

For *qara quru* 'black grouse', cf. Vietze 1990, 387.

For *kilqasu(n)* (= mo. *kilγasu*[*n*]) 'hair from the mane and tail of a horse, horse hair', see TMEN, no. 1607. The word is of Turkic origin (< *qïl* 'hair, horse hair'). On it cf. also Rozycki 1996. Since Bodončar's Rocinante had a hairless tail, the hair used to make the snare must have come from the mane, *pace* the Chinese gloss and sectional summary, both of which render *kilqasun* as 'hair from the tail of the horse' (Y^2 1, 16a-b). However, in Middle and Written Mongolian, as in the modern dialects, this term designates *both* the mane and tail hair.

§ 26. 'When he had nothing to eat', lit. 'When he had no food to eat.'

For the nature of the 'wild game', see above, n. 9.

For *qun* (= pmo. *γun*) 'cliff', see TMEN, no. 309; Oz^1, I, 147-148, n. 1.

'They *also* gathered up and ate the food *left over* by the wolves (lit. "what the wolves had eaten").' For *temgü-* 'to pick up, gather', see the discussion in Hashimoto 1992.

'And so, feeding his own gullet and his hawk', lit. 'feeding together to (= with) his own gullet also his hawk.' Cf. J. Street's somewhat different interpretation in Street 1981, 152; and Oz^1, I, 149-151, n. 5.

'He got through that year', i.e. through that winter, as it is stated in the sectional summary (Y^2 1, 17a).

§ 27. 'He starved his hawk and let it loose.' For Mongol hunting (including hawking) as described in 13th century sources, see Harayama 1972, 4ff.; Katayama 1982; Jacquesson 2000; and below, nn. 54 and 115.

'Every tree stump (*qoǰi'ulas*) .../Every dead tree (*hünǰi'üles*)....' For *qoǰi'ulas*, plural of *qoǰi'ula* (= mo. *qoǰiγula*, *qoǰuγula*) 'tree stump', see Oz^1, I, 152-153, n. 2. *Hünǰi'üles* is the plural of *hünǰi'üle*, glossed in the interlinear version as 'dried-up tree' (乾樹). AT^1, 7a, has *ügǰigüle* (not *üngǰigüle*, as in ATL, 19), no doubt a scribal error for *ün(g)ǰigüle*. Poppe 1969, 271, writes *hünǰi'üles* but does not discuss its transcription or

meaning. This term is undoubtedly related to the word *hünǰi'ü* of §§ 196, 247, 251 and 272 meaning 'dead, rotten wood/tree' (爛木, see Y^2 Sup. 1, 2a, 13a; Sup. 2, 20b); the form found in AT^1, 110b, is *ünǰigü*, cf. ATL, 181. The '*önǰikü*' of ATI, 78, line 3428, 79, line 3492, and 223a, is not correct. Unfortunately, these forms with initial *h* are likewise not discussed in Pelliot 1925. Pelliot was obviously in doubt regarding the correct reading of the words in question, as can be seen in Pe, 8 (§ 27: *hönǰi'üles*), 71 (§ 196: *hunǰi'u*; n. 5: 'Corr. *hünǰi'ü*'), 99 (§ 247: *hönǰi'ü*; n. 7: 'Corr. *hünǰi'ü*'), 101 (§ 251: *hünǰi'ü*). Cl, 129, n. 66 (to § 196), transcribes *hunǰi'u*, not *hünǰi'ü*, but the form with front vocalism is confirmed twice by the AT^1. Nevertheless, there are cases of words containing initial *ü* in Middle and Preclassical Mongolian that underwent a passage from front to back vocalism (e.g. *ümere* > *umara* 'back, north'). If *hünǰi'ü* > *unǰiγu*, we obtain a verbal noun in *-γu(/-gü)* from mo. *unǰi-* meaning 'hanging, droopy.' See Les., 878b. This interpretation was adopted in Oz^1, IV, 354, 357, n. 6; but it was rejected later by the same author, who reverted to the form *hünǰi'ü* in § 247. See Oz^1, VI, 216, 222-223, n. 7. Ozawa's explanation of the word *hünǰi'üles* as being the same as *hünǰi'ü* and merely a phonetic calque of *qoǰi'ulas* is, however, not very satisfactory. The etymology of these words, as well as their exact relationship, remains unclear. Cf. Vietze 1990, 385. As for Bodončar's handling of the birds caught by his hawk, the text says only that he 'placed' (*talbiba*) the ducks and wild geese until (*or* so that) all the dead wood (around) stank (of rotting flesh). The sectional summary (Y^2 1, 17a) interprets this as meaning that Bodončar 'hung' the birds which he could not consume on (the branches of) every withered old tree, so that there was stench all over. Like other investigators, I accepted this interpretation somewhat uncritically. See Ra, I, 122; cf. Pe, 125; Li, 12. However, I now regard it as unjustified and think that what Bodončar did was to *lay* the dead birds on tree stumps and fallen trees around his grass hut. Cf. Cl, 6.

§ 28. Mount Düyiren has not been identified; it is, in all probability, an elevation in the mountainous area between the Onon and the Balji (Balž) Gol. The Tünggelik Stream mentioned in this section apparently is not the river by the same name mentioned in § 5. According to Pėrlėė[2], 9, it corresponds to the present-day Tėngėlėg Gol, or Ugalzar Tėngėlėgiĭn Gol, an affluent of the Balji (see above, n. 24). Cf. Badamxatan 1992, 91; IĖDGMT, 14-15; CKA, 8 (F9), 55b. It is indeed difficult to reconcile the situation of the Tünggelik Qoroqan of § 5 in the Senggür-Kerulen region with that of the Tünggelik Qoroqan in the Balji-Onon region. However, Pelliot seems to have held the view that both § 5 and § 28 refer to the same river. See HCG, 383ff.

'Kumis', i.e. fermented mare's milk (*esüg*). On this beverage see NMP, I, 240; Mo, 26-27; MSR, 149; Underdown 1977.

'To sleep', lit. 'to spend the night' (*qonoqu*).

§ 29. For the correct interpretation of the passage *Tede irgen … yabulduba*, see Mo, 4-6. See also Cleaves 1955, 28, n. 6, regarding the use of the postponed conjunction *ba … be*. Cf. Street 1981, 161. For a further elaboration of the story of Bodončar's encounter with that band of people, cf. the Chinese account in YS[2] 1, 1-2; CH, 9.

§ 31. 'The people said', lit. 'Those people said.'

'Where he spends the night no one really knows' (*maqa qa'a qono* [for *qonon*] *aǰu'u*), lit. 'Who really knows (*maqa*) where (*qa'a*) he has spent the night?' – a rhetorical question. *Maqa* (= pmo. *maγa*) is a word expressing doubt, often implying a negative answer in interrogative sentences as here ('who knows?' = 'no one knows'); but also possibility and even likelihood ('perhaps, possibly, surely') as in § 189 ad fin. In the preclassical language it is sometimes a synonym of *maγad* 'really, truly.' Both *maqa* and *maqat* (= pmo., mo. *maγad*) appear in the SH. See HW, 106. *Maγa* has disappeared in the later literary language, coalescing with mo. *maγad*. See 'Trois documents', 463, 474; *Matériel II*, 16, 57. In view of the above, I have rendered *maqa* in the SH (§§ 31, 141, 155, 167, 189, etc.; see R, 263a) in different ways according to the context, keeping in mind that this word cannot be semantically disassociated from *maqat*. *Qa'a* 'where' corresponds to pmo. and mo. *qamiγa* (~ *qamiya*). The mmo. form *qa'a* of the SH (§§ 31, 83, 174, 194) and the HIIY (IIA, 6a) are due to *qamiγa* > *qamā* > *qa'a* > *qā*. For *iγa* > *ā*, and *iγa* > *iya* (*qamiγa* ~ *qamiya*), see IMCS, 64; SG, 198; for *-m-* > *-'-*, see IMCS, 102. In Middle Mongolian we find the form *qama* (= *qamā*), as well as *qana* (= *qāna*). See VMI, 42. Cf. the modern forms *xaa*, *xaana* (kh., bur.), *χamā* (kalm.), *χā*, *χāna* (ord.). *Qamā* < *qamiγa*; *qāna* < *qā* (< *qamiγa*) + the local adverbial suffix *-na(/ -ne*; cf. GWM, 58, § 213). See KMG, 44, § 71 (1°). The reading *qamiγa* of the SH is confirmed by AT[1], 7b (§ 31), 19b (§ 83) and 64b (§ 174). However, Shi 1, 19a; Oz[1], I, 393; Ba, I, 44; and El-Ar, 50, give the written form of *qa'a* as *qaγa* by transcribing *a'a* as *aγa* (cf. IMCS, 60). This establishes a form *qaγa* alongside *qamiγa* which in my view (and *pace* Oz[1], IV, 307, n. 10) is not justified, for the latter is the only form, together with *qamiya*, attested in Preclassical Mongolian. See the Preclassical Mongolian version of the *Hsiao-ching*: *qamiγa*; and the fragmentary Mongolian poem from Turfan: *qamiya* (MPrI/2, 110, 186; Poppe 1959/60, 262, 271, n. 29). With regard to Written Mongolian, DO, 320a (s.v. *χā*) gives both *qaγa* and *qamiγa*. Kow., 804a, gives only *qamiγa*, *qamiγ-a*, but on p. 732b we find the entry '*qaγa yaγa* très rarement, de temps en temps, quelquefois', and on p. 819a '*qa-ya*, *qaγa yaγa* un jour, parfois, quelquefois, ci et là' (cf. Gol., II, 57c). Les., 905a, has the entry 'xaγ-a, 2. See xamiγ-a, 1. - - jaγ-a = xa ja = xaja. Here and there, now and then, from time to time, occasionally.' See also ibid., 923b: 'xamiγ-a, 1. [= xaγ-a, 2 = xa] adv. Where.' Further, Kow., 736a, registers the entry '*qaγasi kereg* quelque chose, d'une manière quelconque; etc.' Les., 907b, has 'xaγasi' referring the reader to 'xamiγasi'; the entry on p. 924a, 'xaγasi'

is given as an alternative reading. It would thus appear that in Written Mongolian there is, indeed, a word *qaγa* = *qamiγa*. I doubt this. The word *qaγa* cited above appears *only* in the compound expression *qaγa yaγa* 'occasionally' (kh. *xaayaa*, w.f. *qaya*; cf. Cėv., 633b), and as far as I know it is never used independently with the meaning of 'where?' I suggest, therefore, that in that compound, *qaγa* is also a mechanical transcription of the colloquial *qa'a*, *qā* (*χā*), ultimately deriving from *qamiγa* as shown earlier. As for *qaγasi* in *qaγasi kereg*, this word is an incorrect form for *qasi*. The correct reading *qasi* (*kereg*) is given in WTCWC, II, 2422; Gol., II, 70c; MKT, 568c; and MKeT, 1209b. Cf. kh. *xaaš* (w.f. *qasi*) *xėrėg* in Cėv., 633b. Mo. *qasi* (= *qāsi*) < *qamiγasi* (= *qamiγa* + adv. suff. *-si*; cf. GWM, 59, § 216) 'to what place?' Therefore, the form *qaγa* in DO, 320a, and in *Matériel I*, 85 (following DO) should be deleted; and *qaγa* in Shi, Oz[1], Ba, and El-Ar should be changed to *qamiγa*. The etymologies given in Poppe 1926, 13, § 5, and SG, 278, are to be amended accordingly. Cf. below, n. 155. For *qono aǰu'u* instead of *qonon aǰu'u*, cf. § 168 *quyu büle'e* for *quyun büle'e*. See below, n. 84. For *qono-*, cf. above, n. 28.

'When the wind blows', lit. 'when (*or* if) there is a wind from the north-west (*hörene ümere-eče*). For *ümere-eče*, see Cleaves 1952, 101-102, n. 122.

'Caught by his hawk', lit. 'which he had caused to be caught by the hawk.'

'Like swirling snow' renders *burqaliq časun metü*. For the expression *burqaliq* (w.f. *buryaliγ* ~ *buryaniγ*) *časun*, see Oz[1], I, 164, n. 3.

'Wait a little!' (*qorumut güliče*). *Qorumut* is the plural of *qorum* 'a short time, a moment, an instant', hence, literally, '(a few) moments.' The word *qorum* occurs at the beginning of § 32. For this word, cf. below, n. 273.

§ 33. 'It is right (= it is proper, it is necessary) for a body to have a head, and for a coat to have a collar.' On this proverb, which emphasizes the need for a group of people to have a chief so as

to ensure proper leadership (and, ultimately, the order of society), see Vlad.[2], 83 and n. 8; TOO, xv, 517 (nos. 155, 156; cf. FO, 539, nos. 155, 156); Aubin 1975, 507 and n. 19; Jackendoff 1977, 28; Khomonov 1981, 57; Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 79; WTY, 11. (For an old Russian saying which is but a variation on the same theme, cf. the *Lay of Igor's Campaign* [*Slovo o polku Igoreve*], where we read, 'It is difficult for a head to be without shoulders. But it is also a misfortune for the body to be without a head.' See MRECT, 189.) Buqu Qatagi was no doubt acquainted with this saying, but paid no attention to it because he could not relate it to anything: he merely took it as an inane utterance of his simple-minded brother. It should be noted that the term 'collar' (*ǰaqa* – this word can also mean 'cape', see Serruys 1957, 154 and n. 56; TMEN, no. 1802) was used metaphorically for 'leader', as in § 126. Cf. ch. *ling* 領 'neck, collar; to lead' in expressions like *ling-hsiu* 領袖 'collar and sleeve' → 'leader.'

'Did not attach any importance to these words of his', lit. 'these words of his, he did not regard them even as anything.' See Mo, 71. Cf. Street 1990, 179: 'His elder brother Buqu Qatagi was unable to make anything of that remark of his'; and On, 7, more freely: 'His words had no effect on his older brother Buqu-qatagi.'

§ 34. 'When he repeated the same words', lit. 'Again, when he spoke the same words.'

'Ignored them', lit. 'not regarding them even as anything.' Cf. above, n. 33.

'To which', lit. 'at those words.'

'What kind of words are those you have just been repeating?', lit. 'What same words have you been saying since a little while ago?' *Tuqar* (= mo. *tuγar*) means 'just (*or* right) now, just; before, earlier, a little while ago', referring to the immediate past. Cf. Gantogtox 1990, 125.

§ 35. 'High and mean', lit. 'head and hoof.' *Ši'ira* 'hoof' = mo. *sigira* id. In general, this term designates that section of the

animal's leg comprising foot, shin and ankle, with the skin (N.P., p.c.). Cf. DO, 621b. See Vlad[2], 83.

For the verb *ha'ul-* (= pmo. *aγul-*) 'to run, ride ahead *or* fast (against)' → 'to raid, capture, attack', cf. HW, 63 and 74, 75 (with considerable confusion among the entries); Pelliot 1925, 203-204, no. 5; Mo, 202, n. 184; *Lettres*, 39-40.

§ 36. For the verb *eyetüldü-* 'to take counsel with, consult with', see the pertinent remarks in Cleaves 1986, 193-194, n. 15. Cf. below, n. 191. The account of these events in YS[2] 1, 2, is shorter and somewhat different. See CH, 9.

§ 37. 'As a scout.' The word *alginči* 'scout, spy' is an important military term and one, like *manglai* 'forehead' → 'vanguard', frequently occurring in the SH (see R, 182a, 262b), sometimes also with the meaning of 'advance guard *or* party, vanguard' (see, e.g., §§ 123, 179, 195, 276, 279). This word is possibly related to tu. *alqa-*, *alqan-*, *alγan-* 'to praise'; cf. ma. *algindambi* id. < *algin* 'rumour, hearsay, fame, renown' ? > 'knowledge, information, intelligence.' Cf. TH, 90 (= ǰYT, 160); Če, 287, n. 36. Both *alginči* and its derivative verb *alginčila-* 'to reconnoitre; to be (form) the vanguard' are not found in Written Mongolian and the dialects. They are, in fact, omitted or misunderstood in the AT text of the SH. The word *algin* deserves further investigation. The connotations of the terms *alginči* and *manglai* are discussed in Hasumi 1982 where, however, the explanation of *alginči* is not wholly convincing. Cf. also Róna-Tas 1986, 136-137. For *alginči* 'vanguard', see Poppe 1967, 509, no. 2; Rassadin 1995, 113.

§ 38. 'Reconnoitring', lit. 'as a scout', see above, n. 37.

'To which clan do you belong?', cf. above, n. 15, and *Ordosica*, 53, n. 29.

For the Uriangqai tribe, see above n. 9. Here we are dealing with a branch or subtribe of the Uriangqai called the Adangqa(n) Uriangqai (or Uriangqan/Uriangqat; see above, n. 12); cf. above, n. 8, the case of the Qori Tumat. An Adangqa Uriangqai tribesman is also mentioned in § 44 as the putative father of J̌e'üredei. Cf. Jackendoff 1977, 24ff. (however, Jackendoff, p. 24, misinterprets Mostaert in Mo, 5, regarding 'Bodončar's hosts' as being Uriangqais). We have no information about the J̌arči'ut, but in § 97 the story is told of how Old J̌arči'udai of the Uriangqai tribe, coming from Burqan Qaldun, brought his son J̌elme to Temüǰin. His name indicates that he was an Uriangqai tribesman of the J̌arči'ut clan; we may therefore assume that the woman captured by Bodončar was also a member of the same J̌arci'ut clan, belonging to a subgroup of the Uriangqai, which, as we know, was a tribe spread over a wide territory.

§ 39. 'Got enough livestock, people to serve them, and a place to live', lit. 'attained to livestock and food (*adu'un ide'en*, see above, n. 23), *subject* people and servants (*haran tutqar*), living and dwelling.' For *gür-* 'to reach, attain to' = 'to obtain a sufficiency of', cf. below, n. 118. *Haran tutqar* (= pmo. *aran tudqar*) may be compared to the expression *gergen tutqar* 'domestics and servants' of § 124, and *gergen tudqar* id. of the Preclassical Mongolian version of the *Hsiao-ching*, see Cleaves 1949a, 522-525. The term *haran* (pl. *harat*) = pmo. and mo. *aran*, *arad*, designated both 'the people' = 'the common people', i.e. the ordinary tribesmen, and 'people doing service for others' (= ger. Dienstleute), obviously because this was normally the case with the former group; cf. mo. *aran köbegün* 'serfs, slaves.' However, to render *haran tutqar* merely as 'servants' is, I think, to restrict too much the meaning of this expression. In spite of various attempts to trace the origin of the word *tutqar* 'servant' to Turkic, its etymology remains obscure. Cf. TH, 268 (= ǰYT, 464); Oz[1], I, 183-184, n. 2. For the term *haran* (*aran*), see Vlad.[2], 280a; HCWLYTT, 152-153, no. 42; VMI, 34; RH, 203, no. 9; Fletcher 1986, 16; and below, n. 147.

From an examination of §§ 23-39 of the SH one can deduce that after Alan Qo'a's death and Bodončar's departure from home the family fortunes must have declined. This may account for Buqu Qatagi's search for Bodončar, and for the subsequent

joint attack on the people who had settled along the Tünggelik Stream whereby the family 'attained to' (*gürbe*) a certain prosperity (cf. Jackendoff 1977, 23). Presumably, the inheritance was not substantial in the first place and it is in this light, I think, that Bodončar's exclusion from it can best be explained (as the youngest son he should have received most of the domestic patrimony or 'yurt').

§ **40**. From this paragraph on we have more explanations of personal and clan names based on popular etymologies relying, as we noted before, on sound affinity. Thus J̌aǰiradai, J̌adaran and J̌adaradai are related to the word *ǰat* (= pmo. *ǰad*) meaning 'foreign, other (different)', possibly with the addition of *(h)aran* 'people', thus J̌adaran < *ǰad* + *(h)aran*. J̌aǰiradai is the ethnicon of J̌aǰiran or J̌aǰirat, a form no doubt related to J̌adaran (pl. *J̌adarat) through an intermediate form *J̌adiran or *J̌adirat. Cf. HCG, 28-29; Oz[1], I, 186, n. 1; Cleaves 1956, 273, n. 784; Poppe 1975, 162; and, on J̌adaran ~ J̌aǰiran, Bese 1988, 23-24.

For *ebüge* 'ancestor', see *Lettres*, 65.

'Of that J̌adaradai', i.e. 'of that man of the J̌adaran *clan*', namely J̌aǰiradai. For the word *ǰat* < tu. *yat* 'foreign, irrelevant', cf. Poppe 1955, 39; MSR, 132; Oz[1], I, 186, n. 1. On the value of these (often fictitious) genealogies, see Pelliot's pertinent remarks in HCG, 344.

For the position of clan members in early Mongol society whose paternity was doubtful, see Vlad.[2], 64.

In the genealogy given in this section, J̌amuqa of the J̌adaran, the great friend and then rival and foe of Činggis Qan, is only four generations removed from Bodončar. This is certainly incorrect. See HCG, 27. Qara Qada'an ('Black Qada'an'): Qada'an was a common name in Mongolian, formed on *qada* 'rock' + the denominal noun suffix -'*an* (= -*γan*; see 'Trois documents', 452-453). Cf. HCG, 457b (Index); Rybatzki [2003], s.v. For *qara* 'black' in proper names, see Bese 1974, 92. For J̌amuqa, see below, n. 104; cf. also n. 141.

§ **41**. The clan name Ba'arin (= pmo. Baγarin) and its ethnicon Ba'aridai (= pmo. Baγaridai) are erroneously related in folk etymology to the verb *bari-* 'to seize, catch; to take by force, abduct', while Menen is related to *mene* in the expression *mene metü* which is glossed in the interlinear translation as '(uncomfortably or undesirably) numerous (in terms of times or quantity), overburdened' (繁多). In § 260 the same expression is glossed 'incessantly, pressingly, repeatedly' (頻繁). In Written Mongolian *mene* means 'there! here! suddenly, immediately, just like that, really so.' Cf. Les., 536a; Gol., III, 213b. N. Poppe (p.c.) rendered the expression *mene metü* as 'in the same way, likewise; in great numbers.' Cf. Cleaves' rendering 'as if in heaps' (Cl, 8). Cf. also Oz[1], I, 188, n. 3, 197, n. 1; Cleaves 2001a, 22, n. 11; TH, 224 (= ǰYT, 386). However, *mene(n)* as such does not seem to be attested in the ancient language and is one of the words deserving further study. As pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 142), the derivation *Ba'arin* < *bari-* is inadmissible. For the Ba'arin, see HCG, 34, 300; Cleaves 1956, 202, n. 2; Serruys 1986. On Ba'aridai see Poppe 1975, 162, and below, n. 216.

Bökö (= mo. *böke*) means 'strong man, wrestler', wrestlers being then, as now, chosen from among the strongest men in the land. This word has retained both meanings in the living languages and dialects; see, e.g., DO, 85b ad fin.; MED, 63b. Cf. Les., 126b; TMEN, no. 803.

For polygamy in early Mongol society, see Ratchnevsky 1987, 71.

§ **42**. 'From Belgünütei stemmed the Belgünüt clan; from Bügünütei the Bügünüt; etc.', lit. 'Belgünütei was *the ancestor of* those with the clan name Belgünüt; Bügünütei was *the ancestor of* those with the clan name Bügünüt; etc.'

For the Belgünüt, see HCG, 398; Bese 1988, 20; for the Bügünüt, see ibid., 21. For Buqu Qatagi and the Qatagin (< Qataqïn) ~ Qadagin, see the important note by Pelliot, ibid., 393-397; and Poppe 1975, 165. The Qatagin were closely

related to the Salǰi'ut, see HCG, 394, 397-400, and the other references listed on p. 462a; Bese 1988, 33; and Poppe, loc. cit. See also QAΓAT, passim. In the present passage the name of the eponymous ancestor is written Buqutu Salǰi *pro* Buqatu Salǰi; cf. §§ 17, 19, 23.

Bodončar is presented here as the ancestor of the Borǰigin clan – the royal clan of the Mongqol tribe – but the clan name Borǰigin is already attested in the ethnicon Borǰigidai of Borǰigidai Mergen, who was Qarču's son (see § 3) and the great-grandfather of Bodončar. On this question, see HCG, 118; for the Borǰigin clan, see also the references given above, n. 3.

§§ 43, 44. According to Rašīd al-Dīn, Bodončar had two sons called Buqa and Buqtai (SL[2], I/2, 17); Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči is listed (ibid., 29) as the second son of Tumbina Xān, i.e. the Tumbinai Sečen of the SH, §§ 47-48. Barim Ši'iratu, lit. 'Having the Legs the Size of a Fist', i.e. very short-legged, was Qabiči's nickname. See Cleaves 1949a, 506; Bese 1978, 360, no. 9; Bürinbatu 1991, 110, 127. For the title *ba'atur* (= mo. *baγatur*) 'brave, valiant' added to his name, see below, n. 50. According to YS[2] 1, 2, Bodončar had one son, Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči, who was the father of Menen Tudun. Cf. CH, 9. On Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči's genealogy, see below, n. 45, and Ligeti 1972, 9.

'Bodončar *also* took as concubine a housemaid of Qabiči Ba'atur's mother, who had come as dowry', lit. 'Bodončar took as concubine (*tataǰu büle'e*) the one who had come as *inǰe* of Qabiči Ba'atur's mother.' *Inǰe* is glossed as 'one who follows the bride' (從嫁), i.e. the person who goes with the bride as part of her dowry. These persons were domestic personnel (servants, housemaids, cooks and the like) forming at times entire families and consisting, in the case of the chiefs' daughters, of hundreds of individuals. On this important institution, see the extensive literature cited in n. 208 below.

For J̌e'üredei (ethnicon of J̌e'üret) and the J̌e'üret, see HCG, 448a (Index); Poppe 1975, 162. It is not clear whether J̌e'üret

should be read J̌e'ürēt in view of AT[1], 8b: J̌egüriyed. Cf. HCG, 142; St, 8, n. 69; Γa, 15: J̌egüred; Če, 43: J̌egüriyed. The text actually has J̌eüret (= J̌e'üret). Cf. the forms *niuča* for *ni'uča*, Mau for Ma'u, etc. See below, n. 170. For the clan name J̌e'üreyit, cf. also Poppe 1975, 166.

'Could take part in the *J̌ügeli*', lit. 'was in the position (*oron*) of having *J̌ügeli*', i.e. was eligible to participate in the sacrifice. This is the interpretation of the words *J̌ügelitü oron büle'e* proposed by N. Poppe (p. c.). For the reading *ǰügeli-dur* for *ǰügelitü*, originally proposed by Shiratori (see Shi 1, 25b), and *oron* taken as converbum modale of *oro-* 'to enter' following the Chinese interlinear gloss, see Oz[1], I, 190, 193, n. 6 (1). *J̌ügeli-dur* is the reading found in AT[1], 8b; however, none of the editions of Y supports the emendation nor does the interlinear gloss indicate that this word is in the dative-locative case. The reading *ǰükeli-dü* of Bese 1986, 241, is unlikely because the suffix *-tu/-tü* (*-du/-dü*) is unknown to the language of the SH and the HIIY, although attested in the MA. See R, 218a, 320a; SMD, 38; Kuribayashi 2002. Whatever the reading (still doubtful), the meaning of the sentence is not affected and is perfectly clear.

The term *ǰügeli* designating this particular ceremony is glossed in the interlinear translation as 'to hang meat on (lit. "with") a pole and sacrifice to Heaven' (以竿懸肉祭天). For the etymology of *ǰügeli* (= *ǰükeli*), see the remarks in Bese 1986, 242-243, and below, n. 272. The word *ǰüküli* is registered in Kow., 2424a, with the first meaning of 'mouton suspendu au bout d'une perche par les chamans.' In Buriat, the first meaning of *züxėli* (obs.) is 'the hide of a sacrificial animal with the head and legs (raised on a long pole).' See BRS, 270b. For a more detailed description we must turn to BŠDT, 55b-56a. According to this work, *züxėli* consists of the head, the four limbs, the skin and the tail of the sacrificial animal, cut off from the body and in the fashion of a stuffed animal, which is placed on a birch pole stuck firmly in the ground. The head of the animal is decorated

with many-coloured ribbons and fir bark is placed between its teeth. The animal is left on the pole until it is totally disintegrated through rotting and weathering. The beliefs relating to this ceremony among the Buriats as described in BŠDT show a contamination with Buddhism (concept of transmigration) which must be due to later influence. For further details and bibliographical references to this sacrifice, see the informative article by Bese on the subject (Bese 1986). As indicated by the historical data collected by Boyle, this form of sacrifice, in which the victim is usually a horse, was widely practised among various peoples of Inner Asia from ancient until recent times as a funeral ceremony and as an offering to Heaven, i.e. to the Sky-God Tengri. See Boyle 1965 (esp. pp. 147-150); Tomka 1965, 173-174. Although the Chinese gloss referred to above confirms that *jügeli* was indeed a sacrifice to Heaven, Ligeti is no doubt right in assuming that in this particular case it may have been one offered to the ancestors of the family or the tribe, since Je'üredei was excluded from it because he did not really belong to the family (see § 44). See Li, 142-143, n. 43. Cf. also QAΓAT, 6 et passim. Poppe (p.c.) saw this sacrifice still carried out among the Ekhirit-Buriats of the Baikal in 1932. See Bese 1986, 243 and n. 3. Cf. IBŠ, 249; Chiodo 1992, 133; Gantogtox 1994, 147-150.

Regarding the paternity of Je'üredei, cf. the doubts surrounding the paternity of Alan Qo'a's three sons born after the death of Dobun Mergen, their paternity attributed to 'the man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut' (§ 18). In the present instance, it was the case of a son (Jajiradai) siring a child (Je'üredei) from one of his father's secondary wives. This must have been a fairly common occurrence. For the Adangqa Uriangqai, see above, n. 38. Cf. Jackendoff 1977, 24-26.

'Was constantly in the house (lit. "in the tent").' For *daru'a* (= pmo. *daruγa*) 'constantly', see Cleaves 1953a, 246-249; idem 2001c, 99, n. 102.

'They made him take the clan name Je'üreyit.' As noted by Aubin 1975, 561, n. 86, it seems that in the ancient Mongol society it was the custom for an illegitimate son of a noble household to leave the family at the time of the division of the family patrimony and to establish a new clan, of which he became the eponymous ancestor. Cf. Vlad.[2], 63.

The names Je'üredei, Je'üreyit and Je'üret are all related, in popular etymology and merely on assonance, with the word *jügeli*.

§ 45. The genealogy given in this section is at variance with that found in AT and SL. See *Chapitre CVII*, 14-17, nn. 6, 9, 11; Ligeti 1972, 9-10 and n. 17; HCG, 54, 65, 75, 167; and below, n. 46.

For the epithet *tudun* (an old Turkic title of Chinese origin) in the name Menen Tudun, see TMEN, no. 1194; Ecsedy 1965, 89; de Rachewiltz 1969, 285, n. 16; Bese 1974, 94-95; and, most important, Oda 1987. The names Qači, Qači'u and Qači'un are regarded as variants of the noun *qači(n)* 'strange'; see Bese 1974, 93. For the etymology of Qači'un see HCG, 395.

For Qaraldai (< *qara* 'black' + *-ldai*), see Poppe 1975, 163. Cf. above, n. 40.

For *külük* (= mo. *külüg*) 'steed' → 'hero' and its etymology, see HCG, 340; NHHO, 59; Poppe 1955, 40; TMEN, no. 1686.

For the word *način* 'falcon (*Falco peregrinus*)', see TMEN, no. 1728; Mo, xviii.

§ 46. The genealogy given in this section is again at variance with those found in other sources. According to the SH, Qaidu was the son of Mother Nomolun (Nomolun Eke), wife of Qači Külük; however, according to Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 18-20), Monolun (= Nomolun) was the wife of Dutum Menen (= Menen Tudun), from whom she had nine children, Dutum Menen being the son of Buqa, Bodončar's eldest son. According to the AT, Qabiči (called Barim Sigiratu Qabiči Bayatur = SH Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči) had a son named Bekir Bayatur, not mentioned in the SH, who was the father of Maqa Tudun (= Menen Tudun). Menen Tudun married Nomalun Toryun (= Nomolun Eke), mother of his seven children. Cf. AT[1], 8b; Ligeti 1972, 9-10,

and n. 17. According to YS[2] 1, 2, Menen Tudun's wife Monolun also bore seven children. The story of Monolun and her children has no counterpart in the SH. Indeed, both Rašīd al-Dīn and the YS have a lot to say about Monolun/Nomolun, Način (~ Naǰin – according to Rašīd's account the uncle of Qaidu, but according to YS an elder brother of Qaidu's) and Monolun's youngest son Qaidu. See YS[2] 1, 2-3. Cf. CW, 12-14; EM, 37-40. On Rašīd's authority, supported by the YS (YS[2] 1, 3), Qaidu is the first Mongol tribal chief to establish control over other tribes and to assume, on the strength of that, the title of *qan*. See SL[2], I/2, 20ff. It should be noted, however, that no such title is conferred on him by the SH account. For the name Nomolun (Monolun through metathesis), formed on *nomon* 'mole-rat or rodent mole (*Myospalax*)' + the denominal noun suffix *-lun*, see Poppe 1975, 164; Bese 1980, 319, no. 9; and Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

The origin of the clan name Noyakin and of the name of its founder Noyagidai is explained on the basis of popular etymology with the word *noyamšik* (= *noyamšiq*; pmo. *noyamsiγ*) '*acting* like a chief', or 'prendre des aires de noble' [A.M.]. Cf. On, 9: 'lordly.' For the term *noyan*, see above, n. 8. On the Noyakin, see HCG, 33. Cf. Poppe 1975, 165; Bese 1988, 28-29. Likewise the Barulas and its chief Barulatai were so called because the latter was a 'voracious eater' (*or* 'glutton': *baruq*). For this clan name, see Poppe, loc. cit.; Bese, loc. cit. On the word *baruq* and the name Barulas, cf. Ligeti 1966, 132, 136, n. 22; TMEN, no. 86. For the Barulas, see also Grupper 1992/94. *Erdemtü* means 'knowledgeable, able'; and the meaning of *tödö'en* is probably 'belt loops on trousers.' Cf. HCG, 126, 157; Les., 831b-832a. The Buda'at got their name because they did not observe seniority (lit. 'did not have a head [= chief]') when they cooked (lit. 'stirred') porridge (*buda'an*, mo. *budaγan*, 'gruel made with millet'). The meaning is: at mealtimes they did not observe distinctions of rank and rules of precedence, and each one tried to grab as much of the food as possible [A.M.]. Cf. Ligeti 1971, 145; for the Buda'at, see HCG, 64-65. The Adargin, or Adarkin, and their clan founder Adarkidai, got theirs because Adarkidai 'spread slanders' (*adar-*) among his brothers. Adarkidai is called Adar Mergen in SL[2], I/2, 30-31. For the name Adar, cf. Cleaves 1951, 93, n. 103. For this clan name and Adarkidai, see Poppe 1975, 162, 165; Bese 1988, 17-18. On the passage relating to this clan and the corresponding passage in the AT, see Ligeti 1972; cf. Mo, 169-172, n. 155. See also § 164.

For the Uru'ut and the Mangqut, see HCG, 32-33, 167-169; Šastina 1975, 234-235; Bese 1988, 39 and 27-28 respectively.

Doqoladai (= Doγoladai < *doγolang*) means 'lame, limping.' Cf. 'Trois documents', 473; Mo, 103; Poppe 1975, 162.

§ 47. Bai Šingqor Doqšin means 'As Fierce (*or* Cruel) as the Rich Gerfalcon.' See Cleaves 1949a, 507. 'Rich Gerfalcon' (*bai šingqor* < tu. *bay* 'rich' and mmo. *šingqor* 'gerfalcon') is the designation of a particular bird of prey, which however cannot be identified with any degree of certainty. In modern Turkish it designates the lanner falcon (*Falco biarmicus*) of Asia Minor, but the lanner is not found in Central Asia and Mongolia. See TEL, 1195b, s.v. '*sungur*.' Cf. VWTD, IV, 1940. On *šingqor*, see also below, n. 54. For a different interpretation of the name Bai Šingqor Doqšin, see Bese 1978, 357-358, no. 6.

Regarding the passage on Čaraqai Lingqu, the text actually reads 'The sons of Čaraqai Lingqu, Senggüm Bilge and (*-tan*; see below, n. 72) Ambaqai, took the clan name Tayiči'ut.' However, Ambaqai was not the son of Čaraqai, but of Senggüm Bilge (cf. the sectional summary in Y[2] 1, 29b; and § 52); as shown by Pelliot (Pelliot 1940/41, 5-7; HCG, 132-133), the text has a lacuna at this point which can be filled by the corresponding section in AT[1], 9b. The amended text reads: *Čaraqai Lingqu-yin kö'ün Senggüm Bilge büle'e Senggüm Bilge-yin kö'ün Ambaqai Qa'an teri'üten Tayiči'ut oboqtan bolba*. Cf. Li, 143, n. 47; Ligeti 1972, 9; Clark 1978, 42-43; MNTLAT, 16. Street 1986/87, 35 (43), renders the SH passage: 'The son of Charaqay-lingqu was Senggüm-bilge; [he], with

others including [his son] Ambaqay, formed the Tayichiud clan.' However, this rendering is forcing the grammar of the text. On Čaraqai Lingqu (< *lingqum* << ch. *ling-kung* 令公, a polite designation of the Grand Secretary, here used as an honorary title), see HCG, 23-24; *Chapitre CVII*, 11-12, n. 2; 13-14, n. 5. For Čaujin Örtegei see below. In the name Tumbinai Sečen, *sečen* is the epithet ('wise, prudent'; see TMEN, n. 207). In Ev-Pop, 47, Tumbinai is rendered as 'Mafflu', i.e. 'Heavy-jowled', but I do not know on what authority. On this personage, see HCG, 53, 54, 65; and below, n. 48. The name Senggüm Bilge is composed of *senggüm* (< *senggün* << ch. *hsiang-kung* 相公, a polite designation of the minister and also a complimentary title given to members of the gentry) and of the epithet *bilge*, a Turkic borrowing meaning 'wise.' See HCG, 334, 250; and Pelliot 1930b, 45-46; idem 1944b, 54; TMEN, nos. 1221, 1274; HCSL, 434; Pritsak 1988, 770. On Senggüm Bilge, cf. also HCG, 14, 132-133; and below, n. 162.

On Ambaqai ('Isalai' in AT[1], 9b – the Hambaqāi Qāān of Rašīd al-Dīn) and the important Tayiči'ut tribe, see HCG, 464b and 465b, s.vv. '*Taiči'ut*', '*Taičiut*' and '*Tayiči'ut*'; Poppe 1975, 165; Clark 1978, 33-39; Yoshida 1986; S. Šinkevič in MNT, I, 61-69; and below, n. 52. For the section devoted to the Tayiči'ut in Rašīd's work, see SL[2], I/1, 180-183; for Ambaqai and his descendants, cf. also ibid., I/2, 22ff. Ambaqai's widows are mentioned in § 70.

For the SH form *berigen* (= mo. *bergen*) 'wife of an elder brother', cf. dag. *berigen* id. See TMEN, no. 88; Pürėvžav & Baasanbam 1996, 157. The word *berigen* is in assonance with the name Besütei and the Besüt clan, on which see HCG, 156; cf. DO, 67b.

On Čaujin (AT[1], 9b id.) Örtegei and his descendants, from whom originated several important clans, such as the Oronar, Qongqotan, Arulat, Sönit, Qabturqas and Geniges, see the relevant entries in HCG; *Chapitre CVII*, 12-13, n. 3; Hambis 1975, 40-41; TMEN, no. 18 (Arulat); CLC, 54-60; and Bese

1988, 32 (Qabturqas). Cf. also Cleaves 1949a, 507. (The reading Ča'ujin in Cl, 10, is incorrect.)

For the lineage of Qaidu, from his three children to Yisügei and Dāritai Otčigin, see the section in *Chapitre CVII*, 10-20, which contains the important commentary by Pelliot.

§ **48**. The information handed down by Rašīd al-Dīn continues to be at variance with that of the SH. The former ascribes nine sons to Tumbinai Sečen, two of whom (the sixth and fourth respectively) correspond to the Sem Sečüle and Qabul Qa'an (*read* Qan) of the SH. See SL[2], I/2, 29-30. However, the SH form Sem Sečüle is erroneous; the correct form of the name is Sam (*or* Sem ?) Qačula(i). See Cleaves 1949a, 507-508; Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 53-55, and *Chapitre CVII*, 14-15, n. 7; 16, n. 10, also with regard to the conflicting genealogies. As noted by Pelliot, in the genealogical tradition there has been an obvious confusion between the lineage of Menen Tudun and Tumbinai: in SL[2], I/2, 30, Sam (Sem) Qačulai is actually called Sam (Sem) Qači'un, the second element of this name being in reality the name of Menen Tudun's fifth son and the father of Adarkidai (see above, n. 45).

For Bültečü (*read* Bultaču) Ba'atur, see HCG, 54-55. His son was Mergen Sečen, whose name is suppressed in the SH. Rašīd is also silent about him. However, his name has been preserved in the AT (AT[1], 9b). Cf. Ligeti 1972, 10.

Qabul is erroneously called *qa'an*; he was only a *qan*, like Qutula (who in the SH is twice called Qutula Qa'an and three times Qutula Qan). Cf. above, n. 1; and YS[2] 1, 3, where he is correctly named Qabul Qan. There is a fairly long account on Qabul Qan in SL[2], I/2, 32-36; he, like his great-grandfather Qaidu, obviously played an important role in Mongol tribal history before Činggis Qan. Cf. EM, 40-43; ČK[1], 8-9 (= ČK[2], 9, 10); and below, n. 52.

As for Qabul's lineage, Rašīd's account also ascribes seven sons to him. On them, see the relevant entries in HCG (in particular pp. 19-21, 66-67, 76-78, 117-118); *Chapitre CVII*, 17-

19, nn. 12-18. For the eldest son Ökin Barqaq (= pmo. Barqaγ), elsewhere called Ökin Baraqaq, see the account of his capture by the Tatars and the cruel death ordered by the Chin court in SL^2, I/2, 33 (cf. EM, 44); see also below, nn. 53 and 139. Qutuqtu Mönggür (id. § 50) is called Qutuqtu Möngler in § 140. Some components of their names are titles or epithets, such as *ba'atur*, *qa'an* (for *qan*), *qutuqtu* 'blessed, favoured (by Heaven)' (see below, n. 105) and *otčigin*, the designation of the youngest son as the custodian or keeper of the family 'fire', i.e. the hearth and, by extension, the yurt *sensu lato*; in other words, the family domain or apanage. Mongolian *otčigin* < tu. *ot* + *tigin* (> *čigin*) 'fire-prince' (cf. tu. *otqan* = *ot* + *qan* 'fire-sovereign'), i.e. lord or master of the hearth. On this important term, see Vlad.^{2}, 60 et passim; TMEN, no. 38; HCG, 176-177; SWPB, 80-84; Temir 1981; and below, n. 60.

Qulan means 'wild ass, onager', i.e. *Equus hemionus* (the kulan or dziggetai), here as elsewhere used as a proper name. See HCG, 125; Mo, xviii; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; and below §§ 197, 257. For the term *qulan* (pl. *qulat*, see § 188, etc.), cf. Poppe 1955, 41; TMEN, no. 1574; RH, 223, no. 25; and Colmon 2002, 166-167.

§ **49**. Qutuqtu (= pmo. Qutuγtu) Yürki is an error for Sorqatu Yürki or J̌ürki. Cf. §§ 122, 139. See Pelliot 1930a, 200; *Chapitre CVII*, 17, n. 12; Cleaves 1949a, 508. Seče Beki is probably to be read Sača Beki, cf. §§ 122, 123 et passim. On him see HCG, 66-67, 179-180. *Beki* was an important Mongol title and there are several personages holding it who are mentioned in the SH: Toqto'a Beki, Bilge Beki, etc. See RWMNT, 36-37. According to Vladimircov (Vlad.^{2}, 60-62), we should distinguish *beki* from *begi*, the latter being a title conferred only on princesses. Pelliot had reservations on this question, cf. *TP* 28:1931, 231; Pelliot 1935, 916, 931, n. 24, 933, n. 30; HCG, 180; cf. also Pelliot 1930b, 49-51. Doerfer (TMEN, nos. 114 and 828) goes so far as to actually deny the existence of a Mongolian form *begi*, but *begi* is well attested in

the Chinese sources, such as the SWCCL, the YS, and others, where the transcription *pieh-chi* 別吉 = *begi*, not *beki*. The reliability of the Chinese transcription can of course be questioned, particularly in view of the fact that in most cases where the SWCCL has *begi* the SH has *beki*; furthermore, while for example the title of Tolui's wife Sorqaqtani (= pmo. Sorqaγtani) is regularly *begi* in Chinese (except for the SH, cf. § 186), the Persian sources always write *bēkī*. However, the SH form *beki* is not conclusive, because in the SH system of transcription mo. *g* is often rendered by *k* (e.g. SH *niken* for *nigen*, *ketül-* for *getül-*, etc.; see 'Quelques problèmes', 240-243); moreover, *begi* 'princess' is the form also found in the earliest Mongol-Chinese vocabulary (MKIY, 8a; cf. Kara 1990, 284). *Begi* cannot, therefore, be dismissed as an aberrant form. I think that we are dealing here with the one and only honorific title conferred on both men and women (cf. eng. 'the Honourable'), and with a clear case of alternation *beki* ~ *begi* (for a completely hypothetical *böke* ~ *beki*, cf. IBŠ, 264-265). In my view, this alternation reflects the phonetic bias of the early transcribers – often persons of Turkish background (or who used Uighurs and other Turks as informants) – who were probably influenced by the well-known Turkic title *beg* 'noble, lord' (on which cf. Pritsak 1988, 764); moreover, in Uighur-Mongol script *beki* and *begi* are indistinguishable. (It is not even clear whether the name, or epithet, transliterated as P'KY occurring in Old Turkic proper names should be read Begi or Beki. Cf. CBBMP, 111a; DTS, 91b, s.v. '*begi*'; see also BT, II, 367a.) This problem deserves further investigation.

For Taiču, see HCG, 66-67, 180-181.

As for the clan Yürki ~ J̌ürki, often mentioned in the SH as the J̌ürkin or 'the J̌ürkin people', its subsequent clash with Činggis Qan, and the defeat and death of Sača Beki and Taiču are described in §§ 130-136. Cf. also § 139 for the folk etymology of their clan name.

§ 50. According to the SH, Bartan Ba'atur had four sons, of whom Yisügei Ba'atur, Činggis Qan's father, was the third one – a fact confirmed by the Chinese and Persian sources. See Pelliot 1940/41, 13. According to the AT[1], 9b-10a, Bartan Ba'atur's sons were five (the four listed by the SH plus Mergen Yeketei), Yisügei being the first born. As shown by Pelliot (op. cit., 12-17), the AT text is the result of an early interpolation. In the same passage the AT mentions Süčigil Üǰin (? Süǰigil Üǰin), 'Lady Süčigil (*or* Süǰigil)', as being the mother of Bartan Ba'atur's five sons. Further on (AT[1], 13b), a Sučigil (? Suǰigil) Eke, 'Mother Sučigil (? Suǰigil)', is mentioned as the 'second wife' (*nököge gergei*) of Yisügei Ba'atur and the mother of Begter and Belgetei (= Belgütei), the two half-brothers of Činggis Qan. Pelliot (op. cit., 17) is inclined to think that the original text of the SH, in the passage corresponding to that of the AT (i.e. § 60), may indeed have contained the name of Yisügei's second wife Sučigil (*or* Suǰigil) Eke, and that the latter could therefore not have been the wife of Bartan Ba'atur, as stated in the earlier, interpolated passage. On Sučigil or Suǰigil, see below, n. 56, and § 60 and com.

Mönggetü (~ Münggetü) Kiyan: on him see also §§ 120, 213; and *Chapitre CVII*, 19, n. 19. For the name Kiyan, cf. § 67, where Yisügei Ba'atur is also called Yisügei Kiyan, i.e. Yisügei the Kiyan. Kiyan was, apparently, the *yasun*-lineage (on *yasun*, see above, n. 9) to which those having the *oboq*-clan name Borǰigin belonged; however, as pointed out by Pelliot, the name Kiyan originates with the offspring of Bartan Ba'atur, whereas that of Borǰigin goes back to Bodončar (§ 42). See HCG, 117-118, 121-123. Rašīd al-Dīn and the YS have preserved different traditions, and it is not clear whether the Kiyat (pl. of Kiyan) were the descendants of one of the legendary leaders of the people who had sought refuge in the Ergene Qun (see above, n. 1), whose name according to Rašīd's account was Qiyan, or whether the Kiyan lineage originates with either Qabul Qan or Bartan Ba'atur. See Rašīd's statements that Qabul Qan's 'children and grandchildren are called Kiyat' (SL[2], I/2, 32), and

that all the Kiyat descend from Mönggetü Kiyan, i.e. from Bartan Ba'atur's son (ibid., 49). This complex question, and the relationship between the Kiyan (Kiyat) and the Borǰigin, has been discussed in Vlad.[2], 89; Yamaguchi 1951; Tamura 1973; and Murakami 1985. Mönggetü means 'Who Has Beauty Spots (*or* Moles).' *Möngge* = mo. *mengge* 'beauty spot, mole, birthmark.' See HCG, 117; TMEN, no. 378. Cf. below, n. 68.

For Nekün Taiši, see HCG, 184-185. For the title *taiši* of Chinese origin (*t'ai-shih* 太師 'Grand Instructor' > mmo. *taiši*, pmo. *taisi* > mo. *tayisi*, where *s* = *š*), see Pelliot 1930b, 44-45; Tsen CM 1935, 446-475; HCG, 13, 149-151, 184; Ecsedy 1965, 89, 90; TMEN, no. 249; Serruys 1977. It should be noted that here, as elsewhere in the SH (§§ 53, 54, 56, 58, 122, 130, 152, 170, 171, 177, 179), this title is confused with that of *t'ai-tzu* 太子 'Heir Apparent' (mmo. *taidzhi*, *taisi*; pmo. *taisi* [where *s* = *s*] > mo. *tayiǰi*). Cf. MMḤS, 114, Note 137; Cleaves 1964/65, 55-56, n. 32; Kara 1964, 162, n. 45. Whereas in R I adopted the transcription *taisi* to conform with the *t'ai-tzu* of Y, in the present translation I have restored the correct original reading *taiši* (which is confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn) throughout.

On the basis of the Chinese transcription, the name of Činggis Qan's father can be read either Yisügei or Yesügei, and scholars' opinions are divided on this point. See HCG, 1-2. I have opted in favour of the former mainly on the strength of the reading Yisüngge of the so-called 'Stone of Chingis', i.e. the stele in honour of Činggis Qan's nephew Yisüngge, and the form Yisügei of the AT. See de Rachewiltz 1974, 191; idem 1976, 500, n. 24. Moreover, the word for 'nine' from which these names derive is regularly written *yisün*, not *yesün*, in Preclassical Mongolian. Cf., e.g., Weiers 1967, 16, Text A, line 1; Herrmann & Doerfer 1975, 70, line 28. Cf. also Bese 1974, 92-93. The Persian-Arabic transcriptions are ambiguous in this respect, but al-'Umarī has Yīsūkai (MW, 92), and so has the *Mu'izz*. Finally, RH, 242, no. 3, gives likewise *yisun*. I think that although the Preclassical Mongolian form of the name was undoubtedly Yisügei, the contemporary Middle Mongolian

pronunciation may well have been Yisügei ~ Yesügei, the alternation *yi-* ~ *ye-* reflecting dialect variations. See IMCS, 41, 127, 162, 246.

As for the title *ba'atur* (= pmo., mo. *bayatur* < tu. *batur, bayatur*) 'brave, valiant' which Yisügei bore (like his father), it is one of the most common epithets of the steppe 'aristocracy', either acquired through personal merit or by belonging to a noble lineage – hence one usually borne also by tribal chiefs. It has, of course, military connotations. See Vlad.[2], 93, 280 et passim; TMEN, no. 817; ED, 313b. Cf. also BT, II, 366b; and below, n. 192. Yisügei never bore the title of *qan* in his lifetime; it was conferred on him posthumously. Cf. ČK[1], 14 and n. 62.

Dāritai Otčigin, the most famous of Činggis' uncles, is called *otčigin* because he was the youngest son of Bartan Ba'atur; cf. above, n. 48. On Dāritai, whose name appears also in the form Da'aritai (> Dāritai, §§ 154, 242) meaning 'Who Has Sores', see *Chapitre CVII*, 19-20, n. 22; 20-22; HCG, 68; Bese 1974, 92.

Büri Bökö means Büri (< tu. *böri* 'wolf') the Strong, *bökö* ~ *böke* being the regular designation of an unusually strong man or athlete, hence the extended meaning of 'wrestler' that it eventually acquired. Cf. TMEN, no. 803. For Büri Bökö and the incident involving Činggis' half-brother Belgütei, see § 131; for another confrontation with Belgütei and Büri's death, see § 140. On him cf. also HCG, 189-190.

'Who split open' renders *qangqas čabčiqsan*. Cf. § 131 *qangqas čabčiǰu'u*. AT[1] (10a, 36a) has in both instances *qaya* 'asunder', an 'intensifying adverbial particle placed before verbs expressing breaking or cleaving' (Les., 905a) instead of *qangqas*. However, *qaya* is not *qangqas*. On the latter term, see Oz[1], I, 208, n. 1; TH, 164 (= ǰYT, 286). I am not convinced by the interpretations proposed so far and my rendering is therefore mainly (but not entirely) based on the Chinese interlinear glosses. I would like to draw attention to Kozin's statement that *qanqas* (i.e. *qangqas*) = mo. *χamχa* (i.e. *qamqa*). See Ko, 540,

593. Mo. *qamqa, kemke* means 'into pieces, asunder' (Les., 451b), and *qamqala-, kemkele-* 'to break to pieces, smash; to make a dent' (ibid.). I suggest that the relationship between SH *qangqas* and mo. *qamqa* (< *qangqa*) is the same as that between SH *qaqas* (= *qayas*) and mo. *qaya*, or between SH *ququs* (= *quyus*) and mo. *quyu*. For these words, and the function of the suffix *-s*, see below, nn. 55, 72 and 101. Cf., however, Murayama 1951, 52; and Oz[1], I, 208, n. 1.

'In the forest (*tün-tür*) by (lit. "of") the Onan', i.e. by or along the Onan (= Onon) River. The forest in question is the one mentioned in §§ 130 and 136. In § 81 the story is told of how Činggis, then Temüǰin, having been captured by the Tayiči'ut, was taken to their camp which at that time was near 'the forest of the Onan' (see also the reference to this forest in § 82). From §§ 129-130 we can infer that the forest was in the area of the J̌erene Gorge (J̌erene Qabčiqai) where Temüǰin sought refuge after the defeat at Dalan Balǰut. We are, therefore, in the mountainous region south and south-east of Burqan Qaldun (Khentei Khan) between the Kerulen and Senggür rivers and the basin of the Onon. Clearly, by 'the forest of the Onan' was meant the wooded area along the upper course of the Onon, where the river meets its first right-hand affluents such as the Egin (Ėgiĭn) Gol and the Barkhu (Barxiĭn) Gol. This area is indeed known for its dense and rich vegetation; see Murzaev, 411. The word for 'forest' (mo. *oi, siyui*) is *tün*, a rare word with, apparently, the specific connotation of a wooded area along a river. Cf. the *Tu'ula-yin Qara Tün*, or 'Black Forest by the Tu'ula', of § 96 et passim. There remains some uncertainty even with regard to its reading: *tün* or *tun* (Cleaves, for example, reads *tun*; see Cl, 256b). The reading *tün*, adopted here, is based on the consistent spelling of the word in the AT and on the form *tüng* (< *tün*) 'thick forest' of the Juu-uda Khorchin dialect of Inner Mongolia. See AT[1], 9b, 35b; TH, 271 (= ǰYT, 469-470). Cf. also Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 258.

§ 51. The eldest son of Qutula Qa'an (*read* Qan) was called J̌oči, like the eldest son of Činggis Qan. Both the reading and the meaning of this name have been subjects of controversy. Scholars are still divided on whether one should read J̌oči or J̌öči: Mostaert, Cleaves, Ligeti, Ratchnevsky, Ozawa, Eldengtei, Ardaǰab, Onon, Street and Taube have adopted the former; Pelliot, Hambis, Aubin, Gaadamba, Cėrėnsodnom, and Even and Pop the latter. The problem is discussed in detail in NHHO, 10-28. Cf., however, ČK[1], 31, n. 124, where Ratchnevsky, siding with Poppe (*HJAS* 13:1950, 265) and Doerfer (TMEN, no. 167), is in favour of the reading J̌oči, which I also think is the correct one, the meaning almost certainly being 'guest (of honour).'

Girma'u is the Girmiγu or Kirmiγu of AT[1], 10a. If we split this name into two words, i.e. Gir Ma'u, as Ozawa does, its meaning would be 'Dirt Bad' – certainly an unusual name, but not impossible. See Oz[1], I, 210; cf. HCG, 125, and Murakami's remarks in Mu, I, 64, n. 20. Whereas Rašīd al-Dīn knows the first and third sons of Qutula, whom he calls J̌ōči Xān and Āltān respectively, he makes no mention of the second. Cf. HCG, 124-125. For Altan ('Gold'), who appears in § 122 with the epithet *otčigin* (being the youngest son; see above, n. 48), see ibid., 125. In the YS, the genealogical line goes from Qaidu to his son Bai Šingqor, to Tumbinai, Qabul Qan (!), Bartan and the latter's son Yisügei. See YS[2] 1, 3.

Qulan of § 48 is called here Qulan Ba'atur. As for Yeke Čeren (? Čaran), he is mentioned again in §§ 169, 187, 202 and 219, always in connection with Badai and Kišilik, the two herdsmen who, by reporting to Činggis Qan the words spoken by their master, rendered him such a great service that they were subsequently rewarded with the title and privileges of *darqan* ('freeman'). See §§ 169 and 187 for the account of their deed and Činggis' reward, and my remarks in n. 169 concerning the name Yeke Čeren. The name Badai is attested in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, but that of the second herdsman is consistently written Qīšlīq, i.e. Kišliq. See SL[2], I/1, 171; I/2, 124, n. 7. The Chinese

transcriptions can be interpreted either way, but in at least two instances (HYC, B, 7a; YS[2] 136, 3291) they support the form Kišiliq. AT[1] has Kisiliγ throughout, see loc. cit. et passim (cf. ATI, 197a). On the strength of Rašīd's text I adopted the form Kišliq in my earlier translation and in R, like Haenisch and Ligeti had done in their translations. Although Pelliot 1930b, 32, writes: 'Badaï et Qïšlïq (Qïšïliq dans l'*Histoire secrète*)', his transcription and translation of the SH have Kïšïliq (Pe, 10, 128). The form adopted by Ligeti in his transcription of the text is Kišilik (L[2], 33), whereas Ozawa has Kišilig (Oz[1], I, 210), and Cleaves Kišiliγ (Cl, 247a). Vlad.[2], 87, writes Qišliq. I think that the original form of the name was indeed Kišiliq < tu. *kišilik* 'kindliness.' See ED, 754a; DTS, 310b.

The two Kereyit herdsmen were made *darqan* (pl. *darqat*), a title rendered somewhat inadequately as 'freeman', cf. Cl, 11 et passim; perhaps a better rendering would be 'privileged.' If under bondage, the person to whom this title was granted – usually as a reward for meritorious services – was released from servitude and enjoyed special hereditary privileges, such as exemption from taxes as well as remission of punishment for infringements of the law (*ǰasaq*) up to nine times (see below, n. 203). The institution of *darqan* is one of the cornerstones of Mongol medieval society and much has been written about it and its Turkish antecedents. See Vlad.[2], 281a; Pelliot 1930b, 32-33; Li, 164-165, n. 187; TMEN, no. 879; BT, II, 375a; CLC, 18-46; Etani 1963; HCWLYTT, 170-185, no. 50; Wang MS 1969; Róna-Tas 1986, 135; Pritsak 1988, 774; YShi, 26-27; Bazin & Hamilton 1991, 12, 15-16. Additional references can be found in the works of the Yüan authors. For Badai and Kišiliq, see also Vlad.[2], 86-87, 125; and below n. 187.

For *uruq* 'family, kin', hence 'issue', cf. above, n. 11.

§ 52. 'Qabul Qa'an (*read* Qan) ruled over all the Mongols' (*qamuq Mongqol-i Qabul Qa'an meden aba*). For the tribal name Mongqol (= pmo., mo. Mongγol) 'Mongol', see above, n. 3. This sentence and the reference in the same section to

Ambaqai's rule over 'all the Mongols' (*qamuq Mongqol*) have been the subject of controversy. On the basis of this passage, some modern Mongolian and Soviet scholars have in fact assumed that there existed a large and important grouping consisting of 'Mongol' clans proper, ruled in succession by Qabul Qan, Ambaqai Qan and Qutula Qan, which was actually called Xamag Mongol (= mo. Qamuγ Mongγol) – a pre-Činggiside Mongol state, or state confederation, referred to also as Xamag Mongol Uls (= mo. Qamuγ Mongγol Ulus). See IMNR, 102, 109 (cf. HMPR, 99, 106); BNMAUT[2], 140; and, especially, MT, I (*Xamag Mongol Uls* [*1101-1206*]). Cf. also Buell 1981, 137; Oz[1], I, 212-213; and Skrynnikova 1989a. I tend to agree with N. Munkuev that no such 'state' with that name existed, and that the assumption is simply due to an unwarranted extrapolation from the expression *qamuq Mongqol* of § 52, which means only 'all (*or* the entirety of) the Mongols.' See Munkuev 1977, 379ff. (Munkuev's important contribution has unfortunately not been included in CPE); cf. Yao 1964, 3ff., Ozawa, loc. cit.; Khazanov 1980, 30; NOW, 238; and MTSTBS, 355-356, where Š. Bira also rejects the notion of a 'state of Qamuγ Mongγol.' As Munkuev points out, the expression *qamuγ Mongγol ulus* does not occur in the SH; it is found, however, in the second line of the inscription on the stele in honour of Yisüngge. See de Rachewiltz 1976, 487, for the text, and idem 1983, 275, for the revised rendering ('the entire Mongol nation'). Since the inscription dates from 1225 *at the earliest*, and by then we know that the Mongol state was called Yeke Mongγol Ulus, 'The Great Mongol Nation' (*or* 'The Nation of the Great Mongols'), the expression *qamuγ Mongγol ulus* (w.f.) was obviously used in Činggis Qan's time in much the same way as when we say 'Great Britain' and 'all Britain', the former being the official designation of the state created by Činggis, the latter merely an expression designating the multitude or totality of the peoples of that state. Cf. the expression *qamuγ Mongγolǰin* (= *Mongγol*) *keleten* 'all those having the Mongolian tongue', i.e. all those who speak Mongolian, in 'The

Bodistw-a čari-a awatar-un tayilbur of 1312' (Cleaves 1954, 54 [4-166b, line 6], 85, 122, n. 314); and the expression *qamuγ qari ulus* 'all the vassal states' in the Preclassical Mongolian version of the *Hsiao-ching*, 14a (de Rachewiltz 1982, 32, 44). On these problems, cf. de Rachewiltz 1983, 274-275; Hsiao CC 1985; Cleaves 1986, 191, n. 4; and, more recently, de Rachewiltz 1993, 94, n. 20; idem 1994, 374ff. For the term *ulus* see also below, n. 53. The expression *qamuγ Mongγol ulus* occurs also in ET[1], 53b (cf. ET[3], 53v27-28) with the meaning of 'all the Mongols.' For *qamuγ ulus* in the ET, see ET[2], I, 72, n. 105. As for the expression *qamuq Mongqol* of § 52, cf. the expressions *qamuq Mongqol Tayiči'ut* 'all the Mongols and Tayiči'ut' (§ 57), *qamuq Merkit* 'all the Merkit' (§§ 104, 111), and *qamuq Qa'at Merkit* 'all the Qa'at Merkit' (§ 105). In §§ 164 and 254, we find the expression *qamuq ulus* 'all the people', 'the whole nation', as well as *olon ulus* 'many people', and *gür ulus* 'the entire nation', which from the context appear to be all virtually synonymous. From the above it is quite evident, I think, that the expression *qamuq Mongqol* in the SH refers to the totality of the 'Mongqol' people, i.e. of all the clans or subtribes forming this tribe, and that it was not a *national* appellation at the time, nor did it become one later with the establishment of Činggis Qan's empire. (It is noteworthy that no reference to 'Xamag Mongol' is found in MNR.) *Qamuq Mongqol* indicates that we must take the name Mongqol *sensu lato* as embracing all the *yasun*-lineages (and clans and subclans deriving from these lineages) issuing from Alan Qo'a's offspring, and not *sensu stricto* as designating only the clan formed by the members of the Kiyat Borǰigin lineage to which Činggis belonged (see below). Cf. ČK[1], 9-10, n. 43. In all likelihood, it is to this early confederation of 'Mongqol' lineages that Chao Hung refers when he says (MTPL, 3b) that 'Formerly there was the Meng-ku-ssu 蒙古斯 (*Mongqus) nation.' Cf. MDBL, 50; CG, 16, 19-20, n. 3.

The leading role of Qabul Qan is stressed by Rašīd al-Dīn, who calls him the 'ruler and leader of his tribes and subjects' (SL[2], I/2, 35), thus echoing what is said about him in the SH.

Not so the YS, which barely mentions Qabul, crediting Yisügei instead with the unification of all the tribes under his leadership (YS^2 1, 3). Always according to the Persian historian, Qabul Qan had for a time close relations with the Jurchens of north China – the founders of the Chin 金 dynasty (1115-1234) – but these eventually deteriorated through mutual distrust and from then on the chiefs of the Mongols were at odds with the Chin court. See SL^2, I/2, 35-36 and ff. For a summary of these events, cf. EM, 40ff. See also below, n. 53.

According to the SH account, Ambaqai succeeded Qabul as leader (for *qa'an* read *qan*) by Qabul's 'word' (*üge-ber*), i.e. according to his will, even though the latter had a numerous progeny. Ambaqai was the son of Senggüm Bilge. In § 47 it is stated that Senggüm Bilge's descendants, beginning with his son Ambaqai Qan, took the clan name Tayiči'ut. In other words, Qabul appointed as his successor and chief of the Mongols proper a member of a collateral branch – Ambaqai was Qabul's cousin – in preference to one from his own line. Hambis is no doubt right in seeing in this event the origin of the later conflict between Činggis Qan and the Tayiči'ut chiefs. Hambis is of the opinion, however, that although the SH claims that Qabul acted of his own free will, this may not necessarily be true, and that Qabul and his family simply lost power, the leadership passing then temporarily to the line of Čaraqai Lingqu and Senggüm Bilge. See Hambis 1975, 20-21, 36; cf. GK, 14-18. We may add that the 'people' of this collateral branch from which issued Ambaqai, Qada'an Taiši and eventually Tarqutai Kiriltuq (see below, n. 81), i.e. the Tayiči'ut, are also regarded by the SH as separate clansmen from the Mongqol, i.e. the Mongols proper, as evident from the words 'all the Mongqol and Tayiči'ut gathered in the Qorqonaq Valley by (lit. "of") the Onan and made Qutula *qa'an*' (§ 57). We know from the same passage that the leaders of the two people were Qutula (the son of Qabul) and Qada'an (the son of Ambaqai) respectively. Thus the term 'Mongqol' is used here *sensu stricto* as the clan designation of the members of the principal Kiyat Borǰigin

lineage – with their immediate dependants of course. The SH acknowledges the close kinship of members of this lineage with the 'collateral' Tayiči'ut relatives as evident in §§ 74, 76, etc., in which the latter are called *Tayiči'ut aqa de'ü* '(our) Tayiči'ut brothers', where 'brothers' = 'cousins (of the same generation).' The line of Qaidu had branched off with his three sons forming lineages and clans of their own, clans that in time became fully fledged tribes, such as the Tayiči'ut, the Besüt, the Oronar, the Arulat, etc. On this process, cf. Vlad.^{2}, 89-92; Lattimore 1963b, 60; Munkuev 1977, 381-383. On the role of the 'will', i.e. personal designation in the case of succession to leadership, cf. Ratchnevsky 1987, 66, 73.

On the other hand, according to Rašīd al-Dīn, Qabul Qan's successor was Qutula Qa'an (*read* Qan) – Ambaqai, the great-grandson of Qaidu, being only the chief of the Tayiči'ut – and Qutula's successor was, in turn, Yisügei Ba'atur, the father of the future Činggis Qan. See SL^2, I/2, 41ff. Ambaqai, while prominent in the Persian historian's account, plays no part in the YS. See YS^2 1, 3.

For *mede-* 'to know; to rule', cf. rus. *védat'* 'to know; to manage, control.' For SH *meden aba* = AT *meden yabuba*, see Aalto 1973, 34.

§ 53. The Ayiru'ut Buiru'ut (*or* Ayiru'ut Buiri'ut) were one (? or two) of the major subdivisions (subtribes) of the great and powerful Tatar tribe, whose principal habitat at this time was in the region of the two lakes Buyur (i.e. the Buir Nōr) and Kölen (i.e. the Hulun or Dalai Nōr) in northeastern Mongolia and northeastern Inner Mongolia respectively. The Ayiru'ut Buiru'ut lived along the Urši'un River, the Urshun (Wurshun, Orshun, Orchun) of our maps, kh. Uršun Gol. See HCG, 3-4; Pelliot 1944b, 44, 53, n. 3; Hambis 1974, 26-29. (When Pelliot and Hambis write 'Büyür', 'Büir', read 'Buyur', 'Buir.') For this subgroup see also Bese 1988, 36. See also below, n. 153. For *na'ur* (= mo. *nayur*) > *nūr* ~ *nōr* 'lake', see SG, 88; IMCS, 163; TMEN, no. 381. Cf. also RH, 245, no. 2 (*naur*!).

Ambaqai was taking (for *hüde-* 'to accompany', see Pelliot 1925, 234, no. 61) his daughter to be married into the Ayiru'ut Buiru'ut tribe, following the exogamous custom of the Mongols, on which see Vlad.[2], 58-59, and below, n. 61. It was also the custom for the father of the bride to accompany his daughter to the bridegroom's house. See Holmgren 1986, 131ff. Cf. SH, § 94. Evidently, up to this time relations with the Tatars must have been cordial enough to warrant such an undertaking; however, on the way Ambaqai and, presumably, his party were seized by 'Tatar J̌üyin men (lit. "people" – *irgen*)', who delivered him to the Altan Qa'an of the Kitat, i.e. to the Jurchen/Chin ruler of north China (more about him later). The 'J̌üyin people' of §§ 53 and 266, and the 'J̌üyin troops' (*J̌üyin čeri'üt*) of §§ 247 and 248, designate people from various ethnic groupings along and beyond the Chin frontier zone, employed as border-defence corps in the service of the Jurchen rulers. They were drawn from such diverse populations and tribes as the (southern) Tatars, the Kitans and the Jurchens themselves (see the above-mentioned paragraphs of the SH). Some scholars have identified them with the Chiu Army (*Chiu-chün* 糺 [= 糾] 軍) of the Liao, Chin and Yüan sources. The so-called Chiu Army consisted of troops stationed along the northern frontier to guard the border areas from incursions from the north. Originally made up of Kitan soldiers during the Liao dynasty, it subsequently (i.e. during the Chin period) included auxiliary forces from other allied groups, although the Kitan element apparently predominated. Among the Chiu, the Chinese sources also mention Tangut troops as well as troops from other minor ethnic groups along the border (see Oz[1], I, 216, n. 1). R. Dunnel (CHCAR, 207) defines them as 'tribally mixed border guards.' Textual evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the identification of the Chiu with the J̌üyin. However, contrary to opinions expressed in the past, I do not believe that there is any phonetic relationship between the Chinese and the Mongol term, since in the 13th-14th century *chiu* 糺 resulted in *giv*, not *jiv*. See, e.g., MKTY, 120b (= B, 17b). In my view, the relationship

between the two terms is semantic. The term *ǰüyin*, possibly of Kitan origin, derives most likely from the verb **ǰüyi-* (= **ǰüi-*) + the deverbal noun suffix *-n*. In Written Mongolian, *ǰüi-* means 'to assemble, put together from various pieces, arrange according to colour; to attach to.' See Kow., 2407b; Les., 1083b-1084a. For the suffix *-n*, see GWM, 49, § 175. Thus, *ǰüyin* would mean 'something assembled (i.e. put together, combined) from different sources *or* made up of different kinds.' In Chinese, the word *chiu* 糺 (= 糾) means 'to join, band together, unite (in a group, confederacy, etc.).' See CED, 171a; CEDMU, 1425c-1426a. The idea expressed by both terms is of something – in this case troops, an army – brought together from different places or made up of different kinds of people, as in fact these auxiliaries were. On the J̌üyin problem (their identification, history and role, especially during the Mongol conquest of north China), see the comments and bibliographical references in n. 247. The Tatars had close relations with the Chin court, as they previously had with the Liao court (in the standard histories of these two dynasties they are usually called Tsu-pu 阻卜[~ 韃] – a puzzling term); for the Chin period, besides the Chinese sources, conveniently tabulated by Wang Kuo-wei, there are also accounts of these relations in Rašīd al-Dīn's work. They concern, in particular, the chieftainships of Qutula and Ambaqai, during which the Tatars, with the support of the Chin court, played a very active role against the coalition of Mongol and Tayiči'ut tribes, bringing to a halt their ascendency in the steppe. See SL[2], I/1, 104-105, 181; I/2, 42-44; cf. EM, 43-48. On the Tatar tribe during the Liao and Chin periods, see TTK (cf. Pelliot 1929a, 125-126); HCSL, 101-102, and 742b (s.v. 'Tatars'); Chou LH 1980, Yü TC 1984, and the various other contributions on the Tsu-pu included in LCSTMKK; and Li, 143, n. 53. For the Mongol (Mongqol) tribe during the Liao and Chin, see MKK (cf. Pelliot, op. cit., 127-128); KCSK, 421-442; ČK[1], 7-10 (= ČK[2], 7-12); Klyaštornyĭ 1993. For the subdivisions of the Tatars in Činggis' time, see HCG, 2-9; YCS, I, 26-28 (cf. Han Ju-lin in *YSLT* 3:1986,

248-250). Further references to the Tatars and their history can be found in de Rachewiltz 1996.

Ambaqai was thus seized by the J̌üyin and handed over to the 'Altan Qa'an of the Kitat.' This is the designation of the Chin ruler, Chin being the Chinese name meaning Gold (= ǰü. **alču[n]*, ma. *aisin*, mo. *altan*; for these forms, cf. Rybatzki 2002, 89-93), of the Jurchen (J̌ürčen, pl. J̌ürčet = mo. J̌ürčid) dynasty ruling over much of north China at that time. Cf. the identical designation – the 'King of Gold' or 'Roi Dor' – of the Jurchen sovereign in MP[1], I, 260 (Ch. 109). See NMP, II, 661. For an earlier, identical designation applied to a Khotanese ruler, see Hamilton 1984, 51-52. In the SH, the designation Altan Qa'an alternates with Altan Qan, the latter being the most frequent one. See R, 182b. This is due to faulty editing. Cf. below, n. 250. Kitan (pl. Kitat = mo. Kitad) was the name given by the Mongols to the inhabitants of north China, after the Kitan founders of the Liao 遼 dynasty (907-1125). Still today *kitad* (kh. *xyatad*) in Mongolian means 'Chinese'; and, of course, our 'Cathay' and rus. 'Kitaĭ' 'China' both go back to the word 'Kitan.' Cf. NMP, I, 216-229, s.v. 'Catai'; Cleaves 1948, 317, n. 13; idem 1951, 104, n. 176; *Matériel II*, 15-16. See also below, nn. 151 and 247. We know from Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 42) that the Chin ruler put Ambaqai to a cruel and ignominious death (nailed to a 'wooden ass' – like Ökin Barqaq), but there is no mention of this in the SH or in the Chinese sources.

Balaqači, here a person's name, actually means 'storeman' (i.e. the person in charge of *balaqat* 'stores, granaries'), see §§ 279, 280. For a different interpretation, see Bese 1978, 359, no. 8. He was a Besüt man (Besütei), who evidently happened to be at hand when Ambaqai was captured and led south. (The Besüt clan [*oboq*] is mentioned in § 47 as being formed by a son of Čaraqai Lingqu called Besütei.) However, I do not think that Balaqači was there in the function of envoy or messenger (*elči*; on this important word see TMEN, no. 656; and Erdal 1993, 94-99) as implied in Cl, 11. With Pelliot (Pe, 128) I understand the passage to mean that he was merely used as such by Ambaqai in

order to convey his last instructions to Qutula and Qada'an Taiši. Regarding the choice of these two personages, we have seen how with Ambaqai political power had passed from the line of Bai Šingqor Doqšin, Tumbinai Sečen and Qabul Qan to that of Čaraqai Lingqu and Senggüm Bilge, i.e. to the Tayiči'ut clan. By sending his final instructions to *both* Qutula and Qada'an Taiši, and by referring to their (i.e. to one of them) becoming the supreme leader, Ambaqai left open his succession to either line. (Qada'an Taiši is given here as one of Ambaqai's sons, but we know that the sixth son of Qabul was also called Qada'an. It is possible, as pointed out by Pelliot and Ligeti, that this is due to the confused tradition regarding the genealogy of Qabul and Ambaqai, and that in reality there was only one Qada'an; see HCG, 157; Li, 144, n. 53. For Qada'an's title of *taiši*, incorrectly transcribed as *t'ai-tzu* 太子 = *taisi*, see what has been said above, n. 50, about Nekün Taiši). However, it is worth noting that Qutula is mentioned first and it is quite clear from the sentence that Balaqači should speak to Qada'an Taiši *after* having spoken to Qutula. As we learn from § 57, a general assembly of 'Mongqol and Tayiči'ut' eventually elected Qutula as *qa'an* (read *qan*), thereby reverting the line of succession to Qabul's clan and reaffirming the tribal supremacy of the Mongols proper. Tribal leadership is expressed in the formula *qamuq-un qa'an ulus-un eǰen 'qa'an* (read *qan*) of all and lord of the people': I render *ulus* with 'people' rather than with 'nation' because at this time one cannot yet speak of a 'nation' or 'empire' – meanings that *ulus* will acquire much later. For these connotations and the evolution of the term *ulus*, also in relation to the term *irgen* 'people; tribe', see Vlad.[2], 124 et passim; KHIV, 13ff., 24-32. Cf. TMEN, no. 54; Sugita 1979, 50-53; Fletcher 1986, 21; above, n. 52, and below, nn. 121 and 202. Oz[1], I, 215, and 216-217, n. 3, understands the passage relating to Ambaqai's message somewhat differently, viz. Balaqači was to deliver Ambaqai's message to Qutula, the message being 'Tell Qada'an Taiši ..., "When you become universal *qa'an* and lord of the nation ...."' However, Ozawa's interpretation is at

variance with both the sectional summary (Y^2 1, 34a) and the corresponding section of AT. See AT^1, 10a-b. Cf. ATL, 26-27; LDAT, 61. For the formula *qamuq-un qa'an ulus-un eǰen*, cf. the expression *qamuq-un eǰen qaγan* in ET^3, 66v30.

'*Learn* from my *example*', lit. 'by me' (*nama'ar*).

'I have been seized by the Tatars', lit. 'I have been seized by the Tatar people.' The last section of § 53, from *qamuq-un qa'an* to *soritqun*, is discussed in Mo, 6-8. With regard to the verb *ha'ut-* (= pmo. **aγud-*, mo. *aγus-*) 'to wear away through rubbing; to dissolve', and the alternation *d* ~ *s*, see Pelliot 1925, 204-205, no. 7; IMCS, 109; Oz^1, I, 219, n. 7.

'Until ... /Strive to revenge me!' Cf. § 276. These words of Ambaqai expressed in alliterative form highlight the important role of vendetta in the tribal societies of Mongolia at the time, a theme discussed by several scholars in recent times. See, in particular, Hamayon 1978, and Clark 1978 (esp. pp. 35-37). See below, n. 58, for further references.

In this section, the word *ökin* 'daughter; girl, maiden' appears with and without final *n*, as elsewhere in the SH. See below, n. 54.

§ 54. Yisügei Ba'atur, already mentioned in § 50 as the third son of Bartan Ba'atur, was a contemporary of Qutula (his paternal uncle) and of Qada'an. If his son Temüǰin, i.e. Činggis Qan, was born in 1162 (see nn. 59 and 104) and was therefore nine years old (= eight in Western reckoning) in 1170, Yisügei must have died in this year (see § 68); in any event, his death must be placed between 1170 and 1175. (On the chronology of Yisügei, cf. EM, 53-54, n. 3; and NMP, I, 290-291.) Consequently, the events related in this and the following paragraphs, i.e. Hö'elün's abduction, Qutula's election, the battles with the Tatars and the eventual capture of their chief Temüǰin Üge, would all have taken place in the 1160s. At that time Yisügei's encampment was on the river Onon: in the present section there is the reference to his hunting with falcons along this river, and

(later on) to the fact that Temüǰin was born at Deli'ün Boldaq, a place situated near the Onon. See below, n. 59.

For Mongol hawking, cf. § 27 and com. SH *šiba'ula-* 'to hunt with falcons' is a denominal verb from *šiba'un* (= mo. *sibaγun*) 'bird; falcon'; cf. HW, 139; *Matériel I*, 96; RH, 226, no. 17 (*šibaun*); and DO, 626a, s.v. '*šiwūla-*' (where *-wū-<-ba'u-*). However, mo. *sibaγun* means only 'bird' as in most present-day Mongol languages, but the meaning of 'falcon, hunting falcon' is still attested in Dagur, see DN, 101b; IMCS, 123; THHTT, 237a. *Šiba'uči* 'falconer' was an important function under the Mongols, the bird normally used for hunting being the gerfalcon (*šingqor*; mo. *singqor, šongqor*), which was a prominent item of tribute, especially the beautiful white gerfalcon. Gerfalcons came mostly from northern Mongolia, northern Manchuria and Korea. See NMP, I, 5, 77-79, 237; SǰR, 33 and n. 60; TMEN, nos. 237, 1273; Esin 1977, 31-33; Katayama 1982. Cf. also the references to gerfalcons in the SH, §§ 63, 199 and 239. Although the *šingqor* proper was the gerfalcon (*Falco rusticolus*), this term was used loosely to designate other hunting falcons, such as the peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus*).

The Merkit tribe to which Yeke Čiledü belonged was the Uduyit Merkit. He was the younger brother of its chief Toqto'a Beki (see § 111). For the ethnicon Merkidei (~ Merkitei), cf. HCG, 227; Poppe 1975, 163. On the various Merkit tribes that formed one of the major peoples of Mongolia whose habitat in the twelfth century was the region of the Lower Selenga, south of the Baikal, see HCG, 227-228, 271-278. See also below, n. 102. Yeke ('Big') Čiledü is known only because of his bride Hö'elün, a girl of the Olqunu'ut. The Olqunu'ut (> Olqunūt; cf. AT^1,10b: Olqunud) were actually a subtribe of the Onggirat or Qonggirat (see n. 61), another important tribal group living in the region of the river Khalkha (Xalxyn Gol) in eastern Mongolia – the easternmost Mongolian people at the time. The Olqunu'ut lived in close proximity to the Onggirat. See SL^2, I/1, 162, 164; cf. HCG, 424, 426, 428.

'An unusually beautiful young woman', lit. 'a young married lady (*öki qatu*) who had a different (= unusual) appearance.' For the term *öki(n)* 'girl, young woman; daughter' and its usage in the SH, see Ozawa 1977, where however *oki*, *okin* should be read *öki*, *ökin*. For *qatu(n)*, the feminine counterpart of *qan* and *qa'an*, and the polite designation of somebody else's wife and of any lady of rank, see TMEN, no. 1159; Vlad.[2], 93; Hung 1956, 32, n. 7; HCWLYTT, 71-74, no. 17.

In the SH the term *qatu(n)* (pl. *qatut*; mo. *qatun*, *qatud*) occurs 23 times, while the form *qadun* (pl. *qadut*) occurs 29 times (see R, 285b, 293b). Cf. *Matériel I*, 86, 89. For *t* ~ *d*, see 'Quelques problèmes', 244; *Materiél II*, 47 (17v, 5). On the form in *d*, cf. Doerfer's remarks in TMEN, III, 139 (no. 1159). With very few exceptions this form is found only in the Chinese transcriptions. For the sake of consistency, in the present translation the 'regular' Middle Mongolian form *qatun* has been used throughout. For the form *qatu* occurring twice in § 54, see below, n. 126. The expression *öki qatu* as a compound means 'young noble woman (married or unmarried)', and as two separate words 'maid (= young woman) and lady (= married woman of rank).' Cf. Kałużyński 1992/93, 280-282; Mo, 107; Cl, 12; Oz[2], I, 33-34. The girl in question, Hö'elün (her name appears in § 55), may have been very young indeed, perhaps not older than fifteen; however, her age at the time cannot be precisely determined. Cf. Hambis 1975, 31-32.

For Nekün Taiši and Dāritai Otčigin, see above n. 50.

The events that led to the abduction of Hö'elün as described in the SH represent a tradition which is at variance with that handed down in later chronicles, such as the AT (anon.). See Uray-Köhalmi 1970, 262-263.

§ 55. 'At their coming', lit. 'with *their* arriving.'

This section contains some interesting words, such as *qubi*, a feminine form in *-i* of *quba* 'pale yellow (horse)' – a metonymy identical to eng. 'dun'; *quburi* 'hill', so far an

unattested word, but cf. mo. *γurbi* 'a small elevation', see QNTT, 473a, and Kow., 1042a-b; *nambalis* 'over, across', also otherwise unattested, but cf. ts. *nambas* 'jumping over or across', see TH, 134 (= ǰYT, 234); *qučilis* 'round about' from *quči-* 'to cover, wrap up; to surround.' Clearly, *-lis* (*-li-* + *-s* ?) is a rare adverbial suffix, attested also in words like mo. *čegülis* 'suddenly', which so far has not attracted sufficient attention. Cf. Murayama 1951, 53-54; Oz[1], I, 227, n. 4; Vietze 1990, 386. As for *qoši'un* (= mo. *qosiγun*) 'spur of a mountain, promontory' (lit. 'proboscis, snout'), and a term later designating important military and territorial divisions (the Manchu 'banner', etc.), see SMT, 28; TMEN, no. 282; Róna-Tas in OUMĖIX, IV/3, 136; Les., 970b-971a.

Hö'elün (= pmo., mo. Ögelün), whose name appears here for the first time, is already called 'lady' (*üǰin*) in anticipation of her future status as the mother of Činggis Qan. The etymology of the name Hö'elün is doubtful; it certainly derives from the word **hö'e*, i.e. **höge* as indicated by the written form, with the femimine name suffix *-lün(/-lun)*. See HCG, 21-22; GWM, 43, §129; Bese 1980, 319, no. 10; Poppe 1975, 164; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. It is, however, tempting to relate **höge* with tu. *ögä* 'intelligent, wise.' Cf. mmo. *hoi* (= mo. *oi*) 'forest' and tu. *oy* 'valley.' See TMEN, I, 546 (no. 400); and Ardaǰab 1989. For tu. *ögä*, cf. also below, n. 59. On the title *üǰin* < ch. *fu-jen* 夫人 (> mo. *vüǰin*, *vüsin*, *üsin*) reserved for high-ranking ladies, see Pelliot 1925, 258-261; TMEN, no. 255; cf. *MTSHHP* 15:1997, 139-146; *BSYS* 14:1979, 107.

'Their look is odd', lit. 'Their aspect (*čirai*) is different from *any other* aspect.' *Čirai* means 'a person's looks, facial appearance and expression, mien; figure, aspect.' See HW, 28; RH, 307, no. 37; Les., 191a. Cf. below, nn. 196, 208 and 246.

'If only you are spared', lit. 'If only (*ele*) there be life *for you*.' On the use of the particle *ele* in the SH, see Street 1986 (esp. pp. 6-7).

'In the front seat *of* every *cart*', lit. 'in every front seat *of carts*.'

'In every black cart', 'black cart' rendering mmo. *qara'u*. For this term, see above, n. 6. Cf. also Khomonov 1981, 59. Hö'elün is quoting an old saying here. Cf. Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 72.

'You will *always* find a girl or a woman *like me*.' Cf. the corresponding passage in AT[1], 10b: '*A woman or a girl* looking like me can surely be found.' Cf. LDAT, 62, where this passage is rendered differently. For the expression *öki qatu*, see above, n. 54.

'Name her also (*taki*) Hö'elün.' For *taki/teki* 'also', see Oz[1], III, 228-229, n. 9; IV, 268; *Matériel II*, 88; and Cleaves 2001b, 67, n. 14. For its other usages, see below, n. 149.

'Save your life!' (*amin-iyan qoroq*). For *qoroq-* (= pmo. *qoroγ-*) 'to save', cf. TH, 179-180 (= ǰYT, 312-313); Oz[1], I, 229, n. 10; and Mo, 52.

'Never forget to breathe my scent!', lit. 'Go smelling my smell!' Here, however, the verb 'to go' (*yabu-*) plays the role of an auxiliary denoting continuity of action. Yeke Čiledü was to keep Hö'elün's shirt, the smell of which would *keep on* reminding him of his lost bride. See Mostaert 1927, 151. On this auxiliary, see above, n. 15.

In the SH, the verb 'to take off' is *mültül-*. Cf. HW, 111; and the HIIY (*Matériel I*, 76). In Written Mongolian we have *möltül-*, *möltüle-* 'to detach, undo', as well as *multul-*, *multula-*, 'to take off, remove.' See SG, 128. It is impossible to say whether the form found in our passage is *mültülǰü* or *multulǰu* only on the basis of the Chinese transcription.

For human odour as a medium for remembrance, cf. also the case in § 245, which describes how Father Mönglik took his son Teb Tenggeri's hat, smelled it and placed it in his bosom. This practice has been discussed by various scholars, who found modern parallels for it and have offered different interpretations of the significance and symbolism of Hö'elün's dramatic gesture. See Mostaert 1927, 151 and n. 2; Olschki 1947; C.R. Bawden in *BSOAS* 40:1977, 449. The term for 'shirt' in the passage in question is *čamča*, a Mongolian term probably of

Chinese origin (? < ch. *shan-tzu* 衫子 'woman's dress, shirt'). Olschki, op. cit., 56, suggests a possible Greek derivation and relationship with fr. *chemise* and ital. *camicia*.

The word *ǰuqus* (= pmo. *ǰuγus*) in the expression *ǰuqus duta'a-* 'to go away swiftly, flee in haste', is an adverb in *-s* from *ǰuqu* (=*ǰuγu*). The word *ǰuγu* is not attested as such in Preclassical and Written Mongolian, but Ordos has *Dzųgų* 'abruptly, with a jerk', which corresponds to mo. *suγu* id.; the SH has *ǰuqul-* 'to pull out, draw out' (= mo. *suγul-*, *ǰuγul-*). See HW, 94; DO, 175a. I wonder whether SH *ǰuqus* is not the same word still found in Ordos with the original initial voiced affricate *Dz* (= *ǰ*), plus the suffix *-s*. Cf. SH *qaqas* (= mo. *qaγas*) 'separately', and mo. *qaγa* 'asunder' and *qaγas* 'half, separately.' However, the meaning of *ǰuqus* as supplied by the Chinese gloss is 'in haste, swiftly.' For the noun suffix *-s*, see 'Nominalsuff.', 98-99, § 6; Murayama 1951; LSHM, 38; and JŚ, 52, § 77. Murayama and Street regard *-s* as a converbial suffix, incorrectly in my opinion. Cf. Oz[1], I, 208, n. 1; 227, n. 4; and above, n. 50.

§ 56. Yisügei Ba'atur took the halter and guided *the cart of* Lady Hö'elün', lit. 'Yisügei Ba'atur led Lady Hö'elün by the halter (*delbege-deče*).' Mo. *delbeg(e)* means 'rein(s), bridle', as well as 'halter, tether.' See Les., 247b; MKT, 1158a. Cf. tu. (dialects of Tobol and Kazan) *tilbige*, *tilbi* 'reins' (VWTD, III, 1389). In the language of the SH *delbege* means only 'halter', as clearly indicated by the Chinese gloss *chiang-so* 韁索 'rein-rope (= halter)', the term for 'reins' being *ǰilo'a* ~ *ǰilu'a*. See HW, 90.

The word *kiligü* 'shaft(s) of a cart' appears in the SH also in the forms *kilügü* and *kilgün*, see HW, 101, 102. The word is not attested in Written Mongolian nor in living languages and dialects. The term for 'shafts' in Written Mongolian is *ilau*, and it has been suggested that *ilau* < **ilaγu* < **hilaγu* < **qïluγu* > *kiligü* ~ *kilügü*. See Oz[1], IV, 129, n. 18. The problem requires further investigation.

'My good lord Čiledü', lit. 'My elder brother (*aqa*) Čiledü.' Here *aqa* is simply a term of respect which I have rendered as 'good lord', *faute de mieux*. See Cleaves 1963, 66-69; cf. Cleaves 1949a, 508-509.

The tuft of hair typical of the hairdressing of the medieval Mongols was called *kegül ~ kekül*, corresponding to mo. *kekül*, *kükül* (or *keköl*, *kököl*; cf. kh. *xöxöl*) 'long hair, forelock of a horse, tuft of hair, braids.' On it, see TMEN, no. 320, and the numerous references contained therein, to which we must add Mostaert 1927, 154-155; Pelliot 1930, 258, no. 17; Serruys 1957, 151-152, n. 46; VMI, 48-49 (very important); Ledyard 1963, 230; Cleaves 1979, 74-75; and D. Bayar in MNT, I, 252-257. For the (? Kitan) term *ku-ku* 固姑, 故故, etc. and its possible relationship with mo. *kükül*, cf. below, n. 74. For some illustrations of the *kegül*, see below.

For the words *keyisümser* 'has never blown' and *ölösümser* 'has never hungered', both formed with the negative suffix *-mser(/-msar)*, see Lewicki 1939/40, 259-260; Hashimoto 1984 and 1985. Cf. also *Matériel II*, 52; MNTLAT, 21, n. 58. As for the auxiliary *büliyi*, a normally feminine form (see UGPM, 150, § 33; JŚ, 130-131, § 230) which also applies to a male, cf. the form *gürbi* in § 74.

'In the steppe', lit. 'in the steppe-land (*ke'er qaǰar-a*).' For *ke'er* (= mo. *kegere*) 'uninhabited place, open country, desert; steppe, wasteland; plain, river valley', see TMEN, no. 347; HCG, 449a (Index); SMT, 27; DN, 124. For a possible derivation from tu. *kögär* 'verdant', cf. L. Bazin in *AOH* 36:1982, 58. Hö'elün is again making use of a popular idiom to describe Čiledü. Cf. Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 70.

'But how is it now? How fares he, ... now backward?' For this passage, cf. Mostaert 1927, 152; Cleaves 1953, 72, n. 8; idem 1964/65, 50-51, n. 9; Street 1986, 209-210, 248-249, n. 16 (but see the revised translation in Street 1986/87, 29, which, like that of Damdinsürėn following the AT, makes Hö'elün, not Čiledü, the subject of this sentence). As already pointed out by Mostaert, op. cit., 152-154; Serruys 1957, 151-152, n. 46; and

G. Kara in *AOH* 38:1984, 237-38, the term *šibülger* (~ *šibilger* in § 214) designates the plaits, or tresses, of twisted hair hanging behind the ears worn by Mongol men; they are described, together with other features of Mongolian hairstyle, by several 13th century travellers, Chinese and European. They are clearly visible in the surviving portraits of Mongol emperors of the Yüan dynasty (Qubilai, Temür Öljeitü), which also show the forelock of the *kegül* (*kükül*). See ISCP, pl. xxx; CKKTFSYC, 398, pl. 2. Cf. DO, 624a. Some interesting data on the subject can also be gathered from a rare work by the Yüan writer Wu To 吳鐸 entitled *Ch'ing-fa hsü-chih* 淨髮須知, preserved in the YLTT 14124-14125, 1b-16a, s.v. 剃法 (the original YLTT volume containing it is in the possession of the Tenri Library in Nara), which cites the now lost *Ta-Yüan hsin-hua* 大元新話. Cf. CKKTFSYC, 397. The Mongol hairstyle was also known to the Turks, and through them some features of it were introduced into Hungary, where they were preserved for a long time. See Li, 144, n. 56.

'Until her voice stirred the waters of (lit. "raised waves on") the Onan River,/Until it (i.e. her voice) resounded throughout wood and valley (*hoi ǰubur*).' The sectional summary (Y^2 1, 38b) renders this passage as follows: 'The sound of *her* voice shook (振動了) both (lit. "all") the waters of the Onan River and the woods (林木) in the valley.' Cf. Wa, 222. In the interlinear translation the two words *hoi ǰubur* are bracketed together as if forming a single unit which is glossed *lin ch'uan* 林川. Here, the term *ch'uan* 川 rendering *ǰubur* means 'river valley' (cf. HCG, 268, 387, 389: 'vallée arrosée'), as in the place-name Qorqonaq J̌ubur ('Qorqonaq Valley') of §§ 57, 104, etc. Cf. the expression *oi aγula* 'wood(s) and mountain(s)' in ÜD, 24. Mmo. *ǰubur* corresponds to tu. (čag.) *čupur* 'thick wood' (VWTD, III, 2182-2183); even though the meaning of this word in the two languages has clearly diverged, there is no doubt that *ǰubur* still designated the wooded area alongside the banks of a river and, by extension, the river valley itself. See TMEN, no. 166; Oz[1],

II, 319, n. 4. Although the expression *hoi ǰubur* should not be taken literally, in the present instance it would obviously refer to the wooded valley of the Onon along which Hö'elün and her captors were travelling. As for Hö'elün's voice 'resounding throughout' wood and valley, the verb used in the SH is *da'uris-* (= mo. *dayuris-*) 'to (re)sound; to spread'; cf. ord. *Dǖris-* 'se répandre partout (bruit, renommée).' See DO, 164a. In our passage this word is glossed 'to shake, agitate' (震動), but must be understood in the sense of the resounding effect the loud wailing had in the forest, conjuring up the image of the trees being actually shaken, just as the waters of the river were being stirred by it.

'Has *already* crossed many streams', lit. 'has crossed many waters (*usut*).'

For *qa'ulqa* (transcribed *qa'uluqa* in both §§ 57 and 58, and in § 183), a puzzling obsolete word meaning (according to the Chinese glosses) 'path, way; ditch', see TH, 163 (= ǰYT, 284), where it is identified with oir. *qaγalγa(n)* 'way, road.' Cf. MUǰ, 187a, line 3 (where, however, the gloss [*ǰam*] is by Damdinsürèn and almost certainly suggested by the meaning of the term in the SH). *Deest apud* OECD. I wonder whether the Chinese transcription *qa'ul<u>qa* does not actually represent an original *γaulγa*. Mo. *γau* (< ch. *kou* 溝) means 'ditch, hollow, trench'; cf. ord. *Gǖ* 'fossé; traces ayant la forme d'un sillon' (DO, 310a). Mo. *γaula-*, a denominal verb in *-la*, means 'to make a ditch, etc.' An alternation **γaula-* ~ **γaul-* would be quite normal, cf. *ilǰala-*, *ilǰal-* 'to boil until soft', *ǰadala-*, *ǰadal-* 'to unwrap', etc. **Γaulγa* could then be a deverbal noun in *-γa* with the same meaning of *γau*, viz. 'ditch, hollow; furrow-like trails.' These meanings would fit the context in both §§ 56 and 57. (For the dev. noun suff. *-γa*, cf., e.g., *aγsaγa* 'a belt to which a quiver and a bow case are attached' < *aγsa-* 'to attach to or suspend from a belt'; for the transcription *qa'u* [*γa'u*] ~ *qau* [*γau*], cf. below, n. 170.) However, this interpretation remains hypothetical since we do not know when the Chinese loanword *γau* and the verb

γaula- first came into usage in Mongolian. An unrelated word transcribed as *qa'uluqa[t]* occurs in § 75. See n. 75 below. Cf. Cėrėnsodnom 1991, 4-6; and Čoyima 2001a.

'If you call him .../He will not see you;/If you look for his tracks, /His trail you will not find.' This is a version of a saying that still survives in the Ordos dialect. See TOO, xv, 581, no. 436 (cf. FO, 579, no. 436). It is used with reference to a member of the family who is dead – or, as here, gone, never to return. The SH graphically (and, at the same time, poetically) describes the way Yisügei got himself a wife in one of the customary ways wives were obtained in the steppe societies of Inner Asia. See Holmgren 1986, 144-145. It does not say, however, that Yisügei already had a wife, but we know that Temüǰin had two half-brothers, Bekter and Belgütei (§ 76). Bekter was killed by Temüǰin and his brother (J̌oci) Qasar (§ 77). Later Belgütei's mother was seized by the Merkit and subsequently rescued by her son (§ 112). It is unlikely that Belgütei's mother, whose name is not mentioned in § 112, was Old Qo'aqčin (see §§ 98-103), as suggested by Ratchnevsky (ČK[1], 15, n. 65); almost certainly Old Qo'aqčin was a maidservant in Hö'elün's household. The name of the mother of Bekter and Belgütei and, therefore, of the other wife of Yisügei, is supplied by the AT[1], where (13b) it appears in the passage corresponding to § 60 of the SH in the form Sučigil (*or* Suǰigil) Eke, i.e. Mother Sučigil (*or* Suǰigil), the text specifying that she was Yisügei's 'second wife.' Cf. below, n. 60. (This is, however, at variance with the earlier statement in AT[1], 9b-10a, that Lady Süčigil, *or* Süǰigil, was the wife of Bartan Ba'atur; see above, n. 50). Later Mongol chronicles give differing accounts. See Pelliot 1940/41, 7ff.; ČK[1], 15, n. 65. Cf. also HCG, 185, n. 14. Whatever the name of Bekter and Belgütei's mother, there is no doubt that Hö'elün was not the only wife of Yisügei; this is why the SH speaks of 'mothers (in the plural) and sons' in §§ 72 and 74. In fact, according to Rašīd al-Dīn, Yisügei had several wives from various tribes, of whom Hö'elün was the principal

one. See SL^2, I/2, 51; and the discussion in Hambis 1975, 7-8, n. 12; 32 and n. 52. On his children, see also below, n. 60.

Hö'elün's abduction by Yisügei was the cause of a major feud between Čiledü's tribe, the Merkit, and the Mongols, i.e. the Mongqol tribe as represented by Yisügei's lineage and subjects. On this feud see Clark 1978, 37-38. For another aspect of this episode, see Sárközi 1978, 152-153.

As it has been noted on several occasions, the line of descent from Alan Qo'a to Yisügei differs in the various genealogical traditions that have been handed down in the Mongol, Chinese and Persian sources. For further details on these traditions, besides *Chapitre CVII*, 10-20, Tamura 1973, 15ff., and Yoshida 1984, cf. also MW, 176-178, n. 18.

§ 57. 'According to the message of Ambaqai Qa'an, which had nominated both Qada'an and Qutula', lit. 'According to (*or* in consequence of) the dispatch (*ilekse'er*) of Ambaqai Qa'an naming the two Qada'an and Qutula.' I read *ilekse'er*, converbum abtemporale of *ile-* 'to send, dispatch', like Pe, Ko, L^2, Ba, Ir, St, Га, Če, and Daš, instead of *irekse'er* as in H, Shi, Oz^1, El-Ar, and Aalto 1973, 36. See § 53 and com. regarding the message Ambaqai sent through Balaqači after his capture by the Tatar allies of the Jurchens. Both Qada'an Taiši and Qutula had been 'named', i.e. nominated as candidates for the succession to the *qan*-ship of the Mongol (Mongqol) and Tayiči'ut clans. The election, lit. 'raising, lifting up' (see below), was done, *more mongolico*, at a general assembly of these clans held at a locality known as Qorqonaq J̌ubur, or Qorqonaq Valley. For *ǰubur* 'river valley', see above, n. 56; as in § 56, here too this term is glossed *ch'uan* 川. This wooded region crossed by the river Onon, which is mentioned several times in the SH (§§ 104, 115, 116, 117, 201, 206) and which was the site of Möngke Qa'an's *qurilta* of 1257, has not yet been identified, but it must have been towards the sources of the river on the eastern slopes of the Khentei mountain range. See HCG, 42; Pėrlėė^2, 11; Boyle 1973, 75. (On the *qurilta* or great assembly, see below, n. 282.)

According to the SH, Qutula, the son of Qabul, was made '*qa'an*.' As explained earlier (see above, nn. 1 and 48; cf. also below, n. 125), this designation is spurious – it was conferred retrospectively – and the original text had here simply '*qan*', the correct title being given further on in this section in the form *qa* (= *qan*). This interesting form without final *n* occurs seven times in the SH (see R, 284a, s.vv. 'qa^1' and 'qa^3'); in the corresponding sections of AT it is replaced by *qaγan* in all but three instances (§ 141: *qa*, § 144: *qa*, § 249: *sang*; see AT^1, 41a, 42a, 111b). It should be noted that in all instances *qa* is the direct object of a verb; it seems, therefore, that in certain conditions, i.e. in suffixless oblique cases (of the type *usu uγuqu* 'to drink water'), mmo. and pmo. *qan* could also drop the final *n*. See JŚ, 183-184 (D); cf. Ozawa 1977, 93ff.; and Oz^1, II, 382, n. 1 (where the form without *-n* is referred to as being the *casus indefinitus*); LSHM, 26; YAT, 22 and nn. 1 and 2; GWM, 149-159. Cf. also Hambis 1960, 150-151; de Rachewiltz 1983, 273; idem 1989, 298, n. 51; and below, nn. 244, 249. In 1974 H. Serruys sent me many references to the use of *qa* for *qan* in Mongolian and Chinese texts which may serve as basis for a future article on the subject.

With regard to Qutula's election, however, other sources do not agree with the SH about its outcome, or even about the election itself. As stated earlier (see n. 52), according to Rašīd al-Dīn, Qabul Qan was succeeded by his son Qutula (the 'Coubilaï' of D'Ohsson, I, 32-35) who, in turn, was succeeded by his nephew Yisügei, the father of Činggis Qan (Yisügei being the son of Qutula's brother Bartan Ba'atur). According to the YS, Qabul's successor was his son Bartan (Ba'atur) who, in turn, was succeeded by Yisügei. See YS^2 1, 3. As with Ambaqai, Qutula plays no part at all in the YS account. Hambis 1975, 21, n. 36, is of the opinion that Qutula may have been elected only by the Tayiči'ut. It is, indeed, difficult to reconcile the various accounts of events on this confused period, which was characterized by tribal warfare, conflict with the Jurchen/Chin, and succession disputes between the various clans (see on this

subject Khazanov's comments in NOW, 234ff.). Nevertheless, certain important facts emerge from these events, viz.: 1) the rivalry for tribal leadership between the two main branches of Qaidu's family, the one originating with his eldest son Bai Šingqor Doqšin (from which issued Yisügei and Temüǰin), and the other originating with Čaraqai Lingqu (from which issued Ambaqai and the Tayiči'ut); this rivalry, put aside when unity was necessary to fight a common foe, be it the Jurchen or the Tatar, turned into alienation, then open conflict, after the death of Yisügei in the 1170s and '80s; it ended with the crushing of the Tayiči'ut in 1201 (according to the chronology of the SH); 2) an irreconcilable tribal feud between the Mongols and the Tatars, the causes of which are complex, but intimately related to the dominant coalition of the Tatar tribe before the emergence of the Mongqol tribe, and to the policy of the Chin court towards the tribes in the north in the middle of the 12th century; this, too, ended with the elimination of the Tatar grouping (in 1202 according to the SH); 3) a growing animosity against the Chin state which eventually also turned into open conflict, culminating in the destruction of Chin by the Mongols under Ögödei Qa'an in 1234; 4) a bitter feud with the Merkit caused by the abduction of Hö'elün by Yisügei and his brothers; this again ended with the annihilation of the tribe in 1204. Thus the antecedents of many important campaigns waged by Činggis are to be found in the policies and actions of his forebears, or in events in which they had been implicated generations earlier. On this question, cf. the above-mentioned contribution by L. Clark (Clark 1978), which highlights the role of revenge in the steppe society of the 12th-13th centuries as documented in the SH and the AT.

'After raising Qutula as *qan* (lit. "*qa*").' The verb 'to raise' (*ergü'e-*, pmo., mo. *ergüge-*) refers to the ancient Turco-Mongolian custom of lifting up the *qan* (or *qaγan*) on a white or black felt rug as part of the inauguration ceremony. This custom was already followed by the T'o-pa and T'u-chüeh Turks, and it

is well attested for the Mongol period. See Boodberg 1939, 242-245; HCSL, 223; D'Ohsson, II, 528-529; MF, 21ff.

'Around the Leafy Tree of Qorqonaq' (*Qorqonaq-un Saqlaqar-un Modun horcin*). The term *saqlaqar*, mo. *saγlaγar*, denotes a tree that spreads downwards with dense branches and foliage. See QNTT, 529b; MKeT, 1936a; cf. Les., 658b. The meaning of the Chinese interlinear gloss is simply 'loose, dishevelled (as of hair)'; see HW, 131. The Leafy (*or* Branching, as in Cl, 14; cf. Mo, 58) Tree is referred to again in §§ 117 and 206 (written Saqlār [= Saγlār] < Saqlaqar [= Saγlaγar]), always in connection with a celebration involving feasting and dancing. It is also mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn in a passage concerned with this section of the SH: 'Thereafter, Möngke Qa'an held a *quriltai* in a place called Qorqonaq Jubur, which lies in the middle of Mongolia. It was in this place that Qutula Qa'an, when he had gained a victory, danced under a tree with his *nökers* until the ground fell into a ditch.' (*Successors*, 223.) In Rašīd's account, the celebration was not connected with the election of Qutula, but with a victory in a military campaign. In both the SH and the AT, the event immediately following the feast at the Leafy Tree in Qorqonaq Valley is the campaign of Qutula and Qada'an against the Tatars in revenge for Ambaqai's death (see § 58; AT[1], 11b). It is therefore possible that, as already suggested by Clark 1978, 51, n. 18, the feasting and dancing may have had some ceremonial significance in connection with a military campaign – whether specifically for revenge remains to be seen. There is no doubt, I think, that the Leafy Tree and the dancing carried out around it – largely consisting of stamping of feet, it seems – went together, and that there was a ritual (shamanistic) significance attached to them. See Pėrlėė[2], 11 (= Pėrlėė[4], 100), also for references to this practice in later Mongol literature, and its survival in modern times. Cf. MBMTTS, 284-305; Iššamc 1974, 79; Chiodo 1992, 146, n. 106; Uray-Köhalmi 1994, 318; X. Sampildėndėv in MNT, I, 195-202; I. Kabzin'ska, ibid., 245-249; MMS, 43-45,

and, especially, Wu C 1966. For *horcin* (= mo. *orcin*) 'around', see Pelliot 1925, 220, no. 35.

'Up to their waist' (*qabirqa-ta*), lit. 'to the ribs.' For the use of the dative suffix (*-ta*) for the terminative case, see Hashimoto 1977.

For the word *ölkek* 'dust', a *hapax legomenon* in the SH, see TH, 126 (= ǰYT, 221) (where, however, the reference to bur. *ülgėnxė* is not relevant). For the saying in verse – a popular idiom – see Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 82.

§ 58. 'When Qutula became *qa'an*': cf. § 124 for an identically phrased opening.

The first element of the name of the Tatar chief Kötön Baraqa is no doubt identical with the name of Ögödei's second son Ködön, the Kötēn of Rašīd al-Dīn. See *Successors*, 359b (Index); HCG, 154. The name J̌ali Buqa ('Flame [= Fiery, Powerful] Bull') of the other Tatar chief appears in § 141, in the form J̌alin Buqa. On this name and the identity of this personage (or personages ?), see below, n. 141. *J̌alin* corresponds to tu. *yalïn* 'flame' (= mo. *ǰali*). Bese 1974, 94, takes *ǰali* in its other meaning of 'crafty.' See Les., 1031b. There is a considerable amount of literature on the word *ǰali*; cf. MMḤS, 90-91, Note 25a. Cf. also below, n. 141.

'To take revenge,/To requite the wrong', lit. 'To avenge the vengeance,/To requite the requital' (*ösöl ösön kisal kisan*): cf. §§ 154, 214 and 254 for the same idiomatic expression. For *ösöl* (= *öš*) 'vengeance' and its concept in medieval Mongol society and culture, see Hamayon 1986 (cf. Hamayon 1978, 89-90); Jagchid 1978, 97-98; Fletcher 1986, 14; and the contribution by L. Clark (Clark 1978), where the subject is discussed in detail. See also my remarks below, n. 149. As for the alliterative four-word idiom, it is recorded also in Turkic in a short rock inscription recently discovered near Bugat Sum in northwestern Mongolia. See Battulga 2000.

After the section corresponding to § 58 of the SH, i.e. between §§ 58 and 59, the AT (AT[1], 11b-12a) inserts a short declamatory piece by a certain Küdei (?) Sečen addressed to Ambaqai's ten sons and Qabul's seven sons, which is undoubtedly of a later date (15th-16th c. ?), but interesting enough for Žamcarano to reproduce it and translate it in Žamc.[1], 93-96. See Žamc.[2], 65-68 (there are, however, several errors in the transcription of the text); and MNTLAT, 23.

§ 59. Regarding Yisügei's campaigns against the Tatars, cf. SL[2], I/2, 50, 57-58, 75; SWCCL[1], 1b; YS[2] 1, 3. The last two sources, which are very scanty, both agree that Yisügei fought the Tatar tribe and *captured* the chief Temüǰin, i.e. Temüǰin Üge (the SWCCL speaks, like the SH, of two chiefs, Temüǰin Öke and Quru Buqa, the latter an error for Qori Buqa). Rašīd's account, describing the dominant position Yisügei had attained as tribal chief, mentions the hostility of the Tatar and other tribes and how, in AH 549/1154-55 (this is the correct reading, against the 547/1152-53 of SL[2], I/2, 75) he fought the Tatars led by Temüǰin Üge and Quru Buqa, i.e. Qori Buqa, whom he *killed* (but, in another passage, he says that they were brought under submission). Returning triumphantly from this campaign he stopped at a place called Delün Boldaq; soon after, that same year, Činggis Qan was born. See HCG, 9-11. In AT[1], 12a, the Tatar chiefs are called Tömüǰin and Qoribuγa, and the place where Činggis Qan was born is written Deligün Boldaγ. Cf. LDAT, 65.

With regard to the names of the two chiefs, the first element of the name Temüǰin Üge means 'ironsmith' (< *temür* 'iron' + den. noun suff. *-ǰin* ~ *-čin*; see below). The second element, Üge, may also be read as Öge or Öke, these words being indistinguishable in Mongol script. It is, in all probability, tu. *ögä*, originally meaning 'intelligent, wise; a mature man', used as a title roughly equivalent to 'Counsellor' (the same word may be at the root of the name Ögödei ~ Ögedei). See HCG, 9-10; TMEN, no. 614; DTS, 379a; ED, 101a-b; MBT, 185, 80r1 (where 'Üge' should probably be read 'Öge'). In Qori Buqa, the first element may be the ethnic name Qori already found in the

compound Qori Tumat (see above, n. 8); alternatively, it may mean 'twenty' (= *qorin*). Cf. HCG, 10, 62-64; Bese 1974, 92. *Buqa* means 'bull.'

Evidently, Yisügei succeeded in rallying a number of Mongol and Tayiči'ut clans under his leadership, possibly after the death of Qutula as suggested by Hambis 1975, 21, n. 36, but not enough to be elected *qan*, since the only title he bore in his lifetime was that of *ba'atur* (see above, n. 50). After his victory over the Tatars he returned to his encampment, which at that time was at Deli'ün Boldaq ('Spleen Hill') on the Onon (cf. above, n. 54) and where Hö'elün soon after gave birth to her first child, the future Činggis Qan.

Deli'ün Boldaq has been identified with a hillock, now known as Boldagiïn Ėrėėn Tolgoï, situated near the Balj (Balž) River (see above, n. 24), in the neighbourhood of the mineral spa and tourist resort of Gurvan Nuur ('Three Lakes') at Dadal (Sum), 49° 07 N and 111° 50 E. See Žam'yan 1958; Doržsürėn 1960; Pėrlėė[2], 9; RBC, 67-68; Aubin 1974, 15-16, n. 19; IĖDGMT, 15-18. (This locality should not be confused with the other famous place in Mongol history, Dolo'an Boldaq, on which see below, n. 136.) *Boldaq* (= mo. *boldaγ*, *boldoγ*) means 'an isolated hill or hillock', see HW, 17; cf. SMT, 16; HCG, 11. However, other localities have been suggested; see, e.g., CKA, 10 (E 11), 54a. In my opinion the identification of Deli'ün Boldaq with Boldagiïn Ėrėėn Tolgoï is not justified, and the site of Činggis' birthplace on the Onon is unknown. See de Rachewiltz 1998, 249-251.

'Right there', *or* 'right there and then' (*ǰöb tende*). There is no agreement in our sources on the date of Temüǰin's birth. The question is discussed in detail by Pelliot in NMP, I, 281-288; cf. also HCG, 126; Hung 1951, 475-476. Pelliot's conclusion, now widely accepted by Western historians, is that the *most likely* but by no means certain year for his birth is 1167. However, the Chinese traditional date of 1162 is still the officially accepted date in China, Mongolia and Russia. Ratchnevsky, who has carefully reviewed the problem in ČK[1], 16-18 (= ČK[2], 17-19), is

of the opinion that Temüǰin was born towards the mid-1160s. Certainly, the year 1155 obtained from Rašīd al-Dīn and adopted by Barthold, Vladimircov, T'u Chi and other scholars earlier on is the least acceptable, as shown by Pelliot who has also dismissed the all too precise date given in the AT (see LDAT, 65) as a later interpolation. This date, corresponding to 31 May (not 1 February, as stated by Pelliot) 1162, was adopted as the official birth-date in the MPR. See BNMAUT[2], 147; cf. BHM, 166 (30 May 1162). The present official birthday of Činggis Qan in the Mongolian Republic is 3 May (as from 2002). The year of birth (1162) remains the same. See *The Mongol Messenger* of 10 April 2002. Articles on the year of birth of Činggis, such as Chou CS 1962, Shao HC 1962, and Katsufuji 1977, as well as the lengthy section on it in CHHC, 30-43, are largely reviews of previous theories and do not contribute anything new to the solution of the problem. For reasons that will become clear further on (see below, n. 104), I am also in favour of the year 1162 for Temüǰin's birth.

The story of the new-born child holding a clot of blood (*nödün*, cf. DO, 221b, 503a) in the palm of his hand is an ancient Asiatic folklore theme, possibly of Buddhist origin, portending the advent of a fierce and merciless conqueror. See NMP, I, 288-289; HCG, 12; Gaadamba 1968, 73; Meserve 2000, 37. The symbolic birth of a conqueror with blood on his hand(s) will later be attributed also to Timur Leng (Tamerlane, 1336-1405), and with good reason. The element of fierceness implied in the portent is brought out vividly in 'Hö'elün's Lament' in § 78. This undoubtedly early Mongol tradition may have played a not insignificant part in the choice of the epithet *činggis* in the 'title' Činggis Qan subsequently conferred on the conqueror, the meaning of which is probably 'fierce.' See below, n. 123. In the AT account, the blood clot is described as black (*qara nöǰin*). See AT[1], 12b. The Mongolian term for 'to clutch, hold in the hand' is *hatqu-*, corresponding to mo. *adqu-* id., not *qatqu-* as in Pe, 17, L[2], 47, and R, 293b. See Poppe 1969, 270; idem 1975b, 155. *Ši'a* (= mo. *siγai*, *šaγai*)

'knucklebone' is actually the astragalus or anklebone of the animal, usually a sheep, used by the Mongols in games (cf. § 116) – an almost universal practice. On this word see TMEN, no. 1248; DO, 600a; Oz[1], I, 246, n. 3. For the symbolism of the knucklebone in Altaic folklore and tradition, see Roux 1976.

As stated earlier, the name Temüǰin ('Ironsmith') is formed on *temür* 'iron' + the suffix *-ǰin*, which is an ancient allomorph, now no longer productive, of the denominal noun suffix *-či(n)* designating names of vocations. See LSHM, 54, 4.111; JŚ, 28-29, § 25; Bese 1974, 93; Poppe 1975, 167. On this name see also the important note by Pelliot in NMP, I, 289-291; HCG, 9-10; NHHO, 32, n. 3, 109; Sinor 1982, 248-249.

One of the name-giving customs of the medieval Mongols was to name the newborn child after an object or person that attracted the mother's attention after she had given birth. In the present case, the person was a (presumably) valiant tribal chief: naming the child after him would also ensure the acquisition by the child of the chief 's valour and martial spirit (on the Mongols' belief in the magic of names, see below, n. 267). From this we can infer that Temüǰin Üge was probably slain on that occasion. Cf. SL[2], I/2, 58. For an interesting historical precedent of this practice culled by Lattimore from the *Tso-chuan* 左傳, see Lattimore 1960.

For the story of Činggis Qan's birth and its development as a literary motif in later Mongolian historical and pseudo-historical works, cf. Sagaster 1995.

§ 60. The five children of Yisügei and Hö'elün listed in this section are Temüǰin, J̌oči Qasar, Qači'un, Temüge, and the only female, Temülün. Qasar is called Qasar and J̌oči Qasar, a double name; Qači'un, the third son, is called Qači'un and Qači'un Elči, the name followed by an epithet. Temüge, the youngest son, is called Temüge and Temüge Otčigin, the second element of the name also being an epithet. J̌oči (the name also of Činggis' eldest son) means 'Guest' (see above, n. 51); Qasar was the name of a kind of wild dog (see below, n. 78). On

(J̌oci) Qasar see the important note (1) by Pelliot in HCG, 171-175. If Temüǰin (Činggis Qan) was born in 1162, Qasar must have been born in 1164; he probably died in, or soon after, 1213. On his descendants, see *Chapitre CVII*, 24-29. Qači'un bore the same name as the fifth son of Menen Tudun, see above, n. 45. The epithet *elči* means 'envoy, messenger' – possibly because Qači'un may later often have been employed in this capacity. He was presumably born in 1166. On his descendants, see *Chapitre CVII*, 29-34. Temüge is a name formed, like Temüǰin and Temülün, on *temür* 'iron.' Cf. Bese 1974, 93; Poppe 1975, 167. The epithet *otčigin* (on which much has been written) designates his role as 'guardian (*or* keeper) of the hearth' – Temüge being the youngest son and, therefore, the one who by tradition inherited the native domain and domestic patrimony, the so-called 'yurt' (< tu. *yurt*; see TMEN, no. 1914). The term *otčigin* means, in fact, 'lord of the hearth' (< tu. *ot* 'fire' + *čigin* [< *tigin*, *tegin*] 'prince'). On it, besides the references given above, n. 48, cf. also MSR, 136; NHHO, 109; Boyle 1956, 153 (4); Róna-Tas 1986, 135; and Fletcher 1986, 26. It is worth noting in this respect that Temüge's later domain or apanage was in the northeastern corner of Mongolia, just south-east of Lake Hulun (or Dalai Nōr). See HCG, 178; HYC, A, 16b; TOA, 64-65. It was from this general area – broadly the region of the Hailar plain – that the Mongqol tribe had in earlier times migrated to the Khentei and Onon-Kerulen region, as we have already seen (above n. 1). The situation of Temüge's domain would confirm that the Mongols in Činggis' time still regarded this easternmost region as their ancestral and hereditary domain; and it is, perhaps, not purely accidental that it was also in this region (although somewhat further south) that Činggis and his faithful companions drank the muddy waters of the Balǰuna, thus sealing their famous covenant (see below, n. 182). Cf. Pai-la-tu-ko-ch'i 白拉都格其 in *ÖMYS*, 1984.3, 35-38. If Činggis was born in 1162, Temüge was born in 1168. For his descendants, see *Chapitre CVII*, 34-48.

According to the same chronology Temülün, Činggis' only sister, would have been born in 1169 or 1170 (she was still in the cradle in 1170). Her name is also formed on *temür* with the feminine name suffix *-lün(/-lun)*; cf. above n. 55. For this name see also Pelliot in *TP* 29:1932, 51; Pelliot 1935, 930, n. 21; NHHO, 84, 109; Bese 1974, 93; idem 1980, 319, no. 14; Poppe 1975, 164; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

For the feminine form *törebi* (praeteritum perfecti of *töre-* 'to be born'), see UGPM, 146-147, § 32; JŚ, 129, § 217, 206-207, § 325; YMT, 27-28, 84.

Besides the five children that Yisügei had from Hö'elün, we know that he had two more sons, Bekter and Belgütei, from another wife, called Sučigil or Suǰigil. In AT[1], 13b, in the passage corresponding to § 60 of the SH, we read the following: *Yisügei bayatur-un nököge gergei Sučigil (? Suǰigil) eke-eče Begter Belgetei qoyar bülüge* 'From Yisügei Bayatur's second wife, Sučigil (? Suǰigil) Eke ("Mother Sučigil [? Suǰigil]"), Begter and Belgetei were born.' Cf. ATL, 31; LDAT, 67. On Sučigil/Suǰigil Eke and Dayasi Qatun – Bekter's and Belgütei's mother according to the ET – see HCG, 185-186. According to Pelliot this passage was in the original text of the SH. See Pelliot 1940/41, 11-12; cf. above, nn. 50 and 56. I hold the same opinion as Pelliot and have, therefore, added the passage in question in brackets in my translation. Bekter (= Begter), the eldest, was killed when still a boy by Temüǰin and Qasar, as related in § 77; Belgütei was spared and seems to have got on well with Temüǰin. He had numerous descendants. On him see HCG, 185-187 et passim; *Chapitre CVII*, 48-51.

For the word *qunan* (= mo. *γunan*) 'three years old', cf. Cleaves 1949b, 432-433; Vietze 1990, 382. This term is still used for people in the Buriat sagas and epics; elsewhere its use is restricted only to animals (N.P., p.c.).

With regard to the ages of Yisügei's children as given in this section, a note of caution is, I think, called for. The figure of 'nine' for Temüǰin's age (= eight according to Western reckoning) *may* well have been chosen for the special symbolic

value attached to this number; moreover, the exact spacing of two years between the children *may* also be artificial, the age sequence (with the child reckoned as one year old at birth) being 1, 3, 5, 7, 9. Cf. O. Purev's remarks in OUMĖIX, VII/Summaries, 39. As pointed out by other investigators, the number nine has a special connotation for the Mongols, as well as for other peoples (including Turks and Tibetans), because as the last of the simple numbers of the decimal numeration it is regarded as a 'complete number.' Hence, nine keeps on recurring in Mongol shamanistic rituals and in many aspects of ordinary life. For the same reason, it has often the meaning of 'all.' Cf. MB, I, 217; and LRČP, I/1, 53[6]; I/2, 40 and n. 109 [P.P.-C.R.A.C.]; Moses 1986 (esp. p. 290); idem 1996, 87-89; MNTB, 16ff. Much has been written about the symbolic value of this number since ancient times among the Altaic people, as well as in China. See, in particular, MP[2], I, 392, n. 2; HCSL, 730; TMEN, no. 976; PC, 167ff.; de Rachewiltz 1960, 247-250, n. 116; FTC, 21 and n. 20; Sárközi 1971, 43-44; Bese 1987, 47-48; Rybatzki 2000, 220-221. For other examples of the use of nine in the SH, cf. §§ 61, 77, 80, 103, 202, 203, 242, 245, 267. See also Li, 148, n. 99; 185, n. 267. For the ancient Japanese the mystic number was eight, and it is interesting to note that for them the number 80 (8 x 10) also meant 'innumerable, all.' As is well known, nine was also the canonical number for the ancient Greeks. As shown by D. Cėdėv, other numbers with symbolic values, such as three, occur frequently in the SH. See MNTB, 14ff.; *MH* 1:1993, 137-143.

§ 61. The Olqunu'ut were a clan of the Onggirat or Qonggirat, one of the leading tribes of eastern Mongolia, whose habitat was the region of the Khalkha (= Qalqa) River (kh. Xalxyn Gol), in what is the present border area between Mongolia and the northernmost part of Inner Mongolia. See HCG, 402-409; Vlad.[2], 58-59; and above, n. 54. For Qonggirat ~ Onggirat, see Pelliot 1944, 77-78, n. 1. Hö'elün was an Olqunu'ut. The tribes of Mongolia practised exogamy, i.e. it was forbidden to marry

within the clan and wives could only be taken from other, unrelated clans. A frequent practice was to get wives always from a particular clan. In such cases the parents of the bride and of the bridegroom called each other *quda*, a term designating the father of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law, which has no counterpart in English. In the case of the Onggirat and the Mongols, we know that marriage relationships between these two tribes existed already at the time of Qabul Qan (SL^2, I/1, 104); they continued throughout the 13th century and well into the 14th, with many imperial brides being chosen from among the Onggirat. See Vlad.^{2}, loc. cit.; NMP, II, 869-870; Mu, I, 84-86, n. 13; Ratchnevsky 1976, 513; Yeh HM 1982; Holmgren 1986, 138-140; idem 1991, 85-86; however, cf. Okada 1985 for a different view on the role of the Onggirat in providing imperial princesses to the Mongol court. Several contributions (of uneven value) on the Onggirat have appeared in China; for a survey, see *CKYSYC*,1981:1, 2; 1983:1, 6; 1983:2, 5; *CKSYCTT*, 1983:8, 9; YShi, 42-43. For the term *quda*, see below, n. 62.

'Relatives' renders the Mongolian *törgüt*, plural of *törgün* (= pmo., mo. *törkün*, *törken*, *törküm*): this term designates the relatives from the mother's side. See Vlad.^{2}, 59, 74; Cleaves 1949a, 509-510; Oz^1, I, 249-250, n. 1. Hö'elün is called here, for the first time, 'Mother Hö'elün' (Hö'elün Eke).

For the term *naqaču* (= mo. *nayaču*) 'maternal uncle', see TMEN, no. 383; RH, 232, no. 29 (*naqaču*).

The two mountains Čekčer (= pmo. Čegčer) and Čiqurqu (= pmo. Čiquryu; the text has 'Čiqurgu') are as yet unidentified. On their situation in the region of the river Khalkha, see the long note (2) by Pelliot in HCG, 423-429; cf. RBC, 111 (where Schubert's incorrect reference to Pelliot and Hambis has unfortunately invalidated his identification). It is surprising that these two important landmarks have not yet been identified by Chinese scholars, Čekčer in particular, in view of the fact that this mountain is often mentioned in the Ming and Ch'ing sources, about which see Hambis 1974, 35-36; Franke W 1949, 16; and also TMITC 90, 25b and 27b. It is clear from such

sources that Mount Čekčer was *west* of the Urshun River and by taking into account Pelliot's discussion in HCG, it must be found in proximity of the northern shore of the Buir Nōr. The two mountains are perhaps to be identified with the Dulan Qara Mts., between the Kerulen and the Urshun, in JA, 149, no. 385 (= Map 4, at 48° N and 117° E). Cf. also TSK, 34, 35, 138, where Wada Sei claims that Mount Čekčer was just south-west of Lake Hulun, hence in the same general area. The Olqunu'ut territory was somewhat further east, possibly in the area of present-day A-mu-ku-lang (Amugulang) in the New Barga East Banner, south-west of Hailar.

For Dei Sečen, i.e. Dei (= Deyi) the Wise, chief of the Onggirat of the Bosqur clan, see HCG, 411-414; YS^2 118, 2915; *Chapitre CVIII*, t. 2*bis* (opp. p. 18); and Pai-la-tu-ko-ch'i 1979.

As noted by Pelliot, the SH account of Yisügei's meeting with Dei Sečen and the ensuing scene (§§ 62-66), rich in poetic flavour, has no counterpart in Rašīd al-Dīn's account (which gives a different and more sober version), and bears all the marks of a 'romanesque' enlargement in line with the epic character of the work. See HCG, 413. The age of nine given for Temüǰin's visit is also not accidental but of symbolic significance, as noted by other investigators. See Bese 1987, 47; cf. above, n. 60.

§ 62. Dei Sečen addresses Yisügei as *quda*, i.e. as a relative by marriage because of the special relationship that obtained between the Onggirat – one of whose clans was the Olqunu'ut – and Yisügei's family. See above, n. 61. For the term *quda*, besides Vlad.^{2}, 58-59, see MSR, 133, 137; TMEN, no. 296; Oz^1, I, 252-253, n. 1.

'Who has fire in his eyes,/Who has light in his face.' This expression, characterising looks of unusual radiance indicative of an exceptionally bright mind and personality, is a commonplace in Mongol oral literature, particularly the Khalkha epic. See MNTSZA, 104-106; Šastina 1977, 464; Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 74, 77, 79; Šagdarsüren 2000, 121-122. Cf. also § 66,

where the same words, but in inverse order, are applied to Temüǰin's bride-to-be Börte.

§ 63. 'I had a dream last night, I did', lit. 'I, this night I dreamt a dream, I.'

Dei Sečen's dream is full of symbolism. The gerfalcon, a majestic and powerful creature, the king of hunting birds, is aptly chosen as a manifestation of the *sülder* of the Kiyat (see below); it is all-white – the auspicious colour par excellence. It holds both the sun and the moon, the two bright 'lords' of the sky, in its claws, an action symbolizing the bringing of glory and renown to Dei Sečen and his people. The timing of the dream coincides with Yisügei's and Temüǰin's visit. All fits. For the gerfalcon (*šingqor*), see above, n. 54; cf. also RTM, 258; Skrynnikova 1992/93, 57-58. For white as an auspicious colour, and white animals, cf. the references in §§ 80, 189, 202, 216, 219, 239, 245 and 267; Na[2], 312; Pelliot 1930, 265; Cleaves 1949, 125, n. 212; KCHR, 13-14; MM, 61; MP[1], I, 222 (cf. MP[2], 273, n. 4, 390); NMP, I, 230; D'Ohsson, II, 529 n.; Vlad.[2], 60; RTM, 214; FTC, 20-21 and n. 20; de Rachewiltz 1960, 253-255, n. 119; Poppe 1977, 123, no. 27; Aubin 1978, 42ff.; Fedotoff 1997 (esp. pp. 34-35); and below, n. 202. Cf. also HCSL, 42, 121, 129 et passim; K. Shiratori in *TYGH* 18:1929/30, 235-241; IBŠ, 162-163; Chiodo 1992, passim; MNTB, 27. For white, black and colours in general among the Mongols, besides Poppe 1977, cf. also Cévél 1959; and, especially, Khabtagaeva 2001. For another example, in a Turkic epic, of a dream involving a falcon, cf. BDK, 45 (see also ibid., 10). The association of white with luck and a happy destiny is almost certainly a concept borrowed from the Inner Asian Turks (ultimately Manichean?). Cf. GFT, § 24. See also Choi Hyong-won in *AH* 9:1999, 286-288.

'I had my dream … bringing your son', lit. 'I saw my dream … leading your son.'

For the Kiyat (pl. of Kiyan) *irgen*, i.e. the members of the Kiyan *yasun*-lineage of the Borǰigin to which Yisügei belonged, see above, n. 50. A few paragraphs later (§ 67), Yisügei is called Yisügei Kiyan, i.e. Yisügei the Kiyan. A genealogical table of the Kiyat is found in Do[1], 29.

'The august spirit (*sülder*) of you, Kiyat people, has come *in my dream* and has announced *your visit*.' Both the Chinese interlinear version and the sectional summary render *sülder* as 'good (*or* lucky) omen' (*chi-chao* 吉兆), whereas in §§ 201 and 249 the same term is glossed 'august (*or* majestic) spirit, majesty' (*wei-ling* 威靈). *Sülder* (~ *sülde*) is an important term in the shamanistic conception of the world held by the Mongols, which is closely related to that of the early Turks and other Inner Asiatic people. *Sülder* is the vital force or powerful spirit that animates, guards and protects a being (and by extension, a lineage) so that he can fulfil his destiny, which, as we have seen (above, n. 1), is preordained by Heaven. The chief characteristics of *sülder*, which must be distinguished from the individual 'soul' (see below), are 'strength', or 'might' (*güčü*[*n*]) and 'good fortune', or 'charisma' (*su* > *sutu* 'fortunate, endowed with charisma'; see below, n. 74), both essential elements for achieving success with Heaven's protection (*ihe'el*, pmo. and mo. *ibegel*; for *b* ~ *h*, see *Lettres*, 72). This inborn 'virtue', or power, appears in individuals who are destined to become great leaders as a majestic aura, an august (imposing, awesome) appearance, conferring on them the qualities of what we may call today a 'charismatic personality.' Embodying, as it did, the concepts of 'strength', 'good fortune' and 'Heaven's protection', *sülder* in time came to assume the role of a protective spirit in relation to the family or clan so favoured by Heaven. Thus *sülder*, as a force resulting in Heavenly-bestowed good fortune, and as the tutelary genius of the clan, was the very essence of the might and grandeur which a ruler and his family and descendants enjoyed. Perhaps already in Činggis Qan's time it was believed that the *sülder* of the ruling clan could 'animate', as it were, a symbolic object like the great war standard (*tuq*), conferring special powers on it; we have ample evidence of sacrifices being offered to the standard at the beginning and at

the conclusion of a campaign, no doubt to propitiate the indwelling spirit. For these sacrifices, cf. §§ 106, 193; Cleaves 1956, 268. See also below, nn. 193, 202. Hence the close association between the *sülde(r)* and the great standard, and the eventual fusion of the two into a single entity representing the very spirit of the ruler in its role of 'protector.' This is, however, a later development with which we are not concerned here. On it see, provisionally, WG, 351-354; FTC, 21-22 and n. 23; MBMTTS, Ch. II; KHIV, 81ff. Cf. also Chiodo 1999/2000, 232ff. Of more relevance to us is the SH interpretation of *sülder* as 'good omen', which is not, strictly speaking, correct, being merely a contextual inference of the translator(s). Dei Sečen's *sülder*-inspired, allegorical dream was a dream of 'good omen', for it meant good fortune for his family and tribe, but the translator(s) quite naturally extended the concept of good omen to include also *sülder*. By a similar process, *sülde(r)* in later usage came to mean not only 'might, grandeur, charisma; good fortune, blessing, prosperity, happiness' and 'protecting spirit, protector', as well as '*sülder*-standard; symbol, emblem', but also 'soul.' (In Written Mongolian and in the modern Mongolian languages and dialects, the form of the word is without final *r*; for *-r* ~ zero, cf. Mostaert 1957, 550, n. 37; Oz[1], I, 258, n. 6; and Cleaves 1952, 101, n. 122.) The assimilation of the concept of *sülde(r)* to that of the individual 'soul' (*sür*, *sünesün*, *sür sünesün*) is a complex phenomenon which may have started quite early; subsequently, Lamaism played a considerable role in equating *sülde(r)* with 'soul' by using *sülde* to render tib. *bla*. However, in the 12th-13th centuries the two concepts had apparently not yet become confused or merged. Clearly, the concept of *sülder* in medieval Mongol shamanism was related to that of *ǰaya'an* 'destiny', and as far as one can determine on the strength of the scanty material available, it applied essentially to 'superior' beings, i.e. to individuals particularly favoured by Heaven who were born endowed 'with a destiny' (*ǰaya'atu*) to rule. It is not clear, though, whether it is *sülder* that determines one's destiny, or vice versa; in any event, the

destiny cannot be fulfilled without *sülder*. In the 12th-13th centuries *sülder* seems to combine the connotations of both the Roman *virtus* and the Christian 'grace', devoid however of moral undertones. On the problem of *sülde(r)*, see provisionally Banzarov 1981/82, 75ff.; Vlad.[2], 187; Kotwicz 1934, 146; MMḤS, 72-76, Note 1(d), 90-91, Note 25(a); Mostaert 1935, 333, n. 8; idem 1957, 548-550, n. 37; and ET[2], I, 29, n. 64; Sárközi 1971, 43-44; KCHR, 44, n. 71; FTC, 21-22 and n. 23; BŠDT, 94b; Heissig 1981; Bawden 1985, 10-14; Skrynnikova 1989c; idem 1992/93; idem 1993; idem 1994, 27ff.; and, more recently, KHIV, passim. For *sür sünesün* and its relationship with *sülde(r)*, cf. also Bawden 1962, 93-94 and n. 7; de Rachewiltz 1982, 71, n. 168; Cleaves 1985, 253, n. 79; RTM, 161-162; MSMOS, 65-66; BŠDT, 96a-b; TH, 242; IBŠ, 244-248; and, especially, Bazin 1987. For *su*, *güčü* and *ihe'el*, see below, nn. 74, 113, 125. For further comments on the problem of the soul, or souls, among the medieval Mongols, see below, n. 201.

For the use of the particle *ele* in the present section, see Street 1986, 8-9 (4), 11 (10).

§§ 64, 65. The entire section, from 'With us ...' to 'their beauty' (beginning of § 65), has been translated and discussed by Mostaert (Mo, 8-12, 194, 224). The following are a few additional comments.

J̌e'e 'daughter of the daughter' is mo. *ǰige*. Cf. kh. *zėė*, ord. *Džē* id.

'We do not strive for dominion', lit. 'We do not contend with others over the *ulus*', i.e. over the possession of territory (one cannot define *ulus* as 'empire' at this time).

'For those of you who have become *qa'an*': for *qa'an* read *qan – qa'an* would be anachronistic in this context and it must therefore be (as in other cases) a later substitution. See above, n. 1, and Section Four of the Introduction.

'On a large cart' (*qasaq tergen-tür*). I have rendered *qasaq tergen* (i.e. a Qazaq [= Kazakh] cart or chariot) as 'large cart'

following the Chinese gloss, and also on the strength of Pelliot's remarks in NMP, I, 331; II, 870; and NHHO, 217-218. However, mo. *qasaγ terge* and bur. *xahag tėrgė* designate a 'light two-wheeled one-horse carriage', i.e. a gig. In view of the subsequent reference to a 'carriage with front seat' (see below), a larger sort of two-wheeled cart must be meant. For other references to camel-drawn carts, see Poppe 1961. Cf. Vlad.[2], 47. *Bu'ura*, mo. *buγura*, is a Mongolian borrowing from tu. *buγra*, a term designating the (two-humped) camel stallion, and specifically, the Bactrian camel. See TMEN, no. 747; ED, 317b-318a. Cf. below, nn. 152 and 274, for further references to camels in Mongolian.

'We trot them off *to the qa'an*', lit. 'We go *to the qa'an* making *the camel* trot.' I use the word *qa'an* again to be consistent with the text (see above), but it should of course be *qan*.

'Seat them by him', lit. 'seat them together (*qamtu*).'

'We do not strive for dominion, nor for people (*ulus irgen*)', lit. 'We do not contend with others over dominion and people.' For *ulus* 'dominion, domain', see below, n. 202; for *irgen* 'people', cf. above, n. 5.

'Have the *qatun*s as shields,/Have their daughters as intercessors (lit. "petitions")', i.e. when the daughters and granddaughters of the Onggirat marry powerful chiefs and become *qatun*s, they serve as shields against the Onggirat's enemies; and by the requests they make to their husbands, they obtain favours for the Onggirat. In a letter to me of 29 September 1971, H. Serruys wrote: 'In connection with the custom of the Onggirad (§ 64) not to strive for dominion, but to build their influence on their girls married to the rulers, it is interesting that in the 16-17th centuries Austria had the same reputation:

Bella gerant alli, tu felix Austria nube;
Namque Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.

I found this in a book on Charles V, but there was no reference. I thought it was very interesting to find a parallel so far from Mongolia.'

'With our boys, *when they seek a bride*, etc.' What Dei Sečen means is that, whereas the parents of a girl sought as wife for an Onggirat boy 'look at the camp', i.e. consider the wealth of the boy's family before the match is concluded, the parents of a boy seeking an Onggirat girl as wife consider only the latter's beauty, for which the Onggirat girls are famous. The above interpretation of Dei Sečen's words, which no doubt constitute a popular saying (for another example, see § 66), is based on the one proposed by Mostaert (Mo, 12); however, another interpretation is not only possible, but plausible, viz. 'Our boys look after the camp (i.e. they stay at home);/Our girls are looked at (= are admired) for their beauty (i.e. they marry into other clans and leave home).' This interpretation goes back to Kozin (Ko, 86-87); it was followed by Damdinsürėn (Da[1], 37; Da[5], 31); it was defended by Gaadamba (MNTSZA, 106-111); and it was subsequently adopted by several other translators, including Ozawa (Oz[1], I, 266-268; Oz[2], I, 41). Mostaert's interpretation is supported by the Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 1, 46a), and it may be assumed that the Ming editors had on the whole a better understanding of the text from the folkloristic point of view than we have now. For *nuntuq* 'nomadic camp', see above, n. 1 ad fin.

'Take a look at her, *quda*!', lit. 'let the *quda* see her!'

§ 66. When Yisügei saw Dei Sečen's daughter, he saw a girl 'Who had light in her face,/Who had fire in her eyes', i.e. a perfect match for Temüǰin, who had himself been so described in § 62 by Dei Sečen. The girl, Börte, was somewhat older than Temüǰin, but this did not matter much in Mongol society; in fact, as Lattimore has pointed out (Lattimore 1963b, 58), it was considered a good thing for the first wife of a steppe aristocrat's son to be a few years older, since 'if he became a successful war leader and tribal chief [he] would later have other wives and concubines ... She would reach puberty earlier, would be ready to initiate her husband sexually and also be able to guide and counsel him in worldly matters.' As regards counsel, we know

that this is indeed what happened. See, e.g., § 118. Thus, assuming that Temüǰin was born in 1162 (see above, n. 60, and below, n. 104), Börte must have been born in 1161. The year of their encounter, and engagement, was then 1170, since Temüǰin was nine (= eight) at the time. The year of her death is not known, but she must have died after 1206/7 and almost certainly before her husband. See below, n. 245. She is only briefly mentioned among the imperial consorts in YS[2] 114, 2869.

Börte means 'sky-blue, bluish, blue-grey'; as a proper name it corresponds exactly to our 'Celeste.' See de Rachewiltz 1997; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. Cf. above, n. 1.

'He was pleased with her', lit. 'he let her enter into his mind (= heart, affection).' Cf. Mo, 73.

For *manaqaši* 'the following morning', cf. § 196, where the same form occurs, with the same meaning (see HW, 106). However, in §§ 170, 214 and 245 we find *manaqarši* (= pmo., mo. *manaɣarsi*) id., and in §§ 72, 143 and 146 *manaqarši* is glossed 'the next day' (明日). In AT[1], 14b et passim, the regular form is *manaɣarsi*. It would appear, then, that *manaqaši* = *manaqa*[*r*]*ši*, the character 兒 transcribing *-r-* having been inadvertently dropped by the copyist in §§ 66 and 196. Cf. Oz[1], I, 269: *manaGarši*. I am not sure, however, that this is the case, for it is possible that *manaqaši* ~ *manaqarši* like *kelemeči* ~ **kelemerči*, *kelemüči* ~ *kelemürči* 'interpreter'; cf. Toba *kelmürčin* id. See Mo, 17-18; TMEN, no. 335; Ligeti 1959, 236; idem 1970, 292-293, no. 1; de Rachewiltz 1982, 86, n. 369. Cf. also RH, 236, no. 25 (*manaqâr* 'tomorrow'; mo. *manaɣar* id.). For *kelemüči*, see e.g. ET[3], 76r20. In both instances we have *-r* ~ zero, as in *sülder* ~ *sülde*; see above, n. 63 (for *-ma*/*-me* and *-mar*/*-mer*, see GWM, 48, §§ 165, 169). One cannot, therefore, exclude the possibility of *manaqar* ~ **manaqa*, particularly in view of kalm. *maŋhdur* = mo. *manaɣar edür* 'tomorrow.' See KaRS, 342b; cf. KW, 256b: *maŋgɣdūr*. Cf. also LLSL, 121b: *mana* (= *manā*[*r*]*?)* id.

'If I gave her away …; if I gave her away …' In Mongolian these two sentences are expressed as two rhetorical questions, with the interrogative particle *-wū*/*-wǖ* (= *-'ū*/*-'ǖ*) following *olonta* 'many times' (here rendered as 'after much') and *čö'ente* 'few times' (here rendered as 'without much'). Cf. Cl, 17. Dei Sečen's words are somewhat ambiguous, however, and they could be understood as referring to his daughter, not to himself. See, e.g., the renderings in Ha, 10-11; Poppe 1964, 367; Ratchnevsky 1976, 512; idem 1987, 70; and my earlier version, Ra, II, 131.

'The fate of a girl is not to grow old in the family (lit. "at the door") in which she was born.' On this proverb quoted by Dei Sečen, see Mo, 12-13; Khomonov 1981, 59.

'I will give you my daughter, and you, for your part, leave your son here as my son-in-law', lit. 'I will give my daughter, and you, for your part, go, leaving your son as son-in-law (*güreget-te*).' But here the verb 'to go' (*ot-*) plays the role of an auxiliary of action or achievement. Cf. Mo, 156; Aalto 1973, 36. For the use of the postponed conjunction *be … be*, see above, n. 29; cf. Street 1981, 161. *Güreget* is the plural of *gürege(n)* 'son-in-law' (written *gürigen* in § 251; cf. the pl. form *güriget* in §§ 68, 270 and 280). The plural is used to generalize the meaning (= 'as [one does in the case of] sons-in-law'), as noted by Vladimircov (Vlad.[2], 59, n. 5). Cf., however, Oz[1], I, 272, n. 5. For the term *güregen* (= pmo. *küregen*, mo. *kürgen*) 'son-in-law', also used as a title, see TMEN, no. 340; VMI, 52; Róna-Tas 1986, 136. Ligeti has stated (VMI, 52) that the form *gürigen* of the SH is an incorrect reading for *gürgen* (< *güregen*) and should therefore not be retained. This also applies to the plural form *güriget*, to be read *gürget*; see L[2], 41, 244, 257. This may be so, but it is by no means certain, since in the Chinese transcription system of the SH, the graph 舌里 regularly renders the Mongolian syllable *ri*, not the letter *r*. Note that the word *gürgen*, converbum modale of *gürge-*, occurs nine times in the SH (see R, 230b), always with the graph transcribing *r* (舌兒). Cf. GHMBK, 423-424. Why should an aberrant transcription (*ri*

for *r*) occur six times (see R, 230b-231a; seven times in KCI, 705, but see below) in the words *gürgen* and *gürget* 'son(s)-in-law', and not once in the homophone verb *gürgen*? Furthermore, the form *küregen* instead of *kürgen* occurs in AT[1], 56a, corresponding to the *güregen* of SH, § 156 (ATL, 117, has '*kürgen*' which is incorrect). I think that the original manuscript of the SH on which the Ming translators worked had *kürigen* and *küriged*; however, it is still a moot point whether these were true phonetic variants of *küregen*, *küreged* (*e* ~ *i* in the second syllable is a common phenomenon in Mongolian), or merely graphic variants, the letter *i* being in reality an *e* (the two can easily be confused in Uighur-Mongol script). In this connection, it may be of interest to note that (1) AT[1], 14b, has *kürged-te* (twice), but *küreged-te* in 31b; and (2) in the present section (§ 66) of the SH, Y[1] and Y[2] have the reading *güriget* in the first occurrence of this word but Y[3] has *güreget*. Pe, 13, and R, 26, line 1330, follow Y[3]. I am of the opinion that this is the correct reading in view of the two other occurrences in the same section; furthermore, the reading in Y[3] militates in favour of *güriget* and *gürigen* in the later sections being only graphic variants, i.e. *güriget*, *gürigen* = *güreget*, *güregen*. I must also add that in the Chinese transcriptions of the Yüan period, *li* 里~ *le* (列) even in cases where the original Mongol word definitely has *le*, as in *keleme(r)či*. Cf. Ligeti 1959, 236. For mmo. *kürgen*, cf. also RH, 232, no. 1.

On the Mongol custom of leaving the bridegroom with the bride's family as live-in son-in-law, and its implications, see Vlad.[2], 59; Ratchnevsky 1976, 512, 525-526, n. 22; ČK[1], 19-20 (= ČK[2], 21); Holmgren 1986, 132-133.

The fierceness of the Mongolian dogs is well known, and it comes as no surprise that young Temüǰin was scared of them. Cf. below, nn. 78 and 260. Yisügei's fatherly concern is one of those human touches that brighten up the SH narrative. On this aspect of the work, cf. A. Sárközi's remarks in Sárközi 1978, 148.

'He gave him his spare horse (*kötöl morin*) as a pledge (*belge*).' For *kötöl* (*morin*) 'led horse, spare or reserve horse' (> **kötölči*[*n*] ~ *kötöči*[*n*] 'servant, follower'; see below n. 198), see TMEN, no. 325; DO, 272b; CLC, 109ff.; Ligeti 1959, 236-238; and Yao TW 1963a. For *belge* 'token, pledge', see TMEN, no. 96. Naturally, the horse left by Yisügei was a pledge of betrothal.

As stated earlier, the SH description of Yisügei's meeting with Dei Sečen and Temüǰin's betrothal to Börte is a splendid piece of epic narrative which has no counterpart in the Chinese and Persian sources. For Rašīd al-Dīn's short and matter-of-fact account (translated by Pelliot in HCG, 413), see SL[2], I/1, 162.

§§ 67, 68. Šira Ke'er ('Yellow Steppe') is an unidentified plain near Mount Čekčer and therefore not far from the Buir Nōr and the Urshun River, but already in Tatar territory. See HCG, 424, 427. Cf. Pėrlėė[2], 11 (= Pėrlėė[4], 98), where it is localized in the area of the Buir Nōr and the estuary of the Kerulen; however, its situation in the Kerulen basin, already proposed by Wang Kuo-wei, has been disproved by Pelliot (op. cit., 427). Nevertheless, the territory in question being *west* of the Urshun (see above, n. 61), this locality must be situated between the two lakes Hulun and Buir.

'Some Tatars', lit. 'Tatar people.' It is surprising that, given the long-standing feud between the Mongols and the Tatars, Yisügei should have deemed it wise to partake of their hospitality – an action that soon proved to be a fatal error of judgement on his part. See §§ 53, 58, 59; cf. Clark 1978, 36-37. Obviously, Yisügei was simply complying with a basic rule of nomadic life, sanctioned in one of the *yasas* (= *ǰasaq*) mentioned by al-'Umarī: 'Wer an Leuten vorbeikommt, die gerade essen, hat, ohne erst um Erlaubnis zu bitten, platz zu nehmen und mit ihnen zu speisen.' See MW, 97. Interesting enough, the Tatars called him 'Yisügei the Kiyan', referring to his lineage.

'Remembered (lit. "thinking of") their grievance.' For *kegesü* 'grievance, enmity', cf. § 281 *kegesüle-* (a denominal

verb in *-le/-la* from *kegesü*) 'to secretly harm (because of a personal grudge).' See below, n. 281. Both the noun and the verb are obsolete and no longer in use in any Mongolian language. Pe, 14, has *kegesülen* following AT[3], 21a (cf. AT[1], 15a), but the emendation is not justified.

'With the secret intent to harm, they gave him poison mixing it *with his food*', lit. 'With the secret intent to harm, they poisoned him, mixing poison which they gave to him *with his food*.' 'With the secret intent to harm' renders the Mongolian *oyisuladun*. The verb *oyisulat-* 'to harbour secret thoughts (of hate, revenge); to secretly harm', appears four times in the SH in the forms *oyisulat-* (§§ 67, 245), *oyisula-* (§ 68), and *öyisület-* (§ 281). This verb is not attested elsewhere in these forms that I know of. Cf. Mo, 157. As suggested by N. Poppe (p.c.), *oyisulat-* is probably a misreading for *öyisület-*, the two forms being easily confused in Uighur-Mongol script. Cf. the '*ösleldün*' of AT[1], 15a. Now, *öyisület-* (~ *öyisüle-*) is no doubt a variant of mo. *öšele-* (= *ösiyele-*) 'to harbour hate or resentment against s.; to avenge, take vengeance' (Kow., 514a-b), a verb ultimately deriving from *öš* 'hate, revenge.' (For *-t* ~ zero, cf. *üderit-* ~ *üderi-* 'to rest and eat', see HW, 158.) See also below, n. 281. 'They gave him poison': the verb *qoǰir-*, glossed in the interlinear translation as 'to poison' (*tu* 毒) is a *hapax legomenon*. Ch. *tu* can also mean 'to grievously harm, injure' (= 害). In the HIIY, IIb, 11b, there is a verb *güǰile-* (? pro *güǰire-* or *güǰirle-*) meaning 'to grievously injure (= to kill).' Cf. *Matériel I*, 28, 57; *Matériel II*, 94 (11v,5); Cleaves 1985, 246, n. 41. Cf. also kh. *güžrėx*, kalm. *güdžrχə*, 'to risk (one's life)'; ord. *GwDžirle-* 'to do violence to s.' Possibly the two verbs *qoǰir-* and *güǰire-* are related, the alternation of back and front vocalism being well attested. Cf. *γatul-* ~ *getül-*; *oči-* ~ *eči-*; *söyü-* ~ *soyu-*, etc. See Oz[1], I, 275-276, n. 5; Vietze 1990, 381-382. Cf. SG, 131-133, § 68; de Rachewiltz 1982, 20; *Matériel II*, 16, 25, 36, 54, 71. If so, the translation should literally run as follows: 'they grievously injured him mixing poison which they gave to him *with his food*.' For the expression (*idegen-dür*) *qora qoli-* 'to mix poison (in the food)', see Kow., 925a. Cf. GOM, 65, for the parallel account in Saγang Sečen's chronicle (ET[3], 26v29-31).

'Felt ill', lit. 'went bad' (*ma'ui otču*), where 'bad' (*ma'ui*) = 'ill', and 'to go' (*ot-*) = 'to be in a certain state or condition', *ot-* corresponding here to *yabu-* id. See the AT[1] (15a) gloss (*maγui odurun* = *maγui-bar yabun*), which has been misunderstood in LDAT, 70, and ATL, 34.

'After three days', lit. 'going three days and nights' (*qurban qonoq yabuǰu*). For *qonoq* (= mo. *qonoγ*) 'a day and a night', cf. TMEN, no. 1539; DO, 353a.

'Being in a bad way', lit. 'being bad (= ill).' Cf. Cleaves 1959, 60 [12r6], and 90, n. 352, where however it is not stated that 'to be (*or* become) bad' actually means 'to be (*or* become) ill.' For *ma'ui* 'ill', cf. ord. *mū* 'indisposé, qui va mal (malade)' (DO, 472a).

'Who is at hand?' For *dergede* 'at the side, in the presence of', hence 'near(by)', cf. de Rachewiltz 1982, 80, n. 282.

Old Čaraqa (Čaraqa Ebügen), the father of Mönglik, reappears in §§ 72 and 73. A variant of his name is Čaraqai (cf. §§ 29, 47); on its etymology, cf. HCG, 24; Poppe 1975, 167. For Čaraqa ~ Čaraqai, cf. Ilüge ~ Ilügei, Ögöle ~ Ögölei, etc. (see SG, 295-299, § 159). Čaraqa was a Qongqotan; for this clan see § 47 and com. *Ebügen* 'old man; elder, venerable' is a title of respect. Cf. HCG, 23-24; TMEN, no. 4; MSR, 133. For other examples, see § 97 J̌arči'udai Ebügen, § 120 Üsün Ebügen, § 149 Širgü'etü Ebügen. His son Mönglik, also known as Mönglik Ečige, or Father Mönglik, is an interesting figure, not only as the father of Kököčü Teb Tenggeri (see § 245), but also for having been regarded, with some justification, as the man whom Hö'elün married after Yisügei's death. For the arguments in favour and against this hypothetical marriage, see HCG, 22; Hambis 1975, 23-24, n. 39, 31ff. There is no doubt that there existed a special relationship between the families of

Yisügei and Čaraqa, and that this relationship, which has been discussed in detail and with perception by Hambis (op. cit.), continued in the following generation between Temüǰin/Činggis Qan and Mönglik (and the latter's son Kököčü). From § 69 onwards Mönglik is regularly called 'Father' – an epithet that Yisügei's children applied to him because, as the most trusted man in the household and the one whom Yisügei had charged with the care of the whole family after his death, they naturally regarded him as their second father. And it is noteworthy that in § 168 Mönglik calls Temüǰin 'son.' Mönglik's name, of Turkic origin, means 'Who Has Beauty Spots (*or* Moles).' See HCG, 117. Cf. BT, II, 193; and Rassadin 1995, 110. Cf. above, n. 50. On his death-bed Yisügei calls Mönglik 'my boy (*or* child: *čaqa minu*)'; this means that he must have been considerably younger than Yisügei, but old enough to assume responsibility for the family, i.e. probably between twenty and thirty years of age, as surmised by Hambis 1975, 20. For the word *čaqa* 'boy, child', cf. Rassadin 1995, 114; and below, n. 249.

'I was secretly harmed'. For *oyisulaqda'a* (almost certainly to be read *öyisülegde'e*), see above. The AT has, in fact, *ösiyelegdebe* (AT[1], 15a), which has been incorrectly transcribed as *oyisulaɣdaba* in ATL, 35.

'You take care', lit. 'You be in charge (*či mede*) of taking care.' For this passage, see Mo, 13, 234; Cleaves 1985, 247, n. 46. 'Your younger brothers ... your widowed elder sister-in-law': these are figurative terms, not to be taken literally. In the first instance, Yisügei regards Mönglik as his eldest son and his children as Mönglik's younger brothers; in the second instance, anticipating the situation after his own death, Yisügei regards Mönglik as his younger brother (taking his place in the family as it were) and Hö'elün becomes then Mönglik's elder sister-in-law. Cf. the case of Tolui's children and of his widow Berüde in § 272.

With regard to the year of death of Yisügei, probably 1170, see above, n. 54.

§ 69. 'Heeding the words', lit. 'Not causing to be other than (= not contravening) the word (= the order *or* command)' (*üge-yi buši ülü bolqan*). For the use of *buši* 'other than, different' in similar contexts, see Oz[1], II, 4-9, n. 1.

'Elder brother Yisügei.' Here *aqa* 'elder brother' is again used as a term of respect. Cf. Cleaves 1963, 71.

'Thinks constantly of', lit. 'is exceedingly thinking of (i.e. wishing for).'

'Father Mönglik.' For the epithet 'Father' (*ečige*) applied to Mönglik, see above nn. 68, 69; cf. Cleaves 1949a, 511.

§ 70. The tragic story of the Tayiči'ut leader Ambaqai is described in § 53. The Tayiči'ut and the Mongols of the Kiyat Borǰigin line had common ancestors (see above, n. 52), and in the present section they are referred to as *yekes* 'the Great (*or* Eminent) Ones.' Naturally, their 'souls' are meant, for whom the spring offering of food was made. This offering, or sacrifice, is called in the SH *qaǰaru* (w.f. *ɣaǰaru*) *inerü*, and the Chinese gloss explains this expression as 'sacrifice of (= consisting of) burning food in the ground', making it appear as if *qaǰaru* means 'in the ground' and *inerü* 'sacrifice of burning food.' Various investigators have pointed out the serious difficulties in interpreting this obscure expression. See HCG, 323; Mo, 16-18; Li, 145, n. 70; Ligeti 1973, 146; Mu, I, 103-104, n. 3. Cf. Skrynnikova 1992, 195. However, a number of scholars, beginning with Haenisch and including Ozawa, understand *qaǰaru* as referring to the place (of sacrifice), and either relate *inerü* to a hypothetical verb **ine-* 'to sacrifice', or to *inaru* 'to this side, in this direction.' Oz[1], II, 13, translates: '... Orbai *and* Sokatai ... had proceeded to this side, to the burial ground, for (the sacrifice) to the ancestors.' Cf. TH, 107-108 (= ǰYT, 190-192); Do[1], 32, 34-35, n. 3; El-Ar, 133 (where *inerü* is amended to *činerü* 'to that side'). As noted by Mostaert (loc. cit.), *inerü* < **ine-* is untenable. However, *qaǰaru* < *qaǰar* (= pmo., mo. *ɣaǰar* 'land, ground, etc.') + the directive suffix *-ru(/-rü)* is possible; and *inerü* = *inaru* is also possible (cf.

ümere ~ umara 'behind, north', etc.; see above, nn. 67, 68). According to Qurčabaγatur and Üǰüme (MBMTTS, 106-107), *qaǰaru* is to be read *qaǰar-a* 'at the place', as Damdinsürèn had done (Da[1], 42), which is, however, unwarranted. Damdinsürèn was led astray by Kozin's rendering of the sentence *yekes-e qaǰaru inerü qaruqsan-tur* as 'went to the cemetery in the "Land of the Ancestors"' (Ko, 88). This misinterpretation of the text had far-reaching consequences, leading, as it did, to Damdinsürèn (and many scholars after him) to understand the passage in question as meaning that the two widows of Ambaqai Qan 'offered the sacrificial food at the place of the Great Ones (the place where one buries the corpses of the ancestors).' Cf. Da[5], 36; Γa, 27; On, 18; Če, 54; Ev-Pop, 57. This in turn led to the concept of an original 'Land of the Ancestors' (*Yekes-ün γaǰar*; kh. *Ixsiĭn gazar*), now current in Mongolia, designating not only the burial ground of the Mongol emperors, but also a specific location the precise identification of which is the subject of a lively controversy. See de Rachewiltz 1998, 248-249, n. 19, where the whole issue is discussed; also Badamxatan 1992, and the numerous press releases issued between July and November 2001 by well-known Mongol academics concerning the alleged 'discovery' of the imperial burial ground at Öglögčiĭn Xèrèm, a site identified with 'Ixsiĭn gazar.' (For the Mongolian-U.S. joint expedition to this site, see below, n. 268.) This, like the other modern Mongolian myths of 'Xamag Mongol Uls' and the existence of a city and palace of 'Avarga', originates simply from a misunderstanding of the text of the SH. See above, n. 52, and below, n. 136. As for the verb *qar-* (= mo. *γar-*), rendered by most of the translators as 'to go out (*or* to)', in the present context it actually means 'to perform (a sacrifice, a ceremony).' See Mo, 19-21. Some of the interpretations proposed so far (cf. lately also Vietze 1990, 380), although speculative and not very satisfactory, may nevertheless lead us in the right direction towards another still tentative, but more satisfactory, explanation of the expression *qaǰaru inerü*, as I have endeavoured to show in my paper on the subject. See de Rachewiltz 1990. With the help of some scanty information provided by the YS and other Chinese sources, and taking also into account the narratives of European medieval travellers, such as John of Pian di Carpine, we can reconstruct the 'food-burning sacrifice' in its essential lines. It consisted, apparently, in a simple ceremony, carried out in spring (and possibly at other times too) by a shaman and/or shamaness, with the participation of the female members of the family of the deceased acting as assistants. A hole was dug in the ground where the food offering (i.e. meat) sprinkled with kumis or other alcoholic drink was buried. A prayer, or invocation, was recited and at the end the assistants consumed the remainder of the meat and drink. This form of sacrifice to the dead is very ancient, and we know that it was already performed in Liao and Chin times. See Mo, 18-20, n. 14; Li, 145, n. 70; Ratchnevsky 1970, 429-430 (III); idem 1976, 521; Franke H 1979, 142-143; IBŠ, 230-234; Even 1994, 175. It is my opinion that the two words *qaǰaru inerü* may actually constitute the beginning of the invocation made at the ceremony in question (cf. the enigmatic words *abui babui* of the invocation mentioned in § 174; see below, n. 174). The purpose of the invocation was to call the souls, or spirits, of the ancestors to the ritual meal prepared for them, so as to secure their continued blessing on the clan. Thus, the invocating formula must have contained words to that effect, *in primis* an entreaty to come and accept the offering. This, I think, may explain the use of the directive in both words which I understand as meaning 'To (lit. "towards, in the direction of") the ground, to this side (i.e. in this direction)', i.e. '*Come* to the ground (*or* place) *of sacrifice*, to this (= our) side (*or* "down here").' For uig. *ïnaru* 'vers le bas', cf. CBBMP, 105a. The invocatory formula would then be repeated in conjunction with the name of each of the ancestors whose 'soul' was in turn called by the shaman to 'come down' and join the sacrificial meal. I believe that the invocatory formula, consisting of the two words *qaǰaru inerü* (which Mostaert rightly calls 'une expression toute faite', see Mo, 17), was used, as a synecdoche, for the whole ceremony and, indeed,

as the regular designation of the sacrifice – much in the same way as in the Christian religion a set word or expression is used for the same purpose. Cf., for instance, the very name for the Eucharistic sacrifice, the 'Mass' (lat. *missa*), which comes from the formula of dismissal of the congregation at the end of the service (*Ite, missa est*). Clearly, by excluding Hö'elün from this important ritual on the pretext that she was late, Ambaqai's widows intended to cut their ties with their Kiyat Borǰigin agnates now that Yisügei was dead, and so reassert the leadership of the Tayiči'ut within the Mongol tribe, as confirmed by their subsequent actions. Cf. Vlad.[2], 63; MSJ, 402-412; Lattimore 1963b, 60.

With regard to the name Örbei, the SH form can be read either Orbai or Örbei; the latter reading is supported by AT[1], 15b. Cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. For the name Soqatai, see ibid., s.v.

For the use of *ǰirin* 'two' (fem.) = 'and', cf. Moses 1996, 77; and Šagdarsürėn 1999.

'She was left out', lit. 'she was left behind *the others*': as the other participants in the ceremony had all been given a share of the food offerings, there was no share left for Hö'elün.

'You say to yourselves that Yisügei Ba'atur is dead', lit. 'You say, "Has Yisügei Ba'atur *not* died?"' This and the following clause ending with *yekin qoǰida'ulumui ta*, lit. 'why do you leave me behind?', are rhetorical questions which I have rephrased in my translation.

'The share *of the offerings* to the ancestors' renders *yekes-ün kešik*, lit. 'part (= share) of the Great Ones (= the ancestors)', i.e. the portions or shares of the food offerings to the souls of the ancestors which the assistants burnt in the ground, as distinct from the remainder of the offerings which were shared among and consumed by the assistants. Cf. DO, 262b, s.v. '*Gėšik.*' *Kešik* (= pmo. *kešig*, *kesig* < tu. *kesäk*) 'part, portion, section, division', as a military term came to mean 'turn of duty, guard duty', and by extension 'the alternating sections of the *qan*'s bodyguard', hence 'the Guard.' On this important term and

institution, see Mo, 244-249; Haenisch 1961, 144-149; Uray-Köhalmi 1971, 276-279; Ligeti 1973, 150-151, no. 2; and below, nn. 191, 192.

The two words *bile'ür* (w.f. *bilegür*) and *sarqut* (w.f. *sarqud*) are technical terms of the sacrifice meaning 'remainder of the sacrificial meat' and 'remainder of the sacrificial drink' respectively. The Chinese interlinear gloss renders *sarqut* as 'sacrificial meat', but the correct meaning is no doubt the one given above. See Ligeti in *AOH* 14:1962, 323-324; Ligeti 1973, 151-161 (3 & 4).

Regarding the term *bile'ür*, H. Serruys (p.c.) wrote: 'In Fr Mostaert's copy of *Sur quelques passages* ..., p. 122, there is a pencil note to *bile'ür*: "*bilegür idesiten*": "ceux qui mangent l'excédent de la viande de sacrifice." But no reference, except: xylograph of Fr Botty (long dead). I have no idea which xylograph he is referring to. The only xylograph I have (from Fr M.) is the *Sayin üge-tü erdini-yin sang neretü sastir*. Doubtful if that is it.' For *sarqut*, see also TMEN, no. 1236; DO, 562b; Poppe 1955, 41.

The entire § 70, as well as § 71 and part of § 72, have been translated and discussed in Mo, 14-24.

§§ 71, 72. The section from 'At these words' to 'Onan River' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 22-24.

After replying in harsh terms to Hö'elün (whom they accuse of claiming rights she no longer had), Ambaqai's two widows turn to the Tayiči'ut people, i.e. to their chiefs, exhorting them to move camp and break away from Yisügei's family and retainers, thus severing all relations with the rival clan. The Tayiči'ut breakaway may be compared with Temüǰin's breakaway from his *anda* and kinsman (through Bodončar Mungqaq) J̌amuqa. See § 118; cf. Lattimore 1963b, 60-61. In § 72, the expression 'mothers and children', which occurs twice, is correct: it was not only Hö'elün and her children that were left behind by the departing Tayiči'ut but also the mother of Bekter and Belgütei, Sučigil or Suǰigil. See above, n. 56. There is a

reference to her in § 101 confirming her presence in the family. There were also retainers, like Old Čaraqa and Old Qo'aqčin (see below, n. 98), as well as Čaraqa's son Mönglik whose position in the family has already been discussed (n. 68).

'The following day' (*manaqarši üdür*): for *manaqarši* see above, n. 66. The expression *manaqarši üdür* occurs again in § 146, and is also found in the second line of the Qara Qoto ms. fragment G 110 in the P.K. Kozlov Collection of the IVAN RAN Library in St. Petersburg, albeit in mutilated form (*mana*[*γar*]*si üdür*).

Tarqutai Kiriltuq and Tödö'en Girte (? 'The Foul') were two Tayiči'ut chiefs. Apparently, the former was the son of Adal Qan, himself a grandson (or son?) of Ambaqai. For his name, probably an ethnicon from Tarqud (= Tarγud, mmo. Tarqut) rather than an epithet meaning 'Fat', see Bese 1988, 34-35; HCG, 16. He reappears several times in the SH (see, especially, § 149) and is mentioned in the SWCCL and by Rašīd al-Dīn. See HCG, 14-16 and 465, for further references to him. Tödö'en Girte is probably the same personage called Tödöge (> Tödö'e ~ Tödö'en > Tödōn) in §§ 146 and 219, and he is no doubt to be identified with Yisügei's 'close attendant' (近侍) Tödōn Qorǰin of the SWCCL (→ YS), and the 'senior kinsman' (*āqā*) Tödōn Qahurči (= Qa'urči ~ Qa'urǰi) of Rašīd. See HCG, 18-21, on him and the problems concerning his identification (he was known by several epithets). Cf. also Hambis 1975, 22, n. 38. As stated in the SH, other Tayiči'ut leaders joined them and so the entire Tayiči'ut people moved away from Yisügei's camp which, as we learn from Rašīd, was at the time 'between the Onon and the Kerulen.' See SL^2, I/2, 85. The Tayiči'ut moved further east along the Onon River. (For the localization of the Tayiči'ut, cf. Badamxatan 1992, 91.) Tarqutai Kiriltuq obviously regarded himself as Ambaqai Qan's heir and successor, and therefore as the legitimate leader of the Mongol people, a claim which inevitably put him on a collision course with the still young Temüǰin, Yisügei's eldest son by Hö'elün. See below, nn. 79 and 219. Yisügei's eldest son by his other wife

(Sučigil or Sǰigil) was Bekter, but he will soon be eliminated by Temüǰin, who thus disposed of the only other serious contender within his own immediate family. I think this is the true reason for the callous murder of Bekter, not the trivial one reported in the SH (see below, n. 77). It is in the light of these circumstances that Yisügei's immediate recall of Temüǰin from Dei Sečen's camp must be understood: Yisügei was well aware that after his death the succession issue would flare up again. In the YS it is stated that irreparable disunity and conflict between Yisügei and his Tayiči'ut kinsmen (族人) was caused by Tarqutai's authoritarianism (用事). See YS^2 1, 3.

For the use of the so-called enclitic *-tan/-ten* = 'and the other', cf. Mo, 30 and n. 24, 93-94; DO, 644, s.v. '^{2}-*t'an*'; and, more recently, the interesting remarks by N. Orlovskaya in YMT, 34-36, 50-51. This postposition functions as: 1) an apposition indicator, to be rendered with a comma or a dash (A-*tan* B = B, A, *or* B – A – ; cf. § 90); 2) conjunction ('and') between related nouns/names (A, B, C-*tan* D = D – A, B and C –; cf. § 183; 3) a categorizing particle for 'things' of the same group or kind (hence an extension of [2]), to be rendered with 'and (the) others', i.e. of the same kind (A-*tan* B = B – A and the others; A, B-*tan* C = C – A, B and others; cf. §§ 99 and 176). Its usage coincides at times with that of *ki'et* (= pmo., mo. *kiged*). See Oz^1, III, 29-32, n. 7, 208-209, n. 1 (with reference to §§ 130 and 150). Cf. also below, n. 183, for additional comments.

'Tried to stop them' and later 'Why do you hinder us?': the verb in both instances is *itqa-* (= mo. *idqa-*) which has these meanings as well as those of 'to exhort, persuade', i.e. 'to urge s. to do or not to do stg.' Cf. HW, 84; Les., 401a.

The words 'The deep water has dried up,/The shining stone is shattered', which are in fact a proverb that the SH puts in Tödö'en Girte's mouth, are also reported in the SWCCL^1, 3a; SL^2, I/2, 85; and YS^2 1, 3. Their meaning, as explained by Rašīd (loc. cit.), is 'I have made a firm decision because there was no [*other*] choice [*for me*]. As to the possibility of any hesitation, it

is preposterous (i.e. it is out of the question – I.R.)!' In other words, 'The situation has deteriorated to the point where things can no longer be mended.' After quoting the proverb, the SWCCL makes Tödŏn say 'What is then the point in staying?' See HCG, 17-18. This Mongol saying, which occurs again in §§ 147 and 209 (with slightly different wording), has been discussed by Gaadamba (MNTSZA, 111-113), Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 77, 78, and Ozawa (Oz[1], II, 28-30, nn. 8, 9). The latter's interpretation of the word *čeügen* with 'hard' instead of 'shining (*or* bright)' is, however, unacceptable. It is true that in the version of the proverb reported in the Chinese sources the stone is described as 'hard' or 'solid' (堅), and this meaning certainly seems more appropriate than 'shining' or 'bright', but the word *čeügen* occurs several times in the SH regularly glossed as *ming* 明 'brilliant.' See HW, 25. *Čeügen* = *če'ügen* (mo. *čegen*, kh. *cėgėėn*) 'white, whitish, light.' See TH, 314 (= ǰYT, 545). The meaning of 'bright' for *čeügen* is also confirmed by the Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 2, 4a). In the corresponding passage of the AT, the word *čeügen* is indeed preserved, but it is misplaced in the text, see AT[1], 16a. The reason for the choice of the word *čeügen* as the attribute of *čila'un* 'stone' in this popular saying is, I think, simply due to alliteration with the word *če'el* 'deep.' The Chinese rendering of the Mongol proverb in the SWCCL and YS is apparently an 'improvement' on the original. On the phraseology of this proverb, cf. also Bese 1969, 129-130.

For the expression *ǰo qudus* 'along the spine', cf. Cleaves 1949a, 511. *J̌o*, mo. *ǰo(n)*, is 'the spine' or 'back' (see Les., 1065a); *qudus*, mo. *γudus*, means 'along, lengthwise, following the line (*or* course) of, downward(s)' (see Les., 365a). This word, which occurs again in § 207: *Erdiš qudus* 'along the Erdiš *River*', is discussed at length in Ozawa 1977a, 495-500. However, the nature of the word deserves further investigation. Vladimircov has already noted the correlation between *γuduyi-* 'to lower', *γudus* 'along, onward, down', and otu., uig. *qodï* 'down' (SG, 160, 319). For *γuduyi-* > *γudus*, cf. *irǰayi-* 'for the

teeth to show' > *irǰas* 'smile'; for the unusual suffix *-s* forming nouns as well as adverbs, see above, nn. 50, 55 (this dual role of *-s* is very similar to that of the suffix *-si*, on which see GWM, 49, § 181; 59, § 216 [a]); cf. JŚ, 52, § 77). The verb *γuduyi-* is formed on **γudu* 'low'; cf. *qara* 'black' > *qarayi-* 'to darken' (see 'Verbstamm.', 56, § 70). For **γudu* 'low', cf. otu., uig. *qodï* 'down.' Besides *γudus* (< *γuduyi-*) we have several deverbal nouns deriving from *γuduyi-*, such as *γudul* 'rivulet, narrow canal' (< *γuduyi-* + suff. *-l*; see GWM, 47, § 159), *γudum* 'passage, thoroughfare' and its synonym *γudumǰi* 'lane' (< *γuduyi-* + suff. *-m* and *-mǰi*; see GWM, 47, § 164; 48, § 171). Regarding the latter, it has been suggested (MCS, 208) that it is from this word (*γutumǰi*) that ch. *hu-t'ung-tzu* 衚衕(胡同)子 'lane, alley (in Peking)' may derive. I doubt this, since the term in question, when first attested in writing (in Yüan literature), appears only in the form *hu-t'ung* (see SYYYTT, 629b; DKJ, X, 34066); in the Peking vernacular the two forms regularly used are *hu-t'ung* and (*hsiao*) *hu-t'ung-erh* ([小]衚衕兒). It is, however, possible that *hu-t'ung* may originate from *γudum*, which has the same meaning as *γudumǰi* (cf. MKT, 779b), even though the Chinese phonetic rendering is not quite accurate: *hu-t'ung* presupposes an original **γutung*, rather than *γudum*. Moreover, there is no textual evidence for the existence of *γudum* and *γudumǰi* in Mongolian classical or preclassical texts that I know of, which is surprising if these words were already in common usage in the 13th-14th centuries. Indeed, according to Ramstedt (KW, 153a), it is *γudumǰi* which is a borrowing from Chinese, not the other way round. Nevertheless, *γudum* – if this word existed in the Yüan period – is a better etymology than any proposed so far, such as a derivation from mmo. *qoton* 'town' (suggested to me by the late Fang Chaoying 房兆楹 in 1961), or from Manchu (see SGDJ, 1329d). For other less likely derivations, cf. HCWLYTT, 335-339, no. 110. Ma. *hūtung* 'alley, lane' is definitely a borrowing from ch. *hu-t'ung*. Cf. SSTMY, I, 479a.

Finally, it is worth noting that in the sentence beginning 'As they set out', the verb *ne'ü-*, lit. 'to transmigrate', is in the passive: *ne'ükgerün*, i.e. 'when they underwent *their* transhumance'; cf. also §§ 73 and 74. See Poppe 1964, 375.

§ 73. 'Your good father' = 'your late father', i.e. Yisügei. For 'good' (*sayin*) = 'late', see 'Trois documents', 455; *Lettres*, 59. The people 'gathered' by him were the people he had conquered, i.e. his subjects. For this use of the verb *quriya-* 'to gather, assemble', see below, n. 196.

'This is how I was treated', lit. 'I was done so.' Cf. Poppe 1964, 374. According to Rašīd al-Dīn, Old Čaraqa died just as Temüǰin left his tent in tears. See SL^2, I/2, 85. The order of these events in SL is somewhat different from that in the SH.

Regarding Hö'elün's courageous but ultimately fruitless effort, Ligeti has already noted that her display of the war standard of Yisügei's clan was a symbolic gesture indicating her determination to challenge the action of the Tayiči'ut, and to rally the subjects that had deserted her by assuming the power formerly invested in her husband – the sacral power symbolized by the standard. The standard (*tuq*, mo. *tuγ*) played a most important role in the great tribal events, such as the beginning and the end of a military campaign. See Li, 145, n. 73, also for a graphic description of one of these ceremonies in the time of Babur (quoted from *The Memoirs of Bābur*). On the great standard of the Mongols in the time of Činggis Qan and later – the white *tuq* 'with nine feet', i.e. with nine tails or streamers made of yak tails – see the references in the MTPL and HTSL (= MDBL, 76, 186-187; CG, 72, 74, 132, 146, 174, 195), and in Serruys 1945, 156. Cf. also Pelliot 1930b, 32; and his remarks in HCG, 22-23, and NMP, II, 860-861. On the term *tuq* (*tuγ*) of Turkic and ultimately Chinese origin, see TMEN, no. 969. For further mentions of the standard in the SH, cf. §§ 106 and 202; and above, n. 63. The denominal verb *tuqla-* (w.f. *tuγla-*) 'to hold the standard' is unknown in Written Mongolian and in the living languages and dialects. With regard to this word, both the

interlinear gloss and the sectional summary in the SH raise problems of interpretation concerning which see HCG, 22-23; Ratchnevsky 1966a, 182; TH, 264-265 (= ǰYT, 457-458).

On the role of the woman as leader in early Mongol society, cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 511; Schöne 1993; and M. Zènèè in MNT, I, 268-275.

For the corresponding passage in the SWCCL and in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, see HCG, 18; SL^2, I/2, 85. According to Rašīd, loc. cit., there was actually an armed confrontation between the two sides; in the end Hö'elün succeeded in causing part of the Tayiči'ut tribesmen and of her *ulus* (i.e. her subjects) to come back.

The verb *ičü-* 'to return' corresponds to mo. *ničü-* id. For *i-* ~ *ni-*, see HCG, 332; Oz^1, II, 35-36, n. 6.

§ 74. 'The Tayiči'ut kinsmen', lit. 'The Tayči'ut brothers' (*aqa de'ü*). The expression *aqa de'ü* ('elder brother[s] and younger brother[s]' = 'brothers') refers here in particular to the Tayiči'ut leaders Tarqutai Kiriltuq and his younger brothers (cf. § 149) who had agnatic links with Yisügei through Ambaqai, Čaraqai Lingqu and Qaidu. Tarqutai and Yisügei were, in fact, cousins of the same generation, both being collateral descendants of Qaidu in the fifth generation. One may indeed render *aqa de'ü* with 'cousins.' In many languages the terms 'elder brother' and younger brother' are used as indicators of seniority and juniority for male paternal cousins within the generation of ego. Cf., e.g., ch. *hsiung* 兄 (= *tsu-hsiung* 族兄) and *ti* 弟 (= *tsu-ti* 族弟) 'elder cousin' and 'younger cousin' (see Feng HY 1937, 149); gr. ἀδελφός 'brother, kinsman'; etc. The Mongols, too, used these terms to express relationships beyond those of blood brothers. See E. Bacon's remarks on the subject in OSSSE, 62-63. See also NMP, I, 75; Cleaves 1949, 115, n. 125; MSR, 135-136. Cf. §§ 68, 120, 180; and below, n. 104. In most translations of the SH it is not really clear whether 'the Tayiči'ut brothers' are Tarqutai Kiriltuq and his own brothers, or whether they are 'our Tayiči'ut brothers (= kinsmen)', said from the standpoint of

Yisügei's family – which ultimately comes to the same thing. Cf., e.g., Oz[2], I, 58; Ev-Pop, 58; On, 19; Cl, 20; and Ta, 23. That the latter interpretation is the only correct one is unequivocally shown by the expression *Tayiči'ut aqa de'ü-ye'en* 'of our Tayiči'ut brothers (= kinsmen)' in § 76; cf. also Sorqan Šira's words in § 82.

The verb *teǰi'e-* (= mo. *teǰiye-*, *teǰige-*) which recurs in §§ 74 and 75 means both 'to feed, nourish' and 'to rear.'

'Pulling firmly her tall hat/Over her head' renders *ukitala boqtalaǰu*, lit. 'Putting the *boqta* on *her head* until it was fast.' For *boqtala-* (= pmo. *boγtala-*) 'to put on the *boqta*', see Mo, 201-204; TMEN, no. 89. The *boqta* or *boqtaq* (= pmo. *boγta*, *boγtaγ*; mo. *boγto*) is the characteristic headdress worn by high-ranking Mongol ladies and known in Chinese at the time as *ku-ku kuan* 固(故, 姑, 顧, etc.)姑(故,罟) 冠 '*ku-ku* hat', or simply as *ku-ku*. This term itself is a transcription of a non-Chinese word (? **gügü*). It is tempting to relate it, as other investigators have done, to mmo. *kegül* (~ **kügül*), *kekül*, mo. *kükül*, *kekül* 'long hair, tuft of hair, braids' (see above, n. 56), particularly since one of the meanings of mo. *kükül* is 'ornaments pour la chevelure' (Kow., 2632a). Cf., e.g., HCWLYTT, 309-327, no. 107 (a valuable contribution); Huang SC 1984, 207-208; and TH, 151-152 (= ǰYT, 263-266). The *boqta(q)* was a very ornate headdress, decked with feathers, gems and pearls. One of its main features, together with its unusual length and shape, was the strings of pearls hanging down on the sides just like tresses, so that this headgear was a true 'chapeau à tresses' – which is exactly what *ku-ku kuan* means if *ku-ku* = *kükü(l)*. This equivalence is, however, uncertain and the above explanation remains purely hypothetical, also because it is not clear why the Chinese would adopt such a designation instead of simply using the word *boqta* in transcription. (One possible, and most likely, explanation is that the term *ku-ku* is of Kitan origin.) We have detailed descriptions, as well as pictorial evidence, of the *boqta(q)* in the 13th and 14th centuries, mostly through the

accounts of contemporary Chinese and European travellers. See, in particular, CG, 79, 80, n. 3, 119; MDBL, 80, 81, 191, 192; HYC, A, 18a-b; TOA, 67 (cf., however, Pelliot in *TP* 28:1931, 420); SF, 35, n. 1, 182-183, 258, n. 6 (cf., however, RCAC, 156), 473, n. 3; MM, 7-8, 102, 162; MWR, 88, 89 and n. 1; CWT, II, 222, 222-224, n. 5; and CEME, 16-18. Cf. also Serruys 1945, 136; Mostaert 1957a, 97-98; Pelliot 1925, 222; and Z. Batsaïxan in MNT, I, 258-262. For an illustration of the *boqta(q)* as worn by Qubilai's wife, the Empress Čabui (or Čabi), in the famous portrait from the Palace Museum, see CKKTFSYC, 388, fig. 157 (right). Cf. also Esin 1977, pl. Ia, IIa. For further data on the *boqta(q)*, the use of this term in Persian and Turkic, and related problems, see CKKTFSYC, 388-390; Mostaert 1927, 147; TMEN, no. 89; RH, 300, no. 40. The form *boqta* appears as *bochta* in a Venetian document of 1366. See MP[1], I, 556. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1997a, 75. For *boqta* ~ *boqtaq*, cf. tu. (čag.) *yasa* ~ *yasaq* < mmo. *ǰasaq* 'law.'

In § 254 we find two variations on the theme of Hö'elün wearing the *boqta* expressing essentially the same idea, viz. the placing of the headdress firmly in position (which must not have been easy in view of its shape). Hö'elün's reason for wearing it in such circumstances as are described in the present section is, again, symbolic. As Pelliot has pointed out (NHHO, 43), the belt, which is mentioned in conjunction with the *boqta*, is a symbol of authority. The *boqta*, a formal headdress to be worn only by married ladies of rank, is a status symbol. By wearing *boqta* and belt, Hö'elün symbolically reaffirms her authority and position at a time of great adversity.

'Tying tightly her belt/To shorten her skirt', lit. 'Girding herself until (= so as) to shorten *her skirt* (i.e. by tucking it up).' See Mo, 200, and 200-203, n. 184.

'Along the Onan River,/Running up and down', lit. 'Running upstream and downstream *along* the Onan River.' The word for downstream is *irada* – a *hapax legomenon*. It is apparently an adverb in *-da/-de* like *ö'ede* 'upstream', and a synonym of *huru'u* (= mo. *uruγu*) 'downstream' (see HW, 79).

The rendering is based on the interlinear Chinese gloss and makes perfect sense, *irada* being in juxtaposition to *ö'ede*. TH, 111 (= ǰYT, 198), and Oz[1], II, 38, 44, n. 7, followed by On, 19, understand differently and see in *irada* the dative-locative of *ira* 'edge, border', a rare word attested in the MA, 197b, in the form *iratu* 'having an edge.' However, if we accept this interpretation, the rendering of the above clause is, in my view, not as satisfactory ('Running upstream along the edge (= bank) of the Onan River').

'She gathered crab apples and bird cherries.' For *temgü-* 'to pick up', see Hashimoto 1992; cf. also the SH, § 26. For *ölirsün*, mo. *ölir*, kh. *öröl*, 'the crab or wild apple' (*Malus pallasiana*), see MOUNT, 59. In Inner Mongolia *öril* (*ölir*) designates *Malus baccata*. See ÜUǰT, 725. For *moyilsun*, mo. *moyil*, kh. *moǐl*(*on*), 'the bird or sour cherry' (*Padus*, L. [= *Prunus padus*]), see UNT, 68, no. 14931; ÜUǰT, 746. Cf. Oz[1], II, 44-45, nn. 8, 9. It should be noted that some of the Chinese botanical glosses in the SH are not wholly reliable; for example, *ölirsün* is glossed *tu-li* 杜梨 'small coarse pear' (*Pyrus betulaefolia*: see CMP, 132, no. 432; CKKTCWTC, II, 233), which is not an accurate definition as the fruit in question is a wild apple, not a wild pear. *Moyilsun* is merely glossed 'name of fruit' (果名). For the plant suffix *-sun/-sün*, see Poppe 1981, 387-388 (4). Cf. MÜIT, 2756b, no. 371.

'Day and night she fed/Their *hungry* gullets.' For the expression *qo'olai teǰi'e-* 'to feed the gullet', cf. Cleaves 1985, 245, n. 33.

'Born brave' renders *sölsütei töreksen*, lit. 'born with gall', i.e. with courage. As noted by Cleaves, the Mongols, like the Chinese, believed that the gall is the seat of courage. See Cl, 21, n. 5. Cf. below, n. 139.

'The noble mother': this expression, which occurs three times in § 74, is literally 'the lady mother' (*üǰin eke*). *Üǰin*, Hö'elün's epithet, is the designation of ladies of noble birth, such as, e.g., the daughter of the Merkit chief Toqto'a, Huǰa'ur Üǰin (§ 177). See above, n. 55. I regularly render Hö'elün Üǰin as Lady Hö'elün; only in the present instances do I translate *üǰin* as 'noble' simply to avoid the awkward rendering 'the lady mother', or the equally unsatisfactory 'the *üǰin* mother', or 'Üǰin, the Mother.'

'Her sons who were favoured/With *Heaven's* good fortune' renders *sutan kö'üd-iyen*. *Sutan*, plural of *sutai* (< *su* 'fortune, Heaven's favour' + poss. suff. *-tai*) 'fortunate (= recipient of Heaven's fortune or favour)', is really much more than 'fortunate' in the English sense. *Sutai* is the designation of men destined by Heaven – blessed with Heaven's favour or good fortune, as it were – to rule over other men; it is, in other words, an attribute of royalty implying the possession of a 'charismatic' quality. See above, n. 63. Cf. Ligeti's renderings 'majestueux' and 'Majesté' in Ligeti 1973a, 5-6. See *Lettres*, 19-22, for a discussion on *su* (= *suu*), and TMEN, no. 217, on *sutan* – also for further bibliographical references. There is, indeed, a vast literature on the subject: among the most recent contributions see, in particular, Mori 1981, 58ff. (showing that tu. *qut*, *qutluγ* correspond to mo. *su*, *sutai*); Bawden 1985; Bazin 1987, 222-223; Skrynnikova 1987, 1988, 1989 and 1990; KHIV, passim; Bira 1991, 40ff.; idem 2000, 63ff.

'With a pointed stick from a spruce' renders *čigörsün širō bariǰu*, lit. 'taking (*or* holding) a pointed *čigörsün* stick.' In Inner Mongolia, *čögörsü(n)* designates *Cunninghamia lanceolata*, i.e. the Chinese fir. See ÜUǰT, 28; cf. WTCWC, III, 4022.1; UNT, 103, no. 15116. In Mongolia, according to Cëv., 795b, *cöörs* (*čögörsü*) is the name applied to a species of spruce (*gačuur*: *Picea* Dietr. or *P. obovata*). Cf. Kow., 2231a: *čögörsü* 'picéa.' QNTT, 786b, confirms that the *čögörsü* is a tree like the spruce and adds that the Chinese call it *shan-mu* (杉木 = *Cunninghamia lanceolata*); however, this tree does not grow in northern Mongolia and this designation can, therefore, apply only to the Chinese fir, which as stated above, is indeed known in Inner Mongolia as *čögörsü*. The Chinese glosses of the 14th century, including those of the SH, render *čigörsün* as 'juniper tree (*Juniperus chinensis*).' See the extensive note 161 in

Cleaves 1951, 102-103. In the Sino-Mongolian inscriptions of 1335 and 1338, *čigüresün* renders ch. *po* 柏 'cypress'; but *po* may designate also the juniper, as in the case of *yüan-po* 圓柏 '*Juniperus chinensis* (= *Sabina chinensis*)' and *shan-po* 山柏 '*Juniperus squamata* (= *Sabina squamata*).' Cf. ibid., and CKKTCWTC, I, 321, 320. Mostaert 1949, 474 and n. 6, adopted the rendering 'genévrier' (cf. Pe, 134: 'genièvre'), but in Mo, 157, he translated *čigörsün* as 'cyprès.' The Chinese renderings are indeed inconsistent and, as in the case of *ölirsün* above, not very reliable. It is clear from the use of this term in Mongolia that *čigörsü(n)* must designate a spruce (almost certainly the Siberian spruce, *Picea obovata*) rather than a cypress or juniper, and I have translated it accordingly. It is possible that the inconsistency in the Chinese definitions is only apparent and due to the fact that certain Chinese botanical terms, such as *po* 柏 (see above) and *shan* 杉, were (and still are) used to designate various taxa of the order Coniferales, taxa that in modern botanical classification belong to different families and genera within this order. In the case of *shan*, this term is applied to a variety of conifers including those of the genera *Picea*, *Cunninghamia* and *Cryptomeria*; this accounts, *inter alia*, for the wrong identification of *čögörsü* with the cypress, the cedar, the Japanese spruce, the Siberian fir, etc., in MEPD, 547a; Les., 201a-b; MMED, 768a; UNT, 103, no. 15116; Gol., III, 308b; Poppe 1950, 279. As for *širō* (= pmo. *sirua*, not *širo-a* as in ATL, 38, 39) 'pointed stick', cf. Mostaert 1949, 474.

'She dug for *roots of* the great burnet,/And *for those of* the silverweed.' For *südün* (~ *südüsün*), pmo. and mo. *südün*, *südüsün*, kh. *söd(ön)*, 'great burnet (*Sanguisorba officinalis*)', see MOUNT, 27; ÜUJT, 771; TMEN, no. 219. Cf. also Cėv., 483a; Oz[1], II, 47-48, n. 13. The forms *sudun* and *sudusun* in Cl, 21, and Cleaves 1956, 263, n. 690, must, I think, be read *südün* and *südüsün*. *Čičigina*, mo. *gičigene*, kh. *gičgėnė*, is the generic name for *Potentilla* L.; the species dug by Mother Hö'elün was almost certainly *P. anserina* or Silverweed, the roots of which

have since ancient times been marginal or famine food in Asia as well as in Europe. On it, see UNT, 99, no. 15086; ÜUJT, 732; MOUNT, 30; Cėv., 145a; YTPL, 92; FF, 24 (4.20), 31 (6.18); TEF, 159-160. Cf. Buell 1989, 119; idem 1990, 76, n. 16; Oz[1], II, 48-49, n. 14; Poppe 1981, 384 (1).

'The sons who were fed on wild garlic (*qaliyarsun*)/And on wild onion (*manggirsun*).' For *qaliyarsun*, mo. *qaliyar*, kh. *xaliar*, 'wild garlic (*Allium victorialis*)', see MOUNT, 33; ÜUJT, 254; cf. also Vietze 1990, 383. For *manggirsun*, mo. *manggir*, kh. *mangir*, 'wild onion (*Allium senescens*)', see MOUNT, 33; ÜUJT, 252. On the *mangir(sun)* 'eine wilde Zwiebelart', cf. the description in RBC, 61. For both these plants see also Oz[1], II, 49-50, nn. 15 and 16. As in previous instances (see above), the Chinese glosses of the SH are not quite accurate, as they render *qaliyarsun* with *shan-hsieh* 山薤 'wild onion', and *manggirsun* with *hsieh* 薤 'shallot, garden shallot, scallion (*Allium bakeri* = *Allium chinense*).' These are, however, close approximations.

'In time became rulers', lit. 'attained to becoming *qaŋs*' (*qat bolura gürbi*). For the use of the past perfect in *-bi*, normally the feminine form of *-bai/-be*, *-bai/-bei*, but applied here to males, see UGPM, 146-147, § 32; Doerfer 1955, 251; Oz[1], II, 50-51, n. 17. Cf. the form *büliyi* in § 56.

'Were fed on wild lily *bulbs*': the lily in question is actually the wild scarlet lily (*Lilium concolor*), in Chinese *shan-tan* 山丹. See CMP, 222, no. 683; ÜUJT, 273. However, in the new botanical nomenclature adopted by the CKKT, *shan-tan* corresponds to *Lilium pumilum* (see ibid., V, 453). The SH term is *ǰa'uqasu* (w.f. **ǰaɣuɣasu*[*n*]), an obsolete word preserved only in Dagur in the form *ǰōgos* according to TH, 287 (= ǰYT, 498). Whereas Bö, 31; Ba, 136; Shi 2, 6a; Du, 25; and El-Ar, 144, write *ǰaɣuɣasu* (Al, 20, has incorrectly *ǰiɣasu*), Ma, 46, writes *ǰoɣoɣa* (!), and Ir, 46, *ǰauqasu*. MA, 136b, has the entry *čuɣasunu čeček* 'name of a certain flower', *čuɣasun* being no doubt another form, or rather development, of **ǰaɣuɣasun* (>

ǰa'uɣasun [= SH *ǰa'uqasu*] > **ǰūɣasun ~ čuɣasun* [= *čūɣasun*]). Cf. ET[1], 64r24 *ǰaɣaɣusun*, a metathetical form of **ǰaɣuɣasun*. On *shan-tan*, cf. also Cleaves 1956a, 401-402, n. 35. The present Mongolian name for the *shan-tan* flower is *sarana čečeg* (= kh. *sarnyn cėcėg*). See ÜUǰT, 273; and UNT, 152, no. 15424. For the food plants used by the Mongols in the 12th and 13th centuries, cf. Buell 1990, 37-42; for those used in particular by Hö'elün, see ibid., 37-38, 89. Cf. also SFQ, 37-38; and Khasbagan and Imzab, 'Ethnobotanical Studies on Edible Plants in "The Secret History of the Mongols"', in the *Journal of Arid Land Resources and Environment*, Supplement: 1992, 130-138 (in Chinese [u.w.]; p.c. of Dr. R.I. Meserve).

'Became lawful and wise'; cf. Cl, 21: 'Became wise men [which were] lawgivers.' 'Lawful' and 'lawgivers' render *ǰasaqtan*, lit. 'having *ǰasaq*.' For *ǰasaq* (= mo. *ǰasaɣ*), the Mongol customary law which came to embody the rules and regulations established by Činggis Qan, see Doerfer, nos. 148, 1789; Vernadsky 1938; Ratchnevsky 1969; Morgan, 1986; TM, 96-99. For a discussion of the term *ǰasaq* and the 'Great (*yeke*) *ǰasaq*' of Činggis Qan, see below, n. 153. On Hö'elün's role as the widow of a chief and as a mother in adverse circumstances, her position as a woman in Mongol tribal society, and the analogy with Alan Qo'a, see Ratchnevsky 1976, 510; Sárközi 1978, 148-149; Yao Ts'ung-wu in *TLTC* 22:1961, 3-4.

For the use of famine food (roots, etc.) in the steppe, cf. Li, 145-146, n. 74, and the parallel case cited therein of the J̌alayir as reported in SL[2], I/2, 19.

The poetical passage on Hö'elün in the AT[1], 16b-17a, differs on many points from the SH version, and is obviously a product of a later *remaniement*. Cf. LDAT, 72-73; MNTLAT, 32.

§ 75. 'The hungry, nagging sons' – a somewhat inadequate rendering of the expression *qa'ulaqa(t) kö'üt*. The word *qa'uluqa(t)* (Y[1] and Y[2]: *qa'uluqa*; Y[3]: *qa'uluqat*) is of difficult interpretation and several translations have been proposed. This

word is not glossed in the interlinear version and is left out in the sectional summary; the AT is also of no help and neither MÜIT nor TH provide any useful clues. Ha, 13, renders it as 'stolzen'; Ko, 89, ignores it; Pe, 134, translates '*affamé*[3] (?)', relating in note 3 the SH term to mo. *ɣa'ulkilaqu* (i.e. *ɣaɣulkila-*) 'crier famine' of Kow., 984b; Li, 21, has 'szivós' ('tough'); Mu, I, 108 (and 117, n. 9), follows Pelliot and refers also to mo. *ɣaɣulǰa-* 'crier famine' of Kow., 984a; Oz[1], II, 55, n. 2, relates the word in question to dag. *gaulu-*, *gaula-* meaning 'for children to ask their parents insistently for all sorts of things; to nag; to hanker for (after) in many ways', and accordingly translates it as *itazura-naru* 'mischievous (*or* importune).' *Qa'uluqa(t)* probably represents a w.f. **ɣaɣuluɣa(d)*, from **ɣaɣul-*, a verb which is not attested as such; however, as noted by Pelliot and Murakami, we have mo. *ɣaɣulkila-* and *ɣaɣulǰa-* both meaning 'to plead poverty, have the appearance of one who is dying of hunger' (Les., 344a). The latter verb also has the meaning of 'to be reduced to begging because of hunger.' See QNTT, 444a; cf. Gol., II, 162b. Both *ɣaɣulkila-* (= *ɣaɣul-ki-la-*) and *ɣaɣulǰa-* (= *ɣaɣul-ǰa-*) are formed on **ɣaɣul-*, which in turn < **ɣaɣu* + *-l-*. For the suffixes *-ki-*, *-la-*, *-ǰa-*, and *-l-*, see the relevant sections in 'Verbstamm.' Now, mo. has *ɣaɣuɣi-* 'to project, lean forward', and *ɣaɣuɣur* 'projecting, leaning forward', an adverb in *-ɣur* (see GWM, 58, § 212) also formed on **ɣaɣu*. For **ɣaɣu*, cf. ma. *gahū* 'curved toward the front, extended forward'; and *gahūšambi* 'to stand with the mouth gaping; to be so hungry that one is reduced to begging.' See CMEL, 99b, 100a; SSTMY, I, 137b. The basic idea conveyed by verbs derived from **ɣaɣu* 'inclined forward' is of 'being bent forward and incapacitated (because of hunger or distress)'; cf. the secondary meaning of *ɣaɣulǰa-* 'to try to speak but be unable to express oneself; to stutter (as when in a hurry)', and the expression *ɣaɣulǰan eri-* 'to keep demanding, importune with requests' (Les., 344a). This agrees with the meaning of dag. *gauli-*, *gaula-* to which Ozawa refers. As we are dealing with

the same basic word (and concept), it is possible to reconcile the etymologies proposed by Pelliot, Murakami and Ozawa. The meaning of SH *qa'uluqa(t)* would then be 'hungry and importuning (= begging, asking insistently) for food', a meaning that also fits the context well. See de Rachewiltz 1995, 279-280.

'Who were fed on wild leek (*qoqosun*).' For *qoqosun*, mo. *γoγod*, *γoγosun*, kh. *gogod*, oir. *γōsun*, 'wild leek', also commonly known in the U.S.A. as 'garlic chive' (*Allium tuberosum* according to ÜUJT, 253, but *Allium odorum* according to MOUNT, 32), cf. Oz[1], II, 54, n. 1; Vietze 1990, 380-381; MED, 94a; MKeT, 1702a.

'Became handsome and good' renders *qoyila'ut sayit bolba*. This rendering is only tentative insofar as the word *qoyila'ut* is concerned. Indeed, this word raises even more problems of interpretation than *qa'uluqa(t)*. Like the latter, it is not glossed in the interlinear version nor is it attested elsewhere as such. The AT is also of no help. Naka, Pelliot and Cleaves have refrained from translating it; most of the translations proposed so far are contextual interpretations, or based on doubtful etymologies (this applies also to my earlier interpretation in Ra, II, 135, which is no longer tenable). The word itself can be read either *qoyila'ut* (as in Y^3 and Y^4) or *qoyira'ut* (as in Y^1 and Y^2); it must, therefore, be a plural of a w.f. **qoyilaγ* or **qoyiraγ*, or, alternatively, **γoyilaγ*, **γoyiraγ*. Oz[1], II, 54-57, n. 3, suggests a possible correlation between the SH term, kh. *xoĭlog* 'snow cock' (MMED, 640b; cf. Cév., 683b), and go. *xoilog* (pl. *xoilGūd*) 'lively, full of vigour (said of children).' Unfortunately, there is no evidence for a metaphorical use of kh. *xoĭlog*; however, the Gorlos expression, even though it has apparently no counterpart in any other Mongolian language, cannot be rejected. For my part, I am rather inclined to see in *qoyila'ut* an ancient dialect variant of mo. *γoyuliγud* (*γoyuli'ud*), the plural of *γoyuliγ*, kh. *goyolog*, 'rather beautiful (fine, smart).' For a somewhat different, but still plausible interpretation, see Mu, I, 108, 118, n. 10; cf. also Vietze 1990, 386; Cėrėnsodnom

1991, 5-6. The etymology proposed in TH, 182 (= ĬYT, 317), i.e. *qoyira'u* = bur. *xoĭrog* (see BRS, 578a) 'official(-like)', is not satisfactory.

'And grew up into fine men', lit. 'after becoming (*bolun baraĭu*) fine men.' For the auxiliary of completion *bara-*, cf. Mo, 114, n. 106; Aalto 1973, 36.

'Truly valiant and bold' renders *erekün omoqun ele boldaba*, lit. 'They became truly (*ele*) valiant and bold.' I take *ele* as being emphatic here (= 'truly'); cf. however, Street 1986, 26-27 (43) and 55-56, n. 26.

'Mother Onan': for the epithet 'mother' applied to rivers, cf. rus. *matuška Volga*. The river is called 'mother' because 'it feeds', but the personification in the present case may also have religious (shamanistic) connotations, as in the case, e.g., of 'Mother' Earth (*Etügen* [~ *Ötegen*, *Ötögen*, etc.] *eke*) and 'Mother' Fire (*Γal eke*). See Mostaert 1957, 99, 101, n. 8; idem 1962, 201; Cl, 21, n. 8.

On the subject of fishing among the early Mongols, see Uray-Köhalmi 1984, 729ff., where the technical terms in the SH are discussed. Cf. also MSKK, 37-41; Rybatzki 1996; and the important notes in Oz[1], II, 59-65.

'They made seines and dragnets', lit. 'They knotted seines and dragnets' (*čilüme qubči'ur huyaĭu*). For *čilüme* 'seine', cf. Oz[1], II, 64-65, n. 14. See, however, Poppe 1975b, 155, for a different interpretation. For the *qubči'ur* (= mo. *γubčiγur*) 'dragnet', cf. below, n. 199.

With regard to the fish listed in this poetical section, the *ǰebüge*, mo. *ǰebege*, *ǰibege*, kh. *zėvėė*, is the Siberian salmon (*Salmo lenoc*); *qadara*, mo. id., kh. *xadar* (cf. also ma. *hadara*), is the grayling (*Salmo thymallus*), a rather small fish that lives in clear, cold waters. *J̌iramut ǰiqasu* is the 'small fry': *ǰiramut* is the plural of **ǰiram* 'small fish', cf. kh. *zaram* id., rendered as 'fingerlings' in the present translation on Poppe's suggestion (p.c.). On *ǰiramut*, cf. also Pelliot 1949, 624, n. 30.

'Then, with grateful heart,/They fed their mother', lit. 'Then they fed the benefit of their mother' – a typical Mongolian turn

of phrase. The 'benefit' (*hači*) implies the repayment of a favour. Cf, AT[1], 17a, where SH *hači* is replaced by *ačilan* 'benefitting, returning a favour.'

§ **76**. Qasar is, of course, J̌oči Qasar, Temüǰin's next younger brother; Bekter and Belgütei were their half-brothers. See above, n. 60. The names of the two half-brothers are mentioned here for the first time: Bekter disappears from the scene, and from the SH, in § 77, whereas Belgütei, whose life was spared, is mentioned often in the SH and in other sources. See HCG, 185-187 (and 437a, s.v.); Pelliot 1940/41, 11. Regarding their names, *bekter* is mo. *begter* 'a coat of mail worn under a garment' (Les. 94a); cf. TMEN, no. 758; *belgütei* = mo. *belgetei* 'having a sign (*or* mark)'; cf. HCG, 186-187. On Bekter's and Belgütei's mother, see above, n. 60, and SH, § 112.

The dramatic episode that unfolds itself in §§ 76-78 and finds ultimate expression in the beautiful and highly poetical 'Hö'elün's Lament' is discussed as a theme in Mongol literature in Šastina 1977, 465ff. It is without doubt a most important episode in the characterization of Temüǰin as a ruthless individual from his early years, already foreshadowed by the clot of blood held in his hand at birth. The association with Qasar in the fratricide is also significant in view of the prominent role that Qasar will play in the later Mongolian literary and folkloristic tradition.

'Angling', lit. 'pulling a *fishing* hook.'

'A shiny dace (*niken gege'en soqosun*).' The term *soqosun* (= pmo. *soγosun*) designated a small freshwater fish related to the carp. It has survived in dag. *suagas*, which is *Leuciscus waleckii* (Dyb.) of the family Cyprinidae; however, the term *suagas* may also designate a 'small white (= silvery) fish.' See TH, 239 (= ǰYT, 413); MKT, 927c (where *soγosu* is rendered 'small sand-blowing fish', i.e. a bottom-feeder); and especially CKCCTWC, 41-42, and pl. 43. For the passive construction of the sentence in Mongolian, see Poppe 1964, 373.

'Why be so malicious? [Stop it!]' This translation is uncertain. The text (reconstructed from the Chinese transcription) reads simply *yegü'üǰe'ei*, which in principle represents a w.f. *yegügüǰegei*; however, in this case the transcription is deceptive, insofar as *-'üǰe'ei* = *-'üǰei* (as in *yeki'üǰei* of § 149), therefore the correct reading is *yegü'üǰei*; cf. AT[1], 17a: *yegüǰi* (= *yegügüǰei*, see YAT, 82). *Yegügüǰei* is the dubitative form of **yegü-*, an obsolete and otherwise unattested verb, glossed in the interlinear version as 'cease', 'stop' (休). The same gloss appears again at the end of this section correctly rendering the word *bütügei*, lit. 'let *it* be!' If we compare the text of the SH with that of the AT, we see that the latter contains the word *bütügei* not only at the end of the section, like the SH, but also immediately following the word *yegüǰi* at the beginning of the section (AT[1], loc. cit.; cf. ATL, 41; and MNTLAT, 34, where, however, Čoĭmaa reads *yegüči* instead of *yegüǰi*). It seems then that the word *bütügei* has somehow dropped out of the original text, while the Chinese gloss pertaining to it has been retained, but wrongly placed against the word *yegü'üǰei*, which as a result remains unexplained. This word, obviously already an obsolete one in the 17th century, has required a gloss in the AT reading *yaγun-u tula* 'what for?, why?', which like other glosses in the AT is almost certainly incorrect, the author of the gloss merely guessing at the meaning of the word and, possibly, relating it to *yeki'üǰei* (= *yekigüǰei*) 'what will (I, one) do?, what is to be done?' (cf. below n. 149). Most modern scholars have either followed the Chinese gloss, or they too have equated *yegü'üǰei* with *yeki'üǰei*. Neither solution is satisfactory. (Pelliot was also puzzled by the word *yegü'üǰei*, see Pe, 16.) I think that Ozawa's suggestion (Oz[1], II, 70-71, n. 6) is well worth considering. He identifies **yegü-* with kh. *egö-* 'to mock, jeer; to make malicious remarks, slander.' See Cév., 232a. *Yegü'üǰei* would then mean 'I fear you are speaking maliciously.' If, as I suggest, we restore the missing word *bütügei* (see above), the text would read 'I fear you are speaking maliciously (*or* you are maligning them). Let

it be! (= Don't do it!).' My slightly freer rendering follows this, still very tentative, interpretation.

'We have no friend but our shadow,/We have no whip but our *horse's* tail' – a popular saying or proverb aptly used by Mother Hö'elün to describe the family's predicament. According to S. Jagchid, this old proverb was 'a common warning of that period, serving to admonish people not to separate from blood relatives but to cooperate and unite together with other members of their clan or tribe' (Jagchid 1978, 96). The word *čiču'a* (w.f. *čičuγa*) 'whip' in this saying is obsolete and has not survived in any modern languages or dialects, as already pointed out by Khomonov. See Khomonov 1970, 35. The translation is therefore based on the interlinear gloss and sectional summary, as well as on the interlinear gloss in § 77, and on the interlinear gloss and sectional summary of § 78, as the proverb is cited again in these two paragraphs. In § 125 the word *čiču'a* occurs again in the same line context, also glossed as 'whip' (鞭子). The consistency of translation in these several instances indicates that the meaning of the word was known to the Ming translators. Furthermore, as noted by Khomonov 1981, 56, this saying occurs in the Geser epic of the Buriats (Ekhirit-Bulgat recension), where the word *čiču'a* is replaced by the word *minaa*, also meaning 'whip' (bur. *minaa*, mo. *milaγa*, the *mina'a* of the SH, §§ 195, 255; cf. HW, 109). This removes any possible doubt as to the meaning of the word and, at the same time, disproves the alternative interpretations put forth in Do[1], 38 and 42, n. 12; TH, 317 (= ǰYT, 550); Oz[1], II, 67 and 71-72, n. 7; El-Ar, 157-158, n. 5; and On, 21 and n. 67, where *čiču'a* is rendered as 'fat', i.e. 'the thick deposit of fat that builds up on the tails of Mongolian sheep' (cf. the 2001 ed., 65 and n. 167). Now *čiču'a may* be related to *čičuq* (= *čičuγ*) 'fat tail' of MA, 322a, which is merely a phonetic variant of čag. *čičïγ* id., but if so, the word must have undergone a semantic change ('tail' > 'whip') insofar as the Mongolian proverb is concerned. Cf. Če, 310, n. 92. The later native chronicles which report the episode (AT[1], AT [anon.], ET) also quote the proverb, but the

word *čiču'a* (**čičuγa*) appears in corrupt forms, thus distorting the original meaning. Cf. AT[1], 17b et passim (see ATI, 155b, s.v. 'cöcige'; ATL, 41, 42, 44, 86): *čöčige* 'cup, goblet'; MCAT, 41 (14), 120 and n. 7: *čučaγa* pro *čučaγ*, metathesis for *čačuγ* 'tuft (of hair)' (see below); ET[3], 27r17 (see PPET, 138-141): *čöčigen*, corresponding to *čöčige* of the AT. Cf. also LDAT, 74, 320, n. 32. This is also the case with the Ordos variant of the proverb, in which *čiču'a* is replaced by *Dža'tš'ųķ* (*čačuγ*) 'tuft.' See TOO, 584, no. 446; cf. FO, 581, no. 446, and n. 1; DO, 190a.

'How to take vengeance for the outrage *committed* by our Tayiči'ut kinsmen', lit. 'how we shall avenge the sorrow (*qaši'u*) of (= caused by) our Tayiči'ut brothers.'

For the expression *yekin eye üge'ün bui ta*, lit. 'how (= why) are you without accord?', see Ligeti 1958, 234, n. 51; idem 1971, 145 (7).

The reference to 'the five sons of Mother Alan of old' in Hö'elün's reproach is of course to Alan Qo'a's sons (two of whom were also from an earlier marriage) and their discord, as described in SH, §§ 18-22. On the theme of 'the quarrelling sons', see Moses 1987, 63 (for the relevant passage).

§ 77. 'The other day' (*öčigen*), or 'recently'; cf. DO, 542b. For *öčigen üdür* 'yesterday', see below, n. 245.

'A lark we shot with a knob-headed arrow' (*bilǰi'ur qodoliduqsan-i* [acc.]). The word *bilǰi'ur* is not glossed in the interlinear translation, but is rendered in the sectional summary (Y[2] 2, 10b) as 'sparrow' or 'small bird' (雀兒). The word occurs again as a personal epithet in § 220, and in the form *bildu'ur* (< **bildi'ur* > *bilǰi'ur*) in § 160, glossed as 'small bird which speaks to Heaven' (告天雀兒), i.e. 'lark', a meaning confirmed also by the early Sino-Mongolian glossaries (cf. Oz[1], II, 75, n. 2; Kara 1990, 285; cf. RH, 229, no. 7: *bildür* [read *bildūr*] 'nightingale'). The word has survived in dag. *bieldur* 'lark' (THHTT, 18a). Cf. mo. *bilǰuuqai* 'any small bird' (*bilǰuuqai* is *bilǰu'u*[r] [< *bilǰuγur*] + den. noun suff. *-qai*), and *bolǰumur*,

bolǰimur, *bolǰimar* 'lark'; bur. *bulžamar*, *bulžamuur*; kh. *bolžmor* id. For *ǰ* ~ *d* (*ǰ* < *d*), see IMCS, 114-115. The word is back-vocalic, not front-vocalic as given in L[2], 46; R, 29, 196b; Oz[1], II, 73, 75, n. 2; III, 272, 275, n. 2; and the RH (see above). According to Pelliot (HCG, 326-327), the lark in question is *Alauda alpestris*, the Alpine skylark. Cf. also Pelliot in *TP* 37:1943, 42 n.; Hung 1956, 17, n. 6. The verb *qodolit-* 'to shoot a knob-headed arrow' is formed on *qodoli* with the denominal verbal suffix *-t* (= mo. *-d*). *Qodoli* (= mo. *γodoli*) was the generic name of a type of arrow which had a round, blunt head made of bone, horn or wood, often pierced with holes, thus producing a whistling sound when discharged. These 'specialized' arrows were used for various purposes (stunning birds and small animals, for children to play and practise shooting with, for ceremonial purposes, etc.). Much has been written about them. See, in particular, Uray-Köhalmi 1953, 55ff., 66ff.; TMEN, no. 297; Reid 1992, 88; and RH, 287, no. 3. Cf. also §§ 112, 116, and com. On hunting with *qodoli*-arrows, cf. Harayama 1972, 18.

'Just like that ... the same way' (*teyin gü ... teyin gü*). For this use of the emphatic particle *gü* (= mo. *kü*), see Street 1982, 628-629.

'They flung open the *felt* door', lit. 'they cast aside (*o'orču*) the *felt* door' – corresponding to our 'slammed the door.'

'On a hillock' (*hulqun de'ere*). *Hulqun* 'isolated hillock, knoll, mound' occurs only once in the SH and is an obsolete word with initial *h* (not listed, however, in Pelliot 1925 and Poppe 1969). For the survival of this word in Ordos and Buriat, see DO, 15b, s.v. '[2]*alχu*'; Gantogtokh 1989, 117; Gantogtox 1990, 123. Cf. mo. *ulqun čulqun* 'uneven', and the entry *ulqu* 'protuberance, swelling' in MKT, 244b; and MKeT, 505a-b. See also BGĖG, 175. In ET[3], 40v30, the site Temür Ulqu is mentioned as the name of a *dobo*, i.e. of a hillock, or knoll.

For the words 'the nine horses, the light-bay geldings' (*širqa aqtatan yisün mori*) – a case of noun apposition – see Mo, 29-30. Cf. Čoĭmaa 2001b; and below, n. 90. The number of

horses belonging to Hö'elün's yurt is always given as nine, even when it should be ten (§ 99), because the number nine had special symbolic connotations for the Turco-Mongolian peoples, a sort of 'sacred' number appropriate for things and events pertaining to exalted personages. See above, n. 60. Cf. also below, n. 90, for the subsequent fate of the horses.

'And ask ourselves who shall be able to take vengeance on them', lit. 'And say, "By whom shall we able to take vengeance?"'

'Why do you regard me as a lash in the eye, a thorn (*qaqasun*) in the mouth?' *Qaqasun* (= pmo. *qaγasun*) is glossed as *keng* 梗 'thorny tree, stem of a plant; obstruction', and its meaning in Written Mongolian is 'fishing hook; sharp point of a hook' – the basic idea being of something sharp and harmful. Cf. dag. *hawas* 'a small thorn' (Oz[1], II, 80, n. 11, on the authority of Mr. U. Onon). In On, 21 and n. 69, *qaqasun* is however rendered as 'fishbone' following TH, 167 (= ǰYT, 291). Cf. Ev-Pop, 60: 'un corps étranger', which, although not a literal translation, conveys the general meaning. The expression – an idiomatic one – is descriptive of something alien, irritating and a nuisance, something to get rid of.

'Do not destroy my hearth, pray do not make away with Belgütei!' Among the Turco-Mongolian people, to destroy the hearth, or to put out the hearth-fire, was a common metaphor for the destruction of one's yurt, the extermination of the whole family and bringing the family line to an end. Cf. § 87; BDK, 100. Bekter and Belgütei were only half-brothers of Temüǰin and Qasar; even though they all lived together, in reality Bekter and Belgütei belonged to the yurt of Yisügei's other wife Sučigil (or Suǰigil). It is, of course, to the hearth of that yurt that the doomed Bekter refers in his attempt to have the life of his brother spared by Temüǰin and Qasar. As stated earlier (n. 72), the elimination of Bekter, the elder of the two half-brothers, was almost certainly not decided merely on the grounds of their high-handed behaviour, *even* accounting for the fact that 1) trivial incidents like the ones described were no doubt serious

matters in the strait circumstances in which Hö'elün and her family found themselves at the time, and 2) the harsh norms of steppe life exacted severe retribution on transgressors. See, on this subject, Ratchnevsky 1987, 69. I believe that these incidents were only a pretext to eliminate the other son of Yisügei who could claim to be his legitimate heir and successor. The claims and aspirations of Bekter would no doubt originate from his mother (who was still alive), and may have well determined the attitude of her two sons that is reflected in their behaviour as described in the SH which ultimately precipitated the crisis. Concerning the death of Bekter and the subsequent relationship of Temüǰin/Činggis Qan towards his surviving half-brother Belgütei, see HCG, 185-187 et passim; *Chapitre CVII*, 48-51; for the accounts in later Mongol sources, cf. Clark 1978, 53-54, n. 36.

The Mongols used various terms to avoid explicit references to killing, death, and the spilling of blood because of taboos associated with them which were part of their shamanistic and animistic beliefs. Cf. the expressions 'to destroy the hearth', 'to cause someone to blow *to the winds* like *hearth*-ashes' (see §§ 87, 112, 265), 'to smite the proud (= mighty) frame of the tent' (see §§ 105, 109). These and other expressions were designed to circumvent this problem. 'To abandon' (*or* 'to reject, forsake') (*tebči-*) is another euphemism for 'to kill.' Cf. ch. *ch'ü* 去 'to dismiss, to reject' = 'to kill'; eng. 'to dispatch', 'to make away with', etc. The SH is very rich in such figures of speech, and similar turns of phrases are also common in other Mongol contemporary documents, such as imperial edicts, letters of the Mongol rulers to rulers of other countries, etc. On the phraseology of death and killing among the Turkish and Mongolian peoples, cf. MCPA, 92-96.

§ **78**. This section contains the so-called 'Hö'elün's Lament' – a beautiful and powerful piece of early Mongol poetry.

'You who have destroyed *life*! … You have destroyed!' On these words, see Cleaves 1949a, 512-514.

'This one (i.e. Temüǰin) was born /Clutching a black clot of blood (lit. "holding a black clot of blood in his hand")': see § 59 and com.

'Like a Qasar dog.' Qasar (= Khazar) was the name of a particularly fierce kind of dog, used also as a proper name or epithet, as in the case of Temüǰin's brother J̌oči Qasar, i.e. J̌oči the Qasar (see above, n. 60). For the term *qasar* and the name of the Khazars of the Volga – Qasar being the Mongolized form of the name – see Pelliot 1944, 98, n. 1; NHHO, 208, n. 2; HCG, 174-175; TMEN, no. 281; BT, II, 335. Cf. also P. Aalto in *MS* 36:1984/85, 684; Gantogtokh 1989, 117; cf. Gantogtox 1990, 123. The species of dog in question has not been identified; given its designation, according to Pelliot it was probably a dog of Khazar origin (cf. our 'spaniel'), but information on this breed is lacking. Gasar is still used as a dog's name in the modern Ordos dialect. See DO, 296b; TH, 173 (= ǰYT, 301).

Several other animals and wild beasts – real and mythical – are mentioned in this passage: the panther (*qablan*, see TMEN, no. N 128 = 2073; Poppe 1955, 40; Vietze 1990, 382), the lion (*arslan*, see TMEN, no. 453), the *mangqus* (written *manggus* = mo. *mangγus*) or dragon-snake (see below, n. 195), the gerfalcon (*šingqor*, see above, n. 54), the pike (*čuraqa*, mo. *čuruqai*), the camel (*bu'ura*, mo. *buγura*, see above, n. 64), the wolf (*činō*, see above, n. 1), the mandarin duck (*anggir*, see TMEN, no. 563; Bazin 1971), the jackal (*čö'eböri*, mo. *čögeböri*), the tiger (*bars*, see TMEN, no. 685; Poppe 1955, 38), and the *baruq* (*barus* in the text, but correctly *baruγ* in AT[1], 18a), probably the same as tu. *baraq*, 'a long-haired dog of somewhat fabulous character' (Pelliot, NMP, I, 75; cf. NHHO, 57), regarded by the medieval Turks as 'the swiftest and best hunter of all dogs' (Maḥmūd Kāšγarī [ca. 1075] *apud* ED, 360a; cf. Dankoff 1971, 102; CTD, III, 66; and also Cleaves 1949a, 515). Eng. 'brach' seems to ultimately derive from *baraq*. See TMEN, no. 728. But *baraq* designates also other animals, and humans too, with shaggy hair, as 'shaggy, hairy' was undoubtedly the original meaning of the word, a meaning still

preserved, e.g., in Kirghiz *barak* (see KiRS, I, 109). However, this word must not be confused with *baruq* 'ravenous, glutton' of § 46 (see above, n. 46), nor with *baraq* = *boraq* (<< arab. *burāq*), the legendary steed mentioned in the Koran, even though the latter may be indirectly (i.e. via Middle Iranian) related to tu. *baraq*. Cf. Ligeti 1966, 136, n. 22; Dankoff 1971.

'Like a dragon-snake swallowing *its prey* alive', lit. 'Like a dragon-snake which says "I shall swallow *my prey* alive."'

'Like a wolf *stalking its prey* under cover of (lit. "relying upon *or* taking advantage of") a blizzard', i.e. to avoid being seen. For *boroqan* 'blizzard, snowstorm', see below, n. 108.

'Like a mandarin duck eating its chicks/When it cannot manage them', in other words, when it is unable to follow them and keep them under control. For *geli-* 'to go after, to drive in front, lead, control, manage', see VMI, 7, n. 16.

'Like a jackal ganging up *with its pack*/When one threatens *its den*', lit. 'Like a jackal that, when one touches (= threatens) its den, acts in concert *with other jackals to defend it*.' For the verb *ömere-* (~ *ömeri-*, *ömer-*, *ömöre-*) 'to league *or* band (together)', see *Lettres*, 77.

'Never hesitant', lit. 'that does not hesitate.'

'You behave [in this way] to each other, saying that you cannot live together!', lit. 'You behave to each other, saying, "How shall we live?"' Hö'elün refers to the previous statement by Temüǰin and Qasar to the effect that they could no longer live together with their half-brothers. See the beginning of § 77. The word *eyin* 'in this way', lacking in our text, may inadvertently have been dropped from the original since it is found in the corresponding passage in AT[1], 18a, and is also rendered in the Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 2, 13a). Cf. MNTLAT, 36.

'Citing old sayings,/Quoting ancient words', i.e. making use of proverbs and aphorisms, something we know from another passage (§ 244) Hö'elün was want to do. This was, indeed, a well-attested Mongol custom among the medieval Mongols; Činggis Qan practised it (see § 260), and some personages, such as Ča'adai (= Čaγatai) and Ögödei – Činggis' second and third sons respectively – and Temür Öljeitü, the grandson of Qubilai, were adept at quoting and reciting sayings of a gnomic nature (*bilig*) 'often couched in "rhythmical and obscure language"' (*Successors*, 13). On this practice, and on the proverbs and sayings in the SH, see Gaadamba 1968, 81-82; idem 1969, 165ff.; Cėrėnsodnom 1986 (esp. pp. 72, 77). Cf. also de Rachewiltz 1982b, 427-428; and Section Six of the Introduction. *Ötögüs üges* 'ancient words' = *ötögüs-ün üges* 'the words of the old men (*or* of the men of old, i.e. the ancients).' Cf. below, n. 117. For *ötögü* 'old man, elder, senior', see TMEN, no. 40.

'Mightily reviled her sons.' For *ma'ula - ~ ma'uila-* (= mo. *maγula-*, *maγuyila-*) 'to speak ill (*or* evil) of; to curse', cf., e.g., TDB, 22 (F3v[20]), 112, 163, n. 17. See also Oz[1], II, 90, n. 14.

§ 79. 'At the head of his bodyguard (*turqa'ut*).' *Turqa'ut* (= pmo. *turγaγud*) is the plural of *turqaq* (= pmo. *turγaγ*), an important term designating the daytime bodyguard of the *qan*. In the organization of the Guard (*kešik*) as set up by Činggis Qan, the guards (*kešikten*) were divided into dayguards (*turqa'ut*) and nightguards (*kebte'ül*). See §§ 191-192, 226-229, 269, 278; and below, n. 191. In the case of Tarqutai Kiriltuq, a chief of the Tayiči'ut, this distinction may not yet have obtained and *turqa'ut* could simply refer to the pick of his men acting as his personal guard whether by day or by night; this is, indeed, supported by the Chinese interlinear gloss which renders *turqa'ut* as 'companions' (伴當), which is also the way the term is rendered in Cl, 24. Cf. Mu, I, 122; Oz[1], II, 92 ('guards'), and Oz[2], I, 63 ('companions'); On, 23 ('sentries'); Ev-Pop, 61 ('gardes de jour'). Also, the 'thousand *turqa'ut*' of Ong Qan of the Kereyit mentioned in § 170 was no doubt his Guard, hence a body of picked men, used as a crack unit ahead of the main army. The original Turkic term *turγaq*, borrowed into Mongolian, designated the man who was 'constantly standing', i.e. 'the sentry' (> 'bodyguard'). For the term *turqaq*, see Pelliot 1930b, 29-30; HCG, 52; TMEN, no. 882; Poppe 1967, 515-517,

no. 10; ED, 539b; HCWLYTT, 202-204, no. 60; MEYD, 149, n. 16; YTSHT, 65ff.; RH, 305, no. 26.

Tarqutai Kiriltuq's words are not as easy as they seem because the Chinese interlinear translation is at variance with the free rendering in the sectional summary. 'The ones we left behind' (*qoluqat*). The word *qoluqat* (= mo. *γoluγad*) is a deverbal noun (pl.) from *qolu-* (= mo. *γolu-*) 'to reject, refuse.' Tarqutai alludes to Yisügei's small children he and the Tayiči'ut 'rejected', i.e. left behind when they abandoned Hö'elün and her family after Yisügei's death (§ 72). This is the interpretation supplied by the sectional summary (Y^2 2, 14b), which I regard as the correct one. However, the verb *qolu-* (*γolu-*) means also 'to hate, loathe, abhor' (cf. Les., 359b), and this meaning is well attested in Preclassical Mongolian. See Cleaves 2001a, 47, n. 74. The author(s) of the Chinese gloss of SH *qoluqat*: *o-ti-mei* 惡的每 'the wicked (*or* hateful) ones' obviously understood the Mongol word in the latter meaning. Haenisch (Ha, 15) and Cleaves (Cl, 25) have followed the gloss. See also Cleaves 1982, 80, n. 25. Several other interpretations have been proposed (see Vietze 1990, 381), and the same translator has offered more than one solution. Cf. Pe, 136 and n. 4; Oz^1, II, 92, 93, n. 2; Oz^2, I, 63; Ev-Pop, 61 and 265, n. 20; Vietze, loc. cit. See also On, 23, n. 74, citing AT^4, 101-102, n. 2, thus forcing both the reading of the SH and that of AT^1 (Ligeti's emendation of the text in ATL, 44, is arbitrary but correct; his rendering of *qoluqat* in Li, 23, with 'The naked little birds' is, on the other hand, unjustified in my view). For *qo'oǰi-* 'to moult', cf. mo. *γuuǰi-* id. For the expression 'the snotty ones' (*šilüget*; Cl, 25: 'drivellers'), cf. the epithet *nisuqai* 'snotty' by which J̌oro (Geser Qan) was always referred to in his youth. See GQT, I, 64 et passim; TBGC, 36, n. 13 et passim; DO, 220b. The Chinese sectional summary interprets the words in question as a simile between Temüǰin and his brothers on the one hand, and the chicks of flying birds growing wings and the young of running beasts growing in size on the other. Cf. Wa, 228. (Murakami's interpretation of *qoluqat* as '[chicks of] pheasant' is, however, untenable, since it is based on a misinterpretation of the word for 'pheasant' [*γuurγul*] in the Sino-Mongolian glossaries of the Yüan and Ming periods; see Mu, I, 130-131, n. 2.) Tarqutai's words to the effect that Yisügei's sons have grown up – implying that Temüǰin has *now* become a threat – are of course in themselves threatening.

'Belgütei tore out trees', lit. 'Belgütei tore trees (*mudut*) in such a way as to break them apart (*ququru*).' For the adverb *ququru*, see below, n. 101. For *modun* ~ *mudun* (pl. *mudut*), see 'Quelques problèmes', 268; IMCS, 28.

'Erected a palisade (*šibe'e*).' For *šibe'e* (= mo. *sibege*) 'palisade, abatis, fence', cf. TMEN, no. 227. See also the remarks on *šiba* in n. 198 below.

'They were battling *in this fashion* when …', lit. 'When they were fighting each other' (*bulqaldun bükü-tür*). For *bulqa-* 'to fight, battle, etc.', see below, n. 150. 'The rest of you', lit. 'the others of you.'

For *ungši-* 'to call, shout' (= mo. *ungsi-* 'to read, recite'), cf. BGĖG, 170. 'Upon this shouting', lit. 'Being shouted at.' Cf. Poppe 1964, 368, for the passive construction.

The Tergüne Heights (Tergüne Ündür) is an unidentified mountain or hill situated near the area where Hö'elün and her family were encamped at the time. This locality is mentioned only once in the SH. $Pėrlėė^2$, 9 (cf. $Pėrlėė^4$, 96) situates the Tergüne Heights broadly in the area of the eastern Khentei at 49° N 109° E, and suggests that it may have been the name of Dėlüün Uul near the sources of the Kerulen. This fact is simply impossible to establish; however, the locality in question was no doubt in the region of the upper Onon and Kerulen rivers, and the eastern slopes of the Khentei Range. For a diagrammatic illustration of how the Tayiči'ut kept watch on Temüǰin's hideout in the mountain forest, see Oz^1, II, 97, n. 8.

§ 80. For the section 'Temüǰin spent three *days and* nights … three more *days and* nights there', cf. Street 1984, 128-129 (2),

especially with regard to the corroborative particle *či* (on it cf. also TMEN, no. N 85 = 2030).

'The saddle-girth could of course *have loosened up*', lit. 'As for the saddle-girth, of course let it pass (= it could certainly happen for it to get loosened up).' For *kömüldürge* 'breast-strap' (> *kömüldürgele-* 'to attach the breast-strap'), see Khomonov 1970, 35; for *olang* 'saddle-girth' and *olangla-* 'to fasten the saddle-girth', see Pelliot 1944, 81-83 (1°); Khomonov, loc. cit.

'Is this a warning from Heaven?', lit. 'Is Heaven warning me?' – the first of many instances in which Činggis Qan refers to Heaven's (*tenggeri*'s) intervention in his affairs. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1973, 27.

'A white rock the size of a tent (*qošiliq*).' For this simile, see Cleaves 1959, 77, n. 147. For *gürü* 'rock, stone', cf. *Lettres*, 45-46. *Qošiliq* (= mo. *qosiliγ*) is a derivation in *-liq* (*-liγ*) from a Turkic borrowing (< *qoš* 'a conical pole-tent with felt-cover, travel-tent' < tu. *qoš* 'a temporary dwelling'); cf. Poppe 1955, 40-41; Hovdhaugen 1975, 72; MSR, 120; Khomonov 1970, 36; Oz[1], II, 104-105, n. 6. The transcription *qošliq* of L[2], 49, and KCI, 807, is incorrect. Cf. AT[1], 18b: *qosiliγ*, and the word *kišiliq*, above, n. 51. The difference between a *qoš* and a *qošiliq* seems to have been that the latter was provided with a smoke-hole (*erüge*). See § 246. In a letter to me of 18 March 1981, N. Poppe wrote with regard to the word *qošiliq*: 'Its Turkic etymon cannot be located. The form *qoš(i)liγ* may have originated in Mongolian, although *qoš* is a Turkic word. In Kalmuck *xoš* is "temporary camp", "camp."' The *-i-* in the second syllable is a connecting vowel. For *qoš*, see also below, n. 169. For the use of a *qošiliq* in funeral ceremonies, see below, n. 245.

'Already (lit. "again") nine days and nights (*yisün qonoq*).' The nine (3x3) days and nights that Temüǰin spent in hiding in the forest as a result of Heaven's warnings, as well as the white colour of the rock that blocked the way, have a symbolic meaning, as is evident from the context. Cf. Moses 1986, 290-291; Bese 1987, 47; MNTB, 17. Cf. above, nn. 60-61. It is also obvious from the text that the verb *qono-* 'to spend the night' means here, as in other passages (cf. e.g., §§ 90, 227), 'to spend a day and a night', i.e. a full day. The Mongols used to count the days by the number of nights that had elapsed (*qono-* > *qonoq* 'a day and a night'; cf. rus. *sutki* 'day and night, the twenty-four hours'), much as hoteliers reckon the guests' stay at the hotel by the number of nights, not days, spent there. For *qonoq*, cf. above, nn. 67, 68.

'With his arrow-sharpening knife' (*sumuči kituqai-*[*ba*]*r-iyan*). For *kituqai*, mo. *kituγa*, 'knife', see Pelliot, op. cit., 94-96 (6°); for final *-i* ~ zero, cf. *maγui*, *maγu*; *malaγai*, *malaγa*; etc. See SG, 295-299, § 159. In rendering this entire passage I now adhere to Kozin's interpretation, followed also by Cleaves, which is at variance with that of Naka, Pelliot and, more recently, Ozawa, and which I too had adopted in my earlier version. Cf. Ko, 92; Cl, 25-26; Na[2], 51; Pe, 137; Oz[1], II, 100; Ra, II, 139. For *hoqtori-* 'to cut', see Pelliot 1925, 221, no. 40.

'They seized him and took him away' (*barilju abču otba*). For the use of *ot-* 'to go' as an auxiliary verb, see above, n. 66; cf. also Mostaert 1956, 6-7.

§ 81. The Mongol *ayil* at the time in question was, in its narrower sense, a small nomadic camp consisting of only one or a few tents (yurts, mo. *ger*), with carts and animals, belonging to one family; in this sense, *ayil* may indeed be rendered as 'family.' See Vlad.[2], 44 et passim; Li, 146, n. 81; TMEN, no. 503; Pėrlėė 1962, 26; Sugita 1979, 37, 47, 51; Sum'yaabaatar 1985, 361; HMPR, 101, where the term *ayil* is rendered as 'individual family'; and F.W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13:1950, 233, where it is rendered as 'nomad house' (but 'camp' in Cl, 271b). Cf. also Oz[1], II, 110, n. 2. For its Old Turkic counterpart (*aγïl*), cf. also Pritsak 1988, 758. A group of related families (*ayil*) formed an *ayimaq*, on which see below, n. 156.

'The day of the Red Circle' (*hula'an tergel üdür*). Regarding this expression Cl, 26, n. 29, writes: 'The meaning of

hula'an "red" is not clear. The words *tergel üdür* were used of the fifteenth of any lunation, but as we see from the *Secret History*, the words *hula'an tergel üdür* were used only of the sixteenth of the fourth lunation, an auspicious day. In both cases the word *tergel* may refer to the "disk" of the moon.' Cf. On, 96, n. 241. The expression *hula'an tergel* occurs again in §§ 118 and 193 also with reference to the sixteenth day of the first month of summer. In § 81 these two words are glossed in the interlinear translation as 'red disc (*or* halo)' (紅圓光); in §§ 118 and 193 as 'red brightness' (紅光), but I suspect that 光 'brightness' stands here for 圓光 'disc, halo.' Clearly, this expression was the Mongolian name for that particular day, viz. the 'day of the Red Disc' and, this being the sixteenth day of the month, the reference was more likely to the bright disk of the full moon rather than to that of the sun (*pace* Ozawa, who on the basis of modern Mongol usage is of the opinion that the expression in question refers to the red and bright orb of the sun, see Oz[1], II, 108-109, and 110-112, n. 3; Oz[2], I, 65). Cf. MSR, 177. For the Mongol calendar and the names of the months in Middle Mongolian, see below, n. 282. We do not know Temüǰin's age at the time nor the date of these events (on Rašīd al-Dīn's account see below); however, the sixteenth day of the first month of summer would have fallen within the month of May in the solar calendar: a day of full moon and the first full moon of summer, it was an important and, as Cleaves says, auspicious day in the nomads' calendar (cf. §§ 118 and 193) and the occasion for a great feast.

The 'cangue' (*buqa'u*, w.f. *buγaγu*) to which our text refers consisted of a heavy wooden frame fastened on the neck to allow the prisoner to walk while preventing his escape. A leash attached to the cangue was held by the unprepossessing youth guarding Temüǰin. The word *buqa'u* is of Turkic origin, and it has passed also into Hungarian (*békó*, *béklyó* 'fetters'); it has been exhaustively dealt with by various scholars. See TMEN, no. 725; ĖSTY, II, 248-250; MNTK, 246-248; and, more recently, Čoyimaa 2001. In § 146 the term used for 'cangue' is

ǰarbiyal – a purely Mongolian word. However, the modern word for 'cangue' is *döngge*. As already noted by Ligeti (Li, 146, n. 81), there are certain differences between the account given in the SH and the one recorded by Rašīd al-Dīn, for which see SL[2], I/1, 172-173. According to Rašīd, Temüǰin's cangue (pers. *dūšax*) had caused a bleeding wound in his neck; he was helped by a kind old woman who nursed his wound, and he subsequently escaped, hiding in a nearby large lake (*nāvar-i buzurg*) where he lay in the water with only his nose exposed. Rašīd gives the name of the old woman (? Taiǰu Egeči *pro* Tayiči'ut Egeči), but makes no mention of the youth who had been put in charge of Temüǰin nor of any blows. Cf. SL[1], 5 (1858), 224-225; DT, I/1, 442-444. In any event, 'Tayiči'ut Egeči' was almost certainly not the old woman's name, for it simply means '(a *or* the) Tayiči'ut elder sister (? = an older woman; a concubine, cf. TMEN, no. 67).'

'After the people at the feast had dispersed', lit. 'Letting the people of the feast disperse.' The Chinese sectional summary states that Temüǰin hit the youth *with the cangue* (Y[2] 2, 18a; cf. Wa, 229), an interpretation followed by various scholars and popularised by R. Grousset (see CW, 51); however, the Mongolian text is not so specific, as Ligeti (Li, 146, n. 81) rightly pointed out. Cf. Ha, 16; Pe, 137; Ko, 92.

The youth is described as a 'weakling' (*gelbüre*; AT[1], 19a, has *gilbere*, read *kilbara* 'simple-minded' in MNTLAT, 38). For this obsolete word, see Oz[1], II, 112, n. 6; Gantogtokh 1989, 117-118; cf. Gantogtox 1990, 124.

§ 82. For the first sentence, see Mo, 24. For *alda-* 'to lose (= "to let escape")', cf. TMEN, no. 533.

For the word *sara'ur* (= mo. *saraγul*) 'moonlight', cf. DO, 564a.

Sorqan Šira was a chief of the Suldus (not Süldüs! Cf. Poppe 1950a, 265), who at the time were subject to the Tayiči'ut. For these subordinate tribes, see Lattimore 1963b, 59-60. On the Suldus, see HCG, 59-60; Li, 164, n. 186. On

Sorqan Šira – the 'Toryan Šira' of the late Mongolian historiographical tradition (Toryan Šira is the form of the name found also in the AT) – see HCG, 157-158; Li, loc. cit.; and Chiodo 1994, 210-212. According to Rašīd al-Dīn (SL^2, I/1, 174), the Tayiči'ut leader Tarqutai Kiriltuq was killed by Sorqan Šira's son Čila'uqan Ba'atur, the Čila'un of the SH, §§ 84-85. The Suldus are mentioned again in § 120 among the tribes and clans that rallied to Temüǰin after he separated from J̌amuqa.

'There is fire in your eyes, etc.', see above, n. 62.

§ **83**. Temüǰin made his escape in daytime, on the sixteenth day of the fourth lunar month. He hid in the river, knowing that the forest would be searched. The search was carried out during the night by the Tayiči'ut, helped by the light of the full moon which made the night as bright as day (§ 82). If so, how should we interpret Sorqan Šira's remark 'how shall we find him now in the dark night (*qarangqui söni*)?' The only explanation is that by that time, i.e. in the early hours of the morning, the moon had already set and darkness had fallen again, rendering the search difficult. Cf. MNTSZA, 113-115, for a discussion of this passage. In the Mongol text, the words 'shining' and 'bright' (lit. 'white') are *gege'en* and *čaqa'an* respectively. These represent the w.f. *gegegen* (> *gegēn*, mo. *gegen*) and *čayayan* (> *čayān*, mo. *čayan*). Both contracted forms (*gegēn* and *čaqān*) occur also in the SH, see HW, 48, 25. Cf. SG, 248-249; IMCS, 27. For *manaqar* 'tomorrow', see above, n. 66 and below, n. 159.

'Now wait until we have completely dispersed.' For the Mongolian construct, see Cleaves 1949a, 515-516; idem 1951, 78, n. 35.

For the words 'If someone sees you ... who saw you', see Mo, 24-25; Poppe 1964, 369; Oz^1, II, 125-127, n. 3.

§ **84**. For the two sons of Sorqan Šira, Čimbai and Čila'un ('Stone') – Čimbai being the younger of the two brothers – see HCG, 151-153; and above, n. 82, for the reference to Rašīd's account. Cf. also Bese 1978, 365-366, no. 16; idem 1974, 92.

Čila'un became one of Činggis Qan's 'four steeds (= stalwarts)' (*dörben külü'üt*), the others being Bo'orču, Muqali and Boroqul (Boro'ul). See HCG, 340-342; and, especially, YTSHT, 141-230. Cf. below, nn. 90, 97, and 163. He is frequently referred to as Čila'un Ba'atur, and he and his descendants are often mentioned in the Chinese sources (YS, SWCCL, *wen-chi* 文集 of the Yüan period, etc.).

'Felt in their hearts very sorry for me', lit. 'their bosoms and hearts pained *for me*.'

'They took my cangue, relieved me of it and ... .' Mostaert (u.n.) translates, 'ils ont pris ma cangue et m'en ont debarrassé.' For *sulala-* 'se défaire de ses entraves', see DO, 591a. Cf. the Chinese interlinear gloss which renders *sulala-* with *sung* 鬆 'to loosen, slacken, untie; to let go.'

'Enabled me to spend the night *resting*' renders the '*qono'a'ululāi*' of Y^1 and Y^2; Y^3 has *qono a'ululāi*, where *qono* is an incorrect reading for *qonon*. Cf. above, n. 31.

§ **85**. For the preparation of fermented mare's milk or kumis (< tu. *qumïz*; mmo. *esük*, mo. *esüg*, *üsüg*), the mare's milk (*sün*) was poured into (*tüsür-*) a large leather bag (*itüge*) in which it was churned (*büle-*) with a wooden beater or churner (*büle'ür*) until it fermented. In Sorqan Šira's tent this familiar operation was carried out from evening until dawn. The preparation of kumis by the Mongols is first described in detail in Western literature in William of Rubruck's *Itinerarium*; however, classical authors, such as Herodotus, already give a good description of how this drink was prepared by the Scythians. See SF, 177-179; MM, 98-99; GR, 95-96; MWR, 310a, s.v. 'Qumiz'; MP^1, 171; MP^2, I, 257, 259-260, n. 2; NMP, I, 240, s.v. 'Chemis'; Aalto 1966; Mo, 26-27; Li, 146-147, n. 85; MSR, 149-152.

The bird called in Mongolian *turumtai*, rendered here as 'sparrow-hawk' (see Waley 1960, 524), has been identified with the merlin or *Falcus columbarius*. See Oz^1, II, 137-138, n. 7; and MA, 407b. Ozawa is incorrect in reading *turimtai*: the form *turumtai* of the SH is confirmed by the AT^1, 20a. See also Mo,

27-29, 275. A detailed description of this bird is found in MKeT, 2422a, s.v. '*turindai*' (← '*torumtai*', ibid., 2389a; but in MKT [1999 ed.], 1078b, and MJBT, 1486b, this word is entered as '*toromtai*'!). Cf. also RH, 70, no. 21 (where '*turumtay*' is glossed 'merlin; male of any kind of hawk'). I translate *šiba'uqan* as 'sparrow' rather than 'small bird', not only on the strength of the Chinese gloss (雀兒), which may mean either, but also because of its apposition to *turumtai*. However, the term *šiba'uqan* (= mo. *sibaγuqan*, a diminutive in *-qan* of *šibaγu*[*n*] 'bird', hence, lit. 'birdie') covers a number of 'small birds', such as the sparrow, the bunting and the lark. See Oz[1], II, 136-137, n. 6. The expression used by Čimbai and Čila'un to make their point, viz. that Temüǰin be given protection, is an idiomatic one, almost certainly an old proverb or saying which has its roots in the oral tradition of Inner Asia. Cf. HWC, 242 and n. 8; Jagchid 1978, 94; PPET, 48-50; and G. Kara's paper devoted to it (Kara 1995).

'They smashed open (*čučalǰu*) *Temüǰin's* cangue.' Cl, 28, translates 'they removed', but *čučal-* is glossed *ch'üeh* 缺 'to break, crack', and corresponds to mo. *čučala-* 'to take apart, destroy, break.' See MKT, 1265c. Cf. Oz[1], II, 138, n. 10.

'They entrusted him to the care of their younger sister called Qada'an[2], lit. 'they caused their younger sister called Qada'an to take care *of him*.' For *döyi* 'younger sister', see Cleaves 1950, 119, n. 129; Oz[1], III, 308-309, n. 1; Kara 1990, 292, s.v. '*düi*.' For the common name Qada'an ~ Qadān (< *qada* 'rock'), which appears in § 48 as a man's name, see HCG, 457b (Index); for Qada'an, the daughter of Sorqan Šira, see ibid., 153. She will reappear in § 146, and is last mentioned in § 219.

§ **86**. 'They were reaching the back *of the cart* (*köl*).' *Köl* is, literally, 'the foot', hence 'the extremity, the other end.' See Les., 484a (b).

For *iseri* 'bed, couch, bench', cf. Oz[1], III, 351, n. 11; Khomonov 1970, 33; and below, n. 214.

§ **87**. 'You nearly (*aldaba*) had me blown *to the winds* like *hearth*-ashes.' For the image of the destruction of the hearth and the scattering of the ashes, hence the destruction of the yurt and the annihilation of the family, cf. § 77 and com. See also Cleaves 1949a, 516-517. In this sentence, the verb *alda-* preceded by the converbum modale (*keyisgen*) indicates an action which almost happened. See Les., 29b (b).

'A tawny barren mare with a white mouth' (*čaqa'an eremük qulaqčin*), and, implied, 'with a black mane and a black stripe along the backbone.' See Mo, 67 and 70, n. 63; Poppe 1975, 164.

'A lamb fattened on the milk of two ewes', i.e. a much fatter lamb. Cf. Poppe in *CAJ* 2:1956, 312, and Waley 1960, 524; as Ligeti has pointed out, Waley is right. See Li, 147, n. 93.

For the two leather buckets or pails to carry milk for the journey, called *gö'ür* (AT[1], 20b: *kögür*) and *nambuqa* (ibid.: *namuγa*) respectively, see Khomonov 1970, 30; TH, 134 (= ǰYT, 234); Oz[1], II, 149-150, n. 5. Cf. also Mo, 199.

'Steel for striking fire' (*kete*). In our context *kete* almost certainly designates only the piece of steel (shaped like a sickle) used for striking fire rather than the tinder box with flint and steel. Cf. Cl, 29 and n. 37. In the MA, 174b, *kete* corresponds to čag. *čaqmaq* 'steel for striking fire.' In the modern Mongolian languages it can mean 'steel for striking fire', 'flint and steel', or just 'flint.' See Khomonov 1970, 38; MED, 493b.

The reason why Sorqan Šira did not give Temüǰin a saddle was that, if he were caught, it would not look as if he had stolen it; and he did not give him the strike-a-light so that he could not make a fire and thus produce smoke. Furthermore, by depriving him of both a saddle and the fire-making implement, and providing him with lamb and milk just sufficient for his journey, Sorqan Šira ensured that Temüǰin would return immediately to his family. It should be noted, however, that in the parallel passage in AT[1], 20b, Sorqan Šira does give Temüǰin both saddle and steel. This poses a problem of interpretation that cannot be

solved at present. Cf. Do[1], 48, n. 12; Do[2], 36, nn. 1 and 2; AT[4], 109-110, n. 4; MNTLAT, 42.

§ **88**. 'The place where they had *earlier* built the palisade (*šibe'eleǰü*) and barricaded themselves' – referring of course to the events described in § 79.

'Following (lit. "by means of") some tracks (*alurqai*) in (lit. "of") the grass.' *Alurqai* (= mo. *nalurqai*) actually means 'bent, inclined', said especially of grass when stepped upon on paths and tracks. Cf. DO, 481b. For initial *n* ~ zero, see Mo, 42, n. 40; *Lettres*, 25.

The Kimurqa Stream (Kimurqa Qoroqan) is one of the small right-bank affluents of the Onon, north-east of the Senggür (Tsenker, Cėnxėr) River, itself a left-bank tributary of the upper Kerulen. See HCG, 42, 280, and below, n. 89; cf. Pėrlėė[2], 11 (= Pėrlėė[4], 99), where 'left side' is a mistake for 'right side' (*deest apud* Pėrlėė[3]). Although the identification of the Kimurqa is certain, the Qorčuqui Hill (Qorčuqui Boldaq) and the Beder Promontory (Beder Qoši'un) have not been identified. For the term *boldaq* 'an isolated hill or hillock', see above, n. 59; for *qoši'un* 'spur of a mountain; promontory', see above, n. 55. It is clear that this term is used here with the latter meaning.

§ **89**. Kökö Na'ur (= mo. Köke Naγur) or 'Blue Lake' is a common name for lakes in Mongolia. The one in question was near, lit. 'of', (Mount) Qara J̌irügen ('Black Heart') and the Senggür Stream, i.e. the present-day Cėnxėr or Cėnxėriĭn Gol, in the area of (lit. 'within') the Gürelgü Mountains, i.e. the mountainous region south of Burqan Qaldun (Khentei Khan) which separates the Kerulen and Senggür rivers from the first right-bank tributaries of the Onon. See HCG, 41-42, 50; Pėrlėė[2], 8 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 89-90). For the situation of Kökö Na'ur, Qara J̌irügen and the Gürelgü, now established beyond doubt, and hence the identification of the exact area where Temüǰin and his family moved and set up camp, see RBC, 78, 83; and Schubert 1970, 525, n. 7. For Y. Irinčin's identification of the Gürelgü with the Ch'i-lien ku 起輦谷 of the YS, see below, n. 268. The

lake itself, a small one (not marked on our maps), is just north-west of present-day Cėnxėrmandal Sum (Xėntiĭ Aĭmag), i.e. near the very sources of the Senggür and some 40 km east of the Kerulen, indeed contiguous to the small 'Black Heart' mountain of the SH (47° 50 N and 108° 50 E). Burqan Qaldun is a little over 100 km due north and Ködö'e Aral, another famous locality (see § 136 and com.), about 85 km due south. Our Kökö Na'ur is mentioned again in § 122, as it was in this locality that Temüǰin was first elected *qan* by his supporters. Because of such a momentous event this otherwise inconspicuous lake receives also a mention in the TMITC 90, 28a. For the Senggür River, see also NMP, I, 340 (where, however, 'in front [= to the east]' should read 'in front [= to the south]'); Murzaev, 518a (Index). *J̌irügen* (= mo. *ǰirüken*) as a topographical term means 'a mountain with an oval pointed top' (Poppe 1956, 41, n. 36); cf. SMT, 29. For *kökö* < *köke*, see IMCS, 50; on this word see also TMEN, no. 1677; Bertagaev 1970. In § 243 the form *köke* appears in the proper name Köke Čos (= Kökö Čos; cf. § 254).

'Killing marmots (*tarbaqat*) and field-mice (*küčügür*) for food' – an indication (confirmed by the fact that the family's wealth consisted of only nine horses) that the fugitives were in straitened circumstances. Cf. Čilger Bökö's words regarding the rats and mice being the fare of the common bird in § 111. The move to the north was no doubt prompted by fear of further raids and retaliation on the part of the Tayiči'ut. For *tarbaqan* (= mo. *tarbaγa*[*n*]) 'marmot (*Marmota sibirica* or *M. baibacina*)', see the important remarks in Cleaves 1956, 263-265, n. 692; and Colmon 2002, 164-166. *Küčügür* is a rather obsolete word: the AT has the related term *küčügüne* instead (see AT[1], 20b). *Küčügüne* occurs in § 111 of the SH with the meaning of 'mouse'; this word has survived in kalm. *küčkn* 'small mouse' (KaRS, 332a) and in other dialects (see TH, 219 [= ǰYT, 378]). *Küčügür* is still used in the Urat dialect of Inner Mongolia to designate a sort of field-mouse living in hilly areas (ibid.). Cf. Pelliot 1944b, 40-41.

§ 90. '*Some* robbers.' For *de'erme* (= mo. *degerme*, *degerem*) 'robber', cf. ord. *Dērme* 'brigand.' AT[1], 20b, has *degermečin* 'robbers.' See also Mostaert 1956, 7.

'The eight horses, the light-bay geldings.' For these words see Mo, 29-30, and above, n. 77. Cf. PPET, 51 (where, however, Krueger's criticism of Mostaert's rendering is unwarranted since it disregards the Chinese gloss); Čoïmaa 2001b; and MNTLAT, 43, n. 121. There were only eight because one had been taken by Belgütei, who had gone marmot-hunting.

'Standing by (*dergede*) the tent.' The word *dergede* can mean either 'at the side (of), beside, near, at', or 'in front (of), in the presence (of).' Translators are divided as to its meaning in the present context: in either case it designates proximity, hence my rendering. Cf. above, n. 68.

'Fell behind' (*qočorba*). For this expression, cf. Cleaves 1977, 87-88, n. 65.

'On (lit. "riding") a short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse (*oqodur dargi qongqor*).' *Oqodur* = mo. *oγotur* 'short'; *dargi* probably corresponds to ord. *t'argi* 'short (said of hair and grass); shallow', rather than to bur. *darxi*, an intensifying word for colours, because two lines down *dargi* occurs before *oqodur*; moreover *qongqor* is not a colour name, but the designation of a horse of a particular colour. Cf. Cl, 29, n. 40; Oz[1], II, 161, n. 4. This word is not glossed in the SH. For *qongqor* (= mo. *qongγor*) 'chestnut (horse)', see TMEN, no. 1536. Cf. below, n. 124.

'So laden down with marmots that it staggered (*niqsaqalǰatala*).' The verb *niqsaqa-* is a *hapax legomenon* and the rendering is based on the interlinear Chinese gloss. Ozawa reads *niγ saγa-* 'to be very densely piled up (*or* accumulated)' and translates accordingly (Oz[1], II, 159, 161-162, n. 5), but *saγa-* is always transcribed *sa'a-* in the SH (cf. HW, 130) and if he is right, we would expect a form *niqsa'alǰatala*. However, as suggested by TH, 137 (= ǰYT, 238), SH *niqsaqa-* may correspond to mo. *nibsire-* 'to be exhausted, to break down'; cf. mo. *nibsiretele* 'until (= to the point of) collapsing, breaking down.' This interpretation would fit the context ('laden down with marmots to the point of collapse'), but then why the durative suffix *-lǰa-* expressing motion (see GWM, 64, § 239)? I think with Ligeti that the motion refers to the horse, not to the marmots as understood by Cl, 29; it was the horse, so laden with marmots and bending under their weight, that walked with an unsteady gait. Cf. Li, 25.

'A brisk lad' (*gürümele kö'ün gü'ün*). The word *gürümele* occurs again in § 156 glossed *miao-t'iao* 苗條 'slender, slim.' In the AT passage corresponding to § 156, the word is written *gürmele* or *kürmele* (AT[1], 56a). This word seems to be a direct borrowing from tu. *körümli* 'good-looking.' See VWTD, II, 1258; cf. MA, 377b: *körümlük er* 'handsome man.' This was already noted in TH, 208 (= ǰYT, 361), and Oz[1], II, 162, n. 6. I should add, however, that according to the SH glosses, *gürümele* has the meanings of 'brisk, alert' and 'slender'; in the latter acceptation (§ 156), the Chinese version employs the two-character expression *miao-t'iao* meaning literally '*as slender as* a shoot and a twig.' Whereas a word *gürümele/kürümele* meaning 'good-looking' is unknown in Mongolian, Written Mongolian has *kürümeli*, *kürmeli*, kh. *xürmėl*, 'sedge, carex' (Les., 506b; Cėv., 747b), i.e. a word designating a slender, grass-like plant. I wonder whether the latter word may not account for the meaning of 'slender' of the Chinese gloss, particularly since the extended meaning of *miao-t'iao* is 'graceful, elegant.'

'Without even (*ba*) going to his tent.' For this use of *ba*, see Street 1981, 162-163.

The 'leather bucket (*nambuqa*) and (leather) pail (*sa'ulqa*)' were those that Bo'orču had been using for milking the mares, as specified in the free summary (Y[2] 2, 31a-b). For *nambuqa*, see above, n. 87; for *sa'ulqa* (= pmo., mo. *saγulγa*), cf. RH, 79, no. 5: *saulqa*. 'Concealing them in the grass', lit. 'concealing (*buquǰu*, cf. below, n. 205, and Cleaves 1951, 84, n. 56) *them* in the steppe (*or* grassland: *ke'er-e*).'

'Men's troubles are the same (lit. "one") *for all*', i.e. 'we men have similar troubles, we all share the same problems.'

Naqu Bayan, i.e. Naqu the Rich. On him see HCG, 346, 348, 352. He belonged to the aristocratic Arulat or Arlat tribe, on which see ibid., 344-345, 434b (Index). This tribe was first mentioned in § 47. As noted by Vladimircov, the Arulat and the Borǰigin were related through Qaidu, and the former was the cadet branch of the family. See Vlad.[2], 98. The name of Naqu Bayan's famous son appears in various forms in different sources, see the discussion in HCG, 342-343. In the SH he is called Bo'orču (= pmo. Boγorču) throughout. He and Muqali (see below, n. 137) became the leading companions-at-arms of Činggis Qan, Bo'orču being the first friend (*nökör*, see below) and ally, and the first of the 'four steeds (= stalwarts).' See above, n. 84. Pelliot has devoted a long note (29) to him in HCG (342-360). On Bo'orču, see also LDAT, 406a (s.v. 'Bogurči'); MCAT, 124-125, n. 3; ANT, 187a (s.v. 'Boγarči'); CKJZH, 4-5; YTSHT, 145ff.; ISK, 760 (Index); Chiodo 1994, 195-199; and below, n. 205. His dates are uncertain: born between 1165 and 1170, Bo'orču was no longer alive by 1236; he may actually have died in or about 1227. Cf. HCG, 347 (where, however, the calculation for his date of birth is based on the assumption that Činggis Qan was born in 1167, not in 1162). In MCAT, 124, n. 3, C. Bawden refers to the name Boγorǰu appearing in Chinese sources as early as 1305 (following Pelliot in HCG, 345). His name, in the form Boγorču or Boγorǰu, appears also in one of the Mongolian documents (INV. 1964 no. 2271, G110, line 5) from Qara Qoto in the P.K. Kozlov Collection of the IVAN RAN Library in St. Petersburg, in a passage where our *nökör* is addressed (presumably by Činggis Qan) as *čing sedkil-tü Boγorču* (or *Boγorǰu*) *minu* 'my true-hearted Boγorču (*or* Boγorǰu).' The Qara Qoto ms. fragment (? from the 'Precepts of Činggis Qan'; see below, n. 205) dates probably from the 13th century. Cf. Munkuyev 1970, 343. For *nökör* 'friend, companion, etc.', see above, n. 13, and, in particular, Ligeti's pertinent remarks in Li, 147, n. 90. Cf. also

Isono 1983, 40-41. In my translation of §§ 90 and 92 I have used 'friend' and 'companion' interchangeably (whereas the Mongolian text has *nökör* throughout) not only for stylistic purposes, but also because both concepts are implied in the Mongol term and cannot be rendered by a single word in English.

'They came upon people in a circular camp', lit. 'they arrived at a circular camp people (*güri'en irgen*).' *Güri'en* (~ *güre'en* [this is the most frequent form], mo. *küriye*[*n*]), lit. 'circle' (Pelliot's 'enclos', see Pe, 141), was 'an encampment around which the carts are drawn up in the form of a circle for protection' (Cl, 273a). Rašīd al-Dīn explains that the *kūrēn* (= *küriyen*) was made up of 'many tents pitched on the steppe forming a circle' (SL[2], I/2, 18). In contrast to the *ayil* which, as we have seen (above, n. 81), was composed of one or more tents belonging to a single family, the 'circular camp' was a larger conglomeration of tents belonging to different households, thus comprising various *ayil*s, which in time of warfare became a fortified military camp. Old people, women and children were sheltered within the inner ring, as were the valuables, victuals and weapons. These large camps eventually came to designate tribal units which, in the Mongol military system, were assimilated to sections or wings of the army. The term *güre'en* (*küriyen*) has therefore different connotations pertaining to the social economic and military organization of the semi-nomadic tribes of Mongolia as these evolved in the time of Činggis Qan in the 12th-13th centuries. The institution of *güre'en*, like that of *ayil*, has attracted scholars' attention because of its importance in this formative period of Mongol society; it has also raised a good deal of controversy. See Vlad.[2], 283a (Index); TMEN, no. 341; HCG, 52-53, 322 (where the term in question is rendered as 'enclos circulaire, enceinte circulaire, camp'); Mu, I, 150-152, n. 11; Sugita 1979, 51-53; Li, 151, n. 120; ČK[1], 42 and n. 14 (cf. ČK[2], 233, n. 15); Oz[1], II, 166-168, n. 13; Isono 1989 (esp. pp. 9-13). Cf. also below, n. 129.

The theft of the eight horses and Bo'orču's spontaneous allegiance are events of great significance in the Činggis Qan saga in view of the prominent role that Bo'orču was to play in the conqueror's career, and as a perfect example of *nökör*-ship. Variants of the story appear in the later chronicles, as well as in the Chinese sources of the Yüan period which record biographical data on Bo'orču and his descendants. Cf. MCAT, 124-126; GOM, 69-71; ANT, 54-55. On the subject see also Lattimore 1963b, 59; idem 1978, 130-131; Ratchnevsky 1987, 75; Jagchid 1978, 101-102, Sárközi 1978, 147-148. It is worth noting that the episode is not recorded in the Persian sources; however, it is mentioned again in the SH, § 205, when Činggis Qan recalls it on the occasion of rewarding his faithful comrades.

For the symbolic value of the numbers three and nine occurring in this section, see Moses 1986 (esp. p. 291). Cf. above, n. 80.

§ 91. 'In separate groups' (*ubur subur*). In the interlinear version, the expression *ubur subur* is glossed *lu-hsü* 陸續 'continuously, in succession.' In the AT[1], 21b, the gloss reads *ulam sulam* 'gradually.' Oz[1], II, 171, renders *ubur subur* as *danzoku shite* 'intermittently; occurring with intervals in between.' Cf. mo. *ubun čubun* 'in separate groups; one after another' (but ET[3], 50r12 and 54v24, has *ubuγ subuγ*); kh. *uvan cuvan*, *uvaa cuvaa* (w.f. *ubuγa čubuγa*) id.; ord. *ųwų̄n tš'ųwų̄n* 'se suivant par groupes séparés' (DO, 746b).

'Away from the rest', lit. 'alone' (*qaqča'ar*). The AT[1], loc. cit., says that the man on (lit. 'with') the white horse 'wore (lit. "had") a red coat' (*ulaγan degel-tü*). The pole-lasso (*u'urqa*, mo. *uγurγa*, *urγa*) was the long wooden pole with a loop at the end used to catch horses.

'The man on the white horse', lit. 'That man ....'

'Overtaken by darkness' (*baru'an boldaǰu*): cf. Poppe 1964, 375. Cl, 31, translates 'being lost in the dusk.' For *baru'an* 'somber, dark', cf. DO, 51b.

§ 92. 'Without you', lit. 'apart from you' (*čimadača anggida*), i.e. 'except for your help.'

'Am I *now* to take *the horses* as booty?' (*ölǰe-'ū̄ ke'eǰü abqu bi*), lit. 'Shall I take *the horses* saying, "Is it booty?"' The word I have transcribed as *ölǰe-'ū̄* (see R, 36, line 2103) is actually written *ölǰe-'u* (= *ölǰe-'ū̄*) in the Chinese phonetic transcription of the SH. However, this is an aberrant transcription, the correct form being *olǰa-'u* (= *olǰa-'ū̄*), i.e. *olǰa* 'booty' (cf. § 153) + the interrogative particle *-'ū̄* (= *-uu* < *-u'u* < *-uγu*; cf. Mo, 102). The reading *olǰa* is supported by AT[1], 22a: *olǰilalčaǰu* (read *olǰa-lalčaǰu*); cf. ATL, 52. See also below, n. 254.

'The property of my father is ample for me', lit. 'What my father has accumulated (*ǰü'eksen*) will be until completed (= fully, entirely) (*tügetele*) for me.' For *ǰü'e-* ~ *ǰö'e-* (= mo. *ǰöge-*) 'to store up, accumulate (goods), amass (a fortune)', cf. ord. *Džō-* 'amasser des biens petit à petit' (DO, 212a). *Tügetele* is a fossilized converbum terminale of *tüge-* 'to end, complete' functioning as an adverb meaning 'fully, amply, plentifully, in a quite adequate manner.' Cf. Mostaert 1939, 320; Cleaves 1951, 80, n. 49; and idem 1991, 132, n. 16. In AT[1], 22a, *tügetele* is glossed *barasi ügei* 'inexhaustibly; (in) plenty.' For *tusa* 'help' = 'voluntary assistance (out of kindness)' as opposed to mo. *γabiya* 'obligatory assistance (out of duty)', see Jagchid 1978, 99.

§ 93. 'What is the matter?' (*ya'un bolba*). Mostaert (u.n.) translates 'Qu'y a-t-il donc?' However, the expression *ya'un bolba* can also be rendered 'What (has) happened?', as other translators have done. Cf. On, 28; Ev-Pop, 67; Oz[2], I, 74.

'As provision for the road': *günesü* (= pmo. *künesü*[*n*]) means 'victuals, provisions' – usually for travel. Cf. DO, 437b; BGĖG, 182.

'Which they loaded on the horse', lit. 'as loading' (*de'ürge*). *De'ürge* is a deverbal noun from *de'ür-* (= pmo. *degür-*) 'to load something on a horse.' Cf. kh. *düür-* 'to carry someone or something in front or behind while riding on horseback'; ord. *Dūr-* 'porter quelque chose à cheval, soit devant soi, soit

derrière soi, soit entre les bras.' N. Poppe (p.c.) has heard the word *de'ürge* used with the meaning of 'load placed across the saddle.' Cf. below, n. 99.

For the adverbial expression *mono* (~ *mona*) *qoyina* 'hereafter, in future, later on', see Mo, 156. Here, being combined with the negative particle *bu*, it is rendered as 'never.'

'Were worrying about him' (*herüǰü aǰu*). The verb *herü-* 'to be sad, distressed, worried, anxious' occurs three times in the SH (§§ 93, 94, 208); it occurs in the AT[1], 22b, as *erü-*, but this verb is not found in dictionaries of Written Mongolian. It occurs, however, in other Middle and Preclassical Mongolian texts. Cf. Pelliot 1925, 215, no. 21; TH, 192 (= ǰYT, 333). (Not to be confused with mo. *erü-* 'to dig'.)

§ 94. The Kerulen River (mo. Kerülen Mören, kh. Xėrlėn Gol) is mentioned here for the first time in the SH in the metathetical form Kelüren (Müren), which is regular throughout the work. On this river, which is so important geographically as well as historically, and its name in the Chinese and Persian sources, see Pelliot in *TP* 31:1934/35, 166-167; and NMP, I, 330; Poppe 1956, 35; Pėrlėė[2], 7 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 91); and, especially, Hambis 1974, 21-26 (where on p. 24, line 3, '[Kärülän]' is an error for '[Kälürän]'). In the Introduction and the Commentary I have adopted the form Kerulen (in preference to Kerülen), which is the one found in most atlases. (Pelliot has 'Keroulen' and 'Kerulen', but never 'Kerülen.' See HCG, 27, 31 et passim.)

For the earlier encounter between Temüǰin and his future bride Börte, see the account of Yisügei's visit to Dei Sečen in §§ 61-66. This time Temüǰin goes to fetch the bride in the company of his half-brother Belgütei, leaving his younger brother Qasar at his camp on the Senggür (see below) to protect the family during his absence. When this event took place, Temüǰin must have been about eighteen years old; Qasar, we know, was two years younger (see § 60); Börte was one year older (§ 66). See below, n. 104.

'And now at last I see you!', lit. 'and now I barely (= with great difficulty *or* by good fortune) saw you!' Dei Sečen implies that he feared he would never see Temüǰin again. Cf. Li, 27. For the expression *aran* (~ *arai*) *üǰe-*, cf. Cleaves 1959, 85-86, n. 276; TH, 95 (= ǰYT, 168); and Č. Kačin in *XZS* 15, 19:1982, 169-178.

As we have seen in the section on Ambaqai Qan (§ 53), it was customary for the Mongols to accompany their newly-wed daughters to their husbands' home – with dire results, alas, in Ambaqai's case. Mindful, perhaps of Ambaqai's warning about taking one's daughter in person to her betrothed, Dei Sečen accompanied Börte only part of the way and then turned back, letting his wife Čotan complete the journey. Mo, 7, views the matter somewhat differently and claims that, in his message, Ambaqai 'met en garde son successeur éventuel et veut dire qu'un souverain ne doit pas s'exposer à la légère et faire comme les gens ordinaires qui conduisent en personne leurs filles à la demeure de leur maris, comme nous voyons Deisečen le faire au § 94.' Čotan's continuation of the journey was in compliance with the traditional custom for the parents of the bride to bring gifts to the bridegroom's parents. See § 96 and com. For the so far unexplained name Čotan, see Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

The locality where Dei Sečen stopped and turned back is called Uraq Čöl ('Uraq Desert'). Pėrlėė[2], 7, identifies it with present-day Örög Bulan on the upper reaches of the Kerulen at 49° N and 109° E, but it seems more likely that it was further south, at the great bend of the river. The text speaks, in fact, of the *Kelüren-ü Uraq Čöl Nū*, lit. 'the Uraq Čöl Bend of the Kelüren.' *Nū* (< *nu'u* < *nuγu*), lit. 'corner', as a geographical term designates the dry land, i.e. a meadow or plain in the winding of a river. See TH, 139 (= ǰYT, 242); Les., 594b; MKT, 396b. (Although this term need not be an integral part of the place-name [cf. HCG, 162], I have preferred to render it as 'Bend' throughout.) The party had to cross the Kerulen to reach the Senggür and, further upstream, Temüǰin's camp, which was

still situated in the Gürelgü Mountains (see above, § 89). It is clear from the text that Dei Sečen left the party when this reached the Kerulen and before it proceeded northwards along the Senggür, hence somewhere near the confluence of the two rivers. In the corresponding section in AT[1], 22b, it is stated that Dei Sečen 'returned home upstream (*ögede*) along the Kerülen having developed a body fever', i.e. because he had fallen ill. This seems to be an interpolation, however, since to return home Dei Sečen would have had to ride along the Kerulen *downstream*, not *upstream*.

§ **95**. 'He jumped on (lit. "rode") his chestnut horse with the arched back.' Belgütei's chestnut, or sorrel horse (*qongqor*) 'with the arched back' (*bögötür*) is the same 'short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse' mentioned in § 90.

'He tucked his grey woollen cloak behind him', lit. 'He put (i.e. packed) his grey (= plain, coarse) woollen cloak on its back (i.e. on the back of the horse).' For the verb *böktür-* 'to load, or carry on, the back (of an animal)', see TH, 159 (= ǰYT, 278-279); Oz[1], II, 189, n. 3. Mo. *bogtüre-* means 'to throw or fling over.' N. Poppe (p.c.) understands our passage as meaning 'He threw his grey (coarse) woollen cloak over himself.' The term *örmüge* (~ *örmege*, cf. §§ 205, 249) of Turkic origin had two meanings, viz. 'woollen material or cloth' and 'woollen cloak.' See TMEN, no. 466; Khomonov 1970, 32; TH, 127-128 (= ǰYT, 223). Cf. also IM, 443b, where *örmege* is rendered as 'upper garment.' In AT[1], 22b, the word *örmegen* is followed by *ǰangčin-iyan* which is not in our text and which, I think, is a later gloss inadvertently inserted in the text. *J̌angčin* = *ǰangči*, *ǰangča*, 'a mantle worn by lamas when performing religious ceremonies; mantle, cloak.' See Les., 1034b. For the two versified lines, cf. § 205.

§ **96**. The Bürgi Ergi of the text may be rendered 'the Bürgi Escarpment' (Cl, 32), or 'the escarpment (*or* steep bank) of the Bürgi.' Cf. Mo, 32: 'l'escarpement [ayant nom] Bürgi'; Li, 28: 'the bank of the Bürgi'; cf. also the Chinese gloss in Y[2] 2, 38b-39a. I have now followed Cleaves because this place-name occurs in the same form throughout the SH. According to Pėrlėė[1], 63, this locality, situated at 48° N and 108° E, is now called Ergi Bürgi. In Pėrlėė[2], 6 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 87), its present name is given as Bürėg Ėrėg; the place by this name is actually on the right, i.e. western, side of the river and, Pėrlėė adds, it is incorrect for the SH to say that it is (at) the source of the Kerulen. The statement to this effect in the SH must, therefore, be taken *sensu lato* as referring to the upper course of the river. The locality in question is described in detail in RBC, 83: it is about 120 km as the crow flies south of Khentei Khan. Cf. CKA, 14 (B2).

The wedding gift Čotan brought with her to be offered by Börte to Ho'elün when they first met as daughter- and mother-in-law was a sable *daqu* (cf. rus. *dokha* – a winter coat with the fur outside), hence a valuable present. In our passage the wedding present is called *šitkül* (= pmo. *šidkül*), the meaning of which is 'cadeau offert au père et à la mère du mari quand [la nouvelle bru] se présente devant eux' (Mo, 32). This explanation is based on the Chinese gloss, for the term itself is nowhere else attested in this form. It has been suggested (TH, 253; ǰYT, 437-438) that *šidkül* is a deverbal noun in *-l* of *šidkü-*, a verb which occurs only in a fragment of a Mongol blockprint calendar from Turfan, the meaning of which, in that context, is apparently 'to plant.' See MKAT, 22; MBT, 222b, s.v. I also think that *šidkül* < *šidkü-*, but in my opinion *šidkü-* = mo. *sidke-*, one of its meanings being 'to dress' (see Kow., 1493a). This indicates that, as in the case of *šidkül*'s synonym *emüsgel* (which occurs further on in this section), the idea of a wedding present is originally related to that of a garment. For other references to the Mongol custom of presenting garments as wedding presents to the bridegroom's family, see Mo, 32, n. 29. For *daqu* '(fur) coat', see Li, 147-148, n. 96; TMEN, no. N 90 (= 2035); and RH, 300, no. 42 ('a garment which protects from the rain, rain-garment'). As noted by Mostaert (op. cit., 31), the arrival of Börte accompanied by her mother took place when

Hö'elün and her children were still encamped along the Senggür (see § 94), and not after they had settled at Bürgi Ergi. The whole passage is translated and discussed in Mo, 30-32.

'In earlier days, Ong Qan of the Kereyit tribe and their father Yisügei Qan had declared themselves sworn friends', lit. 'In earlier days, Ong Qan of the Kereyit people (*irgen* = tribe) had declared himself *anda* with their father Yisügei Qan.' Ong Qan was the chieftain of the important Kereyit (Kereit) tribe, whose territory at this time covered a large area of central Mongolia, reaching in the north-east and east the Onon-Kerulen region where the Mongols lived, and extending southwards from the Tūla basin to the fringes of the Jurchen-controlled territory in north China. Ong Qan was the double, hybrid title (Ong < ch. *wang* 'prince, king' + *qan*) of To'oril (= pmo. Toγoril [see ATI, 260b-261a] < uig. *toγrïl* 'a bird of prey'); in the SH his name appears in the forms To'oril, To'oril Ong Qan and To'oril Qan; see Cl, 266b-267a (Index). At the time of these events, To'oril could not yet have been referred to as 'Ong Qan', since the title of *wang* (*ong*) was conferred on him later (see § 134) – it is, therefore, anticipated here. He and Yisügei had become *anda*s before Temüǰin's birth. The story is related in the SH, §§ 150 and 177, and in SL^2, I/1, 127. Cf. D'Ohsson, I, 51-52; CW, 31-32; as well as HCG, 233-248 (see n. 150 below). For the title of Ong Qan and the various forms and transcriptions of the names To'oril and Kereyit, see HCG, 207-213; TMEN, nos. 623 (*ong*) and 1345 (*toγrïl*). Cf. also Bese 1974, 94. For the Turkish and Nestorian-Christian background of his family and of the Kereyit tribe, see HCG, 208-209; Dauvillier 1948, 308-309; ČK^1 and ČK^2, 2-3; and Ch'en TC 1986. On the Kereyit, cf. also Poppe 1975, 116, n. 36; Šastina 1975, 238-240; and Bese 1988, 25-26. The relationship between the Kereyit tribe and the Uighur (and also Önggüt) Turks is an interesting one and deserves a separate study. In the Yüan period the designation 'Uighur' was sometimes applied to the Kereyit and vice versa; and 'Kereyit' might even refer to a Central Asian Muslim (as in the case of the merchant Ḥasan in YS^2 122, 3016). Cf. RCAC, 243-246 (esp.

pp. 244 and n. 6, 246 and n. 1); ISK, 111. As is known, Ong Qan of the Kereyit is related to the legend of Prester John, being one of the personages identified with the mythical King David. See, provisionally, NMP, I, 303-304; MPA, 446b (s.v. 'Prester John'); BIC, I & II (reprints of lectures given in 1966 and 1980); PEGK, 114, 142-143; the literature listed in de Rachewiltz 1996a, 60, n. 2; and SIK, 136-139 et passim. (The vast material collected by P. Pelliot on Prester John and deposited in the Bibliothèque du Musée Guimet in Paris must still be edited and published.) Ong Qan plays a very important part in the life of Temüǰin/Činggis Qan as portrayed in the SH; for his 'characterisation' in the SH, cf. Gaadamba 1984, 87ff. (esp. pp. 95-96). On him, cf. also Buyandelger in *SHM* 3:1989, 1ff.; and C.V. Dmitriev in MO 1998, 25-29. For a critical appraisal of the early relationship of Ong Qan and Temüǰin, and its historicity, see in particular Okada 1972, 63. Cf. CIH, 84ff.

The term *anda* is rendered here as 'sworn friend' rather than 'sworn (bond) brother', or 'brother by oath', in view of the argument put forth by F. Isono, supported by O. Lattimore. See Isono 1978; idem 1983; and Lattimore 1978, 131-132. Isono (1978, 83) writes: 'The use of the term *anda* in the *Secret History* seems to suggest that in the mind of the Mongols of Chingis Khaan's time, *anda* was a political and military alliance rather than a sworn blood relationship, and that there was an element of equality in the concept of the *anda* relationship.' Lattimore (1978, 131) defines *anda* as an 'alliance by oath.' Cf. also Lattimore 1963b, 58. Isono 1983 adds further evidence in support of the 1978 interpretation. In the SH the term *anda* is glossed *ch'i-chiao* 契交 and *ch'i-ho* 契合 'sworn alliance, intimate friendship (*or* union)' (see HW, 7; cf. Cl, 271a, s.v. 'anda'). Various Sino-Mongolian glossaries render *anda* as 'friend' (朋友) (IY, LLSL, etc.); and 'sworn friend, intimate friend (lit. "friends who have exchanged objects [= gifts]")' and the like, in which the concept of 'what is mine is yours and what is yours is mine' is implicit. These definitions are also found in texts of the Yüan period (see HCWLYTT, 116-119, no. 26;

HCG, 232); as well as in the later glossaries (cf., e.g., QNTT, 5a, where *anda* is equated to *nökör* 'friend, comrade'). Indeed 'friend' is also the translation of this word given in MA, 102b. Cf. Wa, 283: 'sworn-comrade'; and the expression *anda barildu-* 'to bind oneself in friendship' in Cleaves 1949, 62 [6]-[7], 84 [7]. A good deal of literature on *anda* is presented and discussed in TMEN, no. 33. The first scholar to have closely investigated the Mongol medieval usage of the term is Vladimircov (see Vlad.^{2}, 75-77), and an important article devoted to it was published by Yao Ts'ung-wu in 1963. See Yao TW 1963. Cf. also HCG, 232; Ratchnevsky's remarks in ČK^1, 18-19, n. 81 (cf. ČK^2, 20); KHIV, 19, 27, 30ff.; and G. Batnasan in *MH* 1:1993, 201-206. There is no doubt that the *anda*-relationship was a form of very close friendship and indissoluble alliance *ritually consecrated by an oath* (mo. *anda* < tu. *and* 'oath'), as described in the case of the *anda* declaration between Temüǰin and J̌amuqa in § 116. Cf. Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 168, 232. Thus, the expression *anda* may also be rendered 'sworn ally', but I prefer to render it 'sworn friend' because of the special 'personal' nature of the relationship in addition to its formal character (see § 117). Although I agree with Isono that 'sworn brother' is not an apt rendering, Ligeti's remarks on the subject are still pertinent. See Li, 148, n. 96. The reason why the sable coat, i.e. the bride's present for her in-laws, was given to Ong Qan is because the latter, by virtue of his *anda*-relationship with the late Yisügei, was now like a substitute father to Temüǰin, as expressly stated by Temüǰin himself ('you are, indeed, like a father to me') – no doubt a timely reminder of the old pledge. Now, with his added responsibility as a husband, the young Temüǰin needed more than ever a powerful ally and protector, and Ong Qan was the obvious person.

Ong Qan was staying then 'in the Black Forest by (lit. "of") the Tu'ula.' The Tūla River, called Tu'ula (> Tūla) or Tu'ula Müren in the SH – the present-day Tuul Gol, Tuula, Tula or Tola River of our maps – is mentioned here for the first time,

and so is the Black Forest (Qara Tün). The 'Black Forest' designated the wooded region east of the great bend of the Tūla as far as the Sa'ari Steppe (or Valley: Sa'ari Ke'er; see below, n. 128), which itself was west of the south-west corner of the great bend of the Kerulen, but also *sensu lato* west of the whole length of the river from its source to the great bend. See HCG, 258-261. Since in our passage (as well as in §§ 104, 115, 164 and 177) the Black Forest is mentioned as being 'of', i.e. by or along, the Tūla (the sectional summary, Y^2 2, 40b, says: 'the black forest along the Tu'ula River'), we may assume that Ong Qan's camp was in proximity of this river. The seasonal camping grounds of the Kereyit chief are known to us through a passage in Rašīd al-Dīn's work; the place-names of these encampments have been critically discussed and partly identified with known localities in Mongolia in Boyle 1973a. However, none of the place-names listed by Rašīd can be positively identified with Qara Tün, although it is quite evident from the various references to it, in particular those in §§ 115 and 164, that right there was situated his *ordo*, or main camp, in this period. Pėrlėė^2, 9, identifies the Black Forest of the SH with the present-day Tuulyn Šuguĭ ('Tuula Forest') 'at 47° N and 111° E', but this location (somewhat east of the great bend of the Kerulen) is obviously too far to the east in relation to the Tūla River. There must be an error in his coordinates; however, the identification of Qara Tün with Tuulyn Šuguĭ is undoubtedly correct (cf. Da^5, 46; Če, 67), and in agreement with Pelliot's localization mentioned above. I think that Ong Qan's main camp was actually in the area of present-day Ulan Bator and the Bogdo Ula Mts. just south of it (I hope to discuss this problem in a future paper). For the word *tün* 'forest', see above, n. 50; *qara* 'black' = 'dark, somber.' As a place-name, Qara Tün is the exact Mongol counterpart of ger. der Schwarzwald.

'I took a wife', lit. 'I had a wife alight *at my tent*' (*gergei ba'ulǰu*). For the expression *gergei ba'ul-* (= pmo. *baɣul-*), cf. Cleaves 1951, 91, n. 92. The reading 'bawūlǰu' in Li^2, 57, is

incorrect (R, 37, line 2207, and 192a must also be amended accordingly).

'I have brought the wedding gift (*emüsgel*) to you.' In the interlinear translation the word *emüsgel* is glossed *shang chien* 上見, short for 上見公姑的禮物 'gift offered to the husband's parents *when the daughter-in-law* presents herself to them (for the first time)' (see the sectional summary, Y^2 2, 40b); it is therefore synonymous with *šitkül* (*šidkül*) discussed above. *Emüsgel* is a deverbal noun in *-l* from *emüsge-* (= mo. *emüske-*), factitive of *emüs-* 'to dress, wear, put on'; thus, like *šitkül*, it designates a present in the form of a garment. As noted by Mostaert, ord. *ömös^{k}χöl* (corresponding to our *emüsgel*) nowadays designates 'les pièces de toile et les pièces de vêtement de dimension réduite que la famille du jeune homme donne aux parents de la jeune fille et que ceux-ci à leur tour distribuent en cadeau aux membres de la famille et aux invités à la noce' (Mo, 32, n. 29). Cf. also TH, 100 (= ǰYT, 177-178).

'*The place of* the kidneys must be in the back,/That of good faith must be in the breast!' This is a proverb or idiomatic saying similar to, but not identical with, the English idiom 'to have the heart in the right place.' The Mongolian 'version' actually means that good faith (lit. 'purity, sacredness': *čegere*) must be in the right place, i.e. in the heart, just as the kidneys are in the back. In other words, 'I shall not betray your trust, which is a sacred obligation placed in my heart: I shall keep my word!' I have followed Poppe's suggestion in reading *čegere* for the *čekere* 'diaphragm' of the text, and my interpretation is also close to Ligeti's. See Poppe 1950a, 266; Li, 27. For other interpretations, cf. Da[5], 46; Oz[1], II, 192, and 196-198, n. 7; Cl, 33; On, 30 and n. 92. Mmo. and pmo. *čegere* corresponds to mo. *čeger*, kh. *cėėr* id. For mmo. *-e* ~ zero, cf. SH *ömere-* ~ *ömer-* (HW, 124; cf. *Lettres*, 77). AT[1], 23a, has *čigere* pro *čegere* (AT^2, I, 49, and ATL, 54, have tacitly amended *čigere* to *čegere*). An interesting study of this idiom is found in Bürinbatu 1990.

§ 97. J̌arči'udai (= pmo. J̌arčiγudai), the father of J̌elme, belonged to the neighbouring Uriangqai tribe of Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan (see above n. 9). His name indicates that he was of the J̌arči'ut subtribe or clan, on which see above, n. 38. He was by profession a smith and, as such, a man of standing and wealth, as evident from his remarks concerning the gift of sable swaddling-clothes for the infant Temüǰin. His earlier association with Yisügei Ba'atur was not based merely on personal friendship, but also on subordination to the Kiyat Borǰigin lineage as represented by Yisügei, and now by Temüǰin: his subordination is clearly expressed in the offer of his own son J̌elme to the latter. We know that in his heyday Yisügei had his authority recognized by various tribal chiefs; this authority was lost with his death and could not be regained by his widow Hö'elün. We now see it acknowledged again in the gradual rallying of previous allies and subjects, a process greatly helped by Ong Qan's support and the subsequent alliance with J̌amuqa as the story unfolds. However, in the case of the Uriangqai, apparently an alliance existed between this tribe and the Mongqol tribe going back to the time of Tumbinai Sečen, the great-great-grandfather of Temüǰin. See YS^2 121, 2975 (Biography of Sübōtei). Cf. MWESC 29, 9a-b. See also Vlad.[2], 112. For the Uriangqai 'connection', see the important contribution by Jackendoff (1977), especially pp. 26-27 in relation to § 97 of the SH. For J̌arči'udai and the important role of smiths among the populations of Inner Asia since the earliest times, see Vlad.[2], 98; CW, 62-63.

'*Smith's* bellows' (*kü'ürge* = pmo. *kügürge*; AT[1], 23a: *kürge* = *kūrge* < *kügürge*). This term corresponds to mo. *kögürge*, *kögerge* (kh. *xöörög*), which has converged with *kögürge*, *kögerge* (mmo. *kö'ürge* = pmo. *kögürge*) 'drum'; cf. below, n. 106. In § 211 the same word occurs in the form *gūrege* (< *gü'ür<e>ge*) for *kü'ürge*. The Mongols' use of iron and their knowledge of metallurgy came from the Turks, the metal workers *par excellence* in the Altaic world. Cf. Pritsak 1988,

763. For the symbology of the smith's bellows, cf. Skrynnikova 1992/93, 54. Cf. also IĖT, 281.

J̌elme is one of the great names in the Činggis Qan saga. Together with Qubilai, J̌ebe and Sübe'etei, he is part of the legendary team, or group, of élite warriors known as the 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*), parallel with the team of the 'four steeds (= stalwarts)' (*dörben külü'ut*), on which see above, nn. 84, 90, and below, n. 163; HCG, 340-341. His feats are described in the SH, the Chinese sources and the works of the Persian authors. Cf. HYS 123, 1a-6a; MWESC 29, 1a-3a, 9b; SL^2, I/1, 157, 158; SL^2, I/2, 270; TDMI, 383. Rašīd al-Dīn regularly calls him J̌elme Ūhe (? = Üge). Cf. HCG, 138. On the title *üge*, see above, n. 59. J̌elme had two younger cousins (lit. 'younger brothers'), Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei, who will make their appearance in § 120. See below, n. 120. On J̌elme cf. also HCG, 155, 164; Li, 173, n. 211; Ratchnevsky 1968a; Jackendoff 1977, 26; ČK^1, 199b (Index); and Chiodo 1994, 207-210.

For Deli'ün Boldaq ('Spleen Hill'), Temüǰin's birthplace, see above, n. 59.

For *toqu'ul-* (= pmo. *toquɣul-*, fact. of *toqu-*) = mmo. *toqā-* (< *toquɣa-*) 'to saddle a horse', cf. TMEN, no. 140.

'And handed him over *to Temüǰin*', lit. 'he gave *J̌elme to Temüǰin*.' The whole episode is recalled in § 211, when Činggis Qan rewards J̌elme for his 'many services.'

§ **98**. For the Mongolian construction of the first sentence, see Aalto 1973, 35.

Old Qo'aqčin (Qo'aqčin Emegen). Qo'aqčin, w.f. Qoɣaɣčin (but Qoɣoɣčin in AT^1, 23b) is a feminine name in *-qčin* (= *-ɣčin*) from *qo'a* 'tawny, fallow (colour).' See above, n. 1; JŚ, 33, § 31; Poppe 1975, 164; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. *Emegen* 'old woman' is the feminine counterpart of *ebügen* (on which see above, n. 68) – here used as a term of familiarity, as in the case of Old Čaraqa.

'The earth is shaking (*qaǰar derbelümüi*) and one can hear (lit. "is heard") the sound of trampling hoofs (*tübüri'ün sonostamu*).' For *derbel-* 'to shake, quake', see MKT, 1162b, s.v. '*derbelǰe-*'; cf. de Rachewiltz 1982, 86, n. 368; Cleaves 1985, 251, n. 65. *Tübüri'ün* (w.f. **tübürigün*) = mo. *tübürgen* ~ *tübergen* 'the sound of stamping feet or trampling hoofs (of horses or other animals).' Cf. DO, 698b; Oz^1, II, 204, n. 4. See also Khomonov 1981, 61.

§ **99**. 'Temüǰin and the other sons', lit. 'The sons, Temüǰin and the others.' Cf. Mo, 30, n. 24, 94.

'Mother Hö'elün put Temülün in front of her on the horse (*de'ürbe*).' For *de'ür-*, see above, n. 93.

'One horse was harnessed (lit. "made ready") as a spare horse.' For *kötöl* 'spare or led horse', see above, n. 66. Cf. also Mo, 254.

'There was no horse left for Lady Börte', lit. 'A horse was lacking (*dutaba*) for Lady Börte.' One horse is not accounted for in this enumeration: Bo'orču's 'chestnut horse with the arched back' which he took with him when he joined Temüǰin (§ 95). As Ligeti pointed out, the author of the SH has purposely avoided altering the original figure of nine because of its symbolic value. See Li, 148, n. 99; and above, n. 60. Besides Börte, Belgütei's mother Sučigil (*or* Suǰigil) and Old Qo'aqčin, the maidservant, were also left behind for lack of horses. For the use of *mori* v. *morin* 'horse' in this section, see Ozawa 1977, 96-97.

§ **100**. We know that Temüǰin's encampment at the time was at the Bürgi Escarpment (Bürgi Ergi), south of Burqan Qaldun. See above, n. 96. It is towards this familiar mountain and its thick forest that Temüǰin and the other fugitives make their way after abandoning the camp and leaving Börte, Old Qo'aqčin and Belgütei's mother behind. Old Qo'aqčin hides Börte in a 'ragged black covered cart' (*böken qara'utai tergen*). The Mongolian word which I translate as 'ragged' (*böken*) is puzzling and my rendering is tentative. The term is not glossed in the Chinese interlinear version and is dropped in the parallel text in AT^1, 24a. Cf. Cleaves 1949a, 517. I base my interpretation

on kalm. *bökü* 'humpbacked, knobbly.' However, *böken* may be related to mo. *bökügeg*, *bükegeg* 'awning or cover on a vehicle', in which case the expression may designate a type of covered cart. Cf. Oz[1], II, 210, n. 2; and On, 31 and n. 95, following TH, 158 (= ǰYT, 277); MKeT, 1060b, 1077a. Against this interpretation stands the fact that *qara'utai tergen* already designates a covered cart. See above, n. 6. Ev-Pop, 69, leaves the word untranslated. 'Put her', lit. 'made her ride.'

'An ox with dappled loins' (*bö'ere alaq üker*). For *bö'ere* (= mo. *bögere*) 'kidney(s), loins', see TMEN, no. 807. A more precise description of the ox would be 'an ox with a white spot on the lumbar region and with large black spots on the loins' (Cl, 34, n. 60).

'Moved upstream along the Tenggelik (= Tünggelik) Stream'. This statement clearly shows that the Tünggelik Stream (Tünggelik Qoroqan) was near the Bürgi Escarpment, thus indirectly supporting the identification of this river with the 'Tengelik Gorikhon' of Pozdneev, the situation of which is in the general area of the Bürgi Escarpment. See above, n. 5. In Tünggelik ~ Tenggelik we have a common alternation of *ü* and *e* in the first syllable; however, the original text may well have had Tünggelik, since initial Tü- is confirmed by AT[1], 24a. In this case, Tenggelik represents the reading of the later transcribers (cf. the form Tengelik recorded by Pozdneev).

'In the dim light (*or* in the twilight)' renders *herü baru-da* (AT[1], loc. cit.: *erü baru-da*), a *hapax legomenon* in the SH. For this expression, cf. Pelliot 1925, 216, no. 22; TH, 192 (= ǰYT, 333); and Oz[1], II, 211, n. 5.

'Some soldiers', lit. 'army people' (*čerik haran*). For the important military term *čerik* (= mo. *čerig*), see Poppe 1967, 512-513, no. 6; TMEN, no. 1079; and Pritsak 1988, 769.

'And asked her who she was', lit. 'Asked, saying, "What *kind of* person *are* you?"' Cf. above, n. 15.

'I belong to Temüǰin', lit. 'I am of Temüǰin's *household*' (*bi Temüǰin-ü'ei bui*). Cf. *Lettres*, 78, n. 243, for the use of the possessive ending *-ü'ei* (< *-ügei*)/*-u'ai* (< *-uγai*).

'The tent – it is nearby', lit. 'As for the tent, it is near' (*ger či oyira buyu*). For the corroborative particle *či*/*ču*, see Street 1984 (esp. pp. 127-128). Cf. also Cleaves 1949a, 517.

'I arose and left (lit. "came *here*") from the back', i.e from the back of Temüǰin's tent. This sentence has been discussed in detail by Gaadamba in MNTSZA, 115-118.

§ **101**. 'The axletree of the cart broke in two' (*tergen-ü tenggeli ququs otba*). The SH *tenggeli* corresponds to mo. *tenggelig* 'axlecart.' Cf. ord. *t'eŋel* id. See also below, n. 124. *Ququs otba* (= mo. *quγus odba*) literally means 'went breaking across' (cf. eng. 'went to pieces'). The word *ququs* is an adverb meaning 'breaking (tearing, snapping) across (i.e. transversally)'; it derives from *ququ* (= mo. *quγu*), an adverbial particle expressive of abrupt breaking or snapping across, with the additional suffix *-s*, on which see above, nn. 50, 55. Cf. kalm. *χuγ*$^{\mu}$ 'mit einemmal, plötzlich weg (reissen)', and *χuγ*$^{\mu}$*s* 'quer ab; abgebrochener teil' (KW, 195a, b); ord. *χɥgɥ* 'de façon que l'objet se brise d'un coup', *χɥgɥra-* 'se briser transversalement (p. ex. os, bâton)', and *χɥgɥs*, 'milieu, équinox (terme de l'année solaire); pli' (DO, 364a, b). Cf. also Les., 981b, 982b; Oz[1], II, 216-217, n. 1. The adverb *ququru* (= pmo. *quγuru*), which occurs several times in the SH (see R, 300b; HW, 71) with the meaning of 'in such a way as to break (*or* split) apart (up, in two, to pieces)', is likewise formed on *ququ* + the directive suffix *-ru*(*/-rü*). Cf. Mo, 47; Bese 1969, 124-127, 129.

'As the axletree was broken' (*tenggeli-ben ququraqdaǰu*), lit. 'undergoing the breaking of its axletree.' Cf. Poppe 1964, 376.

For *hoi* (= mo. *oi*) 'forest', see TMEN, no. 400.

The verb *sundula-* (= mo. *sundala-*) had then, as now, the meaning of 'to ride on a horse two at the same time, to ride sitting behind the rider.' Cf. DO, 539a; TMEN, nos. 224, 1339. This verb occurs twice in this section in the factitive form, but

although the meaning is the same, I have rendered it somewhat differently in English for stylistic reasons.

'The elders of the soldiers', lit. 'The elder brothers of those soldiers.' It seems that here *aqa-nar*, 'elder brothers', refers to the senior soldiers, i.e. the leaders of the raiding party, in other words the 'Three Merkit' Toqto'a, Dayir Usun and Qa'atai Darmala (see §§ 102, 103), who obviously had taken their younger brothers and sons with them. Cf. Li, 28-29. For *aqa* meaning 'senior, chief', see HCG, 68. Cf. Cleaves 1963, 69ff.

'The door of the closed cart (*qa'atai tergen*).' The word *qa'atai* is not glossed in the Chinese interlinear version, it is not translated in the sectional summary and it is dropped in the AT. It has puzzled earlier translators. However, it can only be explained as *qa'atai* = *qa'ātai* < *qa'a'atai* < *qa'a-* 'to close.' *Qa'ātai* would, therefore, be the nomen imperfecti (in *-'a/-'e*, mo. *-γa/-ge*) + the denominal noun suffix *-tai(/-tei)*, meaning 'closed, barred.' Cf. bur. *xaagaataĭ* id. See Oz[1], II, 220, n. 7. For a similar development, cf. mo. *aldaγatai* 'faulty' < *alda-* 'to miss, lose, err.' For *qa'a-* (= mo. *qaγa-*), and *qa'alqa* (= mo. *qaγalγa*) 'door, gate', see de Rachewiltz 1989, 292ff.; TMEN, no. 313.

'A lady sitting inside': the expression used for lady is *qatuqǰe kümün*. '*Qatuqǰe*' is undoubtedly an error for *qatun* 'lady' + the emphatic *ǰe* which I have rendered as 'indeed.' AT[1], 24b, has *qatun kümün*. For this expression, cf. Cleaves 1983, 42, n. 15.

§ 102. The passage from 'In pursuit of' to 'were unable to catch him', has been translated and discussed in Mo, 32-35. The following are a few additional comments. For *qači'ul-* 'to circle, go around', cf. below, n. 111. 'They made detours', lit. 'they strayed from (= wandered off) *the right direction*.' For *bulǰi-* 'to stray, go off' (hence also 'to get away, evade, escape', see § 103), cf. DO, Add. et Corr. to p. 94a, line 10 from bottom. For the expression *eyin teyin* 'this way and that', cf. also Cleaves 1955, 35, n. 19. 'Tangled woods', 'impenetrable a

forest', lit. 'difficult woods', 'difficult forest.' For the simile of the snake, cf. Khomonov 1981, 60; Cl, 35-36, n. 65. The SH statement that the Merkit horsemen 'circled Burqan Qaldun three times' must be taken *cum grano salis* in view of the size of the mountain and the symbolic value attached to the number three (see above, n. 60 ad fin.). This hyperbole is repeated in §§ 111 and 145, like other clichés in the Činggis Qan saga. However, in § 111 it is Temüǰin who circles the mountain thrice, pursued by the Three Merkit.

The 'Three Merkit' were the chiefs of the three most important Merkit tribes, viz. the Uduyit, U'as and Qa'at Merkit, whose names are given as Toqto'a, Dayir Usun and Qa'atai Darmala (for the incorrect form Qo'as for U'as, see below, n. 197). See HCG, 271-280. For the Uduyit, cf. also Poppe 1975, 166. In § 109, Toqto'a is mentioned with his title of *beki* (on him, see HCG, 271 et passim), and in §§ 111 and 112 the Three Merkit's forces are given as three hundred men. Cf. Ligeti's remarks in Li, 148, regarding the reliability of this figure. As Ligeti points out, the joint Merkit forces that raided Temüǰin's camp must have been sizable. However, the whole episode is regarded as unhistorical by Okada 1972, 62-63.

'Now these Three Merkit had come to take their revenge (lit. "to avenge that avengement") because Mother Hö'elün had formerly been abducted from Čiledü.' For this sentence, cf. Poppe 1964, 374. For Hö'elün's abduction, see above, §§ 54-56; cf. Clarke 1978, 37-38. The parallel account in AT[1], 24b, adds that Börte was given to Čilger Bökö, the younger brother of Čiledü. Cf. SH, § 111.

'Returned to their homes' (*geyit-tür-iyen aǰiraba*). The parallel passage in AT[1], loc. cit., says *ger-tür-iyen qariba* 'returned to their tents.' It has therefore been assumed by some scholars, notably Pelliot (u.n) and Damdinsürėn (Da[5], 48), that SH *geyit* is a plural of *ger* 'tent, home, dwelling.' Cf. HW, 50. However, as already noted by Kozin (Ko, 534, 617) and, later, by Ozawa (Oz[1], II, 227-228, n. 8), *geyit* = mo. *keyid* 'abode (for monks), monastery.' Cf. 'ph. *geyid*, *gėyid* 'dwellings' (MMḤS,

123b, 124a). See also de Rachewiltz 1982, 78-79, n. 262, for a discussion of this word. For *ǎǰira-* 'to return', cf. DO, 6a.

§ **103**. 'To spy on them', lit. 'in the process of gathering intelligence', 'in reconnoitring': *uqa'u-ta* < *uqa-* 'to perceive, understand' + deverbal noun suffix *-'u* (= mo. *-γu*; see GWM, 46, § 152; JŚ, 53, § 79) + dative suffix *-ta*. This word is absent from the parallel account in the AT[1], 25a.

The entire poetical passage has been translated and discussed in Mo, 35-39. For a literal rendering into English, see Cl, 36-37. My translation is somewhat freer, e.g. 'I escaped with my own body *whole*' is, literally, 'Escaping as to my own person' (*büdün beye'en*); for a discussion of the rather puzzling word *büdün*, see below, n. 200. 'A louse's *life*' is, literally, 'which is tantamount to a louse's *life*.' The following are some remarks on words and expressions in this passage. For the saying 'to have a hearing *as keen as* a weasel's and a sight *as sharp as* an ermine's', cf. Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 70; *horum* (= mo. *orum*) 'path, trail, track', cf. Pelliot 1925, 220-221, no. 37; Mo, 27, n. 20; *burqasun* (= mo. *burγasun*) 'elm twigs', cf. TMEN, no. 102; *qandaqai* (= mo. *qandaγai*) 'elk', cf. ibid., no. 291. For *qalqasun* (= pmo. *qalγasun*) 'broken willow twigs', and *qarča* 'grasshopper', cf. Vietze 1990, 382 and 384. Note that Mount Burqan Qaldun is called Burqan and Burqan Qaldun, as well as Qaldun Burqan, for alliterative reasons. Cf. also § 112 for an identical poetical inversion.

'But I was greatly frightened' (*maši ayu'uldaba*). For *ayu'uldaba*, see Poppe 1964, 367.

For *maliya-* (= mo. *milaγa-*) 'to sacrifice', cf. DO, 464a; Oz[1], II, 236, n. 9.

'Beat his breast with his fist', lit. 'struck his hand onto his breast.'

The last paragraph, giving a detailed account of how Temüǰin worshipped the spirit of the sacred mountain – the first abode of his mythical ancestors – is an excellent description of the Mongols' traditional act of total submission to a superior

power. The removal of the belt and hat indicates that the worshipper puts himself entirely at the mercy (like a prisoner, in fact) of the worshipped; both belt and hat symbolize power and authority (cf. §§ 244, 255). See MNTB, 29-32; CEME, 48-49. The prostration towards the sun is an ancient ritual common to other Altaic peoples; and the libation, consisting of a sprinkling of mare's milk, was an essential part of the sacrifice (see above, n. 70). On all these ritual elements, cf. HWC, I, 187-188; *Successors*, 31; D'Ohsson, II, 10, 199, 254; Boodberg 1939, 245; Murata 1934; Li, 148, n. 103, and 151, n. 117; Ratchnevsky 1970, 427; Roux 1975. For the symbolic value attached to the number nine, see above, n. 60. Cf. Moses 1986, 291-292. For some remarks on the solemn oaths among the Mongols, see HCG, 411, and Serruys 1958. For the term *sačuli* 'libation, drink-offering (lit. "sprinkling")' < *sačų-* 'to disperse, sow, spread; to asperse, besprinkle', see Oz[1], II, 237, n. 12. Cf. ET[3], 60r15; GOM, 173. For some interesting remarks on Mongolian belts and girdles, see also CEME, 18-19.

The episode concerning the Tayiči'ut's raid related so vividly in §§ 98-103 of the SH has no counterpart in Chinese sources; and Rašīd al-Dīn's version is quite different from that of the SH, being mainly concerned with Börte's pregnancy at the time of her capture by the Merkit and the subsequent birth of Temüǰin's eldest son J̌oci. See SL[2], I/1, 97-98; I/2, 68-69. Cf. ČK[1], 31-32 (= ČK[2], 34-35). Because of this, and of the presence of poetical passages in the following sections (§§ 104-115), it has been suggested that the whole episode is essentially epico-folkloristic in nature, and indeed part of a lost epic song centered around the theme of a tribal feud about the theft of women. See Lörincz 1975; cf. Clark 1978, 37-38; Okada 1972, 63; CIH, 39-46.

§ **104**. In this section we see the special relationship between Temüǰin's 'adopted' father (through the latter's *anda*-relationship with Yisügei Ba'atur) beginning to take shape; and also the beginning of J̌amuqa's direct intervention in Temüǰin's affairs.

The alliance of these three key figures – Temüǰin, Ong Qan and J̌amuqa – and their subsequent dramatic split forms one of the main historico-epical themes of the SH. As already pointed out by Ligeti, while the former *anda*-relationship between Yisügei and Ong Qan was acknowledged, the resulting adoption of Ong Qan as Temüǰin's father was not self-evident at the time, since this father-son adoption was formally sanctioned by oath at a solemn ceremony later, as described in § 164. See Li, 149, n. 104.

For To'oril Ong Qan, chief of the powerful Kereyit (Kereit) tribe of central northern Mongolia, see above, n. 96. As we have seen, at the time of these events Ong Qan was staying at his main camping grounds in the Black Forest (Qara Tün) along the Tūla River.

Temüǰin's words 'The Three Merkit ... return her to me' have been discussed in Mo, 40-43, particularly with regard to the '*mot-couple*' *eme kö'ü* ('woman/wife – child') = 'wife.' See, however, Onon's objections in On, 34, n. 102; and Kałużyński 1992/93, 278-280. Cf. below, nn. 146, 174, 185. For the passive construction of the sentence in Mongolian, see Poppe 1964, 370, 373. For *genen* 'taken by surprise; unawares; etc.', cf. Mo, 46, 87-88; Oz[1], II, 244-245, n. 2; and below, n. 170. 'We have come *now* to ask you ... ', lit. 'We have come saying, "Let my father the Qan rescue and return *my* wife *to me*!"'

Much has been written about the word *nidoni* 'last year.' See Mo, 40-42, n. 40; *Lettres*, 24-25; Oz[1], II, 246, n. 5; TH, 138 (= ǰYT, 240). Cf. also RH, 237, no. 4. For the negative interrogative *ese'ü* before the verb *ügüle-* 'to say', cf. 'Trois documents', 466. Temüǰin's words quoted by Ong Qan, and the latter's reply in alliterative verse, are found in § 96; cf. also § 150. Note the slight differences in phraseology and the inversion of the last two lines in the 'kidneys and good faith' simile.

'I shall now fulfil that promise.' For the expression *üge-dür-iyen gür-* (= *kür-*), lit. 'to attain (= accomplish) one's word', see Cleaves 1949a, 518, 525; *Lettres*, 31. Cf. below, n. 127.

J̌amuqa, the childhood *anda* or sworn friend of Temüǰin (see § 116 for the retrospective account of their friendship) was a chief of the J̌adaran or J̌aǰirat (see above, n. 40, and below, n. 141). He was related to Temüǰin through their common ancestor Bodončar, but, as stated earlier, J̌amuqa's genealogy as given in SH, § 40, is certainly incorrect. See HCG, 27. The kinship ties between Temüǰin and J̌amuqa are emphasized in the next section (§ 105). The appellation used by Ong Qan is *de'ü*, lit. 'younger brother.' However, this term had three meanings, viz. 'younger brother (= brother-german)'; 'younger cousin (= male [paternal] cousin) of any collateral line, younger than ego (i.e. an indicative of juniority within the generation of ego)'; and a term of affection towards a junior person. See QNTT, 713a; HCG, 30; DO, 167b; and above, n. 74. Cf. ch. *ti* 弟 and *tsu-ti* 族弟 (Feng HY 1937, 149). Clearly it is here a term of endearment that Ong Qan uses for J̌amuqa. On J̌amuqa and his tribe see HCG, 27-29; EM, 430-434; on his personality and relationship with Temüǰin/Činggis Qan, see Vlad.[2], 105-108; Lattimore 1963b, 58, 60, 62; idem 1978; Gaadamba 1968, 93-95. Further references to J̌amuqa will be given later on, as there is now a vast literature on the subject.

For the expression *kelen kiǰü ile-* 'to send a message', cf. Mo, 84; *Lettres*, 37.

For the Qorqonaq Valley (Qorqonaq J̌ubur) at the headwaters of the Onon, see above, n. 57.

A military unit of 10,000 men (*tümе*[*n*], pl. *tümet*; mo. *tümе*[*n*], *tümed*), sometimes called a myriarchy, was the largest army unit in the decimal system of military organization of the Inner Asian tribes (10, 100, 1,000 and 10,000), only *theoretically* comprising 10,000 men. In effect it was often considerably less. See Vlad.[2], 134 et passim; NMP, II, 858-859. Cf. Li, 149, n. 104. On the *tümen*-division see, especially, TMEN, no. 983; cf. also Pritsak 1988, 769-770. In the present

passage the word appears in its plural form (*tümet*) because it is a question of two such units, but 'two *tümen*' is obviously a literary exaggeration, particularly in the case of the force which J̌amuqa was asked to assemble. See below, n. 106. In the campaign against the Merkit, Ong Qan's force was to form the right wing (lit. 'right hand': *bara'un qar*) of the army, i.e. its western wing. J̌amuqa, whose encampment was further to the east in relation to Ong Qan's, was to lead the left wing (lit. 'left hand': *ǰe'ün qar*), i.e. the eastern wing. The directions are erroneously reversed in the AT[1], 25b, and this error has unfortunately passed into BHM, 180. This passage is important because it shows that the Kereyit tribe was organized for military purposes in units of ten thousand, and that it followed the system of 'wings' (lit. 'hands') – the earliest reference to such military organization in a Mongol tribe in the 12th century. There is little doubt that the Kereyit army of Ong Qan provided the blueprint for Činggis Qan's later reorganization of his own army. See below, nn. 191, 202. For the location of the 'Three Merkit', see below, n. 105.

'Let J̌amuqa decide on the time and place of our meeting', lit. 'Let our appointment (*bolǰa'an*) be *decided* by J̌amuqa.' The term *bolǰa'an* (= mo. *bolǰaγa*[*n*], *bolǰoγa*[*n*], *bolǰiya*[*n*]), 'appointment, rendezvous', refers to the 'meeting point' *both* in time and place, not only in time as generally assumed. Cf. TMEN, no. 107; and below, n. 106. For the strict adherence of the Mongols to the time and place of the meeting agreed in advance as an essential element in their military strategy, see Sinor 1975, where (pp. 242-243) the present campaign is also mentioned as an example. Cf. also Serruys 1945, 156.

With regard to the date of these events, assuming with Pelliot that Temüǰin was born in 1167 and taking into account the fact that 1) his eldest son J̌oči was born very soon after the Merkit's defeat and Börte's rescue, and 2) that Ögödei, Temüǰin's third son, was born in 1186 (a reliable date, see NMP, I, 125, 253, 287; Pelliot's authority is the YS[2] 2, 37), we must infer that J̌oci was born *at the latest* in 1184 and that the

Merkit's original raid and the joint campaign against them must therefore have taken place in 1183/84. Thus, according to this computation, at the time of his marriage Temüǰin would have been about sixteen years old, and about seventeen when the events related in this section took place. Also, J̌oči's birth in 1184 was followed by that of Ča'adai in 1185 and by that of Ögödei in 1186. See NMP, I, 287. If to this we add the fact that J̌amuqa, a contemporary of Temüǰin (as we gather from § 116 of the SH) must also have been about seventeen years old when he is supposed to have led an army of two *tümen* in the joint campaign against the Merkit, it seems that the date of 1167 suggested by Pelliot is almost certainly a few years too late, which would justify the date of mid-60s by Ratchnevsky (ČK[1], 17-18; cf. ČK[2], 18-19). If we accept this date for Temüǰin's birthday, he and J̌amuqa would have been 17-18 at the time of the campaign against the Merkit and Temüǰin's first three sons would have been born at the rate of one each year from 1184 to 1186. See ČK[1], 33.

In my opinion, a more reliable date for Temüǰin's birth in the light of all these events would be 1162, for which there is also ample support in our sources. See NMP, I, 282-283, 287; cf. also Hambis 1971, 150. I would then propose the following chronology: 1162, birth of Temüǰin; 1180, Temüǰin's marriage (age 18); 1181, the Three Merkit's attack and Börte's abduction (age 19); 1182, joint campaign against the Merkit, Börte's rescue, J̌oči's birth (Temüǰin's and J̌amuqa's age: 20); 1184, Ča'adai's birth; 1186, Ögödei's birth. With regard to J̌oči's and Ča'adai's births, there is, of course, one year's approximation since the year of their birth cannot be exactly determined. I think it unlikely (although not impossible) that they were born one year apart as would be the case if we accepted 1167 as Temüǰin's birth year. The date given by Onon for Temüǰin's birth is also 1162; for his marriage ca. 1178; and for the Merkit's defeat 1179. See On, xii.

§ 105. 'My bed was made empty', i.e. 'they carried off my wife.' The word for 'empty' is *hoqtorqu*, which occurs twice in this form in the present section, and as *hoqtorqui* in §§ 113 (twice) and 240. On this interesting word see de Rachewiltz 1999, 235-240.

'You and I, (*bida*)/Are we not from one family (*önör*)?' For *önör* 'enlarged family, clan', see Cleaves 1949a, 519-520. And, a few lines down, 'You and I,/Are we not of kindred blood?', lit. 'of kindred liver' or 'liver relatives' (*heligen-ü uruq*). Temüǰin, requesting J̌amuqa's assistance against the Merkit, emphasizes in this way the common bond of their blood relationship. See above, n. 104. As noted by Cleaves (Cl, 39, n. 4), 'the liver denotes intimacy and close relationship.' Cf. also Meserve 2000, 39.

'How shall we take our revenge? ... How shall we avenge this injury (lit. "our revenge")?' Cf. § 58. For the alliteration in this stanza, see Poppe 1969, 273.

'Remembering the help and good things done to me in former days by his (read *inu* for *minu*) father Yisügei Qan, I shall stand by (lit. "be a friend to") *Temüǰin*.' This sentence has been rendered in various ways (cf. Da[5], 54; Li, 31; Do[1], 64; Mu, I, 178; Cl, 40; Oz[1], II, 252; Ta, 41; Ev-Pop, 76); however, in view of the specific statements in §§ 164 and 177 (Y[2] 6, beginning of 25b) it can only be understood in the above sense, i.e. 'I, To'oril Qan, mindful of the assistance I received in former days from Temüǰin's father Yisügei Qan, will (in turn) help Temüǰin.' In the text, the pronoun *minu* 'my' is an obvious error for *inu* 'his', i.e. Temüǰin's father – an emendation supported by AT[1], 26a, where the corresponding passage has, in fact, *inu* instead of *minu*. This *may* not be the only instance in the SH of *minu* for *inu*: cf. § 269, where *qan ečige-yin minu* may stand for *qan ečige-yin inu*; however, this is debatable (see below, n. 269).

For the entire poetic passage from 'Now, ...' to the end of § 105, see Mo, 43-48. The following are additional comments on individual expressions, localities and people.

Cl, 40, following Mo, 47, translates *gölme* as 'shabrack'; however, as pointed out by H. Serruys (p.c.), this is not the saddle cloth, as shabrack is usually understood, but the two pieces of leather – one on each side – hanging from the saddle, between the rider and the horse's ribs. Cf. DO, 270a (and ibid., 276b-277a); Khomonov 1970, 35; On, 36. For *dabši-* 'to hit, strike', cf. DO, 110a.

The Bu'ura Steppe. *Bu'ura* (= mo. *buγura*) means 'male camel' (see above, n. 64). The name of the steppe or plain (*ke'er*, mo. *kegere*) – actually a river-valley (see above, n. 56) – comes no doubt from the homonymous river, the present-day Buuryn Gol, which flows into the Selenga south of Kyakhta. According to Pelliot (HCG, 279), the Bu'ura Steppe was just east of Kyakhta, but Pėrlėė[2], 10 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 94), places it 'near the towns of Altanbulag and Süxbaatar', i.e. south of Kyakhta. See below, n. 109.

Toqto'a, Dayir Usun and Qa'atai Darmala were the 'Three Merkit' chiefs. See above, n. 102.

'A loose quiver' (*dabčitu qor*), i.e. a quiver with a slack strap. The Chinese gloss renders *dabčitu* as 'having a cover' (蓋子有的), i.e. 'with a cover (*or* lid)', but mo. *dabči* means 'slack, loose – as a bow with a long string' (= ma. *mise*). See QNTT, 692b; cf. Oz[1], II, 253 and 258-259, n. 10. Some of the other interpretations, e.g. Γa, 47, 295, n. 365, are rather speculative. For *qor* (> *qorči* 'quiverbearer'), see TMEN, nos. 299, 301. For *dayiǰi-* (~ *daiǰi-*) 'to revolt; to abandon one's party', hence 'to desert one's own companions', see below, n. 188.

The Orqon and the Selengge are, of course, the Orkhon (kh. Orxon) and the Selenga (kh. Sėlėngė) rivers; and Talqun Aral was the name of the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Orkhon and the Selenga south-west of Kyakhta, corresponding broadly to modern Tsagaan (Cagaan) Aral. Cf. HCG, 280; Pėrlėė[2], 9 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 95). For the term *aral* and its connotations, see above, n. 24 and below, n. 136. The Ming translator(s) did not gloss the word *aral* but merely transcribed it. The text does not have the word 'between' (*ǰa'ura*) which

has been dropped in the Chinese transcription, but is retained in the Chinese summary and in the AT. See Mo, 43, n. 42; and AT[1], 26b.

'When the saltwort (*qamqa'ulsun*)/Is carried by the wind', i.e. when the saltwort tufts are uprooted and roll in the steppe carried by the wind. These, seen from afar, are taken for enemy horsemen by the chief of the Qa'at Merkit, Qa'atai Darmala, who escapes in fright into the forest – a very graphic image. See Mo, 45. As noted by Mostaert, *qamqa'ulsun* (= pmo. *qamqaγulsun*; cf. AT[1], 26b id.) corresponds to mo. *qamquul*, ord. *χamχaķ* or *χamχūli*, and kalm. *χamχvG* or *χamχūl* – all terms designating a saltwort (genus *Salsula*) which, when uprooted by the wind, becomes a sort of tumbleweed rolling through the steppe. However, some modern Mongol languages separate the two forms given above, thus kh. *xamxag* (w.f. *qamqaγ*) is a 'name given to several varieties of artemisia' (MMED, 611a), specifically referring to *Londesia* according to MOUNT, 32, and to *Londesia* and *Salsola collina* according to MED, 425b; but, according to ÜUJT, 488, *qamqaγ* corresponds to *Corispermum hyssopifolium*. On the other hand, kh. *xamxuul* (w.f. *qamquul*) designates a 'type of tumbleweed' (MMED, 611a); the *Corispermum* (MOUNT, 14); and *Salsola collina* (ÜUJT, 503; MED, 425b, 426a). In Buriat, *xamxuul* is the name of *Gypsophila paniculata* (ru. *perekati-pole*). See BRS, 544a. The Chinese glosses of the SH and the HIIY are vague and inaccurate; therefore, it is not possible to determine exactly to which species of saltwort the term *qamqa'ulsun* applies: it may well be simply a generic name like 'saltwort.'

The Qaraǰi Steppe has not yet been identified, but it must have been in the same broad area around the confluence of the Orkhon and Selenga rivers, near the present border of the Buriat Republic and Mongolia.

The river Kilqo is the present Khilok (bur. Xolgo), the important right-hand affluent of the Selenga. See HCG, 281; and Poppe 1956, 36-37. AT[1], 26b, has 'Silqo' for 'Kilqo', an obvious clerical error.

'Sedge' is a generic rendering of *saqal bayan* (lit. 'rich beard'), which is properly the designation of a species of *Cyperus* (mo. *saqal ebesü*, kh. *saxal övs*) rendered in the Chinese version as *chu-tsung ts'ao* 豬鬃草 'bristle-grass', and used by the Mongols to make rafts (*sal*) when crossing rivers. See Li, 149, n. 105; D. Sinor in *UAJ* 33:1961, 162; Oz[1], II, 261-262, n. 15. Cf. Γa, 295-296, n. 368. For *sal* 'raft', see TMEN, no. 1218.

'In good growth', lit. 'in good state.'

'Descending on (lit. "entering from upon") the smoke-hole of that coward Toqto'a's tent', i.e. as though falling from the sky on to the roof of his tent; in other words, making a surprise attack on him.

'Its proud (= imposing) frame (*erkin e'ede*) ... the sacred frame (*qutuq e'ede*).' The frame of the door, like the threshold, had a numenous connotation for the Mongols, as the images of the household gods (*ongqot*) were placed on both sides of it. Cf. Mo, 46-47; MP[2], I, 385-386, n. 4. I render *erkin* (= mo. *erkin ~ erkim*) 'important, excellent, masterly' with 'proud' to convey the special strength of the word in English, as in 'a proud structure, ship, etc.' For the seminal term *qutuq* (= *qutuqtu*, *qutuqtai*) 'sacred, blessed (= favoured by Heaven), etc.', see *Lettres*, 22; TMEN, no. 1568; Mori 1981; Bazin 1987, 215ff.; Pritsak 1988, 752-753. Cf. also above, n. 74 (on *sutan* and *su*), and below, nn. 111 and 200.

For *da'ari-* 'to hit, smite, knock down', cf. TMEN, nos. 192, 1868.

For the two 'preverbs' *embürü* 'in such a way as to break it down', and *ququru* (= pmo. *quγuru*) 'in such a way as to break it up', cf. Bese 1969, 125ff.; and above, n. 101.

§ 106. J̌amuqa calls To'oril Qan 'elder brother' for the same reason that the latter calls him 'younger brother', see above, n. 104.

'I have consecrated my standard' (*tuq-iyan sačuba bi*), lit. 'I have sprinkled my standard *with kumis*' – the consecration of a banner, or standard (*tuq*), consisting of a ritual drink offering, known as *sačuli*, to the spirit of the banner. The 'sacrifice' to the war standard at the outset of a campaign is a well-known custom which has survived among the Mongols until recent times. See Mu, II, 264-265, n. 2; Cleaves 1956, 268 and n. 726 (but no follow-up!); Li, 145, n. 73; Ratchnevsky 1970, 427; Skrynnikova 1992/93, 53-54 (and TIM, 73); KHIV, 87. Cf. also below, n. 193. For *sačᴜ-* and *sačuli*, see above, n. 103. For the *tuq* (= mo. *tuγ*), see above, n. 73.

'My bellowing drum', lit. 'my drum with a bellowing voice' (*bürkiren bükü̈i da'utu kö'ürge-ben*). For *bürkire-* 'to roar, bellow (of a bull)', cf. bur. *bürxir-* id. See Gantogtokh 1989, 118. The 'bellowing' of the drum refers, of course, to the drum's covering of bull hide. Cf. Oz[1], II, 269-270, n. 3. For *kö'ürge* (= pmo. *kögürge*, *kegürge*; mo. *kögürge*, *kögerge*) 'drum', see TMEN, no. 339; RH, 288, no. 9. Cf. Khomonov 1979, 39. In § 232 we find the form *gü'ürge*. See below, n. 232.

'I have put on my armour', lit. 'I have put on my steel-hard dress' (*qatangqu de'el-iyen emü̈sbe bi*). For *qatangqu* (= pmo. *qatangγu*) 'as hard as steel', cf. bur. *xatan* 'steel(y)', mo. *qatangγu*, *qataγu* 'strong, hard.' For the nasalised form, cf. mng. *χadõη* id. See IMCS, 68 and 131; VGAS, 50.

'I have placed on the bowstring my arrow with its nock/Of wild peach bark.' The arrow used by the Mongols had a nock or 'button' (*ono*) of wild peach bark (*qatqurasu*, mo. *qadqura*) fixed to its butt-end, which the warrior notched with his arrow-sharpening knife (*sumučᴉ kituqai*; cf. above, n. 80).

'My leather-strapped breastplate', lit. 'my breastplate that has fastening thongs (*hüdēsütü*).' The 'fastening thongs' (*hüdēsü* < **hüdegesü*, mo. *üdegesü*[*n*]) are the leather thongs holding the plates of the armour together. This word was incorrectly identified in Pelliot 1925, 237, no. 66. Cf. Oz[1], II, 271-272, n. 8.

'My hilted sword' (*onggitu üldü-be'en*). *Onggitu* is *onggi* + the possessive suffix *-tu*. Whereas *onggi* is glossed 'hilt' (柄) in the interlinear Chinese version, this word in the modern Mongolian languages means 'socket of a handle (*or* hilt).' See Oz[1], II, 272, n. 9. However, this clearly cannot be its meaning in the present context (a sword 'with a hilt socket' does not make sense), hence *onggi* is used in our passage with the extended meaning of 'hilt (with a socket)', no doubt to distinguish this type of superior sword from an ordinary sword cast in one piece, as correctly surmised by Ozawa and Onon (Oz[1], II, 272, n. 9; On, 37, n. 114). For *üldü* 'sword' (= mo. *ildü*), cf. *Lettres*, 81; TMEN, no. 69; RH, 284, no. 18; Khomonov 1970, 38.

'On the southern side of Burqan Qaldun', lit. 'by the front (= south) of Burqan Qaldun.'

From the present section it appears that Ǯamuqa's 'two units of ten thousand (*tümet*)' consisted of one *tümen* of his own troops and one *tümen* of Temüǰin's troops. As rightly pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 150, n. 107), this numerical exaggeration would be unacceptable even if we did not take the figure of 10,000 men literally (see above, n. 104). It is simply impossible that Temüǰin could have assembled in such a short time even a fraction of that figure, given the destitute state in which he found himself when he approached Ong Qan. This literary exaggeration is due to the tendency of the author(s) of the SH to project anachronistically back into time not only names and titles, but also inflated figures of armies. For the usage of the number 10,000 in the SH, cf. Moses 1996, 95.

The meeting place (*bolǰāl qaǰar*, see below) chosen by Ǯamuqa was Botoqan Bo'orǰi(n), an unidentified locality at the sources of the Onon, on the east side of the Burqan Qaldun, i.e. Khentei Khan, area. To'oril, whose main camp was at the Black Forest of the Tūla, hence much further to the south-west, was to proceed north-eastwards, meet Temüǰin (whose camp was still at the Bürgi Escarpment on the upper Kerulen) south of Burqan Qaldun, and from there move together northwards to Botoqan Bo'orǰi. Ǯamuqa, whose camp was on the Onon, had simply to

follow the river upstream, i.e. westwards, to reach the meeting place.

'The appointed meeting place' renders *boljāl* (< *boljaγal*, cf. AT[1], 27a, 27b [4 times]) *qaǰar*. In the old language *boljāl* ~ *boljaγal*, cf. the letter of Aryun to Philippe le Bel, line 19: *boljaldur* 'à la date convenue', and line 22: *kem boljal* 'date convenue' (*Lettres*, 17-18, 31, 32). Thus it would appear that the vowel of the second syllable in the SH form *boljal* was a long one (*ā* < *a'a* < *aγa*), and this accounts for the *boljāl* in L[2], 67, 68; and in R, 43, 44, 197b. It should be noted, however, that there is no supporting evidence for a long *a* resulting from contraction in the corresponding forms in the modern Mongolian languages (kh. *bolzol*, *bolzor*; bur. *bolzor*; etc.); hence, the reading *boljal* in *Lettres* and in Oz[1], II, 268. Nevertheless, the form *boljaγal* of the AT cannot be ignored, particularly since it was no doubt the form appearing in the SH text used by Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin, as evidenced by the insertion of a gloss (*boljiya*) opposite *boljaγal* (AT[1], 27a, line 11, and 27b, lines 12, 22: *boljiyan*). In Written Mongolian there is only *boljol* (< pmo. *boljal*). In the Chinese version of the SH, *boljāl* and *bolja'an* (§ 104) are treated as synonyms, both being glossed *yüeh-hui* 約會 'appointment for a meeting, rendezvous.' See HW, 19. *Bolja'an* (AT[1], 25a: *boljaγa*) is, of course, mo. *boljaγa*, *boljoγa(n)*, *boljiya(n)* id. For these and other related forms, see SG, 219; TMEN, no. 107. Cf. also Róna-Tas 1986, 136, 138.

With regard to the joint campaign against the Three Merkit as it unfolds in the following paragraphs (107-112), see EM, 70-71, ČK[1], 32-33 (= ČK[2], 35-37); CHHC, 81-88; and especially HCG, 278-281. Cf. also Sinor 1975, 242-243.

§ 107. The Tana ('Big Pearl') Stream (Tana Qorqon; *qorqon* < *qorqan*, *qoroqan*, mo. *γoroqa*[*n*]; see above, n. 5) was an affluent of the Tünggelik (see below).

To'oril's younger brother J̌aqa Gambu had been brought up in the Tangut kingdom of Hsi Hsia in north-west China, and this

accounts for his Tangut name, or rather epithet. According to Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/1, 130-131), *ǰā* means 'country', and **kambu* (**gambu*, **gambo*) means 'great, eminent.' The meaning of *J̌ākambu as given by the Persian historian is 'high dignitary (*emir*) of the country (i.e. of the state).' The Tibetan and Tangut components of this epithet are discussed by Yu. N. Rerikh, whose article (Rerikh 1961) supersedes Pelliot's remarks in Pelliot 1930b, 50-51, n. 1, and in HCG, 226-227. Thus, in J̌aqa (= J̌aγa > J̌ā; cf. AT[1], 27a: J̌iγa) Gambu we would have a title used as a name, a not uncommon occurrence. Cf. the Aša Gambu of § 256. (I am grateful to Prof. Ruth W. Dunnell of Gambier, Ohio, for bringing Rerikh's article to my attention.) However, a recent discovery has cast doubts on the above interpretation. Prof. H. Franke of Munich writes (p.c. of 7 Oct. 2002): 'The title Gambu occurs frequently in Chinese texts from the Yüan period in various transcriptions which all go back to a form to be reconstructed as Gambu or Kambu. I have now found that Gambu is in reality a Tangut word, meaning "commander of an army", in Tangut *nga-mbi̯u*. The Tangut characters for this word are nos. 5162 and 3468 in M.V. Sofronov's *Grammatika tangutskogo yazyka*, vol. 2 (Moscow 1968). For the translation of *nga-mbi̯u* see E.I. Kyčanov and Herbert Franke, *Tangutische und chinesische Quellen zur Militärgesetzgebung des 11.-13. Jahrhunderts* (Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen Neue Folge Heft 104, München 1990), p. 76, no. 237: "Kommandierender einer Armee, General, Feldherr." Also Ch'eng Chü-fu in his family history of Hsi-li Gambu in *Ch'eng Hsüeh-lou wen-chi* (Taipei 1970), *ch.* 15, 16b, says that Gambu (here written 鈐部) is a military office of the Tanguts (河西軍職).' See Franke H 2002, 260. For the Hsi Hsia kingdom, cf. below, n. 151.

'Halted at Ayil Qaraqana', or 'Set up camp at Ayil Qaraqana.' On Ayil Qaraqana, an unknown locality on the Kimurqa Stream – the small right-bank affluent of the Onon on which see n. 88 above – see HCG, 280. For the word *qaraqana* (= mo. *qaraγana*), see below, n. 195.

The reason for Temüǰin's withdrawal from Bürgi was, it seems, to avoid hindering the progress of To'oril and J̌aqa Gambu, and their large body of mounted warriors. Temüǰin left Bürgi, on the right (= western) bank of the Kerulen, and moved upstream along the Tünggelik, reaching the Tana and thence the Kimurqa. For the Tünggelik Stream, see above, nn. 5 and 100.

§ 108. 'J̌amuqa, seeing the troops of Temüǰin, To'oril and J̌aqa Gambu' (*J̌amuqa ede Temüǰin To'oril J̌aqa Gambu-tan-u čeri'üd-i üǰe'et*), lit. 'J̌amuqa, seeing the troops of these – Temüǰin, To'oril and J̌aqa Gambu.' Here the enclitic *-tan* = 'and' (cf. lat. *-que*); see the example from § 183 cited in Mo, 30. It cannot mean 'and others' since only those three army leaders are involved.

'Even if there be a blizzard (*boro'an*).' *Boro'an* 'blizzard, snowstorm' appears in § 78 in the form *boroqan* (= pmo. *boroγan*). Mo. *boroγan* means only 'rain' (syn. with *qura*, the latter being also the word for 'rain' in the SH, as in the present passage). For *boro'an* (cf. tu. *boran*), see TMEN, no. 100; RH, 200, no. 19 (*for* no. 18, where *boraun* is the metathetical form of *boruan* [= *boru'an*]); Sinor 1977; Meserve 1992; and the references cited in those works. The alliterative passage is a saying emphasizing the need to be punctual at a rendezvous, employed here with special reference to a military operation. See Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 79. The extreme importance given to punctuality in such circumstances by the Mongols has already been mentioned. See above, n. 104. Cf. Lorincz 1975, 121.

The ancient Mongols verbally sealed and formalized an oath or promise simply by uttering the word 'yes' (*ǰe*), so that for a Mongol to say 'yes' was tantamount to pledging his word. Cf. § 255. Hence 'to be remiss in one's "yes"' means simply 'not to keep one's word.' For *andaqartan* = *andaqar-tan* (= pmo. *andaγar-tan*) 'bound (pl.) by oath', cf. *Lettres*, 66. For the expression used by J̌amuqa, see also Gaadamba 1968, 105.

For *ǰerge* 'rank', in the military sense, see TMEN, no. 161.

'It is up to younger brother J̌amuqa to punish and lay blame', lit. 'Let younger brother J̌amuqa decide *himself* the punishing and blaming.' Cf. *Lettres*, 83, where, however, *qodulaγu* and *čimarlaγu* should correctly read *qodulaqu* and *čimarlaqu*. On these two words see Oz[1], II, 281-282, nn. 6 and 7; Vietze 1990, 385. For other examples of the use of the expression *medetügei* 'let decide', see *Lettres*, 83-84.

§ 109. 'Starting from Botoqan Bo'orǰin they arrived at the river Kilqo.' The troops of To'oril Qan, Temüǰin, J̌aqa Gambu and J̌amuqa left the upper reaches of the Onon and proceeded, in a northwesterly direction, towards the Bu'ura Steppe (Bu'ura Ke'er) near present Kyakhta (see above, n. 105). As already stated by Pelliot (HCG, 281), it is most unlikely that they would have crossed the river Khilok – the Kilqo of the SH – to carry out their plan of attacking the enemy by surprise from the north. This enormous detour would have forced them to cross the Khilok *twice*, as well as the river Chikoi, in order to reach the enemy camp. However, they did cross a river and from the strategic point of view this could only have been the Chikoi. A possible explanation is that the 'Kilqo' of our text is a mistake for 'Čikö', i.e. the Chikoi, an error which may be due to the fact that these two rivers run a parallel course, both flowing into the Selenga. In the 13th and 14th century works, confusion among the rivers of Mongolia is by no means a rare phenomenon. Cf. Poppe 1956, 36ff. On the Čikö/Chikoi, see ibid., 36. However, not only is the Kilqo River the one also mentioned in § 105, but it is this river and not the Čikö that likewise appears in the corresponding passages in the AT[1] (26b, 27b). If, then, 'Kilqo' is the correct form, the only alternative explanation is that the SH account of the joint campaign against the Merkit is a conflation of two, or perhaps even three, separate operations carried out at different times against this tribe, as suggested in fact by Pelliot after a comparative analysis of all the sources. See HCG, 266-267. Ligeti (Li, 149-150, n. 106) has correctly pointed out that the Bu'ura Steppe must be situated south of the

Khilok (not to the north of it, as in Haenisch's map in Ha, 194); this is also confirmed by the fact that the campaign ended at Talqun Aral, at the confluence of the Orkhon and Selenga rivers (see § 115). According to Ligeti (loc. cit.), the joint forces did cross the Khilok twice to attack the three Merkit tribes by surprise from the rear, the first crossing having probably been effected more to the east, by fording, before the beginning of the actual hostilities, so as to avoid a second, dangerous crossing during the campaign.

'Descending on the smoke-hole/...': cf. above, § 105, where the poetic passage is almost identical. Cf. also Okada's remarks in Okada 1972, 63.

The section 'While Toqto'a Beki was asleep ... at full speed."' is translated and discussed in Mo, 48-49 (cf. also ibid., 123). In this section Toqto'a is mentioned for the first time with his title of *beki*, on which see above, n. 49. Cf. HCG, 271.

For the Barquǰin territory, i.e. the Barquǰin Lowland (*tögüm*), corresponding to the Barguzin valley between the estuary of the Barguzin River and that of the Selenga, see above, n. 8.

For the expression *čö'en beyes-iyen*, lit. 'few *in number* and with *nothing other than* their bodies', see Mo, 176-178, n. 158. Cf. below, n. 197.

§ **110**. This section, describing Börte's rescue from the Merkit camp, is, together with 'Hö'elün's Lament' (§§ 77-78), Qargil Šira's attempt on little Tolui's life (§ 214) and a few others, one of the literary highlights of the SH. It has a romantic flavour which is, on the whole, absent in the harsh milieu of this early narrative. Cf., on this subject, Śarközi 1978. However, as already noted by Pelliot (HCG, 266), the story of Börte's rescue as told in the SH is of doubtful historicity, and quite at variance with Rašīd al-Dīn's sober account. See also NHHO, 25, n. 2.

'Our troops' (*bidan-u čeri'üt*). This is the first of several instances in which the SH narrator identifies with Činggis Qan's side – as if he were an actual participant in the action just being described. For the usage of this literary device, cf. Čoĭmaa 1994.

The verb *dürbe-* can be rendered 'to flee in disarray', 'to flee in haste', or 'to flee in panic' – as when routed by the enemy.

For the connotations of *tala-* 'to plunder, spoil, ravish', cf. TMEN, nos. 923, 926. A comprehensive study of the early Mongol terminology concerning warfare, raiding and plundering, maiming and killing is long overdue. See, provisionally, GGMGL, 110ff.

In the present section much use is made of the auxiliary verbs *yabu-* 'to go', and *ayisu-* 'to approach', on which see above, nn. 15, 55; and Aalto 1973, 37.

'He came upon her' (*učiraǰu*). It may seem premature to introduce the verb 'to meet, encounter' (*učira-*) at this point in the narrative, but what immediately follows is, strictly speaking, parenthetical matter in the text. Instead of placing this within parenthesis, I have overcome the problem by simply adding 'for.' Cf. Cl, 45; and Oz[1], II, 291 and n. 1.

For *čilbur* 'tether, halter (strap)', see TMEN, no. 181; RH, 80, no. 12.

'They fell into each other's arms', lit. 'they threw themselves on each other and embraced each other.'

'That very (*or* same) night' (*söni bö'et*) is, literally, 'having been (= while it was still) night.' *Bö'et* (= mo. *büged*) has the meanings of: 1) 'having been' = 'while being', 'while', 'during'; 2) 'and, then' – an extension of (1); and 3) 'precisely, that very (same)', also an extention of (1). Cf. GHMBK, 581 (s.v. 'bö'ēd'), 583 (s.v. 'bü'ēd'); VG, 90-91; and, especially, Oz[1], IV, 12-16, n. 1.

'As for the Merkit people ... right there.' This sentence has been understood differently by various translators. I agree with those among them (Pelliot, Kozin, Damdinsürėn, Ligeti, etc.) who take 'right there' (*mün tende*) to mean the very place where the fugitives found themselves, not 'the same place where Temüǰin had stopped to pass the night' (Cl, 45, n. 19). It is

unlikely that the fugitives would have settled for the night in exactly the same spot where their enemies had encamped.

§ 111. 'At the very beginning' (*türūn urida*), lit. 'Formerly at the beginning.' For *türūn* 'at the beginning', see de Rachewiltz 1982, 57-58, n. 29; Cleaves 1950, 106, n. 114; idem 1982, 86, n. 60; Oz[1], II, 297-298, n. 1.

The name of the tribe of Qa'atai Darmala, the Qa'at Merkit, has dropped out of this paragraph; I have added it following AT[1], 28a (where 'Asγad' is a copyist's error for 'Qaγad').

'Mother Hö'elün was abducted by Yisügei Ba'atur' (*Yisügei Ba'atur-a Hö'elün Eke-yi buliǰu abtalāi*). For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 370, 373.

'It was at the time when Temüǰin circled Burqan Qaldun three times', i.e. when the Merkit raiders pursued him around the mountain, as colourfully related in § 102. My earlier rendering of these words (Ra, II, 155) is incorrect. The verb *qači'ul-* (= pmo. *qačiγul-*) means 'to go round, (en)circle'; cf. § 102 where, as here, this verb (again in the factitive form!) is rendered in Chinese as *jao* 繞 id. The sentence in question is a temporal one and, as usual in Mongolian, the subject, i.e. Temüǰin, is in the accusative. See GWM, 149, § 517; JŠ, 181, B (third example); cf. the opening sentence of the so-called 'Stone of Chingis' (de Rachewiltz 1976, 487) for the same construction. Cf. also the SH, §§ 145, 199 and 205.

Čilger Bökö was the younger brother of Yeke Čiledü, the first husband of Hö'elün, who by this time may have been dead. In Mongolian *čilger* has several meanings, but in the present case it must signify 'strong, robust' (cf. kh. *čilgėr* id.), rather than 'élancé, mince' (Bese 1974, 92). *Bökö* means 'a person of great physical strength', hence 'wrestler, prize-fighter' (see above, n. 41). Obviously, Börte was given to him to right the wrong done to his elder brother.

The entire poetic passage has been translated and discussed in Mo, 50-53. There are several words in it of which the exact meaning is still not clear. Cf. Poppe 1950a, 266-267. In the following I shall amplify on some of these obscure words and, at the same time, give additional references to some others.

For the expression *qalisu körisü* meaning 'scraps of skin', cf. Vietze 1990, 382-383, as well as Oz[1], II, 298-299, n. 3.

'It aspired to eat' *or* 'It hoped to eat', the verb *ǰeši-* (= mo. *ǰisi-* 'to estimate, imagine, etc.') may be rendered either way. See Oz[1], II, 299, n. 4.

'I, brutal and base Čilger' (*qatar ma'ui Čilger bi*). The word *qatar*, not glossed in the text, has puzzled previous translators and has been left untranslated by Mostaert and by Cleaves. AT[1], 28b, has *qatar* or *qadar*. I have no doubt that it is tu. *qadïr* ~ *qadar* 'grim, brutal, rough, harsh.' See DTS, 401b, 403a; ED, 603b; TMEN, no. 1381. Cf. yak. *xadaar* 'obstinate, stubborn.' The Ming editors and translators who evidently did not know this term transcribed it incorrectly as *qatar* instead of *qadar* owing to the ambiguity of the Uighur script. See de Rachewiltz 1995, 280. For other interpretations, cf. Poppe 1950a, 267; TH, 173 (= ǰYT, 302); Vietze 1990, 384. *Ma'u(i)* (= mo. *maγu[i]*), lit. 'bad, wicked' (x *sayin*), is a term employed here to designate, in a self-deprecatory manner, a socially inferior person, a base-born individual. Cf. Mo, 183, 225. On this word see also TMEN, no. 361.

For *qaraču* 'lowly', and *qara teri'ün* 'black head', see below.

'Who will act as a shield for me?', lit. 'By whom shall I be shielded?' Cf. Poppe 1964, 376.

For *quladu* (kh. *xult šuvuu*) 'buzzard', see WTCWC, III, 4136.1; MMED, 687a. However, in Buriat *xulda* (< *quladu*) is the 'hen-harrier', a hawk of the genus *Circus*. See BRS, 600a. Cf. Gantogtox 1990, 124.

For *quluqana* < *qulaqana* (= pmo. *qulaγana*), see Cleaves 1961, 73, n. 7. Cf. also TMEN, no. 308; RH, 220, no. 9. For *küčügene* 'mouse', see above, n. 89.

'I, thieving (*qunar*) and base Čilger.' The word *qunar*, like *qatar*, is not glossed and has likewise puzzled SH translators. I believe that it, too, is a Turkic word, meaning 'stealing, carrying

off' (a participle of *qun-* 'to steal, carry off'). Cf. DTS, 466a; ED, 632b. This interpretation fits well in the present context, in which Čilger accuses himself of having abducted (lit. 'gathered') Lady Börte, thus behaving like a robber. For other interpretations, cf. Poppe 1950a, 267; TH, 183 (= ǰYT, 319). See de Rachewiltz 1995, 280-281.

The epithets 'favoured' (*qutuqtai*) and 'fortunate' (*sutai*) applied to Börte refer to the favour and good fortune granted by Heaven (*tenggeri*), which has decreed a royal destiny for her. For the expression *qutuqtai* (= pmo. *qutuɣtai*) *sutai*, cf. *Lettres*, 22. For *qutuq* see above, n. 105; for *sutu* ~ *sutai* (pl. *sutan*), see also above, n. 74.

'Boastful (*qokir*), base Čilger.' *Qokir*, like *qatar* and *qunar*, is left untranslated in the Chinese interlinear version. It has also been variously rendered, with several translators opting for 'filthy', 'mean', 'crooked', 'miserable' and the like on the strength of mo. *qokir* 'dry dung, dirt, rubbish', *qokiɣur* (kh. *xoxiur*) 'emaciated, surly (see below)', and *qokiɣar* (kh. *xoxigor*) 'lean; crooked.' However, the word *qokir* also has the meaning of 'boastful, boaster, braggart' (WTCWC, II, 2430.4; Gol., II, 145c), with the related connotations of 'liar, joker' (cf. kalm. *χokŗ* id.). In this acceptation, *qokir* is an adjective, whereas the extended meaning 'filthy' (adj.) from 'dung' (subs.) is not warranted. The rendering *gammeina* 'obstinate, stubborn' of Oz[1], II, 296-297, 302-303, n. 12, is based on kh. *xoxir* which, according to Cėv., 699b, means 'having an unfriendly and nasty character; surly (*xoxiur*).' The word 'boastful' fits the context well, insofar as it describes a 'commoner', like Čilger Bökö, who 'has put on airs' by possessing a noble lady, and I therefore believe that this is the meaning obtaining in the present case. The main point of Čilger's poetic self-criticism is that a lowly, common tribesman (*qaraču*) ought not to covet things pertaining to a noble chief, or lord. Cf. Mo, 52. See de Rachewiltz 1995, 281-282. As already noted (see above, n. 21), *qaraču* 'commoner, common people (= tribesmen)', and *qara teri'ün*, lit. 'black head' (of a commoner), are synonyms containing the common element 'black' (*qara*), and refer to low birth and status, standing here in opposition to the white colour of the birds (goose, crane, etc.). 'White' (*čaqa'an*, *čaqān*) is the colour symbolizing all that is noble, aristocratic and good, hence a symbol of good luck. Cf. n. 63 above. (By contrast, in China white traditionally denotes what is common, vulgar, unlucky and of no value.) For a discussion (along parallel lines) of the terms *qatar*, *qunar* and *qokir*, cf. Doerfer 1996.

'My shrivelled head' (*qokimai teri'ün*) – shrivelled, or withered, by constant exposure to the sun, characteristic again of the 'black' head of a common tribesman.

'Worth but (i.e. only)', lit. 'so much as' (*tedüi*) = 'no more than.'

'Dreadful (*qaratu*), dark (*qarangqu*) gorges.' The word *qaratu* = *qaratai*, the possessive suffix *-tu* ~ *-tai*. According to TH, 171 (= ǰYT, 298), *qaratai* is still used (as a dialect form) in Inner Mongolia with the meaning of 'obscure, dark.' In their usual acceptation, however, *qaratu* and *qaratai* (~ *qartai*) mean 'envious; nasty, awful.' See Kow., 833b-834a; Gol., II, 97c; Les., 935b; MKeT, 1255b. Čilger wishes to hide in such a dark and horrible gorge where his pursuers would not dare to follow him, and in this way save his life which is now worthless.

'Shelter' (*qoriya'an*), lit. '(protected) enclosure (*or* precinct).' *Qoriya'an* = *qoriya* id. + the relatively rare denominal noun suffix *-'an* (= pmo., mo. *-ɣan*; see 'Trois documents', 452-453), and not *qoriya* + *-'an* ('Reflexivsuffix'), as stated in TMEN, I, 433. Cf. Oz[1], II, 506; Ba, I, 317. Thus, pmo. **qoriyaɣan* = pmo., mo. *qoriya*. On this important word, see TMEN, no. 303.

For the bird and animal similes in this section, see Boyle's comments in Boyle 1978a, 183. Cf. also Lorincz 1975, 121-122.

§ 112. 'A cangue *made of* a wooden board', lit. 'a plank cangue' (*qabtasun buqa'u*), i.e. a heavy wooden board opened in the middle and worn round the neck. Cf. above, n. 81.

'They took him straight (*ǰori'ulba*) to Qaldun Burqan', lit. 'They caused him to aim at/to (= to go straight to) Qaldun Burqan.' Several translators have taken the verb *ǰori'ul-* (fact. of *ǰori-*) to mean 'to cause to lead', i.e. they made Qa'atai Darmala lead (= guide) them to Burqan Qaldun (by the shortest way). This is due to a misinterpretation of the verb *ǰori-* and of the Chinese sectional summary by Haenisch (Ha, 28), perpetuated by Waley (Wa, 240), Ligeti (Li, 36) and myself (Ra, II, 157) among others.

For the abduction of Belgütei's mother Sučigil (*or* Sujigil), see § 102, when after their raid the Merkit chiefs said to each other, 'We have now seized their women.' Unless she had somehow managed to escape, Hö'elün must have been abducted together with Börte and Sučigil, but there is no mention of her, which is interesting.

'I am told that my sons have become *qan*s, but here I have been joined with a base man (*ma'ui gü'ün*). How can I now look my sons in the face?' The only surviving son of Sučigil was Belgütei; hence by 'sons' are meant *sensu lato* the other sons of Yisügei Ba'atur, i.e. Temüǰin and his brothers. They had not become *qan*s, although Temüǰin was at the head of his own troops in the attack against the Merkit. Such a statement was obviously put into Sučigil's mouth later and, indeed, the whole episode is of doubtful historicity, finding no support in Rašīd al-Dīn's version of the story of Börte's captivity. See ČK[1], 31-32 (= ČK[2], 34-36). Apparently, Sučigil had been given to a common Merkit tribesman, hence the reference to the 'base (*ma'ui*, see above, n. 111) man.' It was this socially degrading match, not the sexual fact in itself, that made Sučigil ashamed to the extent of running away from her son. See Ratchnevsky 1976, 516, 527, n. 37. Nothing more is heard about her. In this section, Belgütei receives for the first time the epithet *noyan*,

'chief, noble', which reappears in §§ 190 and 191. See HCG, 185.

'He *then* shot knob-headed arrows at any men of Merkit stock (*Merkidei ele yasutu gü'ün-ni*).' For the knob-headed arrows (*qodoli*), see above, n. 77, and below, n. 116. For the generalizing particle *ele* used in this context, see Street 1986, 207-209. *Yasutu* is, literally, 'having the bone (*yasu*[*n*]).' *Yasu(n)* is one of the main kinship terms in the social organization of the Mongols, designating a common (patrilineal) line of descent, thus meaning 'lineage, stem', as well as 'stock', as in ger. *Stamm*. See above, n. 9. For this term, cf. TMEN, no. 405 (and the references contained therein); Cleaves 1951, 75, n. 19; Yang LS 1956, 49-51; MSR, 129; Fletcher 1986, 16. Hence, 'having such a bone' = 'being of such a stock.' Cf. mo. *yasutai* id. See Les., 430a-b. But why did Belgütei shoot *qodoli*-arrows, i.e. blunt arrows, at any man of Merkit stock that he saw in the encampment? I think it was simply to mark them for killing. These bone-tipped arrows, often pierced with holes so that they whistled as they flew (see below, n. 116), were used for a variety of purposes, including ceremonial ones. By hitting a person with such an arrow it meant that that person must die; the actual killing was carried out by the soldiers or guards. It should be noted that, in the present instance, the 'ceremonial' hitting with the arrow was accompanied in each case by the words 'Bring me my mother!', which acted as a sort of imprecatory formula by which the victim was held individually responsible for the *collective* crime committed upon the person of Belgütei's mother. For the earliest recorded instance of the use of 'whistling' arrows to indicate a person to be killed, see the interesting episode from the life of the Hsiung-nu chieftain Mao-tun 冒頓 (209 B.C.) in Krueger 1961. Cf. also KCWL 57, 14a (*shen-tao pei* 神道碑 of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材, 1189-1243, by Sung Tzu-chen 宋子貞 [1267]) for another episode involving the use of 'whistling' arrows in Ögödei's reign (1231). See KIPMX, 75, 108-109, n. 114.

'Those suitable to be embraced ... through the door', i.e. they seized the Merkit women and turned them into concubines and slaves, as was the custom. The expression 'to be let through the door' (*e'üten-tür oro'ulda-*) is a euphemism for 'to serve inside the tent as a slave (or serf).' Cf. Oz[1], II, 308, n. 5. For the binomial expression ('*mot-couple*') *eme kö'ün* = 'wife' rather than 'wives and children' (as in On, 41), see above, n. 104.

§ 113. 'With my strength increased by Heaven and Earth.' For the early Mongol concept of Heaven (*tenggeri*) and Earth (*qaǰar*) bestowing strength (*güčü*) and protection (*ihe'el*) on a man destined to be a ruler, see de Rachewiltz 1973; Skrynnikova 1989b; KHIV, 62 et passim. For the connotations of the word *güčü(n)* (= mo. *küčü*[*n*]) 'strength, power' < tu. *küč* id., see TMEN, no. 1662; Skrynnikova 1987, 126-128; KHIV, 100ff. (For the suffixless form with loss of final *n* in the present passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 373, 374.) The Mongol concept of Heaven-granted strength is also borrowed from the Turks. See Clauson 1962, 92-96; de Rachewiltz, op. cit.; Mori 1981, 50-51. On these terms and concepts, see also above, nn. 1, 63, 74 and 113, and below, n. 125. In the present section we have a combination of *tenggeri* and *qaǰar* (as in §§ 121, 125, 208, 224, 254, 260, 281), and of *tenggeri* and *etügen* (*ötögen* in § 255). *Etügen ~ ötögen* has the regular epithet *eke*: *eke etügen ~ ötögen eke* 'Mother Earth.' Whereas *qaǰar* means 'earth' *sensu lato* – including the Earth-deity –, *etügen ~ ötögen* (*ötegen ~ ötögen* < *etügen ~ itügen*; pmo. *etügen*, *itügen*, *ötegen*, *ötögin*) *eke* is the Earth-deity *sensu stricto*. (For the association *tenggeri – ötögen* and *tenggeri – qaǰar*, see also the beginning of Hung-wu's letter to Aǰaširi in the HIIY, *Matériel I*, 1 (1r,2), 15; and Cleaves 1959, 57 [9v]. The Earth-goddess was known also by other names, such as Načiγai (see below). In the early shamanistic conception of the Mongols, (Mother) Earth is the counterpart of Heaven (Above), the Supreme Power of the Turkic and Mongolian speaking peoples of Inner Asia. See

above, n. 1, and, specifically on the role of the Earth as goddess, DBSS, 65-72 (= Banzarov 1981/82, 65-70); Lot-Falck 1956 and 1975; Roux 1962, 199-206; RTM, 132-137. The name *etügen ~ ötögen* and its relationship with tu. Ötüken, the name of the sacred 'mountain' of the Turks (T'u-chüeh) corresponding to the Khangai range, have been discussed by various scholars, also in connection with the other names (Načigai, Itoga, etc.) of Mother Earth. See, in particular, Pelliot 1929, 212-219; NMP, II, 791-792, s.v. 'Natigai'; Cleaves 1949, 129-130, n. 246; idem 1954, 124-125, n. 326; de Rachewiltz 1982, 61, n. 66; Mostaert 1957a; idem 1962, 201, 218, n. 21; Oz[1], II, 311-312, n. 2; Sinor 1939, 551-555; Dien 1956, 19; SWPB, 123-124, II.10; *YSLT* 1:1982, 225; *Matériel II*, 4; Cleaves 1991, 136-138, n. 35 (with further references); ASTJ, 25ff.; G. Kara in *Shaman*, 1998, 176-177; and TI, 98-99, n. 255. Cf. also below, n. 238. For the geographical situation of Ötüken in Mongolia, see RBC, 197; and Klyashtorny 1982, 346 (cf. below, n. 273). The meaning of Ötüken is, probably, 'Lord of Prayer' (< tu. *ötüg* 'prayer, request to a superior' + *qan* 'lord', the latter term often applied to imposing mountains); cf. tu. Tamγan 'Lord of the Wall' (< *tam* 'wall' + *qan*) for the T'ien-shan, and Qadïrqan 'The Severe Lord' (< *qadïr* 'severe' + *qan*) for the Khingan range. For *ötüg* see below, n. 154.

The words *erketü*, *eke*, *ere* and *ebür* in the poetic passage are in *e*-alliteration; therefore, the epithet *eke* is placed before *etügen* instead of after it, as it should be. *Tenggeri*, 'Heaven', is qualified as *erketü* 'mighty, powerful', but this term means more than that: it designates the 'majestic' power, or authority, of a ruler, be it of heaven or earth. Cf. tu. *erklig* id. in ED, 224a-b. See also Clauson 1962, 96-99. For the alliteration in this stanza, see Poppe 1969, 273-274. (The form *tenggiri*, instead of the usual *tenggeri*, occurs twice in this section, and again in §§ 121 and 125.)

'Carried through' (*gürgeǰü*)': the victory over the Merkit was decreed by Heaven and made possible by Mother Earth. In

other words, She created the favourable conditions for it to be achieved.

'Of the Merkit people/Who take their revenge as a man *does (ere hačitu).*' *Ere hacitu* is, literally, 'man-vengeful.' I base my interpretation on an unpublished note by Mostaert. For other interpretations, see Pe, 151; Li, 36; Cl, 47; On, 41.

'To empty the breast and tear to pieces (lit. "to break off *a piece of*") the liver' can be understood both figuratively, in the sense of causing extreme affliction and irreparable damage, and literally, as referring to the ancient and well-known ritual of tearing out the living heart and/or liver of war prisoners. Isolated cases of this practice are recorded in Mongolia even in the 20th century. See MHM, 33, 197, 320; and LC, 86-88.

'We emptied their beds': cf. § 105 and com.

'Thus we destroyed (*busan*[*g*]*qaǰu*) the Merkit people: let us *now* withdraw! (*icuya*).' The verb *busangqa-* (= pmo. *busangɣa-*) corresponds to mo. *busaniɣul-* 'to destroy, ruin, scatter.' According to Oz[1], II, 313, n. 5, the correct reading is *busanɣa-* < *busaniɣa-* (fact. of *busani-*), but the form *busangɣa-* is confirmed by § 208 (twice), as well as by AT[1], 29a. As for *ičü-* 'to withdraw' see *Lettres*, 25; cf. above, n. 73.

In this and several other passages of the SH we encounter words like 'to destroy (annihilate, bring to an end)' (*busangqa-*, *bara-*, *ülitke-*, *muqutqa-*), besides those for 'to plunder' (*da'uli-*), 'to crush, suppress' (*daru-*), and 'to subjugate' (*dorayida'ul-*). 'To destroy' or 'to annihilate' a people (= tribe or subtribe) must not be taken literally – it is merely a way of saying that on that occasion a particular group of people lost through defeat their power and unity, and no longer counted as a force to be reckoned with, chiefly because their leadership, viz. the members of the leading clan(s), were usually systematically killed (unless they managed to flee before the debacle). Accordingly, this 'destruction' could be a temporary or permanent event. We find the same terminology in the Old Turkic literature. See also the remarks below, nn. 133 and 154.

§ 114. This paragraph has been discussed in detail and translated in Mostaert 1956.

'With fire in his eyes': for this expression, cf. §§ 62, 66, 82 and 149.

The name of the five-year-old (= four-year-old in Western reckoning) foundling was Küčü, meaning 'Strength', or 'Might' (see above, n. 113), written Güčü in § 138 et passim. For *k* ~ *g* in the SH, see 'Quelques problèmes', 240-243.

In the SH the word for 'boots' is *qudusun* (cf. § 145), corresponding to mo. *ɣutul*. For this word see TMEN, no. 263; Serruys 1982, 475-476; Gantogtokh 1989, 119-120; Gantogtox 1990, 125.

'A dress of otter skins.' The otter is called *usun-u buluqan* (= mo. *buluɣan*), lit. 'water sable.'

For the important term *sauqa* ~ *sauqat* (= pmo. *sauɣa*, *sauɣad*) 'present' and its history and connotations, besides the references given in Mostaert 1956, 9, n. 10, see TMEN, no. 222; HCWLYTT, 32-39, no. 8; and RH, 291, no. 33: *saugat* 'present.' Essentially, *sauqa(t)* designated presents one took on a journey to repay the hospitality one received, hence a sort of due which the receiver expected by custom – often mistaken by outsiders for a bribe.

With Küčü (Güčü) begins the series of orphaned infants and children of enemy tribes, defeated by the Mongols and their allies, who were adopted by Hö'elün or Börte, and who thus acquired the status of brother or son of Temüǰin/Činggis Qan. Four foundlings are mentioned in the SH, viz. the Merkit Küčü/Güčü (§ 114), the Besüt Kököčü (§ 119), the Tatar Šigi Qutuqu (§ 135), and the Hūšin Boroqul/Boro'ul (§ 137). Three more are mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn: the two Tatar Tutuqli'ut brothers called 'Küli' (? Tuli) and Qara Mengetü Uha (? Üge), who were not regarded by Činggis Qan as his adoptive sons; and the Tangut Čaqan (Čaɣan), whom Činggis regarded as his fifth son. See SL, I/1, 108-109; I/2, 266. The theme of Hö'elün's numerous adoptions is, according to Pelliot, 'un thème épique fortement sujet à caution' (HCG, 375), and therefore of doubtful

historicity. However, I do not think that one can justifiably dismiss outright these 'adoptions' which, as shown by F. Aubin, were a regular feature of Mongol medieval life and society, and indeed a well established institution. See Aubin, 1975, 471ff.

§ 115. 'Had smashed the lock-carts' (*čorqan ger čoqoli'uljʉ*). The word *čorqan* is not glossed in the interlinear translation; however, it is listed in the HIIY, I, 11a, in the form *čo'orqa* with the meaning of 'lock.' See *Matériel I*, 47. The corresponding form in Written Mongolian is *čuɣurɣa(n)*. See Kow., 2200a: *čuɣurɣan*, *čuɣurɣa*, *čurɣa*, *čurɣan*. Cf. Gol., II, 293b: *čuɣurɣa*, *čuurɣa*; and kh. *cuurga* 'lock, socket or hole for a bolt.' For mo. *uɣu* = mmo. *ō*, cf. the same phenomenon in Dagur (IMCS, 62-63). Thus, SH *čorqan* = *čōrqan* < *čo'orqan* (w.f. *čoɣoɣan*). Cf. TH, 318 (= ǰYT, 552); and Oz[1], II, 318, n. 1. See also § 124: *čo'orqatai tergen* 'lock-cart', lit. 'cart having a lock.' The *čōrqan ger*, lit. 'lock-tent', was the locked tent-cart where goods and valuables were stored. These carts are mentioned by medieval travellers like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. See Li, 150, n. 115. Smashing these movable treasuries to seize their contents, and ravishing the beautiful women (see the second line of this alliterative passage) were the highlights of a successful raid. The word for 'to smash' in our passage is *čoqoli'ul-*, factitive of *čoqoli-*, which corresponds to mo. *čoɣol-* 'to pierce, punch, perforate.' Cf. ord. *čuɣuli-* [sic] 'to demolish a building' (according to TH, 317 [= ǰYT, 550-551]). However, AT[1], 29b, has *čoɣorilaǰu* (not *čoɣorulaǰu* as in ATL, 73), which suggests that the original text may have read *čoɣoriɣulǰu* = mmo. *čoqori'uljʉ*, instead of *čoɣoliɣulǰu* = mmo. *čoqoli'uljʉ*; hence Ko, 227: *čoġoriulǰu* (cf. ibid., 537 and 611); L[2], 73: *čoqori'uljʉ*; and Ir, 81: *čoɣoriɣulǰu*. Cf. also Pelliot's '*čoqorï'uljʉ*?' in Pe, 29, n. 5. For mmo. **čoqori-*, cf. mo. *čoɣora-* 'to be pierced, to burst open.' Oz[1], II, 317; Γa, 53; and Če, 85, follow the SH reading. Although I opt for the form in *-l-*, which is found in all editions of the SH, the form in *-r-* cannot be excluded on the grounds of the AT reading. In either case the meaning is not affected.

'The splendid women.' Here the term 'splendid' (*čoqtai*) has class and status connotations, indicating women of rank, as evident from both the Chinese interlinear gloss and the continuous version. See Cl, 48, n. 39.

Orqan = Orqon (< Orqan); for *o* < *a* in the second syllable, see IMCS, 54.

For Talqun Aral, see above, n. 105.

Temüǰin and J̌amuqa returned together to the latter's camp on the Onon, i.e. in the Qorqonaq Valley (see above, nn. 57, 104); To'oril returned to his camp on the Tūla (see above, n. 96) by way of the Hökörtü Valley north of Burqan Qaldun – this valley in the Great Khentei is still unidentified – and the two mountain passes (?) Qača'uratu Subčit and Huliyatu Subčit. According to Pėrlėė[2], 7 and 5, the former corresponds to present-day Gačuur or Gačuuryn Am east of Ulan Bator at 47° N and 107° E, and the latter to Uliataĭn Am (Uliastaĭn Am) at 49° N and 107° E. Pėrlėė[2], 5, states that the term *subčit* is the plural of *subči*, a term used by the Mongols in ancient times for a mountain pass (= *am*[*a*]*sar*). Cf. Pėrlėė[4], 92. This term may be related to *sübe* 'opening, narrow passage.' There are two *subčit* mentioned in this passage: Qača'uratu (= pmo. Qačaɣuratu, lit. 'Having Spruces') and Huliyatu (= pmo. Uliyatu, lit. 'Having Aspens') Subčit. In the YS[2] 2, 29, there is mention of a region called 'the region of the Three Sübci(t)', where Tolui visited his brother Ögödei in the summer of 1229. Tolui was then regent of the empire and, as 'guardian of the hearth', his residence was at Činggis Qan's former *ordos* at Köde'e Aral by the Kerulen. We know that soon after this meeting the great *qurilta* that elected Ögödei was held right there (see de Rachewiltz 1993/94, 4-5; and below, n. 269). We also know that Ögödei liked spending part of the summer in the mountains (see Boyle 1972, 127). It is then logical to assume that 'the region of the Three Sübči(t)' of the YS was the mountainous area south of Burqan Qaldun (= Khentei Khan) and east and north-east of present-day Ulan

Bator, thus confirming the localization given for the two *subčit* in the SH, and Pėrlėė's identification.

For *abala-* 'to hunt by making a circular battue' (< *aba* 'a circular battue'), and Mongolian hunting practices, see Vlad.[2], 48-49; TMEN, nos. 1, 570, 582; Harayama 1972 (esp. pp. 1-3); Munkuev 1976, 1ff.; MCS, 27-37; the important contributions of J.A. Boyle, S. Jagchid and C.R. Bawden, D. Sinor and others in JAV (cf. also IACME, III); and M. Tatar in DM, 150-153. Cf. also BM, 245, and MSKK, 29-36. The subject deserves a comprehensive treatment which is still lacking, and not for want of material.

§ 116. This is the first reference in the SH to an earlier oath of *anda*-ship (sworn friendship) between Temüǰin and J̌amuqa, at the time when the former was only eleven (= ten) years old. However, it was only after the defeat of the Merkit that the two friends became truly *anda*s (see above, n. 96).

'Let us *now* love each other *again*' (*amaralduya*). For the verb *amaraldu-*, reciprocal form of *amara-* 'to love, to show or express friendship', cf. *Lettres*, 79.

The more solid knucklebones from the tarsus of the roebuck, or made of molten copper, were used for playing the popular game on ice; otherwise, those from a sheep's tarsus were normally used. See Li, 150-151, n. 116. The text literally reads, 'they became sworn friends *through* (= *by means of*) an anklebone filled with (lit. "having") copper (? brass).' 'Through' or 'by means of', expressed with the instrumental case following *ši'a* (= mo. *šaγa*[*n*]) 'anklebone', has dropped from our text but has been preserved in the corresponding passage in AT[1], 30a (*šaγai-bar*). Cf. Poppe 1975b, 155-156. My rendering 'copper knucklebone' (*činggültüktü ši'a*) is based entirely on the Chinese interlinear gloss 銅灌的髀石 'knucklebone in which copper has been poured', but ch. *t'ung* 銅 by itself can mean 'copper' as well as 'brass' and 'bronze.' Unfortunately, the word *činggü(l)* is not elsewhere attested with any of these meanings. This has led to differing interpretations.

Cf. TH, 315 (= ǰYT, 548), and Oz[1], II, 323-325, n. 2, which claim that *činggül* = mmo. **čenggel* 'something bent like a hook' (> *čengelde-* 'to bend'; cf. MA, 132a); and, according to Ozawa, *činggültüktü* = *čenggültügtü*, i.e. *čenggül* + the denominal noun suffix of manufacture *-ltüg* + the possessive suffix *-tü*. *Čenggültügtü* would then mean 'made with something bent like a hook', and *čenggültügtü ši'a* 'a knucklebone bent like a hook' (ibid., 322). Cf. El-Ar, 300; On, 42 and n. 124. However, AT[1], 30a, which has the reading *činggel-dür-tü* (corr. *činggeltüg-tü*), has also a gloss to this word reading *naγadun-dur anu* 'for play', obviously relating the word in question to mo. *čenggel* 'fun, amusement.' Cf. LDAT, 95. For other interpretations, see Γa, 305, n. 403; Če, 85, 334, n. 165; Vietze 1990, 386-387. In my opinion, the Chinese gloss cannot be dismissed without good grounds, and the arguments proposed so far are not wholly convincing. Knucklebones loaded with metal were well known; in Russian there is a special word for them, viz. *svinčatka* 'knucklebone loaded with lead.' For knucklebone games still played by Mongolian shepherds, cf. GMS, 17-28.

Da'utu (= mo. *daγutu*) *yor* 'whistling (lit. "sounding") arrowhead.' These heads, usually made of perforated bone, were used since ancient times by the Chinese and Inner Asian nomads to make the famous 'whistling arrows' (ch. *ming-ti* 鳴鏑). See what has been said above (nn. 77 and 112) about the 'knob-headed arrows' (*qodoli*), some of which were also bored to produce a whistling sound. On the whistling arrows (mo. *boroγa*, etc.), see PHDA, 224-226; Uray-Köhalmi 1953; Wallacker 1958; Li, 150-151, n. 116; and Reid 1992, 88. In the HTSL, 18a, they are mentioned in the list of various kinds of arrows used by the Mongols. See CG, 174-176; cf. MCAT, 132, 26, n. 1; GGMGL, 142. During Činggis Qan's life the Chinese defector Liu Wen 劉溫 had gained renown at the Mongol court for his skill in making whistling arrows. See TOA, 38; HYL, 25, 66, n. 154. William of Rubruck received from Möngke Qaγan as a present for the king of France a strong bow and two

arrows with heads of silver, full of holes, which – he writes – 'sibilant quando iaciuntur quasi fistule' (SF, 255; cf. GR, 169-170; MWR, 185 and n. 3). No mention of these arrows is found in Marco Polo's book. For several references to whistling arrows in Chinese literature, see PWYF, V, 4026b; DKJ, XII, 46672.134. Cf. also Tserensodnom 1993, 199. J̌amuqa made the whistling arrowhead himself by gluing together 'the two horns of a two-year-old calf', i.e. the four halves of the two horns of a calf, as correctly interpreted by Cleaves (Cl, 49). For his part, Temüǰin gave J̌amuqa a *qodoli*-arrow, i.e. a knob-headed arrow (see above, n. 112), the knob (lit. 'tip': *manglai*; see above, n. 4) of which was made of juniper wood (*arča*). *Arča* (= mo. *arča*; kh. *arc*) is the *Juniperus* L., not the cypress (*Cupressus* and *Chamaecyparis*) as in Cleaves (loc. cit.). See TMEN, no. 448.

For the symbolic meaning of the exchange of knucklebones and arrows between the two *anda*s, cf. Roux 1976, 559; idem 1977, 18. See also below, n. 117.

§ 117. This section, fully translated and discussed in Mo, 53-59, begins with the quotation of an alliterative saying of 'the old men of former ages' (lit., 'the former elders': *uridus ötögüs*), i.e. with a proverb to the effect that two persons that have declared themselves *anda* shared the same life, hence the need for mutual love and protection. For this saying, see Gaadamba's remarks in which he equates 'life' (*amin*) with 'mind' or 'thoughts' (*sanaγa*) (MNTSZA, 118-120). Cf. also Pėrlėė 1962, 26-27. For the word *ariči* 'safeguard, protection', see TH, 95 (= ǰYT, 169).

In the previous section we were told how on an earlier occasion (when Temüǰin was eleven [= ten] years old) Temüǰin and J̌amuqa had exchanged gifts to consecrate their oath of *anda*-ship – these gifts being an integral part of the ritual. In renewing their sworn friendship now as adults, a further exchange of presents takes place with more appropriate objects. These consist of golden belts and beautiful horses – all valuable

things and, in the case of the belts, also of great symbolic significance. See above, n. 103; Li, 148, n. 103, and 151, n. 117; cf. Roux 1975, 60; idem 1977, 18-19; Aubin 1975, 466, n. 8; 489 and n. 72; Sárközi 1978, 146; Göckenjan 1998, 141.

Toqto'a's mare is defined as *esgel* '(mare) that has not foaled for several years', and *qali'un* (= mo. *qaliγun*), a term properly designating a horse with a coat varying from yellowish white to yellowish black, with a black mane and tail, and a black stripe along the spine. See Mo, 58. Cf. TMEN, no. 260; HCWLYTT, 154-156, no. 44; RH, 79, no. 3. See, however, below.

For the particle *gü* (= mo. *kü*) 'also', see Street 1982, 627. Cf. 'Trois documents', 460.

Dayir Usun's horse was 'kid-white' (*ünügün čaqa'an*), i.e. its coat was white like a kid's coat. For *ünügün*, lit. 'young she-goat', cf. Hung 1956, 30, n. 5; RH, 218, no. 26 ('a kid'). It also had a 'horn' (*eber*), i.e. a protuberance on its forehead in the shape of a horn – a well-known phenomenon with horses. See Mostaert 1950, 3-4; Mo, 56. There has been some divergence of opinion among scholars on how to interpret the words *ebertü ünügün čaqa'an*. See Lubsangbaldan 1989. According to this author, *ebertü* means 'having whiskers' (*saqaltai*) rather than 'having a horn.' However, his argument runs counter to both the Chinese interlinear gloss and Mostaert's cogent remarks on the subject. It is also not certain whether the expression *ebertü ünügün čaqa'an* is purely descriptive or is the actual name of the horse. Cf. Mostaert 1950, 4, and Mo, 55, from which it appears that Mostaert actually regarded it as the horse's name. This also applies to the words *esgel qali'un* discussed above, which may well be the name of Toqto'a's horse. Cf. Ev-Pop, 83.

For the Leafy Tree (Saqlaqar Modun ~ Mudun) in the Qorqonaq Valley (Qorqonaq J̌ubur), see above, n. 57. Our passage specifies that the Leafy Tree was 'on the southern side of the Quldaqar Cliff in (lit. "of") the Qorqonaq Valley' (*Qorqonaq J̌ubur-un Quldaqar Qun-nu ebür-e*). The Quldaqar Cliff is mentioned only once in the SH and its situation is

unknown; apparently it was somewhere in this unidentified valley at the headwaters of the Onon River on the eastern slopes of the Khentei. The fact that it was at the Leafy Tree that Temüǰin and J̌amuqa renewed their pledge confirms the assumption made earlier that the Leafy Tree was a place consecrated by tradition and a locality where important ritual acts were carried out accompanied by dancing and feasting. Cf. §§ 57, 206. For *modun ~ mudun*, see above, n. 79.

For the words *toyilan* 'feasting', see Cleaves 1949a, 520; Poppe 1955, 41.

'They slept together', lit. 'they spent the night together.' For *könǰile* 'blanket', see Cleaves 1985, 249, n. 57. Some scholars (e.g. Onon, Ozawa, Even and Pop) relate *qaqča* 'alone' (ch. *tu* 獨) to *könǰile-de'en*, lit. 'in their blanket', and understand 'under one blanket', but this is not correct. Cf. § 201 for J̌amuqa's recollection of these early events.

§ 118. 'Temüǰin and J̌amuqa loved each other ...', lit. 'When Temüǰin and J̌amuqa loved each other, they loved each other ... .'

'From their present encampment', lit. 'from that encampment *where* they had been staying.'

'They broke camp and set out ...', lit. 'When they moved on, they moved on ... .'

Alačuq, which I translate as 'shelter', is a Turkic word designating a type of tent or, as is more likely in the present context, a light summer hut made of tree-bark or twigs. Cf. Poppe 1955, 38; Mu, I, 219-220, n. 11; Khomonov 1970, 36; MSR, 121; TS, 94; Rassadin 1995, 113; and especially TMEN, no. 519. A literal rendering of the sentence would be 'Let our horse-herders reach (= have sufficient) tents!'

'There will be enough food/For our shepherds and lamb-herds!', lit. 'Let our shepherds and lamb-herds reach (= have sufficient) *food for* the gullet!' For *qoniči(n)* 'shepherd' (pl. *qoničit*), see TMEN, no. 118; Poppe 1975, 167. Here we find the form *qoninčit* instead of *qoničit*. Cf. *qonint* for *qonit* (§ 124); *qant* for *qat* (§ 272); and *qadunt* (= *qatunt*) for *qatut* (§ 198). See Mo, 109; *Matériel II*, 38 (13r, 3). The verb *gür-* (= mo. *kür-*) 'to reach, attain to' indicates here the attaining of a state of sufficiency or even plenty. See Kow., 2653b: '[2] suffire, être suffisant'; DO, 438a: *k'ur-* id. This is important to understand J̌amuqa's apparently cryptic utterances, which somehow remind us of Bodončar's riddle in § 33.

It is clear that J̌amuqa is offering Temüǰin a choice: *either* to pitch camp on the wooded mountainside, where the horse-herders would be better off since they would be able to build themselves shelters with bark and twigs, *or* to pitch camp along the river, where the shepherds could find better grazing for their animals. On the face of it, J̌amuqa's question is anything but an idle one; on the contrary, it must have been dictated by a practical exigency. What may have puzzled Temüǰin and made him suspect an ulterior motive, was *the way* J̌amuqa put the question and the fact that he left the choice to him, ostensibly the junior partner. It was, however, Börte who, with her sudden intervention (she did not even give Hö'elün the chance to express her opinion), fanned Temüǰin's suspicions and was actually responsible for his decision to abandon his partner. One may argue, as Lattimore does, that J̌amuqa, prompted by power rivalry and seeking a confrontation with his *anda*, would have opposed Temüǰin's choice *in any case*, hence Temüǰin's legitimate doubts. Equally plausible is Grousset's suggestion that Börte's action can be explained by her desire to precipitate a confrontation with J̌amuqa who, she may reasonably have felt, was an ambitious man and Temüǰin's major obstacle to tribal leadership. She played an almost identical role in relation to Kököčü Teb Tenggeri (§ 245). See Lattimore 1963b, 62; CW, 77. But one should not lose sight of one important thing that tends to be overlooked, viz. the 'riddle' element in J̌amuqa's question (note that in the SH account the words are in alliterative poetry!), a riddle that Temüǰin admits he 'couldn't understand.' Börte's words, too, indicate that she could not understand the meaning of the words, but she believed they

concealed a scheme against Temüǰin, hence her reaction. If neither Temüǰin nor his wife could understand J̌amuqa's poetic riddle, what hope have we, who are so far removed from that culture, to understand what was the *real* meaning of those words?

I am of the opinion that the story of J̌amuqa's cryptic utterances and Börte's interference is nothing but the *post eventum*, 'official' justification for what was, in effect, Temüǰin's callous betrayal of his sworn friend and ally. He used this technique throughout his career, as amply shown by the SH, and *we* need not be deceived by poetic riddles. The separation from J̌amuqa was no doubt due to Temüǰin's ambition to gain supremacy – as a leader in his own right – over the subtribes and clans that owed allegiance to the Mongol (= Mongqol) tribe, as subsequent events will show. However, it seems that the actual rupture of the friendly relations between the two *anda*s was somehow engineered by Temüǰin's senior relatives Altan and Qučar, who were at that time in J̌amuqa's camp (see § 127). The exact circumstances (and backstage machinations) which culminated in the break-up will never be known and we can only make a guess on the basis of the available source material, much of which is tendentious. This paragraph has caused a good deal of controversy among ideologically motivated scholars and different interpretations have been put forth (some of them patently spurious) which have further coloured – and clouded – the issue. Cf. GKV, 30-32; Vlad.[2], 105-107; Ko, 38-41; Da[5], 62; Lattimore, loc. cit.; idem 1978, 133; Gumilyov 1974, 201; Hambis 1975, 14, n. 23; H. Hasumi in *ACS* 28:1978, 1-13 (covering SH, §§ 118-123); Hamayon 1979, 128-129; Ja, 134-135, n. 3; ČK[1], 34-35, and, especially, note 134 on p. 34 (= ČK[2], 37-39, 230, n. 163); Načuγdorǰi 1989 and Nacagdorž 1990 (reviewing also Barthold's, Kozin's and Gumilev's theories); On, 43, n. 127 (cf. the somewhat expanded 2001 version, 96-97, n. 245); Wu Pao-shan in *ÖMBYS*, 1990.2, 116-118; and Meserve 2001, 94.

'These words of J̌amuqa ... these words of his', lit. 'this word of J̌amuqa ... this word of his.' For the use of *ene* 'this' and *tere* 'that' in the SH, see Street 1990 (esp. pp. 179, 186).

'Grows *easily* tired' (*uyidangqa*), i.e. 'bored (= fed up).' Cf. mo. *uyid-* 'to be bored, fed up.' Cf. also § 179.

'Let us separate completely (*šili'ui-a*).' *Šili'ui-a* (= pmo. *siliγui-a*) is an adverbial dative of *šiliγui* ~ *šiluγui* (cf. AT[1], 31a). Cf. mo. *siluγun* 'straight(forward), upright.' In other words, the separation should be 'neat', hence 'complete.'

§ 119. The Tayiči'ut, it will be remembered, were last mentioned in §§ 79-87, quite sometime before the current events. Then it was Temüǰin who was in dread of the Tayiči'ut 'relatives' who had captured him and from whom he had so successfully escaped. But now Temüǰin has become a leader in his own right and when the inevitable split with J̌amuqa occurs, the Tayiči'ut, still hostile to him, naturally side with J̌amuqa as many other clans did, the Besüt among them. The Besüt were also related to Temüǰin's line via the common ancestor Qaidu (see § 47). On them, cf. HCG, 156.

Kököčü is the second of the several foundlings adopted by Hö'elün and Börte (see above, n. 114). He was found in the Besüt camp which, according to the SH, was within the larger encampment of the Tayiči'ut (cf. § 138), and consequently was a Besüt, not a Tayiči'ut (Aubin 1975, 471). He became a commander of a thousand (no. 18 in § 202); his last appearance is in § 244 of the SH. On him see Mu, II, 362-363, n. 25. He must not be confused with Kököčü (Teb Tenggeri), one of Father Mönglik's sons (see § 244 and com.).

In this section (§ 119) we have the first occurrence of the term *bidanu'ai* 'ours', i.e. 'our people' = Temüǰin's people, the Mongqol tribe. This *may* indicate that the narrator was an actual witness or participant in the events, as suggested by Gumilev. See Gumilyov 1974, 196 (where, however, '§ 120' is a mistake for '§ 119'). Gumilev's date of 1182 for the split between Temüǰin and J̌amuqa is based on Rašīd al-Dīn (see SL[2], I/2,

120). In view of what has been said earlier (see above, n. 104) and the fact that a year and a half had elapsed between the Merkit's defeat and the separation of the two *anda*s (see § 118), I think it more likely that the latter episode occurred in 1183 or 1184. It should be noted that Rašīd's account of these events differs from the SH version, as do also the accounts in the SWCCL and the YS. For these discrepancies, which at present cannot be reconciled, see SL^2, I/2, 85-86; YS^2 1, 3-4; HCG, 24-25, 265-267; GK, 37-39. Cf. also EM, 566.

§ 120. 'The three Toqura'un brothers', lit. 'these three Toqura'un elder brothers and younger brothers.'

This section contains an interesting list of Temüǰin's early *nököt* (see above, nn. 13 and 90), recorded for posterity with the tribes and clans from which they came – twenty-one altogether (however, the J̌alayir are mentioned twice, and the Barulas also twice). Except for one group (the Ba'arin), none of them actually formed a *güre'en* (= mo. *küriyen*) or circular camp (see above, n. 90). Nevertheless, they represented the nucleus of the tribal power that allowed Temüǰin to begin the difficult ascent to steppe supremacy. At this stage J̌amuqa commanded more prestige as a leader, as evidenced by the support he retained from among other major groupings which, not long after, led to his resounding victory over Temüǰin at Dalan Balǰut (§ 129). Indeed, Temüǰin's decision to break with J̌amuqa may appear to have been somewhat hasty and premature, although ultimately it paid off handsomely. Cf. ČK^1, 35-37 (= ČK^2, 39-40).

Several of the clans and tribes are already mentioned in the previous chapters. They are the Barulas (§ 46), Mangqut (§ 46), Arulat (§ 47), Uriangqai (§§ 9, 12, 97), Besüt (§ 47), Suldus (§ 82), Qongqotan (§ 47), Olqunu'ut (§ 54), Dörben (§ 11), Noyakin (§ 46), Oronar (§ 47), and Ba'arin (§ 41). These, and most of the other tribes, clans and personages mentioned in this section are discussed in HCG, passim (see the Index); and in Mu, I, 222-242. Most of the personages listed appear again, and repeatedly, in the SH, and they are known to us also through the

Persian and Chinese sources. Cf. Honda 1952, 61ff. The etymologies of many of their names are discussed in Poppe 1975, 161, 163, 165, 166; and in Bese 1974, 92, 93, 94; idem 1978, 358-359, 361-362; idem 1980, 323; idem 1988, 18-19, 22-23, 26-27, 33-35, 38. Some additional references are given below.

Of the three chiefs of the important J̌alayir tribe (on which cf. HCG, 65-66 et passim, and below, n. 137) only the third brother, Qaraldai Toqura'un, appears again in the SH (§ 124). Qada'an Daldurqan is one person, not two (Pe, 154, n. 1; Ha, 31; Do^1, 83; Oz^1, II, 342); see §§ 124 and 174. The Čangši'ut and the Baya'ut were two subordinate tribes of the Kiyat. There is a long discussion on them in HCG, 82ff. Cf. also below, nn. 213 and 239. For Önggür, the son of Mönggetü Kiyan, besides HCG, 77 et passim, see also W.K. Park in *MH* 2:1994, 48-62; and below, n. 213. For J̌etei of the Mangqut, see Boyle 1956, 149. J̌etei's brother Doqolqu Čerbi has been wrongly identified by Rašīd al-Dīn with Bo'orču's brother and the Arulat clan. For the source of this error see HCG, 353, and Li, 175-176, n. 227. Cf. also Boyle, loc. cit.; TMEN, no. 205; Ratchnevsky 1966, 183, n. 12; and TDMI, 464. Doqolqu's designation of *čerbi* (pl. *čerbin*) 'chamberlain' (cf. also Ögölen Čerbi and Söyiketü Čerbi in this section) is a well-known ancient Mongolian official title, but its functions are still imperfectly known since they are nowhere spelt out in detail in our sources. Apparently, one of the main functions of a *čerbi* was to supervise the domestic staff of the *qan*'s establishment. See below, n. 191. (The appointment of Doqolqu, Ögölen and Söyiketü as *čerbin* is actually recorded in § 191.) The name of Degei's younger brother Küčügür is transcribed as Güčügür in § 124. For Küčugür ~ Güčügür, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 242-243. For this name see below, n. 141. On him see also § 223, where he appears with the epithet *moči* 'carpenter' because of his appointment as manager of the tent-carts. Taki of the Suldus is called Taqai Ba'atur in §§ 151 and 186, and Daqai in § 126. For this personage, see HCG, 126-128, 254-255; and below, n.

186. Cf. also Rybatzki [2003], s.v. 'Taqai ~ Daqai.' For Ögölen (~ Ögölei ~ Ögöle ~ Ögele) Čerbi, see Boyle 1963, 237, no. 3, and Bese 1980, 323. As noted by Pelliot (HCG, 348), Bo'orču was an only son (cf. § 90), hence Ögölen Čerbi, who is called here 'younger brother' (*de'ü*), must have been his younger cousin. The same applies to Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei, who were the younger cousins, not brothers, of J̌elme. (Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei were the sons of Qaban; J̌elme was the son of Old J̌arči'udai, see § 97.) For this usage, see above, n. 74. For the Arulat (cf. § 47), see also TMEN, no. 18. For the role of the Uriangqai Ča'urqan (on his name see below, n. 183) and Sübe'etei (on whom see below, n. 199), cf. Jackendoff 1977, 27ff. As in other similar instances in the SH, Sübe'etei's epithet Ba'atur (on which see above, n. 50) is introduced here anachronistically. It would seem that the designations conferred on the above personages on this occasion were confirmed in 1204, at the time of the reorganization of the army by Činggis Qan prior to his campaign against the Naiman, but another interpretation is possible, viz. that they are called *čerbi* here (and in § 124) retrospectively, as indeed is the case of Sübe'etei's appellation of Ba'atur. See below, n. 191. For Söyiketü Čerbi see HCG, 256; Boyle 1963, 242, no. 16; Hambis 1975, 42ff.; and below, n. 191. Sükegei J̌e'ün of the Sükeken (corr. Sügegen, see HCG, 129) appears several times in the SH (§§ 124, 151, 177), also with the correct spelling Sügegei (§§ 126, 177, 181). On him see HCG, 127, 255-257; Bese 1988, 33-34. Čaqa'an U'a (on this name see HCG, 137-138) was a Ne'üdei (w.f. Negüdei), i.e. a member of the Negüs (or Ne'üs < Negüs) tribe, on which see ibid., 70. See also below, n. 129. For the Qorolas (~ Qorulas), see below, n. 141. For the name Moči ('Carpenter') of Moči Bedü'ün, see Cleaves 1951, 99-100, n. 152. On him see also below, n. 209. For the name Ikires, cf. also TMEN, no. 651. With regard to Butu, son of Nekün of the Ikires, the SH says that 'he had made his way here', i.e. he had come to Temüǰin's camp 'as son-in-law' (*gürege[t]-te*). This is a set expression meaning 'as (one does in the case of) sons-in-law' (see above, n. 66) and should not be taken literally. Butu had come to stay with Temüǰin because he was engaged to his sister Temülün (see § 60), who must have been fourteen or fifteen at the time. Butu did indeed marry her; later, after her death, he married Činggis Qan's daughter Qočin or Qoǰin Beki (see § 165; cf. also § 202). His name should probably be read Botu, not Butu, on the strength of other Chinese transcriptions. On him see SL^2, I/1, 132, 164, 165; I/2, 70, 179, 271; CG, 244b (Index); HCG, 49-50; Ratchnevsky 1966, 184, n. 12; idem 1976, 525-526, n. 22; and Bese 1978, 361-362, no. 11. For the Barulas and Qaračar, cf. § 202, and Grupper 1992/94, 21-22. Qorči is here a proper name – the name, in fact, of a famous future commander (see §§ 202, 207, 241); however, the word *qorči* is a well-known Mongolian official title meaning 'quiver-bearer', and one held by several personages in the SH. See Cl, 257b-258a. Cf. above, n. 2. For this title, see HCG, 20, 75; TMEN, no. 301; HCWLYTT, 96-99, no. 21; MKSLT, I, 725-736; and also DO, 709b. For Old Üsün (Üsün Ebügen), see below, nn. 210, 216. For Kökö Čos of the Ba'arin (see above, n. 41), cf. also Gaadamba 1968, 86-87.

Several of the personages in this section have compound names, such as Qada'an Daldurqan and Sükegei J̌e'ün. In a few instances the Chinese interlinear version glosses each element of a name as a 'person's name', thus making it appear (as in the case of Qada'an Daldurqan) that we are dealing with two individuals instead of one. This is due to the fact that the Ming authors of the interlinear version were not aware that these were double names. See Cl, 52, nn. 49 and 50; and Pelliot's comments in HCG, 333.

'Also came as one camp (*güre'en*)', i.e. forming a circular camp. For *güre'en*, see above.

§ 121. The Ba'arin clan to which Qorči belonged claimed descent from Bodončar and the woman from the J̌arči'ut whose capture is related in § 38. The J̌aǰirat, alias J̌adaran, clan to which

J̌amuqa belonged also claimed descent from this couple. See §§ 40, 41. Cf. above, n. 104. This accounts for Qorči's remark about their common origin. As already noted by Gaadamba, the graphic expression he used is an idiom or set phrase from everyday parlance stressing the common origin from the same mother or ancestress (not from the same father or ancestor alone, who may have had several wives). See MNTSZA, 120-123 (see below, however, regarding Gaadamba's interpretation of the word *keke* of the saying in question); Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 80. Cf. Bese 1973. In the free sectional summary the idiom in question is rendered with its Chinese counterpart *t'ung-pao* 同胞, lit. '*from* the same womb' – still a common term expressing consanguinity. The forefather Bodončar is called *boqdo*, glossed *hsien-ming* 賢明 'wise and enlightened.' In the SH the form *boqdo* alternates with *boqda* (= mo. *boγda*), from which it derives through assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first syllable. Cf. §§ 200, 254: *boqda*, and § 254: *boqta* (pro *boqda*). Here, however, *boqdo* is a term of respect for the illustrious ancestor, corresponding to our 'august, blessed.' Cf. Pe, 154. Strictly speaking, Bodončar Boqdo is Bodončar the August. Cf. § 254, where this epithet is applied to Činggis Qan's deceased mother Hö'elün.

'Womb water' (*keke*), i.e. the amniotic fluid: *hehi* (< *kekei* ~ *keke*) in the contemporary Naiman dialect of Inner Mongolia. See TH, 210 (= ǰYT, 364). The rendering 'caul', i.e. 'placenta', by several translators (e.g. On, 45; but see his revised version in the 2001 ed., 99) is supported, however, by MÜIT, 1001a, where this meaning is listed together with that of 'amniotic fluid.' In MNTSZA, 120-123, as well as in Γa, 310-311, n. 419, Gaadamba interprets *keke* as corresponding to *eke* 'mother', which is unwarranted. I think it is better to follow the Chinese gloss (*pao-chiang* 胞漿, lit. 'womb fluid').

'We would not have parted from him, but a heavenly sign appeared before my *very* eyes revealing *the future to me*', lit., 'We would not have parted from J̌amuqa, *but* a portent (*ǰa'arin*)

came (= occurred) and showed *the future* to my eyes.' The word *ǰa'arin* (= pmo. *ǰaγarin*) is a deverbal noun in *-ri(n)* from *ǰa'a-* (= pmo. *ǰaγa-* ~ *ǰiγa-*, mo. *ǰiγa-*) 'to announce; to foretell.' For the suffix *-ri(n)* designating the result of an action, see GWM, 49, § 179; MÜIT, 2857b-2858a, no. 523 (cf. *sa'uri* ~ *sa'urin* 'seat'); Mo, 223, n. 209. Thus, *ǰa'arin* is, literally, 'announcement; foretoken, sign', i.e. 'portent, omen' – rendered in the Chinese gloss with *shen-kao* 神告, lit. 'divine announcement' = 'a portent or omen from Heaven (or the gods).' I have, therefore, rendered *ǰa'arin* as '*heavenly* sign.' Cf. Pe, 155: 'signe céleste', Ha, 32: 'himmlisches Zeichen', etc. This word occurs again in § 206 in the full expression *tenggeri-yin ǰa'arin* 'heavenly sign', and in § 244 in the plural form *ǰa'arit* '*heavenly* signs', as also in the second occurrence in § 121. The use of this term, which derives from a verb meaning 'to announce', is justified by the fact that these 'signs' consist of a portent conveying a verbal message from Heaven – a phenomenon also common to other cultures (cf. the 'signs' in the Bible). I think that this is a satisfactory explanation. However, some scholars, both in Mongolia and in the West, suggest or claim mainly on linguistic grounds that *ǰa'arin* designates either a person, i.e. a shaman, or a heavenly spirit ('esprit céleste') acting as an agent of Heaven. See Humphrey 1994, 201 (and the references to Mongol scholars in note 12, where, however, that to 'Dashtseren 1985: 151' is not *ad rem*), and Ev-Pop, 85, 174, 204. In view of the above, I am of the opinion that this is definitely not the case. Note 133 in On, 45, which is based on TH, 287 (= ǰYT, 496-498), is somewhat misleading since it is not true – as Onon claims – that 'in Orkhon Turkish *ja'arin* meant "to foretell, prophecy."' Tu. *yarïn* means 'shoulder-blade', and a semantic relationship between this word and mmo. *ǰa'arin* 'sign, portent' (as postulated in TH, loc. cit.) is purely hypothetical. Cf. Oz[1], II, 349, n. 3; TMEN, no. 150; and CCME, 204.

The tent-cart (*ger tergen*) was a mobile tent (yurt), i.e. a tent permanently mounted on a cart. Some of them were apparently very large and, according to some early accounts, had to be

drawn by up to twenty-two oxen. See William of Rubruck's description in his *Itinerarium* (SF, 172-173; MM, 94; GR, 90; MWR, 73). They are often mentioned by medieval travellers. Cf. Li, 151-152, n. 121. See also Cleaves 1955, 37-38, n. 26; CEME, 15-16; and in particular Gervers & Schlepp 1995 for a redimensioning of the facts.

'With uneven horns' (*so[l]ǰir ebertü*), i.e. with 'horns the tips of which are not on the same level, but where one is lower than the other.' See DO, 581b. This is, of course, because one horn had partly broken off. For an interpretation of the symbolism of the fallow cow and the hornless ox in terms of an 'animal judgement', see Meserve 2001, 94-95.

'She kept saying, bellowing repeatedly', lit. 'saying and saying, bellowing and bellowing.' 'Raising more and more dust', lit. 'raising and raising the dust.' Note the repetition of the same words to create a stronger effect. For the word *muqular* 'hornless (ox)', cf. § 214; see HCG, 57; and Pao, 57, n. 60 (Pao, however, was not aware of Pelliot's remarks in HCG).

The 'wide (lit. "great") road' (*yeke terge'ür*) is the royal road along which Temüǰin proceeds on his way to supreme power. The *qan*'s imposing tent harnessed to the ox symbolizes the whole domain and people (*ulus*) which Heaven and Earth have jointly decided to entrust to Temüǰin. According to Ligeti, the great shaft under the tent – its 'backbone', as it were – is the very symbol of sovereign power. See Li, 152, n. 121. The quality of 'great(ness)' (*yeke*) attached to all these images pertains to the supreme leader and the royal clan.

'Lord of the people' (*ulus-un eǰen*), an expression often rendered as 'Lord of the nation (*or* country).' Cf., for example, Na[2], 96; Ha, 32; Li, 39; Mu, I, 243; Do[1], 84-85; Ja, 140; Ta, 53; Cl, 53; On, 45 ('nation's master'). Such a translation is certainly acceptable; however, I prefer to be consistent with my translation of the same expression in § 53. Cf. Pe, 155, where a similar consistency is observed. We must not forget that, historically, we are 'supposed' to be still in a situation which is not fundamentally different from that of Ambaqai's time, even

though the author(s) of the SH, writing much later, probably used here the word *ulus* in the then current meaning of the '*qan*'s patrimony', i.e. the Mongol nation *sensu lato*, the empire. Nevertheless, the same expression occurring in the Chü-yung kuan inscription in 'Phags-pa script (1345) is also rendered as 'Lord of the People' in MMḤS, 61. For further remarks on the subject, cf. also KHIV, 28-29; above, n. 53, and below, n. 202.

For the verb *ǰi'a- ~ ǰa'a-*, glossed *kao* 告 'to announce, inform, tell', which has in the present context also the extended meaning of 'to reveal in advance, foretell, prophecy', see above.

For the office of commander of ten thousand (*tümen-ü noyan*), see below, n. 191.

'So many great affairs (*törö*)', lit. 'so many principles (*or* norms, laws).' *Törö*, glossed here *tao-li* 道理 'principle', refers to fundamental matters concerning governance. For this pregnant word, see TMEN, no. 134; the discussion in KHIV, 45-51, 116ff.; and WG, 481 (Index).

'To take freely' (*darqalan*), i.e. enjoying the status of *darqan* 'freeman, privileged.' See above, n. 51.

Qorči asks as reward for his prophecy to be allowed to choose thirty beautiful women as wives, i.e. one for each night of the month. On polygamy among the Mongols, cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 514-515. Qorči's request was eventually granted. See §§ 207, 241.

'Heed me closely', lit. 'listen turning towards me' (*minu esergü sonos*).

§ 122. The Geniges claimed descent from Čaǰin Örtegei, the third son of Qaidu (see § 47). Cf. HCG, 74, 344. They likewise came as a circular camp (*güre'en*); see above, n. 120. The same applies to the other groups mentioned in this section. To avoid the continuous repetition of the word 'circular' throughout the translation of this section, 'camp' stands for 'circular camp.'

Qunan (= pmo., mo. Γunan) means 'Three-year Old.' See Cleaves 1949b, 432-433. Qunan of the Geniges appears again in §§ 202, 210, 216 and 243.

For the word *teri'üten* 'having at the head; and others', see Ligeti 1971, 142-143.

Dāritai Otčigin was the younger uncle of Temüǰin mentioned in §§ 50, 54, 56. On him see above, n. 50.

For the J̌adaran or J̌aǰirat clan, see § 40, and above, nn. 104, 121. Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1987, 64. For Mulqalqu, see also §§ 124, 223; Mo, 134.

On the Ünǰin (= Nünǰin), a clan or subtribe (*oboq*) of the Oronar, see HCG, 71, 73, 76. For the Saqayit, see ibid., 71; Poppe 1975, 166, 167.

For the unidentified locality Ayil Qaraqana on the Kimurqa Stream, see above, nn. 88, 107.

Sorqatu J̌ürki (*or* Yürki) first appears in § 49 under the erroneous name of Qutuqtu Yürki. See above, n. 49. For the J̌ürki(n) or Yürki(n), the *oboq* that claimed descent from Sorqatu J̌ürki, see Vlad.[2], 90-91; HCG, 200-201; Cleaves 1955a, 385; Hao Shih-yüan 郝時遠 in CKMKSCK, 279-285; and Poppe 1975, 165. Cf. below, n. 139. Sača Beki (called Seče Beki in § 49; for the title *beki* see n. 49), was Temüǰin's first cousin. For his brother Taiču, also mentioned in § 49, see HCG, 180-181.

For Nekün Taiši, the second son of Bartan Ba'atur, see §§ 50, 54, 56; HCG, 184-185.

For Nekün Taiši's son Qučar (~ Qočar) Beki, see HCG, 68-69, 184. Being the son of Nekün Taiši, he was also Temüǰin's first cousin.

Altan Otčigin is the Altan of § 51, third son of Qutula Qan, and therefore first cousin of Yisügei. Cf. HCG, 125, where Pelliot's criticism of T'u Chi is, however, unwarranted. For his designation *otčigin*, see above, n. 51.

Regarding the movements of Temüǰin and his new allies, it is evident from the last paragraph of this section that, after having spent some time at Ayil Qaraqana by the Kimurqa to gather the clans that had defected from J̌amuqa, Temüǰin returned to his home grounds at Qara J̌irügen in the area of (lake) Kökö Na'ur, the river Senggür and the Gürelgü mountains (see above, n. 89). Appropriately, it was there that he will be

elected chief of the confederated tribes as related in the next section.

§ 123. This is one of the most important sections of the SH, since it records Temüǰin's 'first' election as *qan* and his alleged assumption of the name Činggis, both events raising complex issues. The promoters of such an election are his three cousins Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki mentioned in the previous section (§ 122), who, as the more senior members of the Kiyat Borǰigin lineage, unanimously agreed to appoint him their leader and chief of the new tribal confederation. Sinor's statement that none of the three men in question were 'of outstanding importance' (Sinor 1993, 247) is inaccurate considering that these men were all rightful pretenders to *qan*-ship and, as pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 153, n. 130), they actually abdicated their birthright in favour of Temüǰin with their oath of allegiance. The text says: *Altan Qučar Sača Beki bürün (?) eyetüldüǰü*. The word *bürün*, converbum praeparativum of *bü-* 'to be', is somewhat puzzling here; the Chinese transcription *pu-lun* 不倫, glossed *kung* 共 'together', may indeed stand for *bolun* 'together', or for *bürin ~ bürün* 'all' (for *i ~ ü*, cf. *üǰig ~ üǰüg*, etc.), as suggested by Oz[1], II, 359, n. 1; and El-Ar, 328, n. 1. Cf. Pe, 32, n. 3; H, 111, n. 123. However, in the SH *bürün* is used also as subject emphasizer, as in § 90: *nökör či bürün … ayisu* 'Friend, you came … .' The Chinese gloss indicates that the more likely reading should be *bolun*, but the Chinese sectional summary renders the word in question with *chung-jen* 衆人 'everyone, all.' Moreover, the reading *bürün* is supported by the '*bükün*' of AT[1], 32b – an obvious copyist's error. Though the problem is unresolved, the meaning is clear. The issues concerning the election will be discussed further on, also in the light of § 179.

'Palatial tents' (*ordo ger*), lit. '*ordo*-tents', i.e. the large and splendid tents belonging to the *ordo* or *qan*'s 'Palace' (often used in the hon. plural: *ordos*; cf. HW, 126), a tent complex consisting of his residence and those of his dependants. For

these tents, see Gervers & Schlepp 1995, 102, 115. In the present translation, *ordo ger* as a generic term is rendered 'palatial tent(s)'; however, when used with reference to Činggis Qan's own residence, especially in his ordinances concerning the Guard (*kešik*) duties, it is rendered as 'Palace tent.' This is the first occurrence in the SH of the word *ordo*, an important term in Turkic from which it passed into Kitan, Mongolian, etc. In origin, *ordo* designated the camp of the élite cavalry guard of the *qan* in the middle of which stood the *qan*'s tent or yurt. An excellent description of the *ordo* organization of the Kitans is found in the *Liao-shih*. See HCSL, 732a, for the numerous references to this term. For its usage in Turkic, see ED, 203a-b; and DTS, 370b; and for its diffusion, see TMEN, no. 452. Cf. also Yanai's important essay in MSK, 663-768; Pelliot in *TP* 27:1930, 208-210; Munkuev 1976, 430, n. 19 (where, however, the reference to Weng Tu-chien's article is not pertinent); MSR, 120, 121; Pritsak 1988, 772; and below, n. 229. There is no textual justification for the six words that Poppe (1975b, 155) claims should be inserted between *ger* and *qari irgen-ü*.

'Foreign people' (*qari irgen*). For the term *qari* 'foreign (= other, different from us)', see de Rachewiltz 1982, 59, n. 50; cf., however, Ligeti in *AOH* 38:1984, 330, n. 30; and de Rachewiltz in *ZAS* 19:1986, 32. See also Sugita 1979, 45; Oz[1], II, 360, n. 2; and below, n. 255.

'Ladies and maidens (*ökin qatun*) with beautiful cheeks.' As noted by Ratchnevsky, the finest looking women were reserved by right for the *qan*. See Ratchnevsky 1976, 513. For the expression *öki(n) qatu(n)*, see above, nn. 54 and 55. Cf. the episode about the beautiful Qulan and Naya'a related in § 197, which illustrates the application of the *ǰasaq* in this regard. Cf. also Vernadsky 1938, 342, 351. Poppe's rendering of the passage from *öngge sayin* to *öksü ba* (Poppe 1975b, 155) is vitiated by an unwarranted insertion of several words in the Mongol text.

Oro'a görö'esün 'the cunning wild beasts.' For *oro'a* (= mo. *oroγa*) 'cunning' = 'difficult to catch', see Ozawa 1972, 580. Cf. Oz[1], II, 360, n. 4; DO, 520a.

For the verb *utura-* 'to go first (i.e. as headmen of hunters) to close the chain of a battue and round up the wild game', see TMEN, no. 39; Oz[1], II, 360-361, n. 5; and Rassadin 1995, 113.

'We shall drive ... until their bellies (thighs) press together', lit. 'We shall press ... until their bellies (thighs) become like one', i.e. in such great numbers that they are thoroughly squeezed one against the other. This poetic passage up to this point is repeated with a slight variation in § 179.

For *qala* 'order, command', see Poppe 1967, 514-515, no. 8.

'Deprive (lit. "separate") us from *all* our goods and belongings (*qari širi*).' The expression *qari širi* is a '*mot-couple*' the origin of which is obscure and the meaning much debated. The rendering in the Chinese interlinear version ('family property, livelihood' 家活) is supported by that of the free version ('house/family possessions or goods' 家財) and cannot, therefore, be rejected. The reading *širi* in *qari širi* (v. *šili* and other readings) is supported by AT[1], 33a: *qara siri*. For other interpretations, see Gaadamba 1970, 29-31 (Gaadamba's interpretation, on which see below, was adopted in Ra, III, 163 [see also ibid., p. 174, n. 123; and Aubin 1974, 13]); Mu, I, 250, 253-254, n. 7; TH, 190 (= ǰYT, 329-330); Oz[1], II, 362, n. 8; On, 46 and n. 135. Cf. also Khomonov 1970, 36. A few lines below we encounter the parallel expression *eres qara* in which *qara*, also glossed *chia-huo* 家活 ('family property, livelihood'), poses some questions: 1) is *qara* the same as *qari*?; 2) if so, is *qari* a mistake for *qara* (cf. AT *qara siri*), or does *qari* stand for *qariyatu* 'dependant, subject' (as some suggest)?; 3) if *qara* is the correct reading, does it stand for *qaraču* 'commoner' (as some suggest) or, with its original meaning of 'black, common, vulgar', does it qualify *eres* 'men, domestics', thus *eres qara* = 'domestics, retainers'?; 4) should we read *harad-ača* instead of *qara-dača*, i.e. 'from the people', as has been done by Haenisch

in H, 25, and Ligeti in L^2, 80 (but not in the latter's translation, cf. Li, 40: 'black-haired relatives')? Ligeti's reading in L^2 has been adopted also by Gaadamba (Га, 59). Opinions on the interpretation of this expression vary a good deal. I again think that the Chinese gloss cannot be lightly dismissed and that the expression *qari širi* must be closely related in meaning to *eres qara*, also in view of the parallelism of *qatun eme* and *eme kö'üt* 'women (= wives).' Clearly, *eres* means 'men' in the sense of 'domestics, retainers', and *qara* (~ *qari*) 'family livelihood', i.e. 'goods, possessions'. Therefore, I translate *eres qara* as 'retainers and possessions.' I should add that this expression is confirmed by the AT^1, 33a (where however *eres* is written *ires*). *Qara* ~ *qari* presents no real problem, for the alternation *a* ~ *i* in the second syllable is attested elsewhere in the SH. Cf. § 57 *qura-* 'to assemble', and § 164 *quri-* id. (see HW, 72; cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 268). Finally, I think that *qari* ~ *qara* (< *qari*) is used here in the derivative meaning of 'belonging, dependant' (< 'foreign, subject', see above); and *širi* is probably the same word that occurs in the compound *öri siri*, 'debt, obligation, duty', which must have had a wider semantic range at the time – the general idea being of 'things' that pertain, are due to, or belong (by right) to one's family. Although this agrees with Gaadamba's *literal* interpretation of the two terms, the actual meaning of the expression *qari širi* as understood by him (= 'external clans', i.e. those clans that, by agreement or tradition, regularly gave their young women in marriage to men of certain other clans) is quite different. I believe that in the text adduced by Gaadamba to support his interpretation, the expression *qari seri* (read *qari siri*) has exactly the same meaning as in the SH. See the passage in question in ČQČ, 155. Cf. ĖLI, 17.

For *qara teri'ü* 'black head', see above, n. 21, where the connotations of the word *qara* 'black' are discussed. Here Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki want to emphasize their inferior position as retainers of Temüǰin in a graphic, physical way. For the expression *eme kö'üt*, another '*mot-couple*', see above, n. 104; Mo, 42.

'Cut us off', lit. 'causing to part' (*hiriče'üldü*). *Hiriče'ül-* is the factitive of *hiriče-* 'to part, separate (from)', a rare word in Mongolian, but occurring three times in the SH in the forms *hiriče-* (§ 123), *hiriǰe-* (§ 178) and *iriče-* (§ 203), which shows the instability of the initial *h-* in the 14th century. See 'Quelques problèmes', 260. This verb has disappeared from the later literary language as well as from most living languages and dialects. On it, see TH, 193 (= ǰYT, 335).

'Into the wilderness', lit. 'into a land without a lord' (*eǰe* [AT^1, 33a: *eǰen*] *ügei qaǰar-a*), i.e. 'into a no-man's land.' For this expression, see Kow., 1000b; Les., 336b. Cf. below, n. 149. Note that this sentence, which concludes the three men's formal pledge to their leader, ends abruptly without being followed by the usual quotation verb *ke'e-* (*ke'en*, *ke'esü*). The same occurs in AT^1, 33a. See Cleaves 1982, 81, n. 30. Cf. below, nn. 124, 125 ad fin.

For the expression *üge baraldu-* 'to take counsel, deliberate; to pledge one's word', cf. *Lettres*, 78-79.

'(They) made Temüǰin *qan*, naming him Činggis Qa'an.' As is known, Činggis Qan was elected supreme tribal leader at the great assembly in the Year of the Tiger (1206; see § 202), and it was apparently on that occasion that he was also given the name of 'Činggis' (see below). The title he held was, of course, *qan*, not *qa'an*, the latter being a retrospective conferment. See above, n. 1. However, it seems likely that it was at the earlier election described in the present section that Temüǰin was made *qan*, almost certainly in opposition to his rival J̌amuqa and his confederate tribes which elected the latter as their leader, and which in the year 1201 (?) conferred on him the title of *gür qa* (= *qan*). See the SH, § 141 and com. This raises a chronological problem. When did the first election of Temüǰin as *qan* take place? In view of what has been said in n. 119, this election must have taken place about 1184, i.e. some twenty-two years before the great *qurilta* of 1206. Cf. Chia & Hung 1981, 166, who also suggest 1183 or 1184. Pelliot, who discusses this problem in NMP, I, 295-296, has unfortunately confused the

first proclamation of Temüǰin 'as king of the Mongols' with J̌amuqa's proclamation in the Year of the Hen (1201) as described in SH (§ 141), and his argument is therefore invalid. However, it is true that the Year of the Rooster can be either 1189 or 1201, and *if* Temüǰin's first election was held in or about 1184, it would seem more likely that J̌amuqa was elected *gür qan* in 1189. This, however, runs counter to Rašīd al-Dīn's chronology, according to which the events surrounding the election of J̌amuqa happened in 1200 (see below, n. 141). If we assume with Pelliot, Ligeti (Li, 152, n. 123) and Cleaves (Cl, 68) that the Year of the Rooster corresponds to 1201, we are left with a gap of about seventeen years between 1184 and 1201 during which the events described in §§ 120-141 took place. The dating of the first election remains doubtful and no exact year can be assigned to it; but it certainly occurred quite some time before that of J̌amuqa. The statement in On, 46, n. 136, that the first election 'ceremony took place in 1189 AD, when Chinggis Qahan was 28 years old' is in line with the date adopted by official Mongol historiography, as well as by Mongol historians in China. See OMT, 861; BNMAUT[1], 206; Bira 1991, 34; Rasinodzer in *MKUǰ*, 1990.2, 30. Cf. Kradin 1995, 136-137. The date (1189) as well as Temüǰin's age at the time (28) are, in fact, those given by Saγang Sečen and the later Mongol chronicles (see ET[3], 29r01-03; GOM, 71; Žamc.[2], 33), which also give 'Ködöge (= SH Ködö'e) Aral of the Kerülen River' (see below, n. 136) as the locality where the election was held. This is at variance with the SH account, according to which Temüǰin was elected *qan* at Kökö Na'ur of Qara J̌irügen. Clearly, we are dealing with different traditions. Temüǰin's age of twenty-eight (twenty-seven by our reckoning) rests of course on the date of 1162 for his birth. See above, n. 104. As is well known, the SH is weak on chronology, the 'Year of the Rooster' (*takiya ǰil*) of § 141 being the first firm date given in the work. It is indeed remarkable, as L. Clark points out (Clark 1978, 44), that whereas J̌amuqa's election date is mentioned, no date is assigned in the SH to *both* Temüǰin's election as *qan* and his

assuming the designation 'Činggis Qan.' From § 124 on, Temüǰin actually ceases to be called Temüǰin and is only referred to as Činggis Qa'an. In subsequent passages of the SH (§§ 125, 126, 127, and probably also § 124, where the word *qan* at the beginning of this section may have dropped out [see Pe, 32, n. 6, and below, n. 124]), reference is made to Činggis Qa'an 'having become *qan*', thus reinforcing the impression that the title of *qan* and the new name or designation were conferred at the same time. Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 252) claims that the name 'Činggis' was given to Temüǰin by the Mongols after the defeat of the Kereyit in 1203, and (ibid., 150) that the designation 'Činggis Qan' was 'confirmed' in 1206. On the other hand, in another passage of this work (ibid., 253; cf. also SL[2], I/1, 167), he relates that Činggis Qan was so named in 1206 by Kököčü Teb Tenggeri (see below, § 244), no doubt following J̌uvainī (HWC, 39). The SWCCL[1], 57a, and the YS[2] 1, 13, both state that Činggis Qan received this 'honourable appellation' in 1206 and there is no reference in these works to an earlier enthronement. Some scholars, e.g. Vladimircov and Grousset, are of the opinion that the title 'Činggis Qan' was conferred on Temüǰin at the time of the first enthronement as *qan* and later re-conferred or confirmed at the *qurilta* of 1206. See GKV, 33-34, 54; CW, 80, 166. Other scholars, among them Hambis and Ratchnevsky, believe that Temüǰin was elected *qan* at the first enthronement and that he assumed the title 'Činggis Qan' in 1206. See GK, 59-60; ČK[1], 40 (= ČK[2], 43). This is also the official position of most contemporary Mongol and Russian historians. See HMPR, 107-108. Cf. BNMAUT[1], 206, 214; BNMAUT[2], 148, 149. See, however, Bira 1991, 34, for whom Temüǰin was given the title 'Činggis' by the shaman Kököčü at the (first) enthronement in the year 1189. Ligeti (Li, 152, n. 123; 169-170, n. 202) says that, at the first enthronement, Temüǰin was given the name 'Činggis' and was invested as *qan* by his clan, and that this election 'within the family' provided him with a legal basis but little real power; in 1206 the proper election took place, with all the aristocracy of the steppe

participating in it. Pelliot (NMP, I, 296) is uncommittal as to the date (end of the 12th century, 1203, 1206) when the Mongol leader assumed the title 'Činggis Qan.' I am inclined to think that at the earlier enthronement, the date of which (as stated earlier) remains uncertain, Temüǰin was only elected *qan*, and that the more grandiose and sophisticated designation 'Činggis Qan', now truly appropriate to his new dignity and power, may have been 'created' specially for the occasion by the 'shaman' Kököčü Teb Tenggeri and conferred upon him at the 1206 *qurilta*. It is therefore anachronistic for the SH to designate him as such before 1206, but anachronisms of this kind, particularly with regard to titles, are common in the SH. For further comments on the 1206 *qurilta*, see below, n. 202.

The 'title' 'Činggis Qan' and its meaning have attracted much scholarly attention. For a comprehensive review and discussion, see de Rachewiltz 1989. This appellation is composed of two elements, viz. the epithet *činggis* and the title *qan*. Until quite recently it was generally accepted that 'Činggis (< tu. *teŋiz*) Qan' meant 'Universal Ruler' – an interpretation proposed by Ramstedt and Pelliot. Cf., e.g., BNMAUT[1], 206, and Shu CP 1979. However, as indicated in de Rachewiltz 1989, 282-288, a more likely interpretation of the word *činggis* is 'fierce, hard, tough'; 'Činggis Qan' would then mean 'The Fierce Ruler.' This interpretation has now been adopted also by Mongolian scholars. See Bira, loc. cit. In D. Sinor's opinion (p.c.), which I now share, Činggis 'is not a title but rather a personal name such as Hungarian Szilárd "firm, solid" or, for that matter, Constantinus.' Cf., however, F.W. Cleaves *apud* Fletcher 1986, 22, n. 7; B. Dorž in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 47-50, and *MH* 1:1993, 144-150; and Ž. Ganbold in MNT, I, 104-107. For a recent (posthumous) contribution to the problem, see also B.I. Pankratov in *SNV* 26:1989, 180-189. For the various forms of the name in the Chinese, Tibetan, Persian and other transcriptions, see NMP, I, 281; Cleaves 1949b, 418-419. For tu. Čingiz, cf. also Geng & Hamilton 1981, 49a.

With regard to Temüǰin's election as *qan* by Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki, it is important to note the following. In § 123 there is no mention of these three personages claiming the leadership, i.e. the *qan*-ship, for themselves, something they were entitled to in view of their seniority. However, when Temüǰin sent his famous messages to Ong Qan and J̌amuqa reproaching them for their objectionable behaviour towards him, he also sent a message to Altan and Qučar (who had by then turned against him), the wording of which is preserved in § 179. From Temüǰin's *tirade* it appears that he had originally offered the *qan*-ship to both Altan and Qučar, as well as to Sača Beki and his brother Taiču (see n. 122), because they were the sons of Nekün Taiši, Qutula Qan and Bartan Ba'atur 'from the senior line' (see n. 179 for the error in genealogy in the case of Sača and Taiču). But, according to Temüǰin, they had all refused in spite of his urging, and it was in fact *they* who insisted that he should become *qan*. Had one of them taken up the leadership, Temüǰin would have served him, and would indeed have performed all those tasks to which Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki refer in the poetic passage in § 123. This retrospective justification on the part of Temüǰin to legitimize his earlier assumption of power must be taken with all due reservation, since his protestations were not so much directed to the personages in question, but rather to all the other tribal chiefs whom he was trying to win to his cause. Cf. Bira, op. cit., 33-34. We must also take into account the fact already mentioned (see above, n. 118) that, according to § 127, it was the same Altan and Qučar that were responsible for the rupture between Temüǰin and J̌amuqa by causing ill feeling between the two *anda*s. In § 127, J̌amuqa asks these two personages why they had not elected Temüǰin *qan* when he and Temüǰin were still friends, and what they 'have in mind now' after electing him *qan*. Thus, the role of Altan and Qučar is extremely ambiguous at a time of shifting alliances and broken loyalties, when it was not yet at all clear which of the two former sworn friends, now rivals for leadership and power, would emerge as victor.

For some interesting remarks concerning the formal oath of loyalty as preserved in the SH, see Li, 152, n. 123; Ratchnevsky 1987, 66-67; and Barkman 1991.

Ligeti, loc. cit., is no doubt correct in regarding Temüǰin's election to *qan*-ship as an election 'within the family', i.e. by his own clan. Therefore, one cannot regard this as a proper *qurilta* or assembly. In those cases where a proper *qurilta* was held, the word 'to assemble' (*či'ul-*, *quri-*) is regularly present in the SH. See §§ 141, 202, 269, 282. Cf. Endicott-West 1986, 528ff.

§ 124. Upon his election as tribal chief (read *qan* for *qa'an*), Temüǰin – now already called Činggis in the SH (see above, n. 123) – appoints his first office-bearers, as was the custom. See Li, 152, n. 124. As a mark of their office dignity, he gives his newly appointed *čerbin*, or chamberlains, a quiver each to suspend from their belt. On the office of *čerbi* and the personages in question, see above, n. 120. For the ceremony of the 'remise du carquois', and the expression *qor aqsa-* 'to attach or suspend a quiver to the belt', cf. Roux 1975, 58; idem 1977, 23; D. Dašbadrax in MNT, I, 81-86; Göckenjan 1998, 145.

Several of the names in this section are of personages mentioned in §§ 120 and 122. Ögölei Čerbi is the Ögölen Čerbi of § 120 and the Ögele Čerbi of § 191. Qači'un Toqura'un is the eldest of the three brothers, all chiefs of the J̌alayir, mentioned in § 120. J̌etei and Doqolqu Čerbi (his title has dropped out in Cl, 55), as well as Önggür, Söyiketü Čerbi and Qada'an Daldurqan were also all mentioned in § 120. For the others, see below.

'*Your* morning drinks;/...*your* drinks/In the evening!', lit. 'The morning drink/... the evening drink!' For *megüde'ül-* (= pmo. *megüdegül-*) 'to cause to lack', cf. 'Trois documents', 443; for *osolda-* 'neglect', cf. Cleaves 1992, 149, n. 47. After proclaiming their diligence, the three are appointed 'cooks' or rather stewards (*ba'určin*, mo. *baɣurčin*). For this important office, see TMEN, no. 82; Ratchnevsky 1970, 420, n. 21; HCWLYTT, 57-60, no. 14; MKSLT, I, 707-723; Miller 2000, 205-212; and CCME, 127-128. As pointed out by Ratchnevsky 1965, 99, n. 46, the office of *ba'urči* was more than that of a simple cook: the holder was in charge of the administration of victuals and was also the chief cup-bearer.

For Degei of the Besüt see above, § 120, and below, §§ 210 and 222. For the first four lines of the poetic passage concerning Degei's duties (which earned him the epithet of *qoniči* or 'shepherd'; see § 222), see Cleaves 1949a, 520-522; and Bese 1970a, 341ff. The following are some additional references to individual words and expressions in the passage in question: *šilegü irge* 'a two-year-old wether', cf. Gantogtokh 1989, 118-119; Gantogtox 1990, 124; *šülen* 'broth, soup', cf. TMEN, no. 246; Khomonov 1970, 38; RH, 293, no. 44; and SFQ, 43-44, n. 68; *qonoq* 'night' (more precisely 'a day and a night'), see above, nn. 67, 68; for *alaqči'ut* (= mo. *alaɣčiɣud*) 'pied, motley', cf. Poppe 1975, 166; for the form *qonint* (= *qonit*) 'sheep', see above, n. 118. *Alam* 'bottom of the cart' is a problem word. Haenish (HW, 4) and Ko, 539 (following HW), read *alan*; Pe, 32, and L^2, 81 (followed by most others) read *alam* – all of them rendering the term according to the Chinese gloss 'bottom of the cart' (車底). Al, 49, and Bö, 81, read *aral* 'shaft or body of the cart.' TH, 93 (= ǰYT, 165) reads *alam*, but understands 'enclosure (pen) for domestic animals', following VWTD, I, 251 (s.v. '*aran*'). On, 47 and n. 137, agrees with the latter and translates 'sheep-pen.' Oz^1, II, 370-371, n. 5, adopts the etymology proposed by TH, but reads *aram*, which is more in line with the Turkic form. The form *alam* is confirmed by AT^1, 33b, and the Chinese gloss is too specific to be dismissed. The etymology proposed by Poppe (< tu. *alïn* 'the bottom part') must be the correct one. See Poppe 1955, 38; Mu, I, 264, n. 6. *Qongqoči'ut qonint* (= *qonit*) 'brown sheep.' For *qongqoči* < *qongqor* 'chestnut horse' (cf. above, n. 90), see Vietze 1990, 386; *qoton* ~ *qotan* '(sheep-)fold, enclosure (> town)', cf. MA, 302a; Mu, I, 264-265, n. 8; Khomonov 1970, 36; and below, n. 247; *qonǰiyasun* (in the text *ɣonǰiyasun*) 'tripe' or, more strictly, 'rectum (anus)', cf. Vietze, loc. cit., and Gantogtokh 1989, 119;

Gantogtox 1990, 125; *qo'olančar* = mo. *qoγolančar* 'gluttonous'; cf. Poppe 1975, 162.

It is interesting to note that the quotation verb *ke'e-*, in the usual form *ke'en* (= mo. *kemen*) 'saying', is omitted at the end of this poetic passage, here presumably dropped in the transmission of the text since AT[1], 33b, has retained it. Cf. above, n. 123.

Degei's brother Güčügür is mentioned in § 120, where his name is transcribed as Küčügur. See above, n. 120.

For *či'ü* (= pmo. *čigü*) 'linchpin', cf. Khomonov 1970, 35. AT[1], 33b, has '*činu*', an obvious scribal error for '*čigü*.' Cf. ATL, 83. *Čo'orqatai tergen* 'lock-cart', lit. 'cart having a lock'; see above, n. 115. Cf., however, On, 47, n. 138: 'suspension-strutted cart', following AT[4], 164, n. 12.

For *tenggisgetei*, lit, 'having an axle(tree)', cf. Cl, 56, n. 57; Oz[1], II, 372-373, n. 9. As noted by Ozawa, *tenggisgetei* appears to be an error for *tenggiligetei* (in the Chinese transcription 思 *pro* 里), *tenggeli(g)* meaning 'axletree.' See above, n. 101. On the other hand, *tenggisge* may be a word in its own right with the same, or a related, meaning. Cf. Do[2], 69, n. 8.

Dödei Čerbi – *čerbi* is the title he acquired because of his functions (see above, n. 120) – will appear again in the SH (§§ 191, 193, etc.). His name can be also read Dodai. Cf. Cl, 56 et passim; Cleaves 1949a, 528. The Chinese transcription permits both readings; my reason for adopting the form Dödei (as in Pe, 33, and L[2], 81, where 'Dögei' is an error for 'Dödei'; cf. ibid., 149) in preference to Dodai is that the former is the reading found in AT[1], 33b.

Gergen tutqar (= pmo. *tudqar*) 'domestics and servants.' For this compound, see the important remarks in Cleaves 1949a, 522-525. Cl, 56, renders it as 'maidservants and manservants.' Cf. Oz[1], II, 373, n. 12.

For Qubilai of the Barulas, Čilgütei of the Suldus and Qarqai (~ Qaraqai) Toqura'un of the Ǯalayir, see § 120. Qasar is Ǯoči Qasar, Činggis Qan's younger brother. The function of these officers (as intimated by the fearsome but rather vague

command) is to chastise those whose excessive pride and arrogance oppose them to their leader. To carry a sword (*üldü* = mo. *ildü*[*n*]; pl. *üldüs*), i.e. to be an *üldüči* (= mo. *ildüči*), was a special prerogative; indeed, this very designation became a title, like *qorči*, lit. 'quiverbearer', etc. Cf. TMEN, no. 69; ETI, 91a, s.v. '*ildüci*.'

For the verb *onglaǯi-* 'to cleave, cut in two', cf. § 208: *onglalda-* 'to be cut off.' On this word see Oz[1], II, 375, n. 16.

Belgütei was Činggis Qan's half-brother; Qaraldai Toqura'un of the Ǯalayir was the younger brother of Qarqai (~ Qaraqai) Toqura'un (see above, and § 120).

Aqtači 'equerry', from *aqta* (= mo. *aγta*) 'gelding' + the vocational suffix *-či*. For this word, see TMEN, no. 9; CLC, 115.

'Tayiči'udai, Qutu Moriči and Mulqalqu.' Most translators have taken 'Tayiči'udai' as the ethnicon of Qutu, Moriči and Mulqalqu. However, Bese 1987, 45-47, has conclusively shown that Tayiči'udai is a person's name (probably the same personage of the Suldus tribe mentioned in § 120), and that, consequently, Moriči 'The Horse-herder' must be the appellation of either Qutu or Mulqalqu. In my opinion the appellation can only refer to Qutu (~ Qudu/Qodu), possibly to distinguish him from other personages by the same name. For the various forms of this name, cf. HCG, 284ff. Mulqalqu is almost certainly the same personage of the Ǯadaran tribe mentioned in §§ 122 and 223.

For Arqai Qasar of the Ǯalayir, see § 120; he will reappear in § 127 et passim. Taqai of the Suldus is the Taki of § 120, and the Daqai (< Taqai) of § 126. He is repeatedly mentioned in the SH. On him see above, n. 120. The full name of Sükegei (*read* Sügegei) is Sügegei Ǯe'ün; cf. §§ 120, 177, 181. On him see above, n. 120. Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei Ba'adur of the Uriangqai were the two younger brothers of Ǯelme; cf. § 120.

The couplet 'Be *my* far-*flying* shafts,/Be *my* near-*flying* arrows!' has been the subject of much discussion and speculation. See Yü YA 1949; Khomonov 1970, 39, s.v. '*odola*';

Vietze 1990, 385; Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 70; Tserensodnom 1993, 196-197; Γa, 317, n. 437; On, 48, n. 140. *Qo'očaq* and *odora* are the names of two types of arrows (see the Chinese interlinear version and HW, 66, 121); they are used here as a simile for reliable men that could be entrusted with long and short range missions, i.e. special envoys and couriers (*elčin*), as evident from §§ 126, 127, 151, 177, 181 and 183. Cf. Serruys 1958, and below, n. 177. Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish with certainty which types of arrows are meant, and even the correct reading of *odora* (? *odola*) is in question. Cf. Oz^2, I, 132-133, n. 10. The reading *odora* is supported by AT^1, 33b, where, however, this word is incorrectly glossed as *uduridqal* 'leadership, guidance.'

For the last passage in poetry, cf. Khomonov 1981, 56; idem 1970, 33, 35. See also Cleaves 1953, 87, n. 29; Ligeti 1971, 147.

For *keri'e ~ keriye* 'crow', cf. TMEN, no. 329.

'I shall hoard up', lit. 'I shall collect.'

'Felt covering' (*nembe'e isgei*), lit. 'covering felt.' For *isgei ~ sisgei* 'felt', a term employed in the present section with reference to both a felt blanket or coverlet (used for horses as well as for humans; cf. the Chinese sectional summary, Y^2 3, 48a) and a windscreen for the tent, see Gervers & Schlepp 1995. The form with *s-* occurs in § 202; *isgei* occurs again in § 203. For the latter, cf. mo. *isegei*, *esegei* id. *Sisgei* is a form found in other early texts. See, e.g., *Matériel I*, 94: *sisgei* 'feutre'; MA, 323b: *sisegei* 'felt'; RH, 251, no. 12: *siskei* 'felt'; and 278, no. 6: *siske* id. Cf. Khomonov 1970, 33; Oz^1, V, 100, n. 1.

'On *your* tent!', lit. 'in the direction of the tent!'

§ 125. 'When Činggis Qa'an became *qan*.' Cf. AT^1, 34a: *Činggis Qaγan*: *qaγan bolǰu* 'when Činggis Qaγan became *qaγan*.' In § 124 we had *Činggis qa'an bolu'at* 'Činggis having become *qa'an*.' Cf. AT^1, 33a: *Činggis qaγan boluγad* id. Thus, in §§ 124 and 125 Činggis is said to have become *qa'an* and *qan*. This inconsistency, coming immediately after the last sentence of §

123 (to the effect that Temüǰin was made *qan* – but *qaγan* in AT^1, 33a!), indicates that *all* the terms *qa'an* (*qaγan*) in these sections are the result of later editorial changes, the original recension having *qan* throughout. Cf. also § 126 where it is clearly stated that Temüǰin had been made *qan*, not *qa'an* as in § 124 (in the AT^1, 34a, all the titles *qan* of § 126 have been changed to *qaγan*). In the SH, §§ 57 and 58, we have a parallel case with regard to Qutula, who in § 57 was 'made *qa'an*' and 'raised as *qan*', and in § 58 'became *qa'an*' – again a confusion of titles due to the later editors of the text. Cf. above, n. 1.

J̌elme of the Uriangqai had last been mentioned in § 120 in connection with his two brothers Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei. On him see above, n. 97. While J̌elme was one of the 'four hounds', Bo'orču was one of the 'four steeds' (see above, n. 90); being among the oldest and chosen companions (*nököt*) of Činggis Qan, they are put in charge of all the other officers – cumulatively referred to as *ötögüs* 'the senior ones' (for this term see above, n. 78) – that Činggis has just appointed.

For the first occurrence of the sayings quoted in the alliterative passages, see §§ 76, 77 and 78. For the use of the corroborative particle *je* in these passages, cf. 'Trois documents', 461. 'You shall dwell!' (*aduqai*) is, literally, 'Let it be!', but as already noted by Pagba, what is meant is 'You shall be!' See VG, 62.

'When Heaven and Earth increased my strength and took me into their protection', lit. 'When I was protected by Heaven and Earth, *my* strength being increased.' For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 369, 370 (where, however, the pronouns 'you' and 'your' should be replaced by 'I' and 'my'). For the concept of Heaven's and Earth's bestowal of protection and strength on Temüǰin/Činggis Qan and his lineage, see nn. 1, 113; de Rachewiltz 1973. The theme is a recurrent one in the SH and other 13th century documents.

'For my sake', lit. 'thinking (fondly, i.e. out of affection *or* love) of me.' Cf. Mo, 178, n. 159: 'par affection pour moi.'

This passage is understood differently in On, 49. However, the Chinese sectional summary (Y^2 3, 49b) leaves no doubt as to the correct meaning. See Pa, 63. Cf. Do^1, 90.

'My lucky companions' – lucky (*ölǰeiten*, pl.) because they were going to share in his good fortune. Cf. the frequent compound expression *ölǰei qutuqtu* 'lucky (*or* fortunate) and happy' (§§ 200, 204, 211), which is also used to emphasize the fact that the individuals in question had the good fortune of being associated with Činggis Qan, or of being Mongols.

'I have appointed each of you to your respective office', lit. 'I have appointed you (*tan-i*) to office in all (i.e. separate, different) directions (*ǰük ǰük*).' This last, closing sentence is understood differently by Ozawa ('[Thus] he appointed them each one separately', i.e. each of them to his office). See Oz^1, II, 378 and 380, n. 5. Cf. also El-Ar, 341. It is true that the sentence ends abruptly, without the closing quotation verb *ke'ebe* 'he said' which we would normally expect. This fact had alerted Naka to the possibility of a lacuna. See Na^1, 120; Na^2, 102 (cf. also Mu, I, 260). However, in order to accept Ozawa's interpretation it is necessary to substitute the pronoun *tan-i* 'you' (acc.) with *teden-i* 'them'; nevertheless, the sentence still remains an awkward one. In my view, the substitution is not warranted, since there are several such cases in the SH, and at least one other case in the HIIY (IIb, 21r, 2), where the verb *ke'e-* at the end of a quotation is omitted. See SH, §§ 105 (ad fin.), 123 (after the last quotation), 124 (after Degei's words), 135 (after Mother Hö'elün's words), and 260 (after the last quotation). Moreover, the absence of the final quotation verb in the present section is confirmed by the AT^1, 34a. Therefore, we must regard this phenomenon as a peculiarity of the language of these documents. See above, n. 123. For *tüši-* 'to appoint to an office', cf. TMEN, no. 139.

§ 126. Daqai (< Taqai) is the same personage called Taki in § 120, but Taqai in all other instances. On him see above, nn. 120, 124. Cf. Cl, 58, n. 64. For Sügegei, i.e. Sügegei J̌e'ün, see

also nn. 120, 124. For the role of Daqai (Taqai) and Sügegei (Sükegei) as envoys, see Yü YA 1949, 3. Cf. § 151 and com.

'With the message that Činggis Qa'an had been made *qan*', lit. 'saying that one had caused Činggis Qa'an to become *qan*.' For the question of Činggis' name and title, see above, n. 125.

To'oril Qan, i.e. Ong Qan of the Kereyit, was last mentioned in § 115, when he returned to his encampment in the Black Forest on the Tūla after the successful joint campaign against the Merkit. In the present section, To'oril calls Činggis Qan 'my son' because Činggis regards him as his adopted father owing to To'oril's earlier bond of *anda*-ship with Yisügei Ba'atur. See § 96 and above, n. 104.

'To'oril Qan sent them *back* with the *following* message' renders the final two words *ke'eǰü ileǰü* (read *ileǰǖ* < *ileǰü'ü*), which are translated by Cleaves as 'sent saying' (Cl, 58), the subject being To'oril Qan. Waley 1960, 525, understands them simply as 'thus he (i.e. To'oril Qan) spoke.' Cf. Cleaves 1979, 73. Oz^1, II, 382, regards *ileǰü* as a converbum imperfecti instead of a contracted form of the praeteritum imperfecti of *ile-* 'to send', and leaves the sentence unfinished ('he sent saying...'). The correct form, already given in Bö, 83: *ilegeǰügüi* (= mmo. *ileǰü'üi*, pmo. *ileǰügüi*), is also found in Γa, 62: *ileǰügüi*, and is confirmed by AT^1, 34b: *ilegeǰügüi* (where pmo. *ile-* > mo. *ilege-*). For *-ǰü'ü* (*-ǰügü*) ~ *-ǰü'üi* (*-ǰügüi*), cf. JŚ, 131-132, § 221; UGPM, 158-159, § 34; KCI, 914-915. However, in view of the Chinese transcription, I think that the original text used by the Ming editors actually had *ileǰügü*.

'How can the Mongols be without a *qan*?', lit. 'How can the Mongols be (*or* live) without a *qa*?' Here we meet for the second time the *n*-less form *qa* (= *qan*) about which see above, n. 57. For the rhetorical question posed by To'oril Qan, cf. Ligeti 1971, 145.

'Do not dissolve your bond', lit. 'Do not dissolve (= undo) your agreement and bond (= binding decision) (*eye ǰanggi*).' For *ǰanggi*, see TMEN, no. 151.

'Do not tear off your collar!', in other words: 'Do not remove (*or* reject) your leader now that you have one!' For this simile, see § 33 and com.

§ 127. For Arqai Qasar and Ča'urqan, see §§ 120, 124; for their role as envoys, see Yü YA 1949, 7-8.

For Altan and Qučar who, with Sača Beki, had played a major role in the election of Činggis Qan, see § 123 and com.

'Give *this* message to …', lit. 'when he sent saying, "Say to … ."' For *ügüleǰü ile-*, see Aalto 1973, 36.

'Did you … cause a split … without causing … to fall apart?', lit. 'Did you cause to separate ourselves … without causing to separate ourselves?'

'Poking in the flanks,/Pricking the ribs/of the sworn friend?' Here 'flanks' (*sübe'e*) and 'ribs' (*qabirqa*) indicate the region of Temüǰin's heart and liver which Altan and Qučar had 'needled', thus provoking his animosity against J̌amuqa. The needling implied in this saying is that caused by stinging, i.e. malicious, words. The verb *qatqu-* (= mo. *qadqu-*, *qadqa-*) 'to prick, sting' is used also metaphorically in the sense of 'to excite, induce trouble.' Cf. Kow., 784a; Les., 904a. For this imagery, see Mo, 98, n. 93; cf. below, §§ 177 and 201. See also Cėrėn-sodnom 1986, 70.

'Just what did you have in mind now', lit. 'Now, thinking just (*ele*) what thoughts.' For the particle *ele* in this context, see Street 1986, 10-11, 4.2.

'Keep to the words you have spoken.' For the expression *ügüleksen üges-tür-iyen gür-*, cf. *Lettres*, 31; and above, n. 104.

'Be the good companions', lit. 'be companions in a good (= fitting) manner.'

§ 128. In this and the following section (§ 129), Taičar is called the *de'ü*, i.e. younger brother, of J̌amuqa. In view of J̌amuqa's explicit statement in § 201 that he had no younger brothers, the word *de'ü* must be taken here in its other meaning of 'younger kinsman' (such as a younger cousin, cf. §§ 120, 124, 128). On Taičar see HCG, 29-31, and below.

For the name J̌alama (occurring in § 174 as a noun meaning 'magic strip', see below, n. 174), cf. ibid., 142-143. This mountain has not been identified, but since the mountain itself and its Ölegei Spring (*bulaq* = mo. *bulaγ*; on this term see SMT, 17, and Serruys 1990/91, 226, no. 18; cf. TMEN, no. 809, and RH, 245, no. 1.) were near the Sa'ari Steppe, they must also be situated between the Tūla and Kerulen rivers. *Ölegei* means 'baby's cradle.' See HCG, 31; Khomonov 1970, 32. The Sa'ari Steppe (Sa'ari Ke'er, i.e. the Rump[-like] Steppe or Plain, see above, n. 56; for *sa'ari* [= mo. *saγari(n)*], cf. TMEN, no. 1212, and Ligeti 1959, 238) is one of the important localities of the SH, and Pelliot has discussed it at length in NMP, I, 319-325. According to the French scholar, it was a valley in the basin of the upper Kerulen, between this river and the Tūla, in the area of the two lakes Qala'utu (kh. Galuutai) Nōr and Gün Nōr west of the great bend of the Kerulen. See HCG, 26-27. Furthermore, the name 'Sa'ari Ke'er' was apparently applied, *sensu lato*, also 'à toute la région occidentale du Kerulen depuis sa source jusqu'au moment où il fait un grand coude pour prendre la direction de l'Est' (ibid., 389). Given its situation west of the southwestern corner of the great bend of the Kerulen and its proximity to the 'Black Forest' east of the great bend of the Tūla (see above, n. 96), the Sa'ari Steppe has occasionally been identified with the latter. See HCG, 260. Cf. also Hambis 1974, 36, for further references to the Sa'ari Steppe in Chinese geographical works. It must be noted that the exact situation of the Sa'ari Steppe is marked on the map of north China and Mongolia at the beginning of the YSLP. However, according to Pėrlėė[2], 9 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 94), Sa'ari Ke'er corresponds to the present-day Xongoržil or Xongoržil Tal (Khongorjil Tala) at 49° N 101° E, in the region between the Selenga and Khanui rivers, hence much further to the west. This does not seem to be the case in the light of the evidence produced by Pelliot. Cf. also RBC, 102, confirming Pelliot's identification.

J̌oči Darmala, alias Čoǰi (? Čöǰi) Darmala (cf. § 201), was a J̌alayir subject of Činggis Qan. On him and the story of the horse theft, see HCG, 25-26. Cf. also Li, 152, n. 128.

'The same J̌oči Darmala ... arrived at the fringe of his herd', lit. 'As for J̌oči Darmala, robbed of his herd of horses and his companions having failed, the same J̌oči Darmala went in pursuit and at night arrived at the side of his herd.' For this passage, cf. Mostaert 1956, 7; Cleaves 1953, 87, n. 29; Poppe 1964, 373, 376.

'Crouching over the mane of his horse', lit. 'lying with his liver (= belly) over the mane of his horse.'

'That split his spine apart (*ququru*).' For the word *ququru* and its connotations, cf. above, n. 101.

In the SH, Taičar's theft is presented as a *casus belli* between Činggis Qan and J̌amuqa, or at any rate as the formal beginning of the hostilities between the two former sworn friends. Stealing a herd of horses was certainly a serious crime and J̌oči Darmala's action in killing the culprit was justified (see Ratchnevsky 1987, 77); however, as pointed out by Ligeti (loc. cit.), there is a serious anomaly in the account as given in § 128. From § 201 we learn that the two protagonists, J̌oči Darmala and Taičar, had been stealing horses *from each other*, a statement which throws a different light on the events in question. It is, therefore, impossible to determine who actually started the feud. The SWCCL[1], 3a-4a, SL[2], I/2, 85-86, and YS[2] 1, 3-4, relating this event along similar lines, blame Taičar, who is variously referred to as 'a tribesman' and 'a relative' of J̌amuqa's, for the horse theft and, consequently, for the hostilities that followed. As we would expect, in all these sources J̌amuqa appears directly or indirectly as the villain, but occasionally (as in § 201) the cat is let out of the bag, as it were, and we catch a glimpse of what may have been the true state of affairs. For the theme of revenge colouring this episode leading directly to the battle of Dalan Balǰut and the gruesome death of the Činōs leaders, and (ultimately) to J̌amuqa's demise, cf. Clark 1978, 35-56, n. 47.

§ 129. 'J̌amuqa, at the head of the J̌adaran, and his allies making thirteen tribes and forming *altogether* three units of ten thousand', lit. 'the J̌adaran having at their head J̌amuqa, with thirteen tribes (*qarin*) as companions (= allies), becoming three units of ten thousand (*qurban tümet*).' For *qari* (pl. *qarin*) 'tribe' (< '[other, foreign] group of people' > 'nation, etc.'), see HCG, 53; de Rachewiltz 1982, 59, n. 50; above, n. 123, and below, n. 255.

The Ala'ut Turqa'ut ('Mottled Sentinels') mountains apparently were two contiguous mountains or hills separated by a narrow pass. See HCG, 41-42, 52. Their location is not certain. According to Pėrlėė[2], 4 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 85), they correspond to the present Ėrxėg Tarxag (Erkheg Tarkhag) in the Tuvin Republic, but this identification, based mainly on phonetic grounds, would place them too far to the west. As suggested by Pelliot (op. cit., 42), they must be in the Gürelgü region, i.e. in the area of the Gürelgü Mountains south of Khentei Khan, on which see above, n. 89. Činggis Qan was, in fact, in that region himself at the time as specifically stated in the next sentence.

For Mülke Totaq and Boroldai of the Ikires, see HCG, 51. Boroldai is wrongly identified by Haenisch (HW, 173b) with the Boroldai Suyalbi of § 3. For the name Boroldai, see ibid. For the Ikires, a subtribe of the Qonggirat, see HCG, 31-32.

The thirteen army corps drawn from Činggis' thirteen 'circular camps' (*güre'et*, pl. of *güre'en ~ güri'en*, see above, n. 90) are listed in the SWCCL[1], 6a-9b, and in SL[2], I/2, 87-88. See HCG, 35-37, and Pelliot's commentary; Ligeti's discussion in Li, 153, n. 129; and Ligeti 1972, 7-8. Cf. also CLC, 1-17; Honda 1952; YCS, I, 69-71; Mu, I, 275-277, n. 10; and CIH, 67-83. In these contributions, the composition of the camps, i.e. the respective clans or subclans forming them, and (especially in Honda's study) the role they played in establishing the backbone of Činggis Qan's military power, are examined in the light of the Chinese and Persian sources, and of the SH. The thirteen camps' composition was the following: First Camp: Mother

Hö'elün and Činggis Qan's younger brothers with their dependants; Second Camp: Činggis Qan and his sons with their dependants; Third Camp: Bültečü (*read* Bultaču) Ba'atur (the son of Sem Sečüle, i.e. Sam [Sem?] Qačulai [see above, n. 48], younger brother of Qabul) with a branch of the Kereyit; also Muqur Qa'uran with the Adargin or Adarkin (cf. § 46), and Ča'urqa with the Qorolas (for these groups and their leaders, cf. Ligeti 1972); Fourth Camp: Dereng (the son of Sorqadu Noyan alias Tarqutai) and his brother Qoridai, with the Nirun (Kiyat) and the Buda'at; Fifth Camp: Sača Beki (cf. §§ 122, 123) with the J̌ürkin; Sixth Camp: Taiču (Sača Beki's brother), and clans of the J̌alayir, which may in fact have been divided between the two brothers; Seventh Camp: Qulan Ba'atur and his brother Tödö'en Otčigin (cf. §§ 48, 51); *or* Utuǰu Qudu and ? (another chief whose name is not given in SL), with the Kiyat; Eighth Camp: Mönggetü Kiyan (cf. § 120) with the Čangši'ut, and his son Önggür with the Baya'ut; Ninth Camp: Dāritai Otčigin (Činggis Qan's uncle, see § 122), Qučar (son of Nekün Taiši, see ibid.), and Dalu, with the Doqolat, a clan of the Negüs, the Saqayit and the Nünǰin or Ünǰin; Tenth Camp: J̌oci (a son of Qutula); Eleventh Camp: Altan Otčigin (another son of Qutula); Twelfth Camp: Daki (Dagi, or Taki?) Ba'atur with the Qonggiyat, and the Sükeken (*read* Sügegen, see above, n. 120); Thirteenth Camp: Gendü Čina and Ölükčin Čina (the sons of Čaraqai Lingqu; see § 47), with the Negüs or Činōs. This list is by no means definitive, and the identification of some of the chiefs is doubtful. Cf. HCG, 53-135. One would assume that for the impending military clash with J̌amuqa all the allied clans listed in § 120 were incorporated in the thirteen corps drawn from the thirteen *güre'et* listed above. The clans represented by the rallied leaders listed in § 120 were twenty-one, but only one of them (which is not listed among the thirteen camps), the Menen Ba'arin, actually formed a circular camp. However, ten of the twenty-one allies came from clans of the J̌alayir tribe, members of which were apparently divided between the fifth and sixth camps, and there are tribal and clan names listed or

represented in § 120, such as the Sükeken, Negüs and Qorolas, which are also listed among the thirteen camps. Clearly, the lists of these camps as given in the Persian and Chinese sources are not comprehensive insofar as the clan composition is concerned. As shown by Honda and others, the creation of the three *tümen* was an important step towards the reorganization of the Mongol army in the following decades. See below, nn. 191 and 202.

The location of Dalan Balǰut ('Seventy Marshes'), one of the famous places in Mongol history, cannot be precisely identified, but it must have been in the basin of the Kerulen, near the sources of the Senggür. Cf. Pėrlėė[2], 9 (= Pėrlėė[4], 88), who situates it at 51° N 113° E, i.e. much further to the north-east.

The J̌erene Gorge (*or* Defile: *qabčiqai*) has also not been identified, but it appears from the context that it was near the Onon. Incidentally, this is the only section in the SH where we find the form Onon instead of the regular form Onan. See above, n. 1. For *qabčiqai*, cf. below, n. 184.

The battle of Dalan Balǰut is not only the first great battle waged by Činggis Qan as sole leader of a tribal confederation, but it is also one in which he was defeated, in spite of the statements to the contrary found in Chinese and Persian sources. Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 86-89), the SWCCL[1] (10a) and the YS[2] (1, 4), all make Činggis Qan win the battle and, in their version of the story, it is J̌amuqa who withdraws across the Ala'ut Turqa'ut; and, according to Rašīd al-Dīn, it was Činggis Qan who boiled the enemy prisoners in seventy cauldrons. Cf. HCG, 37; ČK[1], 42-44 (= ČK[2], 45-46). However, as already noted by other investigators, this version is not the authentic one and there is no reason to cast doubt on the SH account which does not even attempt to embellish the truth. In view of the importance of this battle and its follow-up, i.e. J̌amuqa's harsh revenge taken on the prisoners, chiefly the 'princes' of the Činōs, much has been written on the subject. Besides the above-mentioned commentaries by Ligeti and Pelliot (see, especially,

HCG, 135-137), see also YCS, I, 69-71; GK, 44-45; CHHC, 98-102; and EM, 81-82. It is not clear, however, why Činggis Qan should have withdrawn towards the upper Onon in the north, whence J̌amuqa's attack came, instead of fleeing towards the Kerulen in the south.

The date of the battle is also problematic, since no year for it is recorded in the SH, nor for that matter in any other source. It occurred in that obscure period of Činggis' early career during which he experienced difficulties and reverses – a period which, according to Rašīd al-Dīn (SL^2, I/2, 84), lasted until 1194; for that reason (always according to the Persian historian), the events of those troubled times were not properly recorded. Cf. CHHC, 577-578; ČK^1, 45-47 (= ČK^2, 49-50). For Hambis (GK, 56) the battle of Dalan Balǰut must have taken place in 1187 at the earliest and in 1190 at the latest. For Ratchnevsky (ČK^1, 45) in 1187 *at the latest*. In view of what has been said earlier (see above, n. 123), I too would not hazard a precise date, but taking all into account, I am of the opinion that it occurred in all probability before 1190.

The gruesome episode of the boiling of the Činōs princes (*kö'üt*, lit. 'boys') by J̌amuqa may be fictitious, as suggested by Pelliot (HCG, 136-137; cf. Gaadamba 1968, 64ff.); but the legend – if it was indeed an epico-folkloristic theme devoid of historical truth – had nevertheless far-reaching consequences, being variously and dramatically reported by Chinese, Muslim and Western authors alike. See Pelliot, loc. cit. Ligeti (Li, 153, n. 129), on the other hand, accepts the story as told in the SH at its face value; he only takes the word *kö'üt* in its more literal meaning of 'lads' – i.e. 'the lads of the Činos (for Činōs – I.R.) tribe' – arguing that in this period the term 'princes' would not apply. However, as with other titles in the SH, the princely appellation was no doubt conferred on them retrospectively. I, therefore, retain the designation of 'princes' which is glossed as such also in the interlinear Chinese version (*ta-wang-mei* 大王每). The episode itself is discussed in Sinor 1982, 243-246. Sinor suggests the possibility of a ritual sacrifice, on the part of

J̌amuqa, of seventy wolves after his defeat of Činggis Qan's forces, the wolf being the mythical ancestor of the vanquished tribe. (The name Činōs of this Mongol subtribe means of course 'The Wolves'; and seventy is a numinous number.) Sinor (op.cit., 246) writes: 'The ritual consumption of wolves is tantamount to eating the defeated Wolves (i.e. the Činōs tribesmen – I.R.). The victor's triumph is clearly asserted by the ingestion of the enemy totem.' Sinor (ibid., 243) also takes issue with my translation 'he had the princes (not "prince" as in Sinor's quotation – I.R.) of the Chinos boiled **alive** [my italics] (actually the word "alive" is in italics in my text, indicating that it is not in the original – I.R.) in seventy cauldrons ....' Sinor writes (ibid., 243-244): 'De Rachewiltz's insertion of the word **alive** is unnecessary; it tilts the balance of the narrative in favour of one of the two possible interpretations. The **Secret History** leaves open the question of whether the Chinos were boiled dead or alive, and so should we. As we have seen, Chino = Čino = wolf. The Mongol text puts the name in the plural. Instead of "the princes of the Chinos" one could translate "the sons of the wolves." The word *kö'üt* has the primary meaning of "sons." It would also be surprising if the small tribe of the "wolves" had seventy "princes."'

I have the following objections to Sinor's suggestion: 1) *kö'ün* is a term usually employed for humans and I very much doubt whether it would have been used in the sense of 'cub' or 'young, offspring of a wolf', for which other terms exist in Mongolian (*ǰulǰiqan ~ ǰulǰaqan*, mo. *ǰulǰaɣa*[*n*], etc.); 2) (and more importantly) the sentence in question in our passage is linked with one immediately following it concerning the beheading of Čaqa'an U'a of the Ne'üs (= Negüs) and J̌amuqa's dragging away of the head. Contextually speaking, it seems to me that the narrator of this story describes *two* gruesome acts perpetrated by J̌amuqa on *human* beings. If the boiling of 'wolves' seems rather incongruous in view of the fact that the wolf was the mythical ancestor of both Temüǰin and J̌amuqa, hence their common totem, the boiling of 'sons' of 'wolves' is

even more so in my view. Personally, I would discard this interpretation even if *kö'üt* can be applied in a figurative way to wolves' offspring. (I may add that native Mongol scholars, from the early Ming translators to Damdinsürèn, S. Jagchid, Doronatib, etc., all understand the sentence in question as meaning either 'the princes of the Činōs', or 'the young ones [i.e. the children, lads, youths – cf. Ligeti's interpretation mentioned above] of the Činōs'); 3) regarding the 'seventy cauldrons' (*dalan toqo'ot*) and Sinor's claim that this is a numinous number, I would say that among the Mongols seventy is not a particularly numinous number (such as nine), but rather a word used to denote an indefinite number, or 'many' in general; indeed, Ozawa suggests that this may actually be the meaning in our passage. See Oz[1], III, 20, n. 8. (In ancient Japanese 'eighty' played an identical role.) This question and the likelihood that there could have been so many Činōs princes must again be looked at contextually. The battle was fought at Dalan Balǰut, which literally means 'Seventy Marshes.' I think that the 'seventy cauldrons' are a direct reference – and a symbolic one at the same time – to the place where this momentous event took place: one enemy boiled for each marsh. It is a perfect correspondence numberwise, and I doubt that it is purely coincidental. Since this was essentially a ritual sacrifice rather than sheer revenge, it was only natural that the victims be chosen from among the members of the 'leading' families, hence the term 'princes', even if, strictly speaking, this term is anachronistic in our context. As already pointed out by Ligeti (loc. cit.), in the battle of Dalan Balǰut it was the thirteenth camp, formed of Negüs clansmen, also called Činōs (see below), that suffered the greatest losses; 4) the unfortunate sacrificial victims were in all likelihood boiled alive. Just as in the other cruel traditional practice of tearing out the heart of a live captive enemy, one would not expect to see, in a ritual of this kind, dead enemies being boiled. The practice of boiling enemies alive in cauldrons is well attested among the Turkish peoples of northern Asia since ancient times. See Uray-Köhalmi 1970, 255-257; cf.

Ratchnevsky 1987, 82; ČK[1], 43 (= ČK[2], 46-47); Tömörcèrèn 1995.

J.-P. Roux in *Turcica* 12:1980, 61 and n. 108, seeks a correlation between J̌amuqa's dragging of Čaqa'an U'a's severed head behind his horse and the numinous quality attached to the human skull, but J̌amuqa's act can be explained in terms of sheer spitefulness.

The Činōs ('Wolves') were also known as Negüs (> Ne'üs), a name that has not yet been explained satisfactorily. See HCG, 70, 131-135. The ethnicon found in the SH is Ne'üdei (Negüdei in AT[1], 35a), and their chief beheaded by J̌amuqa is Čaqa'an U'a, i.e. the same personage listed in § 120, whose name appears in the form Čaqan (= Čaqān) Qo'a in § 218. (In the same paragraph, the form Negüs appears three times.) For a recent contribution to the problem of the Činōs, see Ž. Učralt in *BIAMS*, 2000.1 (25), 2(26), 63-68.

As for the name Činōs v. Činos, it should be pointed out that in 13th and 14th century Eastern Middle Mongolian the word for 'wolf' was *činō*, whereas in Western Middle Mongolian it was *činā*. In Written Montolian we have *činua*. All these forms derive from **činwa* (**činβa*) or **tinwa* (**tinβa*); those forms with the short final vowel in the literary languages (e.g. Oirat) and in the dialects (up to the present day) are simply due to regular vowel reduction (*ā*, *ō* > *a*, *o*). Cf. AT[1], 4b: *činua*, and AT[1], 35a: Činos. On this well-investigated word and its evolution, see SG, 182, 301-302; Poppe 1964b, 164-165; IMCS, 43, 71 (where, however, there is some inconsistency in derivation); HCG, 37, 131ff.; Ligeti 1955, 131; Bese 1988, 23; TMEN, no. 191; RH, 220, no. 8; and, especially, Ligeti 1970, 305-306. The reading Činos (Chinos) of L[1], 68; L[2], 85; KCI, 673; R, 210a; Ra, IV, 56, and VIII, 30; Oz[1], III, 13, and V, 140, and of most other transcriptions and translations should, therefore, be amended to Činōs (Chinōs). This of course applies also to *börte čino*, instead of the correct *börte činō*, in SH, § 1. Cf. Mo, xii; Oz[1], I, 3; etc.

§ 130. Jürčedei of the Uru'ut (> Urūt), later (§ 171) also called Uncle Jürčedei (Jürčedei Ebin), appears frequently in the SH. He was one of the military leaders listed as a commander of a thousand in § 202 (no. 6). The name Jürčedei is apparently an ethnicon derived from Jürčen. Cf. Poppe 1975, 162. (For the origin of the name Jürčen, see below, n. 247.) Quyuldar (~ Quyildar) of the Mangqut is likewise a known figure, indeed a heroic one, and we shall have more to say about him in connection with his last campaign and death. On him and his name, see HCG, 165, 167-168; Poppe 1975, 164. Cf. below, n. 171. The Uru'ut and Mangqut tribes, first mentioned in § 46, are usually named together and their leaders acted in concert during a campaign, indicating strong ties deriving from their close kinship. According to § 46, their clans descended from Način Ba'atur's sons Uru'udai and Mangqutai. Način Ba'atur was the brother of Qači Külük, lineal ancestor of Činggis Qan. Thus Menen Tudun, father of Način Ba'atur and Qači Külük, was the common ancestor of Činggis Qan, Jürčedei and Quyildar (this form of the name is the usual one). It is no doubt on account of Jürčedei's age and seniority that Činggis calls him 'uncle' (*ebin*). Part of the Mangqut tribesmen had separated from Jamuqa already before Dalan Baljut. See § 120. For the Uru'ut and Mangqut tribes and their chiefs, see HCG, 7, 32-33, 165, 167-169, 236, 243; Pelliot 1935, 919; idem 1944a, 81, n. 2; and below nn. 171, 175. There are also biographies of Jürčedei and Quyildar in the YS[2] 120, 2962-2963, and 121, 2987-2988 respectively.

Father Mönglik, son of Old Čaraqa of the Qongqotat, was last mentioned in § 69. It transpires from this passage that at the time when Temüjin left Jamuqa, Mönglik and his family had followed the latter. Cf. Hambis 1975, 23ff., where the special relationship between Činggis Qan and Mönglik is discussed in detail, also in the light of other sources. See above, nn. 67, 68. According to Hambis, it was this family relationship that accounted for Mönglik's rejoining Činggis Qan after Dalan Baljut, although Jamuqa's excessive cruelty as displayed after

the battle may also have played a part (cf. GK, 45-46). Indeed, except in terms of family ties, how can one explain the defection from Jamuqa's camp of Jürčedei, Quyildar and Mönglik so soon *after* Jamuqa's victory, i.e. if we are to believe the chronology of the SH? Although the sequence of events for the period in question does pose a problem (see above, n. 129, and below towards the end of the present note), there is no reason to doubt that the return of these personages and of their followers at that particular time heartened Činggis Qan, who obviously felt that the tide was now turning in his favour. Hence the occasion for rejoicing at a feast (*qurim*). To understand properly what follows, it must be realized that on such formal gatherings a strict adherence to customary rules concerning rank and seniority was observed, breaches of which were considered as very serious offences; this especially applied to the serving of food and drink, and to toasting in particular. We have already had an inkling of this custom in § 70, on the occasion of a sacrificial meal from which Hö'elün was excluded on account of being late. Chinese, Persian and Latin sources contain much information concerning the rules on precedence, etc., followed at the Mongol court in the 13th century. See below, n. 154.

Qasar is, of course, Joči Qasar, the younger brother of Činggis Qan; Sača Beki and Taiču have been mentioned repeatedly in the previous sections.

For the words *bolun* 'together with' and *ki'et* 'and others', see Oz[1], III, 25-29, n. 6, 29-32, n. 7; and below, n. 150.

Ebegei was the (favourite?) secondary wife or concubine of Sača Beki's father Sorqatu Jürki (on whom see above, n. 49) and in our text she is called Sača Beki's 'little mother' (*üčü'ügen* [= pmo., mo. *üčügüken*] *eke*), a term misunderstood by earlier investigators and explained in Mo, 60-61 (where this passage is discussed and translated); cf. also Mostaert 1950, 4-5. We may add that the usual terms for 'concubine' in Written Mongolian are *baγa(qan) eme* and *baγa ekener*, meaning 'little mother' and 'little wife' respectively, 'little' here = 'secondary.' Cf. ch. *hsiao-chieh* 小妾 id. (The somewhat puzzling gloss *pi-che* 嬖只

**biǰi* for 'concubine' 妾 in LLSL, 125a, is merely a transcription of ch. *fei-tzu* 妃子 'imperial concubine'; cf. mo. *pei, peyizi* id. It should not be confused with mo. *biiǰi* < *beiǰi* < ch. *pei-tzu* 貝子, the title of daughters of noblemen, etc., on which see ET[3], 207.) Qorilǰin Qatun and Qu'určin Qatun were the two principal wives of Sorqatu J̌ürki, the former being Sača Beki's own mother. On Ebegei and Qu'určin Qatun, see HCG, 182-183, where Pelliot suggests that Ebegei may have been the real mother of Sača Beki, which would explain both the fact that she was served first and Qu'určin Qatun's jealousy. However, this is not what is stated in the accounts of this event in the SWCCL[1], 14a-b (cf. HCG, 170-171), and YS[2] 1, 4-5, both sources claiming that Qu'určin was Sača Beki's mother. The version of the story as related in the SWCCL and the YS is somewhat different from that of the SH; indeed, the order of events for this period in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, the SWCCL and the YS is at odds with the SH, and other events may well have intervened between the defeat of Činggis Qan at Dalan Balǰut and the rallying of the Uru'ut and the other tribes. See ČK[1], 41-44 (= ČK[2], 44-47). On Ebegei's, Qu'určin's and Qorilǰin's names, see Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; on Qorilǰin Qatun's name, cf. Bese 1974, 92; Poppe 1975, 167.

'One pitcher *of kumis*' (*niken tüsürge*). On *tüsürge* see Mo, 61 and n. 55; Cleaves 1954a, 448, n. 22; CLC, 140; Serruys 1981, 115; idem, *MS* 24:1965, 478; and Gantogtox 1994, 146-147. See also below, n. 213. It appears that the steward, or cook (*ba'urči*, see above, n. 124), Šiki'ür (= pmo. Sikigür) was responsible for breaching the etiquette and unwittingly causing the trouble that followed.

Nekün Taiši was a brother of Yisügei (here called Yisügei Ba'adur *pro* Yisügei Ba'atur), hence an uncle of Činggis Qan. See above, n. 122. Šiki'ür implies that, had they been alive, the two J̌ürkin *qatun*s would not have dared treating him in such a manner (cf. Hö'elün's words to the same effect in § 70). This indicates that he was probably an old family retainer, but this is the first time that he appears in the SH (he will reappear in § 136). For his name (possibly meaning 'broom'), see HCG, 183-184.

§ 131. 'Had arranged the feast', lit. 'had set in order that feast.' The two men in charge of the joint celebration were Belgütei, Činggis' half-brother, and the great athlete Büri Bökö ('the Strong'), already mentioned in § 50 (on him see also § 140). Belgütei was 'keeping', i.e. was in charge of, the geldings in his capacity of *aqtači* or equerry, a function that he shared with Qaraldai Toqura'un. See § 124 for their appointment.

For the Qadagin (~ Qatagin, cf. § 42) tribe, whose leading clan according to the SH originated with the eponymous ancestor Buqu Qatagi, see above, n. 42. For the ethnicon Qadagidai, cf. Poppe 1975, 162-163.

'Horse station' renders Mongolian *kirü'ese*, a term glossed in the SH as '(place where) one lights off a horse'; and in YS[2] 1, 5, as 'the place where one tethers horses outside the forbidden area (= the *qan*'s tent).' This term deserves comment. The transcription *kirü'ese* is actually incorrect, the correct form being *kirü'e* (pl. *kirü'es*), see §§ 229, 245. The preclassical form was *kirüge* (see the corresponding passage in AT[1], 74a and 96a); however, as such it is not attested in the later literary language, which only has *kürügetei* (= *kirügetei*) 'tied, with the feet bound crosswise' < *kirü-/kerü-* 'to bind (the feet) crosswise.' Cf. kalm. *kerə* 'binding; caravan'; kirg. *kirä* 'caravan'; etc. [N.P.]. The *kirü'e*, where the thief in the present episode was caught, was the place outside the area of the chiefs' tent where the horses were stationed and where the saddles and other valuable equipment and articles were kept under guard (see §§ 229, 245). This place is mentioned by John of Pian di Carpine in his report; see SF, 117; MM, 61-62; SDM, 390. Later, hereditary officers were placed in charge of it. See TMEN, no. 330; HCG, 187-188; Li, 154, n. 131; HCWLYTT, 301-304, no. 105; MKSLT, I, 695. (Oz[1], III, 37, 41, n. 4, transcribes *kirü'ēs-eeče* [abl.], but more correctly *kirü'ēse-eče* in GHMBK, 462.)

As suggested by Grousset (CW, 86), the Qadagin thief (*qulaqai*; for this word cf. HCWLYTT, 15-18, no. 3) must have come from the J̌ürkin party, hence Büri Bökö's intervention. The present passage dealing with the fight between Belgütei and Büri Bökö does not lend itself to a smooth literal translation because the actions are described in quick succession. For a closer literal rendering of the Mongolian, cf. Cl, 61.

'Büri Bökö took that man under his protection (*hoyimasču*).' Both the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary render *hoyimas-* as 'to protect, to take the part of' (*hu* 護). See Y^2 4, 8b, 10a. This verb is a *hapax legomenon* in the SH. On, 51, following TH, 196 (= ǰYT, 339-340), takes *hoyimas-* = mo. *ayimas-* 'to be angry' (see Les., 21b). Oz^1, III, 43-44, n. 6, relates *hoyimas-* to *qoyimar* 'the back; northern part (of a yurt)', and, reading *qoyimasču* instead of *hoyimasču*, renders it as 'to protect' (< 'to be behind'). The Chinese gloss is probably right, also because the passage *oyi-* > *ayi-* postulated by TH is unlikely. However, although the SH gloss is supported by Rašīd al-Dīn (see SL^2, I/2, 92: 'defended'), the TH interpretation is supported by the $SWCCL^1$, 15a (cf. HCG, 171) and the YS^2 1, 5, both sources stating that Büri Bökö 'became angry.' The ambiguity, therefore, remains.

'Thinking nothing of it' (*ya'un-a ba ülü bolqan*). For this expression, lit. 'not making it (i.e. the fact that Belgütei had cut his shoulder) to be even anything (= nothing)', see Mo, 71; Cleaves 1955, 40, n. 31; Street 1981, 163. Cf. also VG, 91.

'How can we be treated like this?', i.e. 'How can we let them treat us in this way?', in Mongolian *ker eyin kikden büle'ei bida*, lit. 'how did we undergo such doing?' Cf. Poppe 1964, 374; Cl, 61.

'I fear we may fall out with our kinsmen.' 'To fall out (with)' renders Mongolian *ma'uqalin bol-*, lit. 'to become unfriendly' (cf. HIIY, I, 14a: *sayiqalin* 'friend[s]' [朋友]; *Matériel I*, 94). For this expression, see Oz^1, III, 49-50, n. 16. For a different interpretation, see Poppe 1975b, 155 and n. 94. This last section has been translated and discussed in Ligeti 1958, 232-234, n. 51. Ligeti's interpretation is somewhat different from the one proposed here.

The chief of the J̌ürkin, Sača Beki, was the grandson of Ökin Barqaq, eldest brother of Bartan Ba'atur (Činggis Qan's grandfather) and was, therefore, a cousin of Činggis Qan. This is why in our text Belgütei calls the J̌ürkin 'brothers' (*aqa de'ü*), here rendered as 'kinsmen'; cf. §§ 120, 124 and 128; and above, n. 74.

'There is nothing wrong with me', lit. 'I am not hindered (= disabled).' Cf. Cleaves 1949a, 525-526; idem 1959, 88-89, n. 318.

'Do not act, wait a little while!', lit. 'let be, stay *some* moments!' (*bütügei qorumut bayi*). For these words, cf. VG, 88. Belgütei is concerned lest Činggis Qan should act hastily to seek vengeance, thereby ending the already fragile relations with the J̌ürkin and starting a new feud. Belgütei's counsel, however, did not prevail. For the ensuing feud with the J̌ürkin, cf. Clark 1978, 40-41; Ratchnevsky 1987, 75. It should be pointed out that the story as related in AT^1, 36a, is somewhat different in detail from that of the SH. See LDAT, 105, for a translation of the relevant passage; cf. also MNTLAT, 79-80.

§ 132. The AT^1, 36b-37b, contains a lengthy epic account of the fight with the J̌ürkin involving Qasar and Belgütei, but this is almost certainly a later interpolation. See LDAT, 105-106. Cf. Da^5, 75.

'The churners of the *kumis* leather bags' (*itüges-ün büle'üt*). For the churning of kumis (*esük*) in large leather bags or skins (*itüges*) with long wooden beaters or churners (*büle'üt*, sing. *büle'ür*), see above n. 85. For these bags (*itüge*, pl. *itüges*), see Serruys 1981, 115; Khomonov 1970, 30; Oz^1, III, 54, n. 2.

The two ladies Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určin Qatun, principal wives of Sorqatu J̌ürki (Qorijin Qatun was also Sača Beki's mother), were mentioned earlier (§ 130) in connection with the episode involving the steward Šiki'ür and the breach in etiquette – the incident, in fact, that started the present quarrel. In our

passage, the word *qatun* is transcribed as *qadun*. For the alternation *qatu(n)* ~ *qadun*, see above, n. 54.

For the 'Altan Qan of the Kitat people', i.e. the Jurchen/Chin ruler of north China, see above, n. 53. The ruler in question at the time (1195) was emperor Chang-tsung 章宗 (r. 1189-1208). See RC, 101 (F). His Right Chancellor (*yu ch'eng-hsiang* 右丞相) was Wan-yen Hsiang 完顏襄 (1140-1202). On him see the lengthy biography in CS 94, 2085-2092. In our passage he is referred to as Ongging Čingsang, i.e. Wan-yen 完顏 (> **ong-ging*) *ch'eng-hsiang* 丞相 (> **čing-sang*). The reading Ongging is guaranteed by AT[1], 38a and 110b, 111a (see below, n. 248). For ch. *wan* 完 **on* > **ong*, see HCG, 194-195. As for the chancellor's designation, I have used the form *čingsang* because this is the one found in the Persian and Armenian sources (*čingsāng*; *činksan*), as well as in Marco Polo's book (*cingsan*). It is mainly for this reason that it was originally adopted by Pelliot (see NMP, I, 365, s.v. 'Cingsan'; HCG, 193-194) and by all investigators after him, with the notable exception of Ligeti, who writes *csingsziang* (= *čingsiang*) in his translation (Li, 45 et passim), but *čingseng* in his text edition (L[2], 87 et passim) and in ATL, 90 et passim. Cf. also his transcriptions *čingsang* in *MLMC*, II, 212 (3), and *čingseng* in *MLMC*, III, 144 and 147; idem in *IVLMMT*, II, 271, and III, 143. See *Matériel II*, 55 (20v, 3). Pelliot, who in his transcription of the SH had adopted the reading *čïngsiang* (Pe, 36), had already questioned this reading. See ibid., n. 1: '*čingsäng*?' (For later transcriptions, cf., for example, *cingsang* in ATI, 154b; *čing-sang* and *čingsang* in BANT, 124.)

The problem of whether the character *hsiang* 相 should be read *siang* or *seng* clearly impinges on its pronunciation in the 13th and 14th centuries, and this is a complex question. In transcribing the vocalic element of 相, the contemporary documents in 'Phags-pa script use a symbol (no. 34, in Figure 9 in MMḤS, 24) the value of which is still a moot point, being transliterated by modern investigators of the 'Phags-pa alphabet

as *e* (*ä*, *ė*, *ɛ*) and *i*(*a*)/*y*(*a*). As a result, 相 is variously transcribed as *seng* (*säṅ*, etc.) and *siang* (*si̯aṅ*, etc.). In the 'Phags-pa transcription there is, indeed, an alternation between the letters *e* (ibid.) and *y*(*a*) (no. 29 in Figure 8 in MMḤS, 19) in the same word within the same document (e.g. in the PCH, *chia* 家 is transcribed as *ge* as well as *gya* = *gi̯a*), and this alternation has not been explained satisfactorily. See Dragunov 1930, 781, no. 9; 790, no. 399; PCH, 12, n. 2; 23, n. 197; 32, n. 386; 44, no. 208; MKTYCP, 151, A, 16a; PSPS, 109, no. 134; MKYL, 28; hPC, 66-73, 137a; cf. also Clauson 1959, 308ff.; Denlinger, 425; Pulleyblank 1970/71, 198. These transcriptions reflect the Old Mandarin pronunciation, which is also preserved in the CYYY. In this work, however, the value of 相 is unquestionably *siang*. See JIY, 393, no. 5547; 408, no. 5810; KGJ, 368, no. 96; Tōdō 1964, 33. The Middle Mandarin pronunciation is provided by Chinese words in Uighur-Mongol script and vice versa, i.e. Mongolian words in Chinese transcription, as in the SH and the YS. The evidence from these transcriptions is likewise not conclusive, showing as it does a similar ambivalence (*seng/sang*) for 相 and its homophone 想. For example, in the SH 想 = *seng* (as in the proper name/title Senggüm [< Senggün]); in the YS 相 = *sang*; and in the documents in Uighur-Mongol script 相 = *sang* or *seng*. See Y[2] 1, 29a, 32b (§§ 47, 52); GGS, II, 1428a-1430a: *Sangγabal, *Sang'udar, *Sangγaširi, etc.; Cleaves 1949, 131-132, n. 263 (where, however, it is incorrectly stated that 相 *deest apud* Dragunov; see above): *saisang* (= ch. *tsai-hsiang* 宰相 'Chief Minister'); but cf. Ligeti in *IVLMMT*, II, 55: *saisang*, and ibid., I, 142: *gung-seng-vuu* (= ch. *kung-hsiang fu* 宮相府 'Administration of the Heir Apparent's Palace Assistants'). For the SH transcriptions of 相 and 想, see also Hattori 1973, 43. The Old Turkic and Uighur transcriptions show the same ambivalence (e.g. in the term *saŋun/säŋün* [> mo. *senggün* > *senggüm*]). Cf. OuECD, 155, no. 39; AG, 362a; DTS, 485a, 496a; Geng & Hamilton 1981, 49b, s.v. 'Čing-sang.' This ambivalence must, therefore,

have existed in the Mongol period also with regard to the Turco-Mongolian pronunciation of *ch'eng-hsiang*. In this connection, it must be emphasized that for the contemporary reader of such transcriptions in Uighur-Mongol script it would normally have been impossible to decide, without previous knowledge of the original term and on the basis of the script alone, whether the word in question – or part of it in the case of a composite term – was to be read with front or back vocalism. In view of all this it is not surprising to find the above-mentioned inconsistencies in transcription in Ligeti's works. For the title *čingsang*, see also TMEN, no. 184; DOTIC, 126b-127a, no. 483; for *senggüm* see TMEN, no. 1221; HCG, 334; DOTIC, 232a, no. 2331. Our Ongging Čingsang must not be confused with the homonymous official mentioned in § 248, about whom see below, n. 248. We know from the Chinese sources that the Chin court had put Wan-yen Hsiang in charge of the expedition against the rebellious Tatars at the end of 1195, and that the Tatars were defeated soon after by the Jurchen army. See CS 10, 237; 94, 2085, 2088-2089. All the Chinese sources concerning these events have conveniently been brought together by Wang Kuo-wei. See KTCL, II, 676ff.; cf. Pelliot 1929a, 126-128; Hambis 1970, 131. The Tatars' retreat on the Ulǰa – the present Ulzyn (Uldz, Uldza, etc.) Gol between the Onon and Kerulen rivers at 49° 56 N and 115° 31 E (on the Ulǰa River see Hambis 1974, 34) – took place probably in May-June 1196. On the chronology of these events and the role of the Tatar chief Megüǰin Se'ültü, see HCG, 192-200; CW, 90-91; GK, 49-50; Chia Ching-yen 賈敬顏 in *YSPFCK* 9:1985, 18ff.; and Kung Fang-chen 龔方震 in *CHWSLT*, 1980.1, 111-112. See also below.

'Without delay' (*bu sa'ara*), lit. 'do not hesitate.'

'Livestock' (*adu'u ide'en*). For this expression, see above, n. 23.

§ 133. The paragraph division in the text occurs, most arbitrarily, after the words 'Having learned this (lit. "that") news', and not before them as we would expect.

'Mortal enemies' renders *öšten irgen*, lit. 'a people who have hate.' *Öšten* = *öš* 'hate' + the possessive suffix *-ten* (pl.). When applied to an individual, the expression is *öštü gü'ün*. See the discussion below, n. 149. Although the Chinese transcription has *öšiten*, the *i* is superfluous and the word should be read *öšten*.

'Who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers', lit., 'who have annihilated (*or* exterminated) ancestors and fathers' – the specific reference being to Ambaqai Qan and Yisügei Ba'atur; and, possibly, also to Ökin Barqaq (see above, n. 48). However, this expression is a set phrase used with reference to a traditional or family enemy, i.e. an enemy one has a long-standing feud with. Cf. § 266 (ad fin.). Waley's rendering 'who destroyed my ancestors and father' (Wa, 247), while strictly speaking accurate, overlooks this fact. See also the remarks above, n. 113, and below, nn. 154, 266. For *ebüge* 'forefather, ancestor', see above, n. 40. In my translation I have transposed 'forefathers' and 'fathers' for purely stylistic reasons.

'Now, *taking* this opportunity, let us jointly attack them!' '*Taking* this opportunity' is, literally, 'at this opportunity' (*ene qanalqa-tur*), a rendering based solely on the Chinese interlinear translation and the free version (Y^2 4, 12a, 13a, 14b) because the word *qanalqa* is a *hapax legomenon*. N. Poppe (p.c.) was strongly in favour of rendering *qanalqa-tur* 'in the blood-letting', i.e. in the fight, by reading *qanalqa* as *qanalγa* 'the letting of blood, bleeding' (< *qana-* 'to bleed a horse or somebody' + dev. noun suff. *-lγa*[*/-lge*], on which see GWM, 47, § 161). Oz^1, III, 61 and 62-63, n. 3 (following TH, 164), has adopted bur. *xanalga* 'satisfaction' (< *xana-* 'to be satisfied' = mo. *qana-*), in the sense of 'satisfactory, happy event; good opportunity.' This interpretation may well be the correct one. Cf. Če, 358, n. 208; On, 52 and n. 148, and the 2001 ed., 108 and n. 281, (where, however, the extrapolation 'opportunity' → 'excuse' = 'reason' is not warranted). The word in question is not dealt with in Vietze 1990. The form *qasalγa* of AT^1, 37b, is evidently a copyist's error for *qanalγa*. As for *qamsa-* 'to make

a joint attack', the exact meaning of this verb is 'to join with an ally attacking the enemy from another side.' See *Lettres*, 28. Cf. tu. *qavsa-* (~ *qavša-*, *qavza-*) 'to surround.' See DTS, 437b, 438b; ED, 589a.

'It is reported', lit. 'they say' (*ke'emüi*).

'Set out with his army', lit. 'caused the army to arise.'

'Quickly went to his assistance' renders *öterlen iktüneǰü*. *Öterlen*, converbum modale of *öterle-* (= mo. *ödterle-*, *ödtörle-*) 'to do something immediately, to hasten', means 'speeding, hasting.' *Iktüneǰü* is not glossed in the Chinese interlinear version, but in the free summary the whole expression is rendered 'he came in person' (Y^2 4, 14b; cf. Cl, 62 and n. 10), I do not know on what grounds. AT^1, 38a, is of no help because it has *ireǰü* 'coming' in place of *iktüneǰü*. Oz^1, III, 61 and 64, n. 6, reads *yigtüneǰü* = *ǰigtüneǰü* from **ǰigtüne-* 'to exert oneself, to endeavour', whereas On, 52, and Če, 100 (cf. also pp. 358-359, n. 209) take *iktüne-* to mean 'to set forth' and 'to lead, to set forth' respectively. According to TH, 110 (= ǰYT, 196), in the modern Bargu dialect *igtüne-* has the meaning of 'to be panic-stricken, or in a great rush, as a result of being reproached.' This meaning cannot be ignored; however, I am rather inclined to see in *iktüne-* a borrowing from tu. *iktüle-* 'to support, feed, attend to.' See DTS, 207a; AG, 337b: *igdüle-*, *iktüle-* 'pflegen.' I take it, therefore, to mean here 'to go to someone's assistance.' For *l* ~ *n* in Turkic and Mongolian, see SIGTYF, 350; MXTXÜ, 169. I think the latter interpretation, albeit tentative, is preferable on two grounds, viz. that the idea of hurrying is already expressed by *öterlen*; and, secondly, a borrowing from Turkic would explain why the word was not understood (and so left untranslated) by the Ming editors.

The two place-names Qusutu Šitü'en ('Birch Rampart') and Naratu Šitü'en ('Pine Rampart') clearly indicate a wooded area near the Ulǰa, one that would offer the Tatars the opportunity to build a stockade (*qorqa*[*n*]). On these names and their connotations, see HCG, 202. The term *qorqa(n)* = mo. *qorγa(n)*, rendered as 'fortress' in Cl, 63, and as 'barricade' in On, 53,

actually means a fortified enclosure, more solidly built with timber than the 'palisade' (*šibe'e*) of § 79, the latter being more of a fence than a proper stockade, as we would expect in the respective circumstances. For *qorqa(n)*, see TMEN, no. 1555; RH, 249, no. 23.

The Tatar chief's silver cradle (*mönggün ölegei*; not 'golden' as in Ha, 39) and his precious blanket decorated with big pearls (*tanatu könǰile*, lit. 'blanket having big pearls') are mentioned as they formed that part of the booty that Činggis Qan took either for himself or to be shared with To'oril Qan (see § 134). For the corresponding versions in the SWCCL and Rašīd al-Dīn, see HCG, 192, 202-203. For *mönggün* (= mo. *mönggön*) 'silver', cf. TMEN, no. 377; Rybatzki 2002, 93-99. For *ölegei* 'cradle', cf. ord. *ölögī* id. (DO, 531a); and Khomonov 1970, 32. For *tana* 'big pearl' (as opposed to *subut* '[small or smaller] pearl'), see *Matériel I*, 99; Poppe 1955, 41; Pelliot 1929a, 130; HCWLYTT, 130-139, no. 33; Huang SC 1984, 210, 213; and below, n. 238. In the later literary language and in the modern languages and dialects, *tana* came to designate only mother-of-pearl. See Les., 776a; Cėv., 519b; MKeT, 2217a; Khomonov 1970, 40. For *tanatu*, cf. Cleaves 1951, 96-97, n. 124. For the 'pearled bed covering' (*tanatu könǰile*), cf. CEME, 3 and n. 11.

As pointed out by Pelliot (HCG, 199-200), Megüǰin Se'ültü was apparently *not* the leading man among the Tatars that had rebelled against Chin, but only one of the chiefs; the role of Činggis Qan (witness also the mention of the rich booty he gained) has, therefore, been purposely magnified in the SH. As Ligeti says (Li, 154, n. 132), the victory in itself may not have been so important, but 'it is significant because this is the first time that the attention of the new *qan* is attracted towards the South, the land of inexhaustible riches. The silver cradle and the blanket decorated with genuine pearls, which is the booty from Megüǰin-seültü, are gifts, evidently from the South (i.e. from the Chin court – I.R.). Chinese titles, too, are opening up a new perspective for their bearers.' Historically, the joint campaign

against the Tatars is a turning point in the career of Činggis Qan precisely because of the new vistas that it opened. Unfortunately, as stated earlier (n. 129), the years between Dalan Baljut and the victory over the Tatars are very poorly documented insofar as Činggis Qan's activity is concerned.

§ 134. 'Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan [went to meet Ongging Čingsang].' The words in square brackets, missing in Y, have been supplied following AT[1], 38a. Cf. Pe, 36, 162; Cl, 63, n. 11; Oz[1], III, 68, n. 1. Without these words the two subjects of the sentence are left without the essential predicate.

The title *ǰa'ut quri* (§ 179: *ča'ut quri*) conferred by Wan-yen Hsiang on Činggis Qan for his role in the joint campaign is still unexplained despite several attempts to interpret it. Among the more recent ones see, in particular, those by Chia Ching-yen and Hung Chün (Chia & Hung 1981, 166-167), Ts'ai Mei-piao (Ts'ai MP 1983, 16-17), and TH, 288 (= ǰYT, 499-300). Cf. *CKSYCTT*, 1982.1, 2; 1985.1, 7. Some of these interpretations have been adopted by Ozawa and Onon (see below). For earlier discussions, cf. ČK[1], 49, n. 49; TMEN, no. 152. The form *ǰa'ut* v. *ča'ut* is supported by Rašīd al-Dīn, but this in itself is not a determining factor. See HCG, 203-205. The attempt to relate it to the term *chiu* (*chün*) 糺(軍) designating the J̌üyin (troops) (see above, n. 53) is unsound on phonetic grounds and also because the troops in question are already called 'J̌üyin' in the SH. Cf. On, 53 and n. 151. It is more likely that the word *ǰa'ut* is a plural in *-t* of *ǰa'un* 'hundred' (= mo. *ǰayun*, *ǰayud*), but why would the Jurchens use a Mongolian word? One would have to assume that, as some scholars claim in the case of the second element *quri*, *ǰa'ut* is here a Kitan word, identical with the Middle Mongolian form (the Kitans spoke a Mongolian language). However, the meaning of *quri* is also not clear. It definitely was an old title, as it is found in the combination *digit quri*, the title born by Alaquš, the ruler of the Önggüt. See § 182 and com. Pelliot was of the opinion that it may have been a former Kitan title still used by the Jurchens. See NMP, I, 291-295; HCG, 205. Doerfer (TMEN, no. 152) raises the question of why the Jurchens would use a title of their predecessors and former enemies, and not a Jurchen title; however, as pointed out by Pelliot (NMP, I, 294), the Jurchens continued to use Kitan titles up to 1149, and may have continued to use them after that date in certain circumstances. The Jurchens had a title or, rather, rank of **quru* meaning 'leader of several tribes', and an alternance *quru ~ quri* is certainly possible (see HCG, 205-206); moreover, the reading with final *u* is supported by the AT[1], 38a (ad fin.). In the SH, § 177 (the '147' in TMEN, no. 152 is a misprint), there is a personage called Qulbari Quri who in § 152 is simply called Qulbari. Quri is evidently his title. In view of the fact that this personage was a Kereyit, and that Alaquš was an Önggüt, one may suppose that *quri* was probably a Turkic title, but this word is not attested in the Turkic languages. Also, in the Chinese sources (YS, YTC, etc.) and in Rašīd al-Dīn's work there are several instances of Mongolian personages, including a noblewoman, having *quri* as a title (or as part of their names). See MIC, 104, n. 131 (for the YTC, see the Qutu[q]tu Quri in *ch.* 58, 6b); NMP, I, 294. Indeed, in SL[2], I/2, 23, we find a 'Möngke *ǰa'ut quri*', who was a Tatar chief at the time of Ambaqai Qan. He had also, presumably, received his title from the Jurchens. Thus, this title, whatever its origin and meaning, was a Jurchen title given to leaders of foreign tribes, but apparently – in view of what follows – not a very high one. The suggestion that *quri* is the transcription of the Chinese official title *hu-li* 護理 (see TH, 288 [= ǰYT, 499-500]; cf. Oz[1], III, 68, n. 3) must be discarded, since this title does not seem to have been used before the Ch'ing dynasty. See DKJ, X, 36048.75. I have rendered it, tentatively, as Commander of Hundreds, as Pelliot and others have done, rather than Commander of the Tribes (諸部落統領), as rendered in CKTS, 20.

The higher title conferred on To'oril is the Turco-Mongolian form of ch. *wang* 王 'king, prince' (*ong* < *wang*), likewise a purely honorary title often conferred by Chinese and non-

Chinese dynasties on chiefs of foreign tribes. See HCG, 211-213, and above, n. 96. Whereas the title *ǰa'ut quri* may have been conferred on Činggis Qan by Wan-yen Hsiang *sur le champ*, as it were, it is most unlikely that the latter would have conferred that of *wang* on To'oril without a special rescript from the Chin emperor (Chang-tsung). Furthermore, it is doubtful whether the scoring of such a victory over a rather small rebellious Tatar group would have been rewarded with a princely title from the Chin court. This must have occurred some time after the event, or on a different occasion altogether, but there is no doubt that it was given to him, since in our sources To'oril is regularly called Ong Qan, i.e. 'the *qan* who has received the title of *wang*.' See HCG, 211-212; ČK[1], 48-59 (= ČK[2], 52-54). Indeed, this hybrid honorific appellation is already used for To'oril in SH, § 96, in an anticipatory fashion long before these events. It should be pointed out that, princely though the title was, it did not carry the same force and importance when conferred on a tribal chieftain. On these questions, besides the relevant discussions by Pelliot and Ratchnevsky cited above, see also Ligeti's remarks (Li, 154, n. 134).

'To'oril of the Kereyit', lit. 'To'oril of the Gereyit.' 'Gereyit' is an error in transcription for 'Kereyit.' The same error is found in § 242.

'Should be further conferred on Činggis Qa'an', lit. 'should be added to Činggis Qa'an.'

J̌autau is the Mongolian reading of ch. *chao-t'ao* 招討, which is short for *chao-t'ao shih* 招討使, lit. '(Imperial) Commissioner in Charge of Submitting and Punishing (Rebels)', i.e. Pacification Commissioner. For this office in the Chin and other dynasties, see DOTIC, 117b, no. 303; and NMP, I, 293 (where, however, the transcription '*ǰao-tao*' is untenable). Cl, 63, and Oz[1], III, 67, 69, transcribe *ǰautau* and *J̌aṷtaṷ* respectively. Li, 46, has *dzsautau* (= *ǰautau*), but *ǰeu-tau* in L[2], 89 (cf. also [*ǰeu*]-*tau* in ATL, 92). For the reading *ǰau*, based on its Middle Mandarin pronunciation, see KGJ, 245-246, no. 56 (s.v. 召). For Kitan *ǰautau*, cf. G. Kara in *MSt* 21:1998, 79.

'Rejoicing in this way, Ongging Čingsang withdrew (*ičuba*) from there.' In L[2], 89, the word *ičuba* (= mo. *ničuba*) has dropped from the text.

§ 135. For the Tatar fortified camp at Naratu Šitü'en by the Ulǰa River, see above, § 133.

'They happened to find' (*olǰu'ui*). The third past tense in *-ǰu'ui* (praeteritum imperfecti) indicates that the person narrating the event was a personal witness and that the event was a surprise to him (see GWM, 93, § 352). Cf. YMT, 88.

'Who had as *nose*-ring a golden loop' (*altan e'emek dörebčitü*). The earlier translators, from Naka, Haenisch and Pelliot to Ligeti and Cleaves, followed the Chinese interlinear gloss and sectional summary, and took the words *e'emek dörebči* to mean 'a nose-ring' or 'a round ring (for the nose)', even though in Written Mongolian and in the modern Mongolian languages and dialects *egemeg*, *egemüg* means only 'earring', and *dörebči*, *döröbči* 'halter'; cf. mo. *dörö* 'nose-ring (for cattle).' See Les., 298b, 269a; TH, 285 (= ǰYT, 494-495); and below, n. 232. Most of the more recent translators, from Murakami to Onon and Cerensodnom, take *e'emek* and *dörebči* as separate words and translate 'golden earring (*or* earrings) and a (golden) nose-ring.' This is also the interpretation adopted by Ozawa. See Oz[1], III, 75-76, n. 4. In my opinion, the interpretation of the Ming scholars (who worked on two somewhat different mss.) cannot be dismissed as erroneous, and I believe that the words *altan e'emek dörebčitü* refer to a single object, viz. to a golden loop used as a nose-ring. In the Mongolian text we have *two* suffixes indicating possession (*-tü*) of *two* separate objects, i.e. the golden nose-ring and the gold-stitched silken waistcoat. With regard to the latter, according to H. Serruys (p.c.), the transcription *dasi torqan* (lit. 'gold-*stitched* silk') in R, 58, line 3705, and L[2], 89, should be amended to *daǰi torqan*. The word *daǰi* is transcribed in Chinese as *ta-tzu* 荅子. The

transcription *daǰi* is indeed already found in Pe, 37 (‘*daǰï*’; cf. H, 29: ‘daze’), and is the transcription given by most present-day investigators. Cf. Mu, I, 295, n. 17; Daš, 68; El-Ar, 369; Γa, 68; Če, 102. Ir, 102, writes *dasi*, but see his note 1 on the same page. By the 14th/15th century, ch. *tzu* 子 > mmo. *ǰi*, as in ch. *t'ai-tzu* 太子 (‘imperial son, prince’) > *tayiǰi*. See HCG, 150-151. Cf. Serruys 1977, 354. In Hattori's system of transcription, 子 = *dz*. See Hattori 1973, 41; cf. Oz[1], III, 71: ‘dadz.’ In the 13th and 14th century documents in Uighur-Mongol script, the regular transcription of ch. *tzu* 子 is *si* (see, e.g., K'ung-fu tzu 孔夫子 > Kungvusi in the Mongolian *Hsiao-ching*; cf. de Rachewiltz 1982, 28 et passim). Hence the above-mentioned transcription *dasi* in R, L[2] and Ir. See also St, 46, line 4172: *dasi*. SH *daǰi* = mo. *taǰi* ‘a kind of two-coloured damask or silk’; cf. mo. *taǰi torγa* id. (Les., 789a; cf. Kow., 1654b), and ord. *t'aDži t'orǤo* ‘espèce de tissu de soie’ (DO, 639b). *Taǰi* is also the form found in AT[1], 38b. The expression *daǰi torqan* is a compound meaning ‘golden thick silk’ or ‘golden satin’ (金紵絲), i.e. gold-stitched satin or damask. Neither element of the compound is of Mongolian origin. *Torqan* is a clear borrowing from tu. *torqu* ‘silk fabric.’ See TMEN, no. 884; ED, 539; Cleaves 1950a, 443-444, n. 10. As for *daǰi*, it seems that the Chinese ‘transcription’ of this word in the SH, i.e. *ta-tzu* 荅子, is actually the original term borrowed into Mongolian. Written as *ta-tzu* 答子 (答 being interchangeable with 荅), it occurs in YS[2] 78, 1938, in the section on ‘Ceremonial Caps and Robes’ (冕服) of the ‘Monograph on Carriages and Robes’ (輿服志), in combination with ‘gold’ (黃金荅子) and ‘silver’ (白金荅子), as types of ‘warm caps’ (暖帽) worn by the emperor on certain official occasions. Since the term is not glossed like other terms (in non-Chinese languages) in the same section, it is clear that it is a Chinese expression which, however, is not found in our dictionaries. (But cf. by analogy the well-known expression *ta-tzu* 褡子 ‘sack, bag’ from *ta* 褡 ‘a wrapper or tippet.’) From the use of *ta* (答 and 荅) in the sense of ‘thick, coarse’, it would

appear that *ta-tzu* originally designated a kind of thick fabric, possibly cotton. Cf. the expressions *pai-ta* 白荅 ‘thick, white cotton cloth’, and *ta-pu* 答布 ‘a kind of coarse cloth.’ The Yüan imperial caps were almost certainly made of gold- and silver-stitched thick fabric. In view of this, we may assume with a fair degree of certainty that the Chinese loan-word in the *Urtext* of the SH (see Section Four of the Introduction) was actually *dasi*, eventually replaced by *daǰi*. Cf. the Uighur Turkic transcriptions *si* and *tsi* of ch. *tzu* 子 (Csongor 1952, 111; Ecsedy 1965, 89, 90), which may also justify either reading (*tsi* = *ǰ*).

The story of the foundling Šigi Qutuqu (for his name see below) in the Tatar camp and his adoption by Hö'elün is one in a recurrent theme of such events, beginning with Küčü (Güčü), and involving either Hö'elün or Činggis Qan's wife Börte. See the remarks on the subject in n. 114 above, and Aubin 1975, 471-472. In the case of Šigi Qutuqu, the SH account makes him the adopted son of Hö'elün, hence Činggis' foster-brother. However, this report is at odds with the account given by Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/1, 107), according to which Činggis Qan found the little boy ‘on the roadside’ at the time of the conquest of the Tatar people, and gave him to Börte who had not yet borne a son and wanted one. She brought him up as her own child, and when grown up Šigi Qutuqu regarded Činggis Qan and Börte as his true parents. As shown by Ratchnevsky 1965, 89ff. (cf. ISK, 75-76), the SH account is not reliable for various reasons, and Rašīd's report (as is often the case) comes closer to the historical truth. Indeed, it is most unlikely that – the event having occurred in 1196 – Šigi Qutuqu 1) would have become the adoptive ‘brother’ of Činggis who was more than thirty years older; and 2) that he (Šigi Qutuqu) would have become a commander of a thousand *and* a grand judge (*ǰarγuči*) only ten years later. On the other hand, Rašīd's account is certainly incorrect regarding the statement that Börte still had no child, since in 1196 she had already borne J̌oči (1184), Ča'adai (1185) and Tolui (between 1186 and 1190). Šigi Qutuqu had a brilliant career and apparently enjoyed a long life, dying at the age of

eighty-one. For an account of his life and character, and the theory that he may have been the author or compiler of the SH (or, at least, one of them), see Ratchnevsky 1965, and ISK, 75-94 (where, however, the date of ca. 1180 for his birth may be too early in my view); Li, 170, n. 203, 206-207. Cf. Chiodo 1194, 205-206; Lyu Žinso in MNT, I, 111-113; Boyle 1963, 241; and below, n. 203. See also Section Three of the Introduction.

In the present section, Šigi Qutuqu is called Šikiken Quduqu, an alternative reading being Šigiken Qutuqu (cf. § 138). For these alternative forms, see Cl, 64, n. 14; Cleaves 1956, 241, n. 438. Šigiken is the diminutive/endearment form of Šigi, a word meaning 'the flesh between the teeth.' See HW, 139. According to Rašīd al-Dīn (SL^2, I/2, 174) this was his nickname or sobriquet – possibly because of a physical characteristic of the child. Qutuqu has been explained as 'the Turkic form of Mongolian *qutuq* "happiness, bliss"' (ISK, 76). This interpretation, which supersedes Ratchnevsky 1965, 87, n. 1 (where various theories are discussed), needs qualifying. The word *qutuqu* as such does not exist in Mongolian and cannot be explained grammatically. It is, however, found in the name KWDWKW P'DWR (= Quduγu Badur or Qutuγu Bātur [= Baγatur]) in an Uighur document published by Malov (USD, 28, no. 22, line 8). It appears to be a *hapax legomenon*. If read Qutuγu, it can be either a noun formed on tu. *qut* 'good fortune, happiness, etc.' with the denominal noun suffix *-γu* (designating qualities; cf. AG, 62, § 60) and the connective vowel *-u-*, or the nomen actoris in *-γu* of *qud-* 'to cast, found' (see ED, 596a). In either case, tu. *quduγu/qutuγu* borrowed into Mongolian would have become mmo. *qudu'u/qutu'u*, or *qudū/qutū*, but not *quduqu/qutuqu*. What is certain is that the Mongols assimilated this unusual word which, incidentally, was fairly common as a proper name in the Yüan dynasty, to *qutuγ*, so that, e.g., in the AT and the ET Šigi Qutuqu becomes Sigi Qutuγ. See ATI, 247b; ETI, 187a. For the name Qutuqu ~ Quduqu in the Yüan period, cf. Cleaves 1956, 241, n. 438. Whereas the SH, Rašīd al-Dīn (following J̌uvainī) and J̌ūzǰānī employ almost invariably the form Qutuqu, the Yüan transcriptions are overwhelmingly in favour of the reading Quduqu. Šigi Qutuqu will be mentioned again in the SH on several occasions. See, in particular, § 203.

It is noteworthy that, as in §§ 105, 123, 125 and 260, the word *ke'en*, lit. 'saying', marking the end of a quotation, is missing after Hö'elün's utterance both in the SH and in the corresponding passage of the AT^1 (38b). Cf. above, n. 123.

§ 136. 'Base camp' is the somewhat inadequate translation of the term *a'uruq*, which designated the encampment where old people, women-folk, children, servants with the baggage and supplies (i.e. the 'train') were left when the men went to fight, and where they returned after the fight. Pelliot 1930, 259, no. 24, calls is the 'camp à l'arrière'; and Li, 46 and 154, n. 136, renders it as *törzstábor* 'tribecamp.' The written form of *a'uruq* was **aγuruγ*, but the corresponding passage in AT^1, 38b, has *aγuraγ*. In the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362, line 23, we find *aγruγ* (see Cleaves 1949, 64), which Cleaves renders as 'camp' (ibid., 87). Cleaves says that 'the orthography *aγruγ* for *aγuruγ* with the omission of the vowel *u* in the second syllable may be compared with that of *ǰrlγ* for *ǰarliγ*' (ibid., 112, n. 102). Actually, *aγruγ* is the original Turkic form of the word borrowed into Mongolian. For tu. *aγruγ* 'heavy baggage, train', cf. TMEN, no. 496; ED, 90b; RH, 278, n. 8: *aġruq* 'house gear' (the reading *aġruq* is preferable to *aġriq*). Pelliot, loc. cit., gives *aγruγ* and *oγruγ* as the original forms of the word, but *oγruγ* is a (later) Chaghatai form. See Poppe 1967, 510, no. 3, as well as the follow-up in Poppe 1975b, 157, n. 99. This term has disappeared from the literary language but has apparently survived in some modern dialects with a different meaning from the original one. See Oz^1, III, 82-85, n. 1; TH, 86 (= ǰYT, 151-152). Cf. Damdinsürèn 1974, 107-109 (his interpretation is, however, to be taken with caution, especially in relation to oir. *uurxai* 'storeplace'). On the *a'uruq* during the Yüan dynasty, see MCMH,

242 (Index); MEYD, 297c (Index); MRC, 41-42; MTSK, 2a (Index); YShi, 4; and, especially, Hasumi 1985/86.

Lake Hariltu (Hariltu Na'ur) has not been identified, but according to Naka and Pelliot it was probably in the area south of the great bend of the Kerulen River. See HCG, 215. However, according to Pėrlėė it was probably near the Gürelgü, i.e. in the mountainous area south of Khentei Khan. See Pėrlėė[2], 10 (= Pėrlėė[4], 99). There is no agreement between scholars even regarding the name of this lake (cf. HCG, 215), the differences of opinion continuing to the present day. Cf. Pėrlėė, loc. cit.: Kariltu; L[2], 90: Hariltu; Oz[1], III, 79: Qariltu; Cl, 64: Hariltu; Ir, 102: Ariltu; El-Ar, 372: Qariltu; On, 54: Hariltu; Če, 102: Qariltu. The correct form, as surmised by Pelliot, is Hariltu > Ariltu. Cf. the corrupt reading Arγalitu (= Ariltu) of AT[1], 38b, which leaves no doubt as to the initial *a*.

'Stripped … of their clothing' (*qu*[*b*]*čan tonoǰu'ui*). AT[1], 38b, has *qubčin* (= *qubčan*) *tonoǰuγui* and the gloss *degermečin* (= *degeremčin*) 'robbers' against the word *qubčin*, obviously a scribal error. For *qubčan* (= mo. *qubčasu*[*n*]) 'clothes', cf. Khomonov 1970, 32. *Tono-* means 'to rob, despoil, take away (property, goods), plunder'; and, in the period in question, this verb had the specific connotation of stealing clothes. On this old practice, resulting from a dearth of textiles in Mongolia, see Serruys 1982, 126. Cf. below, nn. 187 and 195. For *tono-*, see also TMEN, no. 990; Šagdarsürėn 1970, 315ff.

'How could we be treated in such a manner by the J̌ürkin?', lit. 'How have we undergone thus the doing (= that action) by the J̌ürkin?' Cf. Poppe 1964, 374, for this passive construction.

The incident involving Šiki'ür and Belgütei to which Činggis refers is related in §§ 130 and 131. The expression *müt gü* occurs twice in the sentence. Cl, 64, renders it 'the same also'; On, 54, has 'they also'; Oz[1], III, 82, has simply 'they' (彼等). Cf. Pe, 163: 'ces mêmes gens'; Ha, 39: 'dieselben Leute'; Ko, 114: 'oni že' ('they too' [emph.]). Street 1982, 629, renders *müt gü* as 'the same (people)' like Haenisch. The Chinese gloss has 'they also' (他每也) and this is indeed the correct rendering;

however, in the second instance I have slightly rephrased the sentence to convey the implied emphasis. For the expression *öšten kišten*, which I render here 'full of hatred and resentment', see above, n. 133, and below, n. 149.

'They failed us by not coming', lit. 'we underwent (their) not coming.' Cf. Poppe 1964, 375. Cl, 64, translates 'neither was it come [by them]', which is not very clear. For the event in question, see § 133.

'And now, by siding *in this way* with the enemy, they themselves have also become our enemies!' 'By siding with (lit. "leaning on") the enemy', i.e. by 'taking advantage of the fact that we are involved in a campaign against the Tatar' (Cl, 64, n. 15).

Dolo'an Bolda'ut ('Seven Solitary Hills') was the name of several distinct sites in Mongolia, hence our text is careful to specify that the one in question was that 'of Ködö'e Aral of (= on, by) the Kelüren (= Kerülen).' *Bolda'ut* (= pmo. *boldaγud*) is the plural of *boldaq* (= pmo. *boldaγ*, mo. *boldoγ*), glossed as 'single (*or* isolated) hill' (孤山). For this word, cf. Mo, 258. See also Poppe 1975, 166. Ködö'e, also written Köde'ü (§ 269) and Köde'e (§ 282), is mo. *ködege*, *ködöge* 'open country, steppe', hence Ködö'e Aral is, literally, 'Steppe (*or* Barren) Island.' However, *aral* 'island' means here 'peninsula', i.e. *sensu lato* the area at, or near, the confluence of two rivers (cf. above, n. 24). These two rivers are the Kerulen and Senggür (kh. Cėnxėr Gol). See NMP, I, 322. In this acceptation, Ködö'e Aral must be taken as referring to the *whole* region comprised between the two rivers and the Bayan Mountains (Bayan Uul). *Sensu stricto* Ködö'e Aral has been identified with a plain some 60 km west, as the crow flies, from the confluence of the two rivers and within sight of the Kerulen, directly south south-west of present-day Dėlgėrxaan (Sum). It is now called Bayan (Ulaan)-ny Tal. The seven hills which have given the name to the place have also been identified and their generic name is still Dolood, i.e. 'The Seven.' Their individual names are Dörvelž ('The Cube'), Süül ('The Tail'), Ix Ulaan Tolgoǐ ('Big Red Hill'), Baga Ulaan

Tolgoĭ ('Small Red Hill'), Olon Ovoo ('Many Cairns'), Taxilgat ('Place of the Sacrificial Offering') and Gacaa ('Mountain from which Several Rivers Spring'). See RBC, 110; Da[5], 14-15; and Damdinsurėn 1974, 106 and 107 for the relevant maps. The former religious establishment called 'Dolood Jisa', marked on the 1:1,000,000 Map of the World (U.S. Army Map Service) at 47° 05 N and 108° 52 E, must have been situated very close to these hills. Ködö'e Aral later became the site of the chief *ordo*, or camp, of Činggis Qan and thereby one of the 'sacral' places of the Mongol imperial family, where *quriltas* were held, including those which elected Ögödei in 1229, Möngke in 1252 and Yisün Temür in 1323. It was here, in fact, that the SH was recorded for the first time in writing. See § 282 (where we find the name Dolo'an Boldaq in the singular) and com. Cf. Schubert 1966, 53-58; Pėrlėė[2], 7 (= Pėrlėė[4], 92); CKA, 24 (E 8), 54a; Ǐinggin in *ÖMBYS*, 1990.2, 93-98; and Section Two of the Introduction. In 1992, the joint Mongolian-Japanese Gurvan Gol Project team made significant findings in the area which have still to be properly evaluated. See GG, II, 10 et passim; ČXĖBN, 31; de Rachewiltz 1998, 251-254. Cf. *The Far Eastern Economic Review* of 2 September 1993, 30-31. There is no doubt that prior to the establishment of Qara Qorum as the Mongol imperial residence in the 1230s, Ködö'e Aral was, as the main *qan*'s encampment and headquarters, a sort of capital. Unfortunately, this fact combined with Damdinsürėn's speculative association of the term *a'uruq* of the SH (see above) with the name Avarga (Avargyn Gol) of the small river due south of Dėlgėrxaan, has led a number of investigators to believe that the site at Ködö'e Aral was Činggis Qan's 'ancient capital "Aurag"', and that the archaeological remains *in situ* were the ruins of the 'Aurag Palace', which is totally unwarranted. See de Rachewiltz, loc. cit.

'Being few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies' – an idiom for which see above, n. 109.

On the Telētü (< Telegetü) Pass (*amasar*) to the west, or north-west, of the Tūla River but not yet identified, see HCG, 262-263. *Amasar* is, literally, an 'opening' or 'passage' (< *ama*[*n*] 'mouth'), and can equally be applied to an embouchure, i.e. to the mouth of a river or the opening of a valley, hence Cleaves' rendering 'outlet' (Cl, 64). Cf. Dogsürėn 1977, 180. The name Telētü appears again, in the uncontracted form Telegetü, in §§ 162 and 167; and, as a proper name, in § 137. *Telegetü* (> *telētü*) means 'having a cart'; cf. Pelliot's 'carrossable' in HCG, 263. Pėrlėė[2], 11 (= Pėrlėė[4], 101) thinks that the Telētü Pass of § 136 is a different locality from the other two, but this does not seem to be the case.

'Word(s)' (*üge*[*s*]), i.e. the solemn words or oath which Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki had sworn at the time of Temüǰin's election to *qan*. See above, § 123. As emphasized by Ligeti, theirs was no ordinary oath and the punishment for breaking it had to be commensurate with both the solemnity of the pledge and the dignity of those who had sworn their loyalty to the *qan*. The execution of Sača Beki and his brother Taiču – the senior cousins of Činggis Qan – meant also the removal, at the same time, of the two possible and indeed rightful pretenders to the leadership of the Mongol tribal confederation – no doubt an important factor in the decision to do away with them. See Li, 154-155, n. 136. Cf. also Hambis 1975, 19 and n. 33. Interestingly enough, considering the princely status of the culprits, this execution was carried out by the sword, i.e. with loss of blood, whereas customarily it should have been a death without letting of blood. See below, n. 137. This was undoubtedly an intentional mark of disrespect and part of the punishment. According to Pelliot (HCG, 223), the liquidation of Sača Beki and Taiču took place in the winter of 1196-1197, following the campaign against the Tatars of the summer of 1196.

For *medere-* 'to be(come) aware, acknowledge, admit', see Oz[1], III, 89, n. 8; TMEN, no. 379.

'He executed them' (*büte'eǰü*). The Chinese gloss has simply *wan-pei* 完備 'finished' or 'accomplished.' Scholars are greatly divided about the interpretation of the verb *büte'e-* (>

bütē-) ~ *bütü'e-* (= pmo. *bütege-* ~ *bütüge-*). See Γa, 323, n. 457, for a review of their interpretations. They variously take it to mean 'to finish = to execute, kill'; 'to finish = to accomplish (the matter)'; and 'to suffocate', i.e. 'to execute by suffocation' (mo. *bütege-*; see On, 54 and n. 154; Ev-Pop, 98, 274, n. 37; cf. Meserve 2000, 37). AT[1], 39a, has the reading *bütügejü* v. the *bütegejü* of the SH. In the SH, the verb *büte'e-* is used elsewhere with the meaning of 'to kill' (cf., for example, § 267 and the beginning of § 268, where it is rendered in the Chinese sectional summary with *sha* 殺 'killed'). Therefore I think, also in view of the context, that *büte'e-* can only mean here 'to make an end of, finish with' = 'to kill.'

'Cast off *their bodies*', or 'left them behind' (*gēbei*), i.e. abandoned them without burial in the steppe – as a further mark of indignity and disrespect. See Tomka 1965, 166. Cf. below, nn. 137 and 140.

§ 137. 'As he was about to move the J̌ürkin people away', i.e. forcibly decamp them and distribute them as slaves among his own people (as was the custom) after slaying the leading members of the clan. See § 139 ad fin. The expression 'reorganizing the J̌ürkin people' in On, 54, is therefore an inappropriate euphemism for the destruction of the J̌ürkin clan as such.

For the J̌alayir (J̌alair) tribe, see above, n. 120. For Telegetü Bayan and his descendants, in particular his famous grandson Muqali (1170-1223), see HCG, 360-371; de Rachewiltz in ISK, 3-12. Cf. also Chiodo 1994, 199-203. Telegetü Bayan belonged to the 'White' clan of the J̌alayir (Čaqāt J̌alayir; cf. HCG, 66, 365), whose territory in the 12th century was situated to the east of the Onon River in northeastern Mongolia. He had three sons: Gü'ün U'a, Čila'un Qayiči and J̌ebke. The eldest, Gü'ün U'a, married Köküi who gave him five sons. The names of two of them are not known; the other three were Muqali, Buqa and Daisun (this last one not mentioned in the SH, but known from other sources). Muqali became famous as one of the already

mentioned 'four steeds (= stalwarts)' (*dörben külü'üt*) of Činggis Qan, the other three being Bo'orču, Boroqul and Čila'un. Muqali is usually listed as the second 'steed', after Bo'orču who had precedence over him as Činggis' earliest companion. See above, n. 90. Muqali had a brilliant career, and died somewhat prematurely in China in April-March 1223. He is frequently mentioned in the SH. On Muqali and his family, see HCG, 453b (Index); Vlad.[2], 276b (Index); ISK, 3-12, (on p. 3, line 2, '1220' is an error for '1228'), 786b (Index); and below, nn. 202, 206. On his brother Buqa, see ibid., 84, 365, 370; and the SH, §§ 226-227, 234 and 239. Buqa – a common Turkic and Mongolian name – means 'Bull.' As pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 155, n. 137), after the defeat of the J̌ürkin, the J̌alayir entered, as it were, the environment of Činggis Qan, thus continuing to play an important role as a leading Mongol tribe.

'Came to pay homage.' For the verb *a'ulǰa-* 'to present oneself before someone to greet him', see Mo, 223; TMEN, no. 137.

For the words 'Let *these sons of mine* be the slaves ... Cast them away!', cf. Mo, 182, where this passage is translated. The following are some remarks on individual terms and expressions.

'Slaves of your threshold ... of your door', i.e. attached to the tent of Činggis Qan as his personal slaves (cf. lat. *famuli*). The term *emčü* qualifying *bo'ol* carries the meaning of 'private, personal (property)' (see below), whereas *bo'ol* (pl. *bo'ot*, mo. *boγol*, *boγod*) is the general designation for 'slave.' On *bo'ol* and slavery in early Mongolian society (12th-13th c.) there is a vast literature, but the best discussion of this topic in a western language is still the one by Vladimircov. See Vlad.[2], 281a, s.v. '*boġol* ~ *bōl*' (cf. p. 113 for our passage). Cf. also below, n. 180. For the treatment of the subject in post-war Soviet Union, see HMPR, 102ff.; cf. also Munkuev 1977, 387-389. The argument in the former MPR is developed in numerous publications and is summarized in BNMAUT[1], 195-198; cf. also HMPR, 102ff. Numerous are also the studies devoted to this

subject in the PRC. See, in particular, Kao Wen-te 高文德 in *MTYC*, 1979.2, 22-36; K'uang Yü-ch'e 匡裕徹 in MKSYCLWC, 71-87; I-ling-chen 亦邻真 (Irinchen) in *YSLT* 3:1986, 23-30; and YTS, 79-84. For references to Japanese studies, see Sugita 1979, 43-45, 56 (XIIIb, XIIIc) and, for more recent contributions, the items listed in the 'Bibliography of Recent Japanese Scholarship on Sung and Related Periods' in *BSYS/JSYS*. Concerning the terms *bo'ol* and *emčü*, see TMEN, nos. 90 and 670 (where, however, the term *emčü* of the SH is incorrectly read *enčü* and related to *inǰe* [on which see above, n. 43]). Cf. Shiraiwa 1988, 375-376; idem 1996. See also Shiraiwa 1983 and 1986. Although the word *emčü* appears as such in the corresponding passage in AT[1], 39b, the Written Mongolian forms are *ömči*, *ömčü* (meaning 'inheritance, property', see Les., 635a), corresponding to kh. *ömč*, ord. *ömtš'i*. Cf. Mo, 246, n. 232. The 'threshold' (*bosoqa*) has the epithets 'golden' (*altan bosoqa*) in the next alliterated passage; it is clearly a synecdoche for the *qan*'s tent. For the connotations of *altan*, see above, n. 21. *Bosoqa* (= mo. *bosoγa*) < *bosaqa*; cf. RH, 70, no. 23: *bosaqa*. For this word see TMEN, no. 105. 'Door' (*e'üten*) and 'wide door' (*örgen e'üten*) further on have the same meaning. Cf. the expressions 'great tent' and 'broad road' in § 121. Therefore, it is better to render *bosoqa-yin bo'ol* and *e'üten-nü bo'ol* as 'slaves of the threshold' and 'slaves of the door' respectively, rather than as 'slaves at the threshold' and 'slaves at the door' (loc.) as some translators do (Ha, 40; On, 55; Ta, 65). Cf. the correct renderings of Pelliot (Pe, 163: 'les esclaves de ton seuil ... les esclaves personnels de ta porte'), Mostaert (Mostaert 1962, 211: 'esclaves héréditaires [m. à m.: "personnels"] de la porte'), and Cleaves (Cl, 65: 'the slaves/Of thy threshold ... the private slaves/Of thy door'). Since these were domestic slaves, they were also hereditary in the sense that their offspring remained attached to the tent and were not allowed to leave. Hence the urging 'Cut off their heel tendons!' if they dared move away – cutting their Achilles tendons, or

hamstringing them, would indeed impair their movement. But even this punishment is not enough: unlawfully to quit the *qan*'s tent should carry the death penalty, an injunction reiterated in the two poetic passages of the present section. The expression 'to cast away, leave behind, abandon' (*gē-* = pmo., mo. *gege-*) is often used in conjunction with verbs denoting killing, and it obviously refers to the bodies of the executed men. It is virtually synonymous with *o'orki-* (= pmo. *oγorki-*), since it occurs in the same context. Cf. above, n. 136 (ad fin.), and below, n. 140. See Tomka 1965, 166. For *heyil-* (= mo. *eyil-*) 'to go away (from), desert', cf. Poppe 1969, 274. As noted by F. Aubin, the versified discourse of Gü'ün U'a may overemphasize the subservient role of the children he was handing over to Činggis Qan, the transfer of the children being merely a transfer of paternal authority, hence, on Činggis' part, a sort of adoption (Aubin 1975, 483, n. 55). Cf., however, Ratchnevsky 1976, 511, and idem 1987, 65. See also §§ 180 and 211 for identical references to loyalty and subservience with regard to other personages. As for the use of the pronoun *inu* 'his' for *anu* 'their' in the passage in question, cf. also SH, §§ 145, 176, 179, 249, 254, 278; and *Matériel II*, 6 (1r, 5).

Telegetü Bayan's second son Čila'un Qayiči had two sons, Tüngge and Qaši, who were also given to Činggis Qan. Čila'un Qayiči does not reappear in the SH; as for Tüngge, his name is probably to be read Tüge, for it is with this name that he is mentioned again in §§ 202 and 225. The name Qaši (? < ch. Ho-hsi, i.e. Hsi Hsia) is also doubtful, and the AT[1], 39b, has actually Qasar instead (not 'Qasi' as in ATL, 95). See HCG, 365, 367-368, where Pelliot transcribes the form Tüngge as Töngge. According to Ligeti, Töngge (Tüngge) is a corruption of Tüge. See Li, 175, n. 225.

'Let them lift for you/The wide *felt* door.' The door of a Mongol tent is often just a heavy felt curtain, hence the expression 'to lift the door.'

'Kick them in the pit of the stomach', lit. 'Kicking their hearts' (*öre inu miderijü*). This is a well attested way of

executing people without shedding blood. As we learn from John of Pian di Carpine's account, Michael, Duke of Chernigov, suffered this fate in 1246 for refusing to pay homage to the image of Činggis Qan. See SF, 38; MM, 10; SDM, 343.

With regard to J̌ebke, other sources confirm that he was assigned to J̌oči Qasar. See HCG, 369; Hambis 1975, 10, n. 15. According to the SH, he presented Mother Hö'elün with a boy he had found in the J̌ürkin camp after the raid – an epic theme which, as Pelliot points out (HCG, 375), is 'fortement sujet à caution.' Cf. above, n. 135. The new foundling is Boro'ul (~ Boroqul, pmo. Boroγul, from *boro* 'grey'), of the Hūšin tribe, who later became also one – the third – of Činggis Qan's 'four steeds' and a leading commander (d. 1217). On him see Pelliot's long note in HCG, 372-378; YTSHT, 148 et passim; Martin, 346a (Index); Chiodo 1994, 203-205. In the SH his name occurs in the forms Boro'ul and Boroqul (= Boroγul > Boro'ul), also followed by Noyan (§ 240) because of his rank as a commander of a thousand (no. 15 in the list of § 202); however, the most frequent form of the name is Boroqul. See R, 199b-200a.

§ 138. This section is entirely devoted to the four foundlings adopted by Mother Hö'elün, viz. Güčü (= Küčü, see § 114), Kököčü (see § 119), Šigiken Qutuqu, i.e. Šigi Qutuqu (see § 135, where his name is written Šikiken Quduqu), and finally Boro'ul, i.e. Boroqul (see § 137). They will all become leading and, indeed, legendary figures in the epic rise of Činggis Qan and the creation of his empire. In the alliterative couplet they are referred to as the (future) 'eyes and ears' of Hö'elün's sons, Činggis' in particular of course, as we can also see from the same refrain uttered by him in § 203 when addressing Šigi Qutuqu: 'Be Eyes *for me* to see with,/Ears *for me* to hear with.' This is obviously a set phrase or idiom (very much like the couplet in § 124: 'Be *my* far-*flying* shafts,/Be *my* near-*flying* arrows!') describing a person who can be entrusted with important services and delicate missions; one, therefore, who is

most reliable. Cf. also § 252 (ad fin.). On this idiomatic phrase, see Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 77. For its use in later Yüan official terminology, see Ratchnevsky 1965, 96, n. 34. For *čiki(n)* 'ear', cf. TMEN, no. 1106.

§ 139. This section dwells on the background of the J̌ürkin tribe, explaining its origin through the well-known device of using a popular etymology.

'As for the manner in which those J̌ürkin people came to be J̌ürkin', i.e. 'came to be named J̌ürkin.'

For Qabul Qan and his seven offspring, see above, n. 48; for his son Ökin Barqaq (= pmo. Barqaγ) – here erroneously called Ökin Baraqaq – cf. §§ 48, 49 and 140, and above, n. 48. The correct reading Barqaγ is found in AT[1], 40a.

For Sorqatu J̌ürki (~ Sorqatu Yürki and, erroneously, Qutuqtu Yürki) – Ökin Barqaq's son and Yisügei's cousin – see above, n. 49; for the J̌ürki(n) or Yürki(n) clan which supposedly originated from him, see the references in n. 122 above. Cf. also Yao Chia-chi 姚家積 in *YSLT* 2:1983, 97.

The words within angled brackets are almost certainly a duplication, due to a copyist's error, of the same words (*J̌ürkin bolurun*) appearing earlier in the passage. They are, in fact, not found in the corresponding passage in AT[1], 40a.

The short poetic passage has been discussed by Gaadamba as well as by Bese. See MNTSZA, 123, and Bese 1973.

'Who had gall in their livers', i.e. who were daring. Cf. above, n. 74. '(Who had) thumbs good at shooting', lit. 'Who had skill in shooting (arrows) in the thumb.' For the words *helige* 'liver', *heregei* 'thumb', and *hončitan* 'having skill (pl.) in shooting', cf. Pelliot 1925, 211-212, no. 14; and 209-211, no. 13 (*hončitan* is not discussed); Oz[1], III, 102-103, n. 2.

'Filled with courage', lit. 'filled with heart' – again metaphorically for 'courage, pluck.' See Les., 1062b (b).

'Full of fury', lit. 'full of air (*or* steam)' – *a'ur* (= mo. *aγur*) 'air' → 'anger', 'rage' or 'fury' (cf. § 78). I have adopted Cleaves' rendering of 'fury' which, I think, fits the context

better. See Cl, 67. For *a'ur* 'air', cf. gr. αὔρα 'breeze, fresh air.'

As for the word translated here as 'inflexible', the text in Y^2 4, 26a, has *ǰörkimes*, a word unknown in Mongolian and left untranslated in Chinese. Haenisch (Ha, 41), Pelliot (HCG, 200-201), Ligeti (Li, 48) and others have rendered it as 'irresistible' on the basis of the paraphrase of this passage in the free sectional summary (Y^2, ibid.), and, in the case of Pelliot, of a hypothetical Turkic form **yürkimäs* (< *yür-* [*yürü-*] 'to go') which has been adopted in Mu, I, 302, 310-311, n. 13, with the meaning of 'invincible.' According to Poppe (p.c.), *ǰörkimes* is the negative verbal noun in *-mas/-mäs* (= *-maz/-mäz*) of tu. *yörge-* 'to wrap up *or* around' (see ED, 965b). Cf. yak. *sörö-* (with yak. *s-* < **ǰ-*) 'to entangle, to wrap around, to involve a person.' Cf. SYY, II, 2307. In the corresponding passage of AT^1, 40a, we find a form that can be read *yorkimaγ/yorgimaγ* or *ǰorkimaγ/ǰorgimaγ*. Šastina (LDAT, 334, n. 36), following Kozin (Ko, 357), reads this word as *ǰorkimaγ*, but whereas Kozin, relating it to kalm. *ǰörmög*, renders it as 'invincible' (Ko, 541, § 139), Šastina (op. cit., 111), makes it derive from the verb *ǰorkilaγa-* (read *ǰorgilγa-*) 'to raise one's voice.' Ligeti (ATL, 97; cf., however, also Ligeti 1966, 132-133) has *ǰorkimaγ*, and Vietze and Lubsang (ATI, 29, line 1270) *jorgimaγ*, but $Šagdar^2$, 48, reads *zorimog*, i.e. *ǰorimoγ* (~ *ǰorgimaγ*) 'wilful, intentional, having a purpose, courageous.' The latter interpretation has been adopted for the SH reading by Cėrėnsodnom (Če, 105). However, both the SH and the AT postulate an original form in *-rki-* (*-rgi-*), rather than *-ri-*. A reading *yorgimaγ* could be a noun formed on *yorgi-*, kh. id., 'to be wilful, to boast.' Cf. $Šaγǰa^1$, 551b; MMED, 205a. (For the dev. noun suff. *-maγ/-meg*, see GWM, 48, § 166.) This meaning would also fit the context, but consonance with the name J̌ürki, with which it is related in folk etymology, would require a word beginning with *ǰ* rather than *y*. However, the alternation *ǰ* ~ *y* (*ǰo* ~ *yo*, etc.) is quite common; indeed, according to Pelliot (HCG, 200-201) Yürki(n) > J̌ürgi(n), the two forms alternating already in the 13th century. Nevertheless, we have at the same time also the consonance with *ǰürüge(n)* (~ *ǰirüge*[*n*], mo. *ǰirüke*[*n*]) 'heart, courage', which further indicates that the primitive form must have been *ǰorgimaγ*, if the AT form reflects the SH original. Assuming that *ǰorgi-* = *yorgi-* and taking into account the free sectional summary, I have translated the word in question as 'inflexible' (< 'wilful'), but not without reservations in view of the fact that *ǰorgimaγ/yorgimaγ* as a noun seems to be unattested in Mongol lexicography, possibly being replaced in current usage by *ǰorimaγ*, *ǰorimoγ*. On, 56, translates our word as 'peerless' (probably following Murakami); while Oz^1, III, 102 and 104-105, n. 6, takes it to mean 'brave' (reading *ǰor* + *kimes*). The *ǰirükemsüg* 'full of courage (*or* daring)' of Γa, 71, is merely an interpretation of the word (cf. the *ǰirükemes* of Bö, 95). Strangely enough, this word is not discussed in TH. As mentioned earlier, and noted already by Ligeti (Li, 155, n. 139) and Cleaves (Cl, 67, n. 25), the explanation given in the SH for the clan name J̌ürki(n) is due to popular etymology, being traditionally associated with words meaning 'courage', 'determination', and the like.

'That is the reason why they were called J̌ürkin', lit. 'such is the reason ....'

'Personal subjects', lit. 'personal people' (*emčü irgen*). For *emčü*, see above, n. 137.

§ 140. The story of the great wrestler Büri's defeat and miserable death provides an excellent illustration of Činggis Qan's shrewdness, and of his ability to dispose of men he disliked or perceived as a threat. What the text clearly implies in the final section of this paragraph is that Büri Bökö, because of his physical superiority, was too proud to consort with the descendants of Bartan Ba'atur, i.e. the line of Yisügei and Činggis Qan, giving his allegiance instead to the descendants of Ökin Barqaq, i.e. to Sorqatu Yürki (or J̌ürki) and his sons Sača Beki and Taiču (Büri Bökö, himself a Borǰigin, belonged to the

junior line of Qabul Qan, being the son of Qutuqtu Mönggür/Möngler). Thus, by joining the rival camp of the J̌ürkin and, furthermore, by attacking and humiliating Belgütei, Büri Bökö had, in fact, sealed his fate and it would only have been a matter of time before Činggis Qan disposed of him. Cf. the case of Kököčü Teb Tenggeri in §§ 244-246.

Büri Bökö is first mentioned in § 50 as the son of Qutuqtu Mönggür, whose name in the present section is given as Qutuqtu Möngler. (For Mönggür/Möngler cf. HCG, 76-77.) The earlier incident involving Belgütei at the feast in the forest by the Onon during which Belgütei was wounded at the shoulder is graphically related in § 131. From § 140 we learn of another occasion on which Belgütei suffered at the hands of Büri Bökö. Büri is portrayed in the SH as a magnificent athlete – indeed the best wrestler at the time – but proud and arrogant. For his name, see above, n. 50. He is called here 'the strongest man among his people' (*ulus-un bökö*), lit. 'the strong(est) (= the champion athlete/wrestler: *bökö*) of the people', and soon after 'the invincible' (*ülü ilaqdaqu gü'ün*), lit. 'a man not to be overcome.'

'Let himself be toppled', lit. 'fell for the sake (*or* in favour) *of Belgütei*' (*unaǰu ökbe*). For the use of the verb *ök-* (= mo. *ög-*) 'to give' as an auxiliary indicating action in favour, or for the benefit of someone else, cf. Aalto 1973, 37; Cleaves 1986, 54, n. 42.

'Straddled him', lit. 'got on *his* backside (*sa'ari*).' For *sa'ari* (= pmo. *saγari*) 'backside, buttocks', cf. Mostaert 1962, 211; and On, 56, n. 159.

For *ilügei* 'lower lip' (AT[1], 40b: id.), cf. kh. *ulxiĭ* 'a running sore on the lip'; bur. *ülxy* 'jaw.' For this obsolete word, see Oz[1], III, 112-113, n. 7; Gantogtox 1990, 124-125; MKeT, 327b.

'He pressed his knee on his spine and broke it' (*niru'u inu ebüdükleǰü ququlǰu ilebe*). Cl, 68, renders *ilebe* as 'dispatched [him]', taking the verb *ile-* literally. However, *ile-* is here simply an auxiliary of action, sometimes even of completed

action, as in the expression *üküǰü ilebe* 'he died' a few lines below. Cf. Waley 1960, 525; Aalto 1973, 36; Oz[1], III, 113, n. 9.

'I took a fall on purpose (*arqadan*)', i.e. intentionally, as he well knew that defeating Belgütei would have displeased Činggis Qan; what he was not aware of, apparently, was that Činggis had already planned his demise. *Arqadan* is the converbum modale of *arqada-* (= mo. *aryada-*) 'to do something with a (disguised) intent' – *arqa* (= mo. *arya*) meaning 'a (clever, astute) plan, a ruse.' Cf. Les., 51a-b, 1161a. *Arqadan* is used adverbially, as converba modalia often are. Cf. Oz[1], III, 14, n. 11.

'I hesitated.' For *ariya-* 'to hesitate, waver', cf. below, n. 169.

'I lost my life', lit. 'I was attained (= touched, affected) as to my life' – an idiomatic expression.

'After Belgütei had pulled and broken his spine', lit. 'Belgütei, having pulled his spine so as to break it in two (*ququru*).' Cf. above, n. 101.

'Cast him off' (*o'orkiǰu*). On *o'orki-* (= pmo. *oγorki-*) for *orki-* (= *ōrki-*) 'to throw, cast off (*or* away)', cf. Mo, 63, n. 59. As in previous instances (cf. §§ 136, 137), the body is to be 'cast off', i.e. left on the spot and without burial as the ultimate mark of disrespect for the dead person. See above, n. 136 ad fin. Cf. the similar fate of Kököčü's body (§ 245).

For the importance of the wrestling match to settle disputes, etc., and as a means of performing a killing without loss of blood (with all its symbolic and religious connotations), see Uray-Köhalmi 1970, 257-258. Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1987, 75-76.

This section ends with a brief genealogical 'reminder' to explain Büri Bökö's position in the lineage of Qabul Qan (cf. the scheme in Wa, 251), and how by 'overstepping the line' because of his arrogance – born of his physical superiority – he met his end.

'Whose son was … whose son was', lit. 'his son was … his son was.'

For Qutuqtu Möngler/Mönggür, see above.

The last paragraph has been understood by the various translators of the SH in two different ways, viz.:

(1) Büri Bökö became a companion of the 'sons' (*sensu lato*) of Ökin Barqaq (i.e. he joined the J̌ürkin camp whose leaders were the son and grandsons of Ökin Barqaq), because he 'excelled in wrestling' (*barildu'a ...alus*) over the 'sons' of Bartan Ba'atur (i.e. Yisügei and his children). In other words, owing to his arrogance as a champion he gave his allegiance to the members of the senior line, who themselves were, as we have seen, a proud and arrogant lot.

(2) Büri Bökö became their companion by 'overstepping *the line*' (*alus*) of the sons of Bartan Ba'atur 'which was the closest to him *in order of seniority*' (*barildu'a*). In other words, he, a member of the junior line, went over to the J̌ürkin leaders belonging to the senior line of Ökin Barqaq, thus bypassing the middle line of Yisügei Ba'atur which was the one next to him in seniority. The order of seniority being of paramount importance in Mongolian society, this action of Büri's was, of course, a serious infringement of clan rules.

The differing interpretations rest on the correct interpretation of the words *barildu'a* (w.f. *barilduγa*), nomen imperfecti of *barildu-* 'to wrestle' or 'to be very close to each other (in age, etc.)', and *alus* '(going) beyond, further, over', hence 'surpassing *or* overstepping.'

The former interpretation has been adopted by (among others) Haenisch, Kozin, Damdinsürèn, Ligeti, Murakami, Ozawa, Onon, and myself (in 1974). The latter interpretation by Pelliot, Mostaert (u.n.), Waley, and Cleaves. On mature reflection, I am now of the opinion that this interpretation is the correct one. The purpose of the entire last section with its genealogical references is, in fact, to show – graphically as it were – in what exactly lay Büri's fault, viz. the overstepping of lineage boundaries. However, instead of 'closest to', I prefer to translate 'nearest above', since I feel that this expresses the meaning of the original better. Cf. Bilgüüdèï 1994, 215: 'The imperial wrestler Buri Boke died suffering his backbone broken by Belgetei because he made companions with furious [sons] of Barqaq, which made [their] relations far from the sons of Bartan ba'atar.'

For further comments on § 140, cf. also Vlad.[2], 111-112; Clark 1978, 41; ČK[1], 51-52 (= ČK[2], 55-56).

§ 141. The Year of the Hen (*takiya ǰil*) is the tenth in the twelve-animal cycle used by the Mongols for chronological calculation, corresponding here to 1201. See ICM, 102-106; *ZAS* 16:1982, 477. This is the first date given in the SH. The present section lists the tribes, with their respective chiefs, which formed a coalition to oppose the one formed by tribes supporting Činggis Qan after the realignment of tribes and clans following Činggis' first election (§ 123) and his campaigns against the Tatar and the J̌ürkin. The order of events in the SH is at variance with that of the SWCCL and Rašīd al-Dīn, and also with the YS; therefore, the circumstances surrounding the opposing tribal alliance and the resulting election of the anti-*qan* J̌amuqa are likewise different. The list of tribes and chieftains in the SH is much fuller (eleven tribes and subtribes are mentioned) and more detailed than those in the Chinese and Persian sources; however, because of a four-year gap in the narrative of the SH (1197-1200), Rašīd's chronology appears to be the more reliable, as also that of the YS. See HCG, 393ff.; ČK[1], 52-61 (= CK[2], 56-65); GK, 53-70; Clark 1978, 43-44. Cf. also Ligeti 1966, 131.

The meeting of the tribal leaders took place at Alqui Bulaq ('Sarsaparilla Spring'), a locality which has not been identified, but which must have been near, or on, the Ergüne Müren, i.e. the Argun River, upstream from the point where it meets its eastern tributary, the Kan Müren, which is the present Gan River (Gan Gol), cf. HCG, 410-411. For Alqui see below; for *bulaq* (= mo. *bulaγ*) 'spring', see above, n. 128.

On the Qadagin and their chief Buqu Čorogi, see HCG, 393-397, and above, n. 42; on the Salǰi'ut and Čirgidai Ba'atur, see ibid., 397-400. I have rendered *teri'üten*, lit. 'having at their

head' as 'led by' to lighten the style of this passage. Please note that I have also put the main verb (*či'ulǰu* 'gathered') before the enumeration of the tribes.

The Dörben tribe is first mentioned in § 11 of the SH; as we learn from § 120, some of its chiefs had joined Činggis Qan. For the name Qači'un (~ Qaǰi'un), see HCG, 395.

A Tatar chief called J̌ali Buqa is mentioned in § 58. The similarity of the names, indeed their identity (*ǰali* = *ǰalin*; see below), and the fact that both men were Tatar chiefs, has led Ligeti to regard them as one and the same individual. See Li, 220, s.v. '*Dzsalin-buka.*' I am not sure whether this is correct in view of the time gap, since J̌ali Buqa was already a chief in Qutula's time and was, therefore, probably a contemporary of Yisügei, whereas J̌alin Buqa was active in 1201, i.e. about forty years later. Since this personage is not otherwise known, it is difficult to solve this problem. As for the name J̌ali(n) Buqa, the second element is the word for 'bull' – a common Turco-Mongolian name. J̌ali(n) is read J̌ari(n) by Murakami who takes it to be mo. *ǰaγari(n)* (> *ǰa'ari*[*n*] > *ǰāri*[*n*]) 'heavenly sign, omen.' See Mu, I, 77, n. 2; 318, n. 5. I think, with the majority of scholars, that *ǰali(n)* = mo. *ǰali* 'flame', cf. tu. *yalïn* id. Since the regular Mongolian form is without the paragogic *n*, the name J̌alin must be regarded as the turcisized Mongolian form of the name, which is not surprising in view of the Turkic, or partly Turkic, background of the Tatar tribe. Cf. Klyaštornyĭ 1993. It should be noted, *en passant*, that in the 13th and 14th century texts, the word *ǰali* usually appears in the well-known combination *su(u) ǰali*, lit. 'the fortune and flame (= grandeur)', i.e. the majestic aura or charisma of the sovereign (cf., e.g., Cleaves 1949, 79a; idem 1953, 36a; see also above, n. 74), but in the MA, 200b, it is registered with the meaning of 'rest, peace, tranquillity' (rus. *pokoĭ*). This meaning is not found in our dictionaries of Written Mongolian, the secondary meanings of *ǰali* recorded in them being 'craft, ruse, fraud, trick.' Cf. Kow., 2283a; Gol., III, 330c; Les., 1031b. However, mo. *ǰaliqai* (= *ǰali* + the den. noun suff. *-qai*) means 'crafty' as well as 'lazy, indifferent.' The latter meaning is no doubt derived from *ǰali* 'rest, etc.' Cf. also mo. *ǰalqaγu(u)* 'lazy.' Here we have a definite correspondence with tu. (Baraba) *yïlak* 'laziness.' See SG, 313; and MÜIT, 2332b, for further examples. This correspondence, which is not discussed by Poppe (VGAS) or Räsänen (VEWT), deserves attention.

For the Alči Tatar, see HCG, 240-242, 245. As for the Ikires (on which cf. ibid., 31-32, 41, 59, 407), some of them had already joined Činggis Qan, see § 120.

Terge Emel is an emendation of the text, which has 'Dergek *and* Emel', taken by the editors of the SH to be two separate individuals, as evident from the glosses. Cf. also § 176, where we have 'Terge *and* Amel (= Emel).' See HCG, 407-409; Li, 155, n. 141; Ligeti 1966, 135-136, n. 18. Cf. Mo, 94, n. 89. (For the initial *a* [*ą*] = *e* in Uighur-Mongol script, cf. *Lettres*, 13.)

Alqui (as in Alqui Bulaq; see above) = Alγui ('Sarsaparilla'). Cf. Gol., I, 35c (> Les., 31a), and kalm. *alγū* id. (KW, 7a).

For the Qorolas, see § 120, where its chief Seči'ür is mentioned among the tribal leaders who had then joined Činggis Qan. The name of the chief who now joins J̌amuqa is transcribed in our passage as Čonaq Čaqa'an – again taken by the SH as two separate individuals (Čonaq *and* Čaqa'an), but Čonaq is a mistake for Čoyok (= Čo'oq), the correct compound name being either Čo'oq Čaqa'an or Čo'os Čaqa'an (> Čaqān); the uncertainty of the readings of the first element is due to the ambiguity of the Uighur-Mongolian script and, possibly, a scribal error. See L^2, 12; Ligeti 1966, 131-136. The Qorolas, who are correctly (?) called Qorulas in § 182 (twice), were related to the Qonggirat and the Ikires. See HCG, 59-60; however, in spite of Pelliot's learned note, the identity of this tribe and its relation with the later Γorlos is not clear. Cleaves (Cl, 52, 69, 110, 111) and Ozawa (see GHMBKZ, 367b-368a) read the name in question as Γorolas (Gorolas) and Γorulas (Gorulas); Ligeti transcribes the same name, as given in the passages corresponding to the SH, §§ 120 and 141 in the AT

(AT[1], 31b, 41a), as Qorlos and Γorlos respectively (ATL, 78, 99). To read the name with initial Γ instead of Q, and to automatically identify it with the Γorlos (as Gaadamba and Cėrėnsodnom do following Damdinsürėn and, ultimately, Kozin and the AT) is, I think, unwarranted at this stage.

The Naiman ('The Eight') tribe is mentioned here for the first time. It was one of the most important tribal complexes at the time. Their centre of gravity was in northwestern Mongolia, in the area between the Khangai and Altai Mts. The titles and names of their *qan*s, who belonged to the Güčü'ut clan (see below), are Turkic, but the name of the tribe is Mongol and so, no doubt, were most of its tribesmen. See HCG, 215-221; Murayama 1958/59; Li, 167; n. 196; ČK[1], 1 and n. 1, et passim; Šastina 1975, 235-238; YShi, 73-74. Cf. also Hung 1956, 31. For the Naiman leader Buyiruq (tu. Buyruq) Qan who rallied to J̌amuqa, see Pelliot 1944b, 44-48; HCG, 297-298 (for a discussion of his name); CLC, 321-322; Pritsak 1988, 768; and further on, §§ 151 and 158. Güčü'üt (= Güčügüt of § 158) is the plural of Güčü'ür which in the form *küčügür* (> *küčü'ür*) appears in the SH, § 89, as the designation of a sort of field-mouse. Cf. Pelliot 1944b, 40-41; HCG, 221, 307. However, according to Poppe (p.c.), a clan or tribe is unlikely to have assumed such a derogatory name. He suggests that the name may be related to kirg. *küčügön* 'buzzard, lammergeyer.' See KiRS, I, 474b (→ 262b, s.v. '*žoru*' I, 1) We know that the Naiman were strongly influenced by Turkic culture. Cf. below, nn. 151, 158. Küčügür (~ Güčügür) appears as a proper name in §§ 120, 124, 202, 223. Cf. Bese 1988, 26-27. For *k* ~ *g*, see 'Quelques problèmes', 240-241.

For Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit, see above, nn. 102 and 109. The name of his eldest son, 'Qutu', poses a problem, since he is called Qutu in §§ 142, 144, 157, 162 and 236, but Qudu in §§ 177, 197, 198 and 199, and the probably correct (i.e. original) reading should be Qodu (see HCG, 284-287); in any event, we are dealing here with a different personage from the Qutu (Moriči) of § 124.

Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat will reappear in the following sections (§§ 142, 143 and 144). The name Oyirat occurs here for the first time. For this important tribe – the ancestors of the present-day Oirats and of their largest language group, the Kalmucks – see NCHK, I, 4-5 et passim; Mu, I, 320, n. 10; A. Očir in MNT, I, 70-72. There is a vast literature in western languages, Chinese, Mongolian and Japanese on the later Oirats and Kalmucks. See, provisionally, IEEC, 321-325; PCA, 310b (s.v. 'Kalmuks'), 314b (s.v. 'Oyrat Federation'); DHMEM, 262b (s.v. 'Oira[t]'); MBIGK, 589 (s.v. 'Kalmücken'), 602 (s.v. 'Oirad ~ Oyirad'); HMKSYC; OLTMKSLC; OTSB; HEM, 1, 2 et passim; HEMAC, 84a; NHHO, 262a; MCS, 452b (s.v. 'Kalmuck Mongols') and 456a (s.v. 'Oirad Mongols'); MHM, 466a (s.v. 'Kalmucks') and 470a (s.v. 'Oirats'); Okada 1972a; idem 1974; idem 1987; Miyawaki 1984; and below, n. 239. For their habitat, see below, n. 144.

For Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut, see § 79; for Qodun Örčeng and A'uču Ba'atur, see HCG, 147, 158-162. The reading Örčeng instead of Orčang is supported by AT[1], 41a.

In this section the word *qan* occurs again in the form *qa* (three times), as in §§ 57 and 126. See above, n. 57.

The 'confederates' of Alqui Bulaq ('Sarsaparilla Spring') elected as their leader J̌amuqa 'the J̌aǰirat' (J̌aǰiradai). J̌aǰiradai is the ethnicon of J̌aǰiran or J̌aǰirat, and in § 40 it is used as a proper name. In the same § 40, J̌amuqa is said to belong to the J̌adaran clan, which is the same as the J̌aǰiran (pl. J̌aǰirat). See above, n. 49, and HCG, 28-29; cf. Bese 1988, 23-24. The election occurs in two stages. In the first stage, the tribal leaders convene, resolve their differences and make an alliance, deciding to elect as their leader (*qan*, but actually *qa* in the text; see above) J̌amuqa. The alliance is formally consecrated with the ritual hacking of a stallion and a mare. For a discussion of this practice, see HCG, 411; Serruys 1958, 290-291; Li, 156, n. 141; Aubin 1978, 44-45; Sinor 1990, 302-303. Cf. also L.C. Goodrich in *JAOS* 82:1962, 542 and n. 62 for further references. Regarding the sacrifice, the SH account is again at variance with

the YS, Rašīd al-Dīn's version and the SWCCL. See Li, loc. cit.; Sinor, loc. cit.; ČK[1], 56-57, and n. 77 (= ČK[2], 61-62). In the second stage, the confederate tribes move along the Argun River to the point where it meets the Gan River, and there, on the promontory at the confluence of the two rivers, they formally elect J̌amuqa *gür qan* (*gür qa* in the text). With regard to this locality, the following should be noted. In the SH the Argun River is called Ergüne Müren, just as in the YS and in Rašīd al-Dīn's work. The form with back vowels is more recent and reflects the incorrect Russian form (Argun). See Hambis 1974, 30-31; Pėrlėė[2], 4 (= Pėrlėė[4], 89). The Gan River is called Kan Müren; however, the Chinese transcription (K'an 刊) may also render an original 'Ken' and, indeed, the latter form has been adopted by Pelliot (Pe, 39, 166) and Cleaves (Cl, 68), as well as by Murakami (Mu, I, 312, 323, n. 15) and Ozawa (Oz[1], III, 121). The AT[1], 41a, has the faulty form 'Qati Müren' (incorrectly given in ATL, 98, as 'Ken-müren'), indicating nevertheless that the initial syllable was *qa*. The later Chinese transcriptions also present an ambiguity regarding both the vowel and the initial consonant (Kan ~ Gan, Ken ~ Gen), but the modern forms favour the back vocalism. Cf. kh. Gan Gol. See Hambis 1974, 32-33; Pėrlėė[2], 7 (= Pėrlėė[4], 90). As for the 'large promontory of the peninsula' at the confluence of the two rivers, the expression in the SH is *šina'a-yin a'unu'u*, glossed in Chinese as 'the land corner of the island' (洲的地角); cf. Ha, 42: '(auf) der Spitze des Werders'; Cl, 68: 'the corner of the island.' Pe, 166, understands 'large promontoire de la presqu'île', taking the word *a'unu'u* to mean 'large promontory', from *a'u* 'large' and *nu'u* 'tip of land, headland' (cf. above, n. 94), this interpretation being supported by AT[1], 41a (*ayu nuγu*). We are, in fact, dealing with two words, not one. Cf. Oz[1], III, 119. *Šina'a* (= mo. *sinaγa*) has various connotations in Mongolian: 'bend of a river, ridge of a mountain, etc.', but it does not have the meaning of 'island.' See SMT, 23; Les., 710b (1); TH, 246 (= ǰYT, 425); MKeT, 2010a. In Chinese *chou* 洲 designates a land surrounded by water, hence an island or continent, but the context of the gloss ('the land corner of the island') clearly indicates that the translators had in mind a peninsula, not an island, i.e. the peninsula formed by the bend of the river at the confluence, as Pelliot correctly interpreted.

Much has been written about the title *gür qan*, used earlier by the Qara Kitai rulers of the Western Liao (西遼) (see below, n. 151), as well as by the Kereyit tribal leaders. Its meaning is 'Universal Ruler.' See HCG, 248-249; NMP, I, 225-226; TMEN, no. 1672; HCSL, 431; Kałużyński 1978, 129; G. Kara in *ÖMYS*, 1988.1, 56; ČK[1], 57 and n. 83; Zimonyi 1985, 198. Obviously, J̌amuqa was given this high-sounding title not only to match, but also to overshadow the title of *qan* assumed by Činggis. As noted by Clark 1978, 44, the present events culminating in J̌amuqa's election are entered in the SH under a specific year, but no date is given for the earlier and, from the SH point of view, more important election of Činggis Qan (§ 123). Clark explains this with 'a different textual background in the two instances, that is, the availability and use of annals in the second (141) but not in the first (123).' It is also possible that the date was introduced in the text because this is the first instance of a *qurilta*, or general assembly of tribal chiefs, whereas, as already pointed out, Činggis' election – or rather pre-election – was essentially a family affair. See above, n. 123 (ad fin.).

Nothing is known about Qoridai of the Qorolas who informed Činggis Qan of the coalition's plan to attack him and Ong Qan. Qoridai (Qori + suff. *-dai*) was rather a common name among the Mongols. Cf. HCG, 62-63; Bese 1974, 92; Poppe 1975, 162. His identity is confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 130), where also more details of his mission are given. However, the story as related in the YS and the SWCCL (as well as by Rašīd) is quite different from that of the SH and the differences have been highlighted by Pelliot (HCG, 411ff.).

The Mongol term here variously translated as 'word' and 'news' is *kele*, lit. 'tongue.' Its usual meaning in contexts such as the present one is that of 'oral and secret information',

intelligence.' Cf. also the expression *kele ab-* in the next paragraph and in n. 142 below.

'Passed it on', lit. 'sent, bringing this news.'

'As soon as Ong Qan received the news', lit. 'Ong Qan having *Činggis Qa'an* caused him (i.e. Ong Qan) to receive the news.'

According to our text, Činggis' camp at the time was 'at Gürelgü', i.e. in the Gürelgü Mountains south of Khentei Khan (see above, n. 89), last mentioned in § 129 (*deest apud* HW, 175b).

§ 142. For Altan, Qučar and Dāritai (Otčigin), see above, n. 122.

'Sent as vanguards' (*manglai yabu'ulba*). *Manglai* is, literally, 'the forehead.' As a military term it means 'the vanguard', see above, n. 4. In the present section, this term occurs in the two forms *manglai* and *manglan*, the latter being the plural. See Street 1990a, 355, 3.2 (A).

Senggüm (= Senggün), Ong Qan's son, is the same personage called Nilqa (= Ilqa) Senggüm elsewhere (§§ 165, 166, 167). On him and his name, see HCG, 331-335, and below, n. 162.

J̌aqa Gambu, Ong Qan's younger brother, has already been mentioned in §§ 107 and 108; whereas Bilge Beki, mentioned here for the first time, will reappear in § 181. For Bilge (= tu. *bilgä* 'wise') in proper names, cf. HCG, 80, 250, 396; Rybatzki 2000, 228-229.

'Patrol(man)' renders Mongolian *qara'ul* (= mo. *qaraγul*) from *qara-* 'to look at' and the deverbal noun suffix -'*ul* (= mo. -*γul*). In modern usage it means 'watchman, guard.' See GWM, 46, § 153. For this term, cf. also TMEN, no. 276; 'Trois Documents', 437, n. 22; Róna-Tas 1986, 135; Kałużyński 1978, 131; Nam 1994, 197. For a detailed description of the use of patrolmen or scouts by the Mongol army, see HTSL, 20a-b; CG, 183-184. 'An observation post' is, literally, 'one post of patrol*men*' (*niken sa'urin qara'ul*). For *sa'urin* (= mo. *saγurin*), lit. 'seat', see TMEN, no. 211; Oz[1], III, 128, n. 1.

Enegen Güiletü ('Having a Single Apricot [Tree]'?) is an unknown locality, but judging from the context it must have been a hill or mountain in the general area of the two mountains Čekčer and Čiqurqu in the region of the Khalkha and Urshun rivers in eastern Mongolia, just like the locality called Utkiya. Mount Čekčer and Mount Čiqurqu are first mentioned in § 61. See above, n. 61.

'To gain information' is the regular rendering of Mongolian *kele ab-*, lit. 'to catch a tongue.' Cf. Les., 447a: 'To receive or gather information.' Cf. also Mo, 80. However, as pointed out by Ligeti, this is a technical term meaning 'to catch an enemy who voluntarily or under coercion gives information about his own camp' (Li, 156, n. 142). Thus *kele*, as a military term, means both a prisoner who could supply secret information under interrogation, and the information itself. A similar usage is found in Russian, *yazyk* meaning 'tongue, language' as well as 'military information.' Cf. also mo. *kele ilege-* 'to send a tongue (= a spy).' For the gathering of intelligence during a military campaign in Činggis' time, cf. Nam 1994, 196-198.

The men forming the vanguard of J̌amuqa's army were mentioned in § 141.

'Our vanguard shouted at them, and they shouted *back* (*ungšilalduǰu ungšiǰu*).' Cl, 69, translates 'Our vanguards cried unto those. While they were crying, ...' However, I think with Ozawa (Oz[1], III, 130, n. 5) that the expression *ungšilalduǰu ungši-* means 'to shout at each other', lit. 'to shout, shouting at each other (= exchanging loud calls).' The literary Mongolian meaning of *ungši-*, mo. *ungsi-*, is 'to read, to recite', but its original meaning was 'to call, to shout.' However, in Preclassical and Middle Mongolian, this verb is already attested with the meaning of 'to read, to recite', with special reference to holy texts and scriptures, such as the Koran and Buddhist sūtras, in the forms *umši-* and *ungši-*. Cf. Cleaves 1954, 68a (s.v. 'umši-'), and MA, 364b, 505b. For *umsi-* ~ *ungsi-*, cf. IMCS, 32 (where, however, *m* ~ *ng* [*ŋ*] is not discussed); MXTXÜ, 170.

'It was *already* getting late', lit. 'it had become evening (*or* late)' (*ǰilda boldaǰu*). For *ǰilda* and *ǰilda bolda-*, cf. Mo, 172-173; TH, 299-300 (= ǰYT, 520); Oz[1], III, 140, n. 5; Cleaves 1992, 149, n. 46.

'And spent the night together (lit. "joining") with the main body *of the army* (*qol*).' For the term *qol* (= pmo., mo. *γool*), lit. 'centre', i.e. the central, or main army, see Poppe 1967, 513-514, no. 7; TMEN, no. 307; HCSL, 433; TQUEMC, 29ff.; Róna-Tas 1986, 136. See also below, n. 247.

§ 143. The battle at Köyiten is one of the high points in Činggis Qan's career as a military leader; much has been written about it, also because the SH account is at odds with other sources and the sequence of events is not clear, as noted earlier in relation to Činggis' election (see above, n. 141). The identification of Köyiten ('Cold') also poses problems. According to Pėrlėė, this locality corresponds to present-day Xüǐtėn (Šuus) between the Onon and Kerulen rivers at 48° N and 111° E. See Pėrlėė[2], 8 (in Pėrlėė[4], 93, L. Moses adds, 'A river today the Khüjten is a small tributary between the Onon and Kerulen that feeds into the Shuus River'). However, this cannot be reconciled with Pelliot's localization of the nearby mountains Čekčer and Čiqurqu in the region of the Urshun and Khalkha rivers further east (see above, n. 142). The site, therefore, remains unidentified. Cf. ČK[1], 58, n. 87. See also CW, 101-102, and GK, 68ff., for the dating of these events (1201-1202). See also below, n. 144.

'As they pressed on each other downhill and uphill', lit. 'Making each other shift position downwards and upwards (i.e. now downhill and now uphill).' The verb *iquriqa-* (= pmo. *iquriγa-*) is the factitive of *iquri-* 'to change place', as glossed in the text, where *pang* 梆 is a mistake for *no* 挪 id. See HW, 81. Cf. [A.M.]: 'se déplaçant.' Other translators understand 'causing each other to withdraw' (see Cl, 70; Oz[1], III, 132), the meaning 'to retire, withdraw (men and horses)' being supported by mo. *uquri-* id. and the modern dialects.

For *ǰibši'er-* (AT[1], 41b: *ǰöbsiyere-*) 'to organize one's forces, reform one's ranks', cf. TH, 298-299 (= ǰYT, 519).

The ancient Inner Asiatic method of conjuring up rain and blizzards required the use of a rainstone which was put into water. This magic stone, usually a bezoar (i.e. a hard-core concretion found in the stomach or intestines of certain animals, mostly ruminants), is called *yat, yada* in Turkic and *ǰada* in Mongolian. Thus, this term acquired the extended meaning of 'rain-magic', and 'magic rain (*or* storm).' See Pelliot in *TP* 13:1912, 436-438, n. 1; Pelliot 1930c, 299-301; NMP, I, 424-425; NHHO, 8-9, n. 3; SI, 525-528; TMEN, nos. 157, 1822, 1833; Poppe 1955, 39; Li, 156, n. 143; Boyle 1972a, 184ff.; IBŠ, 190-191, 251; ČK[1], 58, n. 88; and Körelša 1989, for other examples of this practice, as well as the full treatment of the subject in WMIA. In our text, *ǰada* is rendered in the Chinese interlinear version as 'the operation (lit. "affair") that can bring about wind and rain', and 'wind and rain' (Y[2] 4, 35b) – no reference is made to the magic stone. The expression *ǰadalaqun bolun* is, literally, 'doing (fr. "se mettant à" [A.M.]) *ǰadala-*', *ǰadala-* meaning 'to make a *ǰada*', i.e. 'to conjure up a rain(storm).' For the entire sentence cf. *Lettres*, 76.

'We are not loved by Heaven!' – in Mongolian the verb is in the past tense (*ta'alaqdaba*, not *ta'alaqadaba* as in L[2], 96) because this is a general statement of fact made at the time of, or immediately after, a particular event. For the common use of the Mongolian past (in its various forms) for our present tense, cf. for example the copula *bülüge* used for both past and present events ('was' and 'is'); and expressions like *γaruγsan bülüge* = 'originates.' See Mo, xiii. Cf. M.N. Orlovskaya in MKM V, II, 99-103 (esp. p. 103 [5]). For the concept of Heaven's love and protection as a prerequisite for success, see de Rachewiltz 1973, 27. Cf. §§ 167, 246.

§ 144. The Uluq Taq (= Uluγ Taγ, Turkic for 'Great Mountain') on the southern side of the Altai has been identified by Pėrlėė with the Bulag Uul, or Bulak Ula, near the Sinkiang border at

47° N and 90° E. See Pėrlėė[2], 5 (= Pėrlėė[4], 96). Cf. below, n. 158. Always according to this author (op. cit., 10; cf. Pėrlėė[4], 95), the Šisgis is the same as the Šiqšit of § 239 of the SH and corresponds to the present Šišgid (Shishhid) Gol at 51° 21 N 96° 58 E. Cf. Hambis 1956, 286-287, where this identification had also been proposed. Cf. below, n. 239.

'Towards' (*ǰorin*) is, literally, 'pointing at *or* towards, heading for.'

'*Then* he moved homewards', lit. 'J̌amuqa moved going back (*qarin*)', i.e. returning home. His camp at the time was, as we have seen, at the junction of the Argun and Gan rivers (§ 141), and it was this place he headed for after having apparently plundered some of his own supporters. The SH says that J̌amuqa moved *downstream* along the Argun, but if Köyiten was in the region of the Khalkha River further south, J̌amuqa coming from Köyiten and returning north to his camp near the Gan River would have had to journey along the Argun *upstream*, not downstream. So, either the localization of Köyiten is wrong, or J̌amuqa made a large detour, in the course of which he plundered his allies, before returning to his camp. Rašīd al-Dīn gives a different account of J̌amuqa's movements after the battle, making him offer his submission to Činggis Qan and Ong Qan at their winter camp. See SL[2], I/2, 122. According to the SH, Ong Qan pursued J̌amuqa, following him down the Argun. The outcome of this alleged pursuit is not mentioned in the SH: when we next meet J̌amuqa (§ 160), the latter has again joined Ong Qan in a sort of uneasy alliance. Such gaps and incongruities in the SH account are frequent and confusing. However, one cannot but agree with L. Clark about the reason why it was left to Ong Qan to pursue J̌amuqa while Činggis Qan pursued A'uču Ba'atur of the Tayiči'ut. This is, indeed, at first surprising, in view of the fact that J̌amuqa, as *gür qan* and chief of the coalition, was the main offender and contender for power; Činggis, therefore, should have turned his attention to him instead of leaving the task of tracking him down to Ong Qan. Clark 1978, 39, claims with reason that within the Mongol social

context, the debt of vengeance – in the present case towards the hated Tayiči'ut – had priority over Činggis' personal ambitions.

J̌amuqa's former allies dispersed in various directions, clearly heading for their home grounds. We do not know who were those among them that J̌amuqa 'plundered' in his flight. The Naiman returned to their (winter) camp in the Uluq Taq area (see above), the Merkit made for theirs along the Selenga south of the Baikal (see above, n. 54), while the Oyirat headed for their forest grounds along the Šišgid River west of Lake Khubsugul (or Köbsögöl, kh. Xövsgöl Nuur). The Tayiči'ut, too, made for their camps on the Onon, but with Činggis Qan on his heels, their chief A'uču Ba'atur hastily moved his people and, crossing the river from the south, prepared to fight the pursuer. The place where the encounter took place is called Hüle'üt (incorrect for Ülengüt) Turas, a yet unidentified locality. This place-name has been extrapolated by Pelliot from the SH text with the help of the parallel accounts in Rašīd's work and the SWCCL; in fact, the SH treats this double place-name as two separate meaningful words (*hüle'üt turastan*) glossed as 'the remaining ones having square shields' (多餘方牌有的). The correct reading is *Ülengüt Turas-tur* 'at Ülengüt Turas.' See Pelliot 1930a, 200-202; HCG, 392. This obvious error of the Ming editors of the SH has been retained in some modern translations, although with reservations, in order to adhere to the text as handed down. Cf. Oz[1], III, 137, 139, n. 3; and Oz[2], I, 155, 173, n. 4; Cl, 70 and n. 34; Ta, 70; On, 59 and n. 163. Li, 50, transcribes the place-name as 'Hüleüt-turas', which presupposes a written form 'Ülegüd Turas' unsupported by the majority of mss. of Rašīd al-Dīn and by the SWCCL. The meaning of the name Ülengüt Turas is not clear. It has been suggested that in this context, *turas* may be a plural of *tura* 'fortress' or 'shield' (cf. TMEN, no. 958); however, according to the SWCCL, this locality was a plain, or grassland (*yeh* 野). See Pelliot, loc. cit. Cf. Ligeti 1972, 9, n. 16. With regard to *hüle'üt*, Poppe 1975, 166, writes: '*hüle'üt* "superior" plur. of SH *hüle'ü* "superior", Mo. *ülegü*, Kh. *ilū*, Bur. *ulū* "id."' However,

Poppe's interpretation is not pertinent in view of the reading Ülengüt.

'Right next to each other', lit. 'being (*or* standing, holding a position) against (= in close proximity to) each other' (*šitüldüǰü*) – so close, in fact, that they were touching each other [H.S.]. Cf. HW, 142.

'When people arrived, fleeing in disarray.' The people in question were, of course, the Tayiči'ut women, children and old people displaced by the Mongol attack and the ensuing battle. As was the custom, they formed for protection a fortified 'circular camp' with their wagons and carts – the *güre'en* (on which see above, n. 90; cf. also § 145) – as close as possible to their own troops. 'Alongside', lit. 'with.'

§ 145. 'The bleeding', lit. 'the blood' (*čisun*).

'Was in a great plight' (*amduriqdarun*), i.e. in a fluster for being frustrated in his attempt to stanch the blood. Cf. mo. *amturi-* 'to be in a hurry, excited.'

J̌elme's prompt action probably saved Činggis Qan's life, but it is not clear at first sight what was the purpose of it. The same technique is described in § 173 when Ögödei (Činggis' third son), also wounded in the neck, was treated in the same manner by Boroqul: the clotting blood was removed from the wound by sucking. In Činggis' case, the bleeding could not at first be stopped and this had him worried. When it did stop, and the blood coagulated, J̌elme kept on removing the clot so as to let the blood flow freely. Grousset (CW, 103) says, 'In the manner of the Mongol "doctors", he (J̌elme – I.R.) sucked the clotted blood from the wound.' However, neither Grousset (cf. also EM, 114), nor Vladimircov (GKV, 38-39), nor most of the biographers of Činggis Qan and commentators of the SH explain the true reason for the removal of the clotted blood. Cf., e.g., ČQT, I, 252. This, as correctly surmised by Ratchnevsky, is found in the fact that among the steppe nomads it was common to use poisoned arrows; hence, the continuous flow of blood from the wound would reduce the danger of dying of poison,

and the prolonged treatment had the effect also of preventing an air embolism. See ČK[1], 59 and n. 93 (= ČK[2], 63); cf. Ev-Pop, 277, n. 72; Kaszuba 1996, 63 (where, however, the numbering of the notes is incorrect); and Meserve 2000, 41. J̌elme, then, appears to have been smarter than Činggis, who had previously tried to stanch the blood. There is no mention of this event in the Persian and Chinese sources; it may indeed be an epic piece not resting on actual fact (see also below, n. 146). For this episode in relation to J̌ebe's shooting at Činggis' horse (§ 147), see below, n. 147.

For *qubčasun* 'clothes, garments' (= *qubčan* [§ 136], cf. GWM, 44, § 137), see TMEN, no. 263. Cf. Gantogtox 1990, 125.

'Everything' (*bügüde-yi* [acc.]). For the position of *bügüde* in the present construction, cf. Cleaves 1959, 82, n. 220.

'But for his pants', lit. 'with only pants' (*qaqča doto'aǰitu*). This can only refer to trousers or breeches, not to undergarments, i.e. underpants, which the Mongols of the time did not wear, as aptly pointed out by H. Serruys (p.c.). Hence, renderings like 'inner pants' (On, 59) are not accurate. For *doto'aǰi* = mo. *dotoγaǰi*, *dotoγoǰi* 'trousers, pants', cf. Oz[1], III, 155, n. 10. On the question of why J̌elme would have stripped himself of most of his clothing (as a preliminary to an execution?), cf. Jackendoff's remarks in Jackendoff 1977, 30.

For the word *čurama* in the expression *čurama ničügün* 'stark naked', cf. DO, 719b.

'Into the midst of the enemy' (*dayin dotora'un*). For *dotora'un* (= pmo. *dotoraγun*), see Ligeti 1971, 147. AT[1], 42a, has *dotaγur* (= *dotoγur*) 'inside, within.'

'The people who had set up a circular camp (*gürēleksen* = *güregeleksen*) over there' – referring to the enemy barricade of carts set up nearby as related in § 144.

'A large covered *bucket of* curds' (*büri'etei taraq*). This expression has been the subject of much discussion and varying interpretations. See Oz[1], III, 155-157, n. 12. The above translation is based on the Chinese gloss (一箇大器皿盒來的酪).

Cf. Cl, 71: 'a great [vessel of] curd having a covering.' However, On, 59, renders the same words as 'a large (bowl) of fermenting curds[165]', explaining in note 165 on the same page that 'Used alone, *büri'etei* (fermenting) means "covered" and is rendered this way by other translators. However, in conjunction with *taraq* (curds, sour milk) it can only mean "fermenting".' Onon's interpretation is based on TH, 160 (= ǰYT, 280), but it is not tenable on grammatical grounds. The verb *büri-* means 'to cover', and 'to ferment.' Cf. Les., 148b. The form *büri'e* (w.f. *bürige*) is a deverbal noun in *-ge* of *büri-*. This suffix (*-γa/-ge*) is not listed in GWM as such, being assimilated to *-γan/-gen* (ibid., 45, § 149) with no examples given of its use without the paragogic *n*. Cf., e.g., mo. *aγsaγa* 'belt', from *aγsa-* 'to attach to, suspend to.' See GLME, 11 (c3); JŚ, 43-44, § 57. When followed by the possessive suffix *-tei*, *bürige* can only mean 'a cover, covering'; a form like *büri'etei* (= *büri-* + *-'e* + *-tei*) cannot possibly be formed on *büri-* 'to ferment' to mean 'fermenting' or 'fermented.'

'And carried it back', lit. 'lifting it came *back*.'

'In the time between', lit. 'in the interval' (*ǰa'ura*). I think that *ǰa'ura* here is temporal, rather than spacial as in Cl, 71 ('On the way'). Cf. the gloss *ch'i-chien* 其間 '*in* that interval.' Cf. also the sectional summary, Y^2 4, 44a: 其來往間 'during his coming and going.'

'The eyes within me (lit. "my eyes within *me*") have cleared up', in other words, 'I have come to my senses again.' The reference is, I think, to the 'mind's eye(s)', i.e. one's ability to recognize things, one's consciousness. This is the interpretation proposed by Naka (Na^2, 132) and adopted by Murakami (Mu, I, 328). However, Oz[1], III, 148, understands: 'My person *and* (my emphasis – I.R.) my eyes have become bright.' See the long note 14 on pp. 157-159. Cf. On, 59: 'My mind and my eyes are clearing' following Do[1], 112, which in turn rests on the sectional summary paraphrase 我眼已明心已省了 'My eyes have cleared up, *my* mind is conscious (*or* alert)' (Y^2 4, 44a). Cf. Wa, 252.

'All about *the place where* he was sitting', lit. 'all about that *place where* he was sitting.'

'Couldn't you have spat farther away?', lit. 'How would it have been if you spat afar?'

'I swallowed what I could swallow and spat out what I could spit out', lit. 'I swallowed the swallowing (= what is swallowed) and spat out the spitting out (= what is spat out).' This phrase can also be rendered: 'Some I swallowed, some I spat out.' For *ǰalki- ~ ǰalgi-* 'to swallow', cf. Mostaert 1956, 6, n. 8. In view of the circumstances it seems strange that Činggis Qan should have been upset by the bloody mess made by J̌elme. As is well known, the Mongols had taboos concerning the spitting of blood on the ground, and on choking (cf. Jackendoff 1977, 30); however, I think that the point of the episode is to enhance further J̌elme's devotion to his master by stressing the fact that he was even forced to swallow much of the blood himself.

'Quite a lot went also into my stomach!', lit. 'how much also went into my stomach?' – a rhetorical question.

'And have just come in haste to *join* you' (*dantur edüi idüreǰü irebe bi*). For the verb *idüre-* 'to catch up (with someone), to overtake (§ 146 ad fin.); to fast approach (§ 189)', see below, n. 189.

The passage 'Then, I would have jumped on a horse ... I went there.' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 61-63 (where, on p. 63, a more literal rendering than mine is provided). Please note that the phrase 'in that brief moment (lit. "in the time as long *as that*") I would surely have got back!' is put as a negative rhetorical question in the original ('would I not have come back?'). Also, my rendering 'because I wished to get *back* in time' is, literally, 'saying, "I would that I arrive in time."' The idiom 'without *so much as* blinking an eye', i.e. 'boldly, resolutely', is, literally, 'the eye *remaining* black' (*nidün qara*). This is the generally accepted interpretation. Cf. Na^2, 133; Mo, 62-63; Da[5], 81; Li, 51; Cl, 72; On, 60; Ev-Pop, 104. However, some scholars disagree. Pe, 169, n. 1, suggests 'Aveuglement?

A l'aveuglé?'; Do[1], 113 (and 115, n. 2) renders it as 'going against the staring eyes' on the (untenable) assumption that *qara* here does not mean 'black' but 'to look at' (看); and Oz[1], III, 149, after having discussed the previous interpretations (ibid., 161-162, n. 21), opts for the rendering 'without even looking opposite (*or* across)', thus adopting Pelliot's suggestion. Cf. Oz[2], I, 174, n. 4. The issue is unfortunately not clear-cut, also because AT[1], 43a, has *nidün qara* accompanied with the gloss *üǰelte* 'view(point); having a view', which is not pertinent. Šastina (LDAT, 116), following the general interpretation, translates 'without blinking the eyes.'

'In former days, when the Three Merkit came and thrice circled *Mount* Burqan, you saved my life for the first time.' See §§ 102-103 for the event in question. Although J̌elme is mentioned (§ 103) in connection with it, his role as 'saviour' of Činggis Qan is not fully explained, like Bo'orču's role as referred to in § 205. Cl, 72, renders *qači'ulqui-dur* as 'at the moment when ... were making [me] to go round about', instead of 'circled.' However, in view of the obvious meaning of *qači'ul-* 'to circle' in § 102 (cf. Mo, 33; Cl, 35), and the identical acceptation of this verb in the temporal clause of § 111 (see above, n. 111), I think there is no justification for altering the translation. Cf. Oz[2], I, 157. The use of the factitive form in the SH for non-factitive purposes deserves thorough investigation. Cf. also § 199 and 205. 'You saved my life' is, literally, 'you took out my life', i.e. out of danger.

'You restored me to life', lit. 'you opened up my life', i.e. 'you let it flow (again).'

'Disregarding your life', lit. 'forsaking your life.'

'You quenched my thirst', lit. 'you provided me with sufficient drink.'

'Restored life to me', lit. 'you made life enter *into me again*.'

§ 146. According to the sequence of events as presented in the SH, Činggis resumes his campaign the following morning by pursuing the Tayiči'ut fugitives. This means that either his neck wound was not as serious as we are led to believe in § 145, or (as is more likely) the whole episode concerning J̌elme is an epic theme, as so many others in the SH, regarding which cf. Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 82.

For Sorqan Šira of the Suldus, a retainer of the Tayiči'ut, see above, n. 82. His daughter Qada'an had already been mentioned in § 85. Her husband was a Tayiči'ut.

'The man went ... the man returned', lit. 'That man went ... that man returned.'

'As my husband was being killed' (*ere-yü'en alaqdarun*). For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 373-374.

'He dismounted near Qada'an ..., but her husband had already been killed by our soldiers', lit. 'Činggis Qa'an dismounted at (= by, near) Qada'an ... . Our soldiers had beforehand (= already) killed her husband.'

'Great army' (*yeke čerik*). 'Great' here is either an epithet for the *qan*'s army (cf. above, n. 121) or, as suggested by N. Poppe (p.c.), it designates the main body of the army. The latter interpretation has been adopted in On, 61, and Ev-Pop, 105.

'He invited Qada'an to come to him and had her sit by his side', i.e. in a place of honour, meaning probably (but not necessarily), that he took her as a secondary wife. See HCG, 153. Činggis Qan was indebted to Qada'an, as to the rest of her family, for his escape from the Tayiči'ut camp as related in §§ 84-87. His obligation is aptly recalled in the poetic passage of this section.

Qada'an's father Sorqan Šira turned up soon after together with another personage who will become a legend in his own time, viz. J̌ebe. J̌ebe, whose original name was J̌irqo'adai, was a Besüt, a clan related to the Tayiči'ut through their common ancestor Čaraqai Lingqu (see above, n. 47, and HCG, 132), some members of which had earlier rallied to Činggis Qan (see § 120). However, most of the Besüt had apparently remained with the Tayiči'ut as subordinate tribesmen. Cf. §§ 119 and

138. Both Sorqan Šira and J̌ebe are referred to in this section as *haran*, i.e. people attached to the household or retainers; in the present case, of Tödöge, a Tayiči'ut chief. On the identity of this personage, see Pelliot's important remarks in HCG, 156-157. He is called Tödege at the end of § 219, where Sorqan Šira is again described as his *haran* (Cl, 73, renders this term as 'people', but on p. 160 he translates it as 'bondman'; cf. above, n. 39). The origin of J̌irqo'adai's nickname J̌ebe (designating a particular type of arrow) is explained in § 147. J̌ebe will become one of Činggis' most distinguished captains and the first of his 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*, cf. above, n. 97, and below, n. 195). On him see TDMI, 550b (Index); HCG, 154-157 et passim; ISK, 777b (Index); Chiodo 1994, 206-207; and the numerous other references in the SH. On, 61, renders the passage in question as follows: 'The next day, Sorqan-shira and Jebe, both of whom had been servants[169] of the Tayyichi'ut also arrived.' In note 169 on the same page he writes: 'The word *tödöge* in the text is derived from the Orqon Turkish word *tötkön*, meaning "Prisoners of war." For details see B21, pp204-5, note 11 [= AT[4], 204-205, n. 11 – I.R.]. This word "tödöge" has nothing to do with the word "tödögen" in Section 72.' Cf. also On, 123 and n. 286. The fact that the personage Tödöge ~ Tödege (> Tōdē in Rašīd al-Dīn) is known from other sources makes the above interpretation unacceptable.

The poetic passage is translated and discussed in Mo, 63-64. Mostaert, however, does not discuss the word *ǰarbiyal* (in the expression *ǰarbiyal mudun*) which is a *hapax legomenon*. The interlinear gloss renders it as 'cangue' (*chia* 枷). In Dagur there is a verb *ǰierbi-* meaning 'to accumulate, pile up' which may well correspond to the verb **ǰarbi-* forming the noun *ǰarbiyal*. The deverbal noun suffix *-yal* is well attested, but little studied. It occurs in words like *čabčiyal* 'steep ravine, gully', from *čabči-* 'to hew' (see MÜIT, 5843b-5844a, no. 501). It forms nouns which are the outcome of the action of the verb. Hence 'to pile up' (**ǰarbi-*) > 'cangue' (*ǰarbiyal*) is an acceptable derivation. See TH, 293-294 (= ǰYT, 510); Oz[1], III, 170, n. 4.

'The wooden cangue', lit. 'the cangue wood' (*ǰarbiyal mudun*), i.e. the wood that constituted the cangue – in apposition to *kündü mudun* 'the heavy wood' of the preceding verse. The '*buɣa'u* wood' of Cl, 73 ad fin., is an error for '*ǰarbiyal* wood.' *Buqa'u* is the term for 'cangue' used in §§ 81, 83, 84, 85 and 112 (see above, n. 81).

'Why, *then*, did you delay *coming to me*?' The question is pertinent in view of the fact that other Besüt tribesmen had rallied to Činggis Qan earlier on (see above). However, as Sorqan Šira explains, it was essential for the family's safety to wait for the right opportunity to desert the Tayiči'ut. Lattimore 1963b, 60, writes: 'It required nerve and good timing to elude the obligations of collective responsibility imposed by the institution of the subordinate tribe.' Cf. also ibid., 64; and Ratchnevsky 1987, 65.

'My wife and children', lit. 'my wife and child (*or* son: *eme kö'ün*)' in the singular; however, we know that Sorqan Šira had more than one child. See § 85. Thus here, as in other instances, *eme kö'ün = eme kö'üt*. Cf. Kałużyński 1992/93, 278-280; see also above, n. 104, and below, nn. 174, 185.

'At heart (lit. "within myself") I felt full confidence in you' (*bi dotora'an bölen itkel setkiǰü büle'ei*). With regard to the words *bölen itkel*, Mostaert writes: 'support (Činggis) actuel' [A.M.]. Cl, 73-74, renders the above sentence as follows: 'I have been thinking within me of [my] present support', thus adopting Mostaert's interpretation. *Bölen* = mo. *belen* 'ready, in order', the word conveying the idea of 'completeness' like its Chinese counterpart *pei* 備. The sectional summary reads: 'In my own heart I was already relying on you' (我心已自倚仗着你). Hence I am inclined to take the expression *bölen itkel* to mean literally 'ready-made (= complete) confidence (*or* faith, trust)', rather than 'present support.' See Oz[1], III, 170-171, nn. 5, 6.

'We came in haste to join our Qa'an', lit. 'we came overtaking (*idüreǰü*) to join our Qa'an.' For the verb *idüre-*, cf. above, n. 145, and below, n. 189.

§ 147. For the battle of Köyiten, see § 143 and com.

The passage 'Who … the white mouth?' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 65-67.

'To sever the neckbone', lit. 'to break the first vertebra (i.e. the atlas).' The expression *aman niri'u* designates the first cervical vertebra or atlas. See Mo, loc. cit.

The particular characteristics of a *qula* or 'tawny horse' ('yellow horse' 黃馬 according to the Chinese gloss) are a fallow coat, a black mane and tail, and a black stripe along the spine. Cf. also above, n. 87.

'The size of the palm of a hand' (*halaqan-u tedüi*). For *halaqan* = mo. *alaγa(n)* 'palm of the hand', cf. Cleaves 1956, 217, n. 135.

'If I be favoured' (*soyurqaqda'asu*). The verb *soyurqa-* 'to show favour, to grant permission, to bestow, etc.' is, together with the deverbal noun *soyurqal* 'favour, grant', an important social and economic term in medieval Mongolian phraseology. On it see Pelliot 1930c, 302-303, n. 1; TMEN, nos. 228, 229; Murakami 1961, 311ff. (cf. MTSK, 173-186 et passim); idem 1983, 102; Sugita 1979, 43-45; TQUEMC, 109, 184; ISK, 155, 178, 469. In the present context, however, *soyurqaqda'asu* simply means 'if the Qa'an deigns to spare my life.'

Regarding the poetic passage and images such as 'to divide (lit. "to cut across [*or* asunder]") the deep water' and 'to crumble the shining stone', cf. the saying in § 72 and com., and § 209. The verb *qal-* 'to lay hands on' has also the related meaning of 'to provoke, to attack', as in this passage and in §§ 174 and 209. Cf. Mo, 52. The meaning 'to attack' given in Kow., 796b, is not registered in Les., 916a.

'For the Qa'an' (*qa'an-u emüne*), lit. 'before the Qa'an.' For *emüne* = 'in favour of, for', cf. Cleaves 1962, 102, n. 36; Buck, 99-100, n. 31.

'In the place which I am told to reach … At the time when I am told to attack', lit. 'In the place which (= where) he (i.e. the Qa'an') shall have said, "Reach!" … At the time when he shall have said, "Attack!"' Cf. Cl, 74. J̌ebe means that he will do his utmost to carry out the orders of his new leader if he is spared. The different colours and characteristics of the stones (blue, black, shining) have, I believe, no symbolic value in these old sayings, but are there for stylistic reasons, such as contrast and parallelism, as well as for poetic imagery. The linguistic features of the alliterative passage, in particular the use of the so-called preverbs, such as *hoqtoru* '(to cleave) asunder' and *čeürü* '(to break) to pieces', are discussed in Bese 1969, 123-125; LSHM, 38; and Oz[1], III, 176-178, nn. 4, 5. Cf. also Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 77-78.

'When it comes to his *former* killings and hostile actions', lit. 'the fact that he has killed and that he has acted as an enemy.'

'Conceals his person and hides his tongue' – obviously an idiom for 'to keep out of the way and avoid talking.' Cf. the English colloquialism 'to lie low.' For the Mongolian expression, cf. VG, 57-58.

J̌irqo'adai means 'The Six', or, as Pelliot writes, 'Sixième' (HCG, 155). Cf. Poppe 1975, 162. On the other hand, Ligeti is of the opinion that it means 'man of the J̌irqo'an clan' (Li, 156, n. 147). However, H. Serruys (p.c.) writes: 'Ligeti seems to have understood J̌irqo'ad-ai, but is there such a clan (J̌irqo'an/-d)? For *-dai, -ldai*, cf. *HJAS* 14 (1951), 353: *yisüldei* "le Neuf." I understand J̌irqo'adai "Mr. Six", "The One Six".' Cf. also 'Trois documents', 473.

J̌ebe, besides its usual meaning of 'weapons' in general, apparently designated also a particular type of arrow which has not yet been clearly identified and which, as we can infer from the context, was the one J̌irqo'adai had used to kill Činggis Qan's horse. See the discussion in HCG, 155-156; TMEN, no. 156; and Oz[1], III, 175, n. 1. However, Cleaves understands differently, and perhaps correctly, as follows: 'The name *J̌ebe* means "Weapon." He is so named, as we see, from the fact that he shot the *ǰebelegü qula*, "the war *qula*" or, more literally, "the *qula* which served as a weapon (*ǰebe*)", and that Činggis Qahan says: "*ǰebeleye imayi*" "I shall use him as a weapon (*ǰebe*)", i.e.,

"instead of my *ǰebelegü qula* which he shot."' (Cl, 75, n. 43.) For the verb *ǰebele-*, cf. TMEN, no. 153. Mostaert (u.n.) understands: 'je me servirai de lui à la guerre.'

'Keep by my side!', i.e. like the *ǰebe*-arrows (*or* the weapons) that one carried in the quiver or at one's side.

The J̌ebe episode as related in the SH may also be an epic theme like that involving J̌elme (§ 145). For the treatment of this episode in both its social and historiographic aspects, see Jackendoff 1977, 29-31.

§ 148. 'The men of Tayiči'ut lineage' (*Tayiči'utai yasutu gü'ün*). For *yasutu*, lit. 'having the bone (= lineage)', see above, n. 112.

From the expression *hünesü'er keyisgen* 'blowing *to the winds* like *hearth*-ashes' (on which cf. above, n. 87), we may infer that Činggis Qan also rooted out the family of A'uču Ba'atur and the other Tayiči'ut chief as was to be expected in view of the long and bitter feud. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1987, 77. On A'uču Ba'atur and Qoton (~ Qodun) Örčeng (called here Qoton Örčeng – Qodun and Qoton being indistinguishable in Uighur-Mongol script), see above, n. 141. For the name Qudu'udar (> Qudūdar), see HCG, 390-391. Cl, 76, and On, 63, render *kidu-* as 'to slay' and 'to kill' respectively; however, this verb has a stronger meaning, as it combines the ideas of 'to kill' with that of 'to annihilate', as is evident also from the Chinese glosses (see GHMBK, 461). Cf. QNTT, 365a; TMEN, no. 351. Thus, from this section one gains the impression that the Tayiči'ut leaders themselves perished in the onslaught; in fact they no longer appear in the SH narrative, except for Tarqutai Kiriltuq who escaped and whose fate is related in the next section. However, the accounts of the same event in the YS[2] 1, 4; SL[2], I/2, 116; and SWCCL[1], 24b-25a, differ from the SH. The YS states that Qangqu (= A'uču [Ba'atur]) was defeated and put to flight. Rašīd al-Dīn says that A'uču, together with Qoton Orčang (these names are spelled differently; cf. HCG, 147, 158-160) fled to the Barquǰin. Another Tayiči'ut chief, Quril (Ba'atur), who is not mentioned in the SH, took refuge with the

Naiman, while Tarqutai Kiriltuq and Qudūdar were killed at Ülengüt Turas (cf. above, n. 144). The SWCCL agrees with Rašīd; however, it specifies that Tarqutai Kiriltuq and Qudūdar were only 'captured' by Činggis Qan (cf. HCG, 390) in the Ülengüt Turas steppe. A'uču Ba'atur appears again in the SWCCL[1], 31a, s.a. 1202. For the discrepancies between the above accounts and the SH, cf. HCG, 161-162. Remnants of the Tayiči'ut tribesmen supporting J̌amuqa were not conquered by Činggis until 1204. See § 196.

Quba Qaya, Turkic for 'Reddish (or, better, "Orange", i.e. between red and yellow; but see ED, 581a) Rock', was the name of a mountain in eastern Mongolia near the Manchurian border which, according to Pėrlėė[2], 8 (= Pėrlėė[4], 93), should be identified with present-day Xuva Dobu (mo. Quba Dobu) at 49° N 109° E. Cf. RBC, 80; Boyle 1973, 75. For tu. *qaya* 'rock', cf. TMEN, no. 316. As noted by Pelliot (HCG, 418-419) and Li, 156, it is strange to find a Turkic place-name so far to the east; Pelliot suggests that it may come from the Turkic-speaking entourage of Ong Qan; in Rašīd al-Dīn's chronicle (SL[2], I/2, 118) this name appears twice, but it is Ong Qan, not Činggis Qan, who spent the winter there. According to the Persian historian, Činggis wintered on the confines of north China, in a locality called Čekčer – no doubt the Mount Čekčer of § 61, etc., in the region of the Khalkha and Urshun rivers, i.e. in the same general area of Quba Qaya. See above, n. 61. Quba Qaya as a wintering place for Činggis Qan is mentioned again in § 151.

§ 149. This section is an important one for the ideological message that it conveys, viz. the Mongol concept of loyalty to one's 'legitimate' chief or ruler as illustrated in the case of Tarqutai Kiriltuq's capture by Širgü'etü and his sons.

In the parallel text of the AT, between §§ 148 and 149, the author has inserted an interesting narrative of an encounter of Činggis Qan and six of his companions (*nököd*) with a force of 300 Tayiči'ut (AT[1], 45a-50a). The lengthy narrative has been incorporated in Damdinsürėn's version of the SH. See Da[1], 95-

107; Da[5], 89-100. Another version of this narrative is found in the ČQČ, 126-138. This well-known epic piece of a later date (? 16th-17th c.) has been translated both partially and in full, and has been dealt with by several scholars, besides being reprinted in Damdinsürėn's anthology of early Mongolian literature (MUJ, 30-36). See Žamc.[2], 70-72; LDAT, 118-128; Da[2], 103-126 (the Chinese translation of D[1]); Šagdar[2], 54-62; Clark 1978/79.

Old Širgü'etü of the Ničügüt ('Naked') branch of the Ba'arin (Bārin) tribe and his sons were former subjects of the Tayiči'ut. For this tribe, see HCG, 34; Cleaves 1956, 202, n. 2. Širgü'etü, who was later appointed commander of a thousand of the Left by Činggis Qan, is the ancestor of the famous general Bayan (1237-95), on whom see Cleaves 1956; ISK, 584-607. For Širgü'etü and his sons, see the SH, § 220; HCG, 158, 162-164; and Cleaves 1956, 202-203, n. 3. His younger (?) son Naya'a (> Nayā, pmo. Nayaγa; see AT[1], 51b) is mentioned again in § 197 in connection with the handing over of Dayir Usun's daughter, the beautiful Qulan, to Činggis Qan during the campaign against the Merkit in 1204. See below, n. 197. For Alaq's name ('Multicoloured'), see Bese 1974, 92; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

Tarqutai Kiriltuq, the most senior Tayiči'ut chief and long-time enemy of Činggis Qan, was last mentioned in § 141, and according to other sources (see above, n. 148), was killed in battle at Ülengüt Turas. In the present account (which may well be spurious) he fled to the woods after the defeat of his tribe on the Onon following the battle at Köyiten. He was captured by Širgü'etü who put him in a cart. The free Chinese summary says that he could not ride a horse because he was too fat (Y[2] 5, 8a); the epithet Tarqutai (= pmo. Taryutai) means, in fact, 'Fat', hence his nickname 'Fat' Kiriltuq. He is referred to as an *öštü gü'ün*, lit. 'a man who has hate', which has been taken to mean several things: 1) 'a hating man', 'a man full of hate'; 2) 'an enemy', 'a mortal enemy', 'an old foe'; 3) 'a hated man'; 4) 'a man against whom one has a grievance'; 5) 'a man from whom

one must exact revenge.' Hence the different interpretations that we find in the modern translations. In § 133 we first met the plural form *öšten* (*irgen*), which I rendered 'mortal enemies', since this expression was specifically applied to old foes forever harbouring feelings of hate and seeking revenge, i.e. to implacable enemies. 'Mortal enemy' is, indeed, the rendering adopted by Haenisch (Ha, 48; but only as 'Feindesvolk' in § 133, p. 38) and Ligeti (Li, 45). The word *öš* means, in fact, both 'hate' and 'revenge', the two concepts of *odium* and *ultio* being inseparable in the Mongol traditional outlook, which is still reflected in the modern languages and dialects. Cf., e.g., ord. *ös* 'hate, revenge'; kh. *ös*, id.; kalm. *ös*, id.; etc. This problem has been discussed in detail by F. Hamayon (Hamayon 1986; cf. idem 1978, 89-90) and others (see above, n. 58). The Chinese gloss for *öštü* and *öšten* is 'who has hate' (讎有的), but for *öš* in § 267 it is 'revenge' (讎): *öš-iyen abu'ai je* 'we took our revenge.' (In Chinese, the word *ch'ou* 讎 [= 讐, 仇] means also 'hate, hostile, enemy' as well as 'revenge'). The verb *ösö- ~ öse-* (§ 58 et passim; cf. HW, 128; GHMBK, 345) is glossed 'to requite, avenge' (報). The same verb in the literary language (*ösi-*) and in the modern spoken languages and dialects means 'to hate, to harbour a grievance; to act as an enemy; to feel vengeful.' See Kow., 515a; Les., 645a; Oz[1], I, 244, n. 2. These meanings are all present in mo. *östü*, *östei* (= *ösiyetü*, *ösiyetei*; see below) 'hostile, enemy, vengeful, full of animosity, etc.', and *östen* (= *ösiyeten*) 'enemies, foes.' See Les., 645a-646a. Cf. kalm. *öšɛ̄* 'feindschaft, hass; rache'; *öšɛ̄tɛ̄ kŭn* 'ein feindseliger, rachsüchtiger mensch' (KW, 301b). Therefore, it is evident that, since the basic concept of 'hate' implies also that of 'desire of revenge', a man 'who has hate' (i.e. a hostile man, an enemy) is a man 'who has the desire of revenge', 'a vengeful man' ('ein rachsüchtiger mensch'), rather than a man 'from whom one must exact revenge' ('méritant vengeance', as in Ev-Pop, 109, § 149; cf. ibid., 95, § 133: 'dont nous devons tirer vengeance'). The interpretation in Ev-Pop is based on the

notion of vengeance as elaborated in Hamayon 1986, 110-112, where (p. 110) we read: 'Avoir de l'*ös* (*östen*, *HS*, 133, 149) revient à avoir une dette de vengeance et *ösül ösükü* (*HS*, 58, 102, 105, 154; Haenisch 1962: 128, "tirer vengeance"), à s'en acquitter.' In other words, *östen irgen* are people 'who owe revenge', i.e. that one must exact revenge from; and *ösül osükü* (= *ösöl ösö-*) means 'to take one's revenge' on such people. I think Hamayon is perfectly correct with regard to *ösöl ösö-*, but I disagree with her concerning *östen* (= *öšten/öštü*), the meaning of which, in my view, can only be, as I explained before, 'possessing hate/revenge (i.e. desire of revenge)' = 'hostile/vengeful.' Whereas *öš* in the sense of 'requital, retribution' was, and remains, inseparable from the concept of 'hate', mmo. *hači*, meaning also 'requital, retribution', was neutral insofar as it can signify 'revenge' as well as 'benefit, reward' according to the context. See HW, 74; *Matériel I*, 59. Cf. mmo. *hačitu* 'having (one's) revenge' (SH, § 113); pmo. and mo. *ačitu* 'meritorious' (TDB, 47: F37v; 170, n. 271; Kow., 119b). This dichotomy has been noted by other investigators; cf., e.g., C. Humphrey in MNT, I, 203-206. Now *(h)ači* is a true Mongolian word which the early translators and commentators of Buddhist texts used to render skr. *phala* (= tib. *'bras bu*) 'fruition, result(s) (of act[s])'; skr. *kṛta* (= tib. *lan*, *drin*) 'deed or service done, benefit'; etc. Cf. Cleaves 1954, 56a; MTVB, 127b, s.v. 'ači.' Thus, although originally a neutral word, through Buddhist usage *ači* acquired in time the positive connotations that we find associated with it in literary Mongolian and the modern dialects. Cf. Les., 7b; DO, 35b; MMED, 38a; etc. On the other hand, *öš* (*ös*) – almost certainly a borrowing from Turkic – retained the negative connotations which were already present in tu. *öč* (= mo. *öš*) 'malice, wrath' and 'revenge'; *öče-* (= mo. *ösi-*) 'to feel hostile, to desire revenge.' See ED, 18a-b, 21a; DTS, 376a. Cf. VGAS, 63, 109; TMEN, no. 575. In the SH, besides *öš* we find also the deverbal noun in *-l ösöl* (§§ 58, 102) with the same meaning; and, in the later literary language, the deverbal nouns in *-ye*

(/-ya; *deest apud* Poppe, GWM, but see MÜIT, 2843a, no. 500 [1]) *ösiye(n)*, *ösiyetü*, *ösiyetei*, *ösiyeten*. See Les., 645a-b. Indeed, both *öš/os* and *öštü/östü* became somewhat obsolete in that language, being gradually replaced by *ösiye(n)*, *ösiyetü*, etc., witness the fact that the former words are not listed in the QNTT (whereas *ösiye* is), and that the entry *ös* in MKT, 284c, is referred to the entry *ösiye*, and *östü*, *östei* are not entered at all, while *ösiyetei* is (ibid., 285b; idem in the 1999 ed., 285c and 286b; the more comprehensive MKeT has, however, separate entries for *ös*, *ösiye* and *ösiyetei*, see ibid., 603b, 604a, 605a). Likewise, *ös* in Šaγǰa[1], 167b, is given as equal to *ösiye*, which is glossed as *qadaγalγaγsan qorosul* 'kept (= prolonged, implacable) hatred' (Šaγǰa[2] does not register *ös*). In order to render correctly the meaning of *öštü gü'ün* in our passage, one would have to paraphrase it as 'a man who from old harbours deep feelings of hate and a desire for revenge'; or, more simply and less accurately, 'a hating and vindictive man.' However, I think that 'mortal enemy' conveys the idea adequately, bearing in mind what has been said about the concept of vengeance in early Mongol society. I have purposely avoided the use of the expression 'a hateful man' since it is both ambiguous and inadequate to render the Mongolian.

'Old Širgü'etü got onto the cart.' This sentence, which is missing from Onon's translations (On, 63, and the 2001 ed., 124), has been rendered 'Old Man Širgü'etü, getting him (i.e. Taryutai Kiriltuγ – I.R.) into the cart' in Cl, 77. I think it is Širgü'etü who got into (*or* onto) the cart, since Tarqutai was already there.

'Sitting astride' – as if riding him.

The passage 'Your sons and younger brothers have come to take you away … death-companion', has been translated and discussed in Mo, 67-70. Cf. Street 1986, 47-48.

Throughout this section, I have rendered *qan*, *tus qan* and *tus* (= *tus qan*), as 'lord' and 'rightful lord' respectively. From the sectional summary it is clear that the Ming translators took *qan* here to mean *chu* 主 'lord, master' by rendering *tus qan* as

cheng-chu 正主 'rightful lord' (Y^2 5, 8b). See Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1951, 103, n. 163 ('seigneur légitime'). Cf. Pa, 75; Wa, 255; Wei, 102. Tarqutai Kiriltuq is nowhere referred to as being a *qan*.

In §§ 55 and 145, the particle *taki/teki* occurs with the meaning of 'also', whereas in this section it has the meaning of 'if, even if', in conjunction with a converbum conditionale (*ala'asu*). For this usage, cf. Bayarmendü 1990, 24-25; Oz^1, III, 194-195, n. 3. See also n. 55 above.

'I shall of course be killed all the same' (*mün gü alaqdaqu gü bi*). For the emphatic *mün gü ...gü*, cf. Street, loc. cit.

'Taking *you as my* death-companion', lit 'taking a pillow' (*dere abun*). The expression 'to die taking a pillow' refers to the Mongol and Inner Asian custom for a person about to die to revenge himself in advance by killing an enemy, whose body would then provide, as it were, a pillow to rest on, i.e. on whose body he could be laid when buried. The enemy thus killed would serve as escort and servant in the other world. See Mo, 68-70, 275; Li, 157, n. 149; MNTSZA, 126-132; Barthold & Rogers 1970, 211-212; Tomka 1965, 175; Boyle 1974a; cf. Cleaves 1986, 195, n. 21. See also § 154.

'Draw back at once before he kills me!', lit. 'While he has not yet killed me, go back quickly!'

The passage 'Temüǰin will not kill me ... Temüǰin will not cause me to die' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 236-238, n. 221.

'He had fire in his eyes,/He had light in his face.' For this recurrent *topos*, cf. above, n. 62.

'In a camp without a master.' A place 'without a master (*or* lord, chief)' (*eǰen ügei*) was by definition a deserted area not belonging to anyone in particular (see above, n. 123); here, however, the reference is to Yisügei's encampment after his death and the defection of his retainers as described in § 72. It should be noted that the main defectors were, in fact, the Tayiči'ut kinsmen led by Tarqutai Kiriltuq; here, his former

abduction of Temüǰin is given a totally different interpretation from the one related in § 79ff.

'I kept teaching and instructing him' (*surqan söyin yabula'a*) or, alternatively, 'I kept on admonishingly teaching him.' For *surqan söyi-*, cf. Cleaves 1985, 245-246, n. 35.

'He is becoming thoughtful *in his actions*', lit. 'His reason (*oyi* = the ability or faculty to behave rationally) enters (i.e. begins).'

'Once Širgü'etü has deprived him of his life', lit. 'When Širgü'etü has finished (*bara'asu*) killing (= has killed) his life.' For the verb *bara-* 'to finish' acting as the auxiliary of completed action, see Mo, 114, n. 106, where the present passage is quoted and translated, and above, n. 75.

'Having waited for them to come back', lit. 'having let them come back.'

'The Qutuqul Bend' (Qutuqul [~ Quduqul] Nu'u). For *nu'u* (> *nū* in § 94) 'dry ground or plain in the winding of a river', see above, n. 94. This is an unidentified locality in the region of Quba Qaya. Cf. HCG, 162; Pėrlėė^2, 11 (= Pėrlėė^4, 100). Pėrlėė, loc. cit., says that it was probably near Gua Dob (i.e. Quba Qaya) of the Kerulen, but I think it more likely that the locality in question was near the Khalkha or Urshun rivers (see above, n. 148).

'People who are not *worthy of* companionship', lit. 'people without companionship' (*nököčel üge'ün haran*). Cf. Ligeti 1971, 145: 'gens sans compagnonnage.'

'Must be cut down' (*mököri'üldekün*). The AT^1, 52b, writes *mökörigülüdkün* with the gloss *mayu bolγadqun*, lit. 'cause (imp.) to become bad!', i.e. 'execute!' *Mököri'üldekün* (cf. the form *mököri'üldegü* almost immediately after) is the passive of the nomen futuri, expressing the necessity to act (see GWM, 169, § 607), of the factitive of *mököri-* ~ *mököre-* 'to be completely incapable', which in turn is a middle verb in *-ra-/-re-* of *mökö-* 'to suffer a set-back or ill luck, to collapse, etc.' See DO, 468a; Les., 545a-b. For *-ri-* = *-ra-/-re-*, cf. mo. *čuburi-*, *čubura-* 'to flow, move o. after a.' < *čubu-* id.; SH *čuburi'ul-* id.

(Les., 203b-204a; HW, 29). See MÜIT, 2859b, no. 525 (1). Cf. JŚ, 60-61, §§ 98, 99. *Mökörí'ül-* is often rendered as 'to behead' (cf., e.g., Cl, 78; Ev-Pop, 110) mainly on the strength of the Chinese gloss *chan* 斬 'to behead, cut in two', and the fact that executions were usually, but not always, carried out by beheading (cf. § 136). This is certainly the case in the later legal procedure of the Yüan. See CY, II, 56, n. 1. It has also been inferred (erroneously, in my view) that SH *mökörí'ül-* = mo. *mökörigül-* 'to make round, spherical' (< *mökörig* ~ *mökölig* 'grain; spherical'), hence 'to behead.' See, e.g., Pao, 118; LDAT, 160, n. ač. Cf. Kow., 2066a. However, in view of the origin of the verb *mökörí'ül-*, the occurrence of the expression *ekit čabči-* in § 278 meaning 'to behead', the fact that *chan* 斬 has the secondary meaning of 'to put to death' (DKJ, V, 13555.3; cf. CEDMU, 150c), and the above-mentioned gloss of the AT, to which we must add also the gloss *alaγulqu* 'to cause to kill, to have executed' of *mökörigüldekü* in AT[1], 73b (cf. ATL, 159), I think that it is more accurate to render the verb in question with 'to execute' or 'to cut down', even though this meant, *in most cases*, being beheaded. Cf. Oz[1], V, 62-63, n. 12. In the ET, *mökörigül-* (~ *mökerigül-*) occurs several times (see ETI, 134b) with the meaning 'to kill' and 'to incapacitate, pin down.' Cf. TH, 228 (= ǰYT, 393-394). See also Gantogtokh 1989, 120-121; Gantogtox 1990, 125.

'We ... have come to offer our services', lit 'we ... have come to give strength' (*güčü ögüre ireba* [= *irebe*]). The expression *güčü ök-* (= mo. *küčü ög-*) corresponds to tu. *küč ber-* id., i.e. 'to give service, to serve.' Cf. Cleaves 1982, 87, n. 64; G. Doerfer in AB, 69-74. For the elliptical expression *beyes-iyen* 'possessing only our bodies', cf. above, n. 109 ad fin. 'Were on our way *here*', lit. 'were approaching.'

'Before our *very* eyes', lit. 'having looked *at him*.' Cf. *Matériel II*, 95 (12r, 4).

'The father and sons' (*ečiges kö'üt*): in Mongolian both words are in the plural. Cf. Mo, 64.

'Asked why they had come', lit. 'said, "Why did you come?"'

As noted by several other investigators, Činggis Qan valued above all loyalty to one's chief, and this was, indeed, the foundation of his power and the guiding principle of his *ǰasaq*, or normative law. There are several illustrations of this principle in the SH (cf., e.g., §§ 188, 200, 220); by and large, we can say that the message conveyed by the SH is essentially one of compliance with the will of Heaven to ensure its protection, and of loyal service to one's rightful master to ensure his favour. To break these two rules is tantamount to self-destruction. However, to join a new leader *who has validated his claim through victory* is done not only with impunity, but brings its own reward. See Li, 157, n. 149; Jagchid 1978, 106; ČK[1], 60 (= ČK[2], 65); Ratchnevsky 1987, 67.

As for Tarqutai Kiriltuq, the fact that he never reappears and that Rašīd al-Dīn makes him die at Ülengüt Turas, stating in another passage (SL[2], I/1, 174) that he was killed by a son of Sorqan Šira, indicates that his hopes for a pardon were dashed and that, as one would expect, he was executed immediately after being handed over to his unforgiving enemy. However, as stated earlier, while Tarqutai Kiriltuq undoubtedly perished, the whole episode related in § 149 may well be anecdotal. Cf. also ČK[1], 61 (= ČK[2], 65).

§ 150. In our text the place-name Dersüt is written Tersüt. According to Li, 157, n. 150, it means 'the Nestorians', *tersüt* being a plural of *ters* (<< pers. *tarsā*) 'Christian' (cf. TMEN, no. 880), used here to designate those Nestorian Christians of Turkic tongue who lived in the area of Almalïq (near modern Kulja/Kuldja/I-ning 伊寧) west of the Issyk-kul and north-east of the present Sinkiang border; on this town cf. YShi, 2. This may have been prompted by an early note of Pelliot where he writes, 'Peut-être faut-il comprendre "chez les Tärsüt".' (Pe, 173, n. 1.) Later, however, Pelliot suggested that the reading Tersüt of the SH is an error of the Ming transcribers: the original text should

have been read *Dersüt (in Uighur script indistinguishable from Tersüt) = *Deresüt (pl. of *deresün* 'feather-grass, broom grass, *Lasiogrostis splendens*'; see below, n. 249). See HCG, 225-226. Pėrlėė has also failed to identify this place; however, he wonders whether the name should be read 'Tėėlsüüd' and be identified with Gurban Tėėl (probably corresponding, according to Pėrlėė[2], 8, to the Qurban Telesüt of SH, § 177; see below, n. 177) at 47° N 101° E. Cf. Pėrlėė[2], 11 (= Pėrlėė[4], 89). Regarding Deresü, H. Serruys wrote (p.c.), 'This name as a place-name appears often in the *Ming shih-lu*. Mongol place-names are usually names of natural phenomena; and to find the name of a people, or a tribe, as a place-name is rather unlikely. Especially at that early time: the Nestorians could not yet have had such influence that their name became a place-name. That takes time.' On the other hand, Ligeti's interpretation may apply to the Deresü of Rašīd al-Dīn (see *Successors*, 103 and n. 25, 162, 197, 224), since in Rašīd's account it refers to the place in Central Asia where Qubilai sent his army against the rebellious Qaidu; and this place, as we also know from the YS, was actually Almalïq. See YS[2] 9, 191; 63, 1569; 127, 3113. Cf. KK, 107ff.; Boyle 1973, 75. However, it is very improbable that in this period (1201-02) Činggis Qan was so far out west. This name, which appears only once in the SH, is written Tarqud *pro* Tersüd (= Dersüd) in AT[1], 53a; it has misled Ko, 363 ('Tarχud'). Cf. HCG, 225; Grabar' 1985, 28-29, n. 10. See also Murakami's remarks in Mu, II, 29-30, n. 1. While adopting the reading Dersüt proposed by Pelliot, I have some reservations in view of the AT reading lacking the vowel *-e/-a* after the *s* (incorrectly written as *q/γ*).

J̌aqa Gambu, Ong Qan's younger brother, was last mentioned in § 142, when Ong Qan had sent him ahead as vanguard before the battle at Köyiten. According to Ratchnevsky, the mention of Tersüt and of J̌aqa Gambu in connection with a joint campaign with Činggis Qan against the Merkit indicates that the campaign in question – chronologically misplaced in the SH – actually refers to the 1197 expedition of

Činggis Qan, Ong Qan and J̌aqa Gambu against Toqto'a Beki and the Uduyit Merkit recorded by Rašīd al-Dīn. See ČK[1], 53 and n. 65 (= ČK[2], 56-57).

'Činggis Qa'an, J̌aqa Gambu and other *chiefs*' (*Činggis Qa'an J̌aqa Gambu ki'et*). For this usage of *ki'et* (= mo. *kiged*) 'and others' = 'and others like them' (i.e. chiefs like Altan, Qučar and Dāritai), which coincides with that of *-tan/-ten*, see Cleaves 1949, 127, n. 223; idem 1950, 110, n. 51; Oz[1], III, 208-209, n. 1. Cf. above, nn. 72, 130.

The Tümen ('Ten Thousand') Tübegen – a branch, or clan, of the Kereyit – reappears later with the same epithet (§§ 170, 171, 187), except in one case (§ 208) where it is simply referred to as Tübegen. Likewise, the Olon ('Many' or 'Numerous') Dongqayit, also a clan of the Kereyit, reappears with (§§ 150, 170, 171, 187) and without (§§ 170, 171, 208) the epithet. This has created a certain inconsistency in the rendering of these names in Cl, 79, 96, 98, 115 and 118 (note 13 on p. 79 is not helpful). The names of those clans were, of course, Tübegen (> Tübe'en; cf. § 187) and Dongqayit (~ Dongqait), but their frequent designation as Tümen Tübegen and Olon Dongqayit indicates that these epithets had virtually become part of their names in common Mongol usage. Such numerical designations were, indeed, used frequently by Turkish and Mongolian tribes from early times, as already noted by Pelliot. See HCG, 228-229, where the two clans in question are discussed, and NCHK, I, 56, n. 38, for the epithet *tümen*. Cf. also Poppe 1975, 167 (where '*duŋqayit*' should read '*doŋqayit*'). In the ET, the Kereyit tribe itself is referred to as Olan Kereyid, i.e. the Many (*or* Numerous) Kereyid. See ET[3], 36r14; GOM, 87.

These two branches of the Kereyit tribe, of which J̌aqa Gambu was one of the leaders, had obviously separated from the main tribe for reasons unknown to us; and it was J̌aqa Gambu who, having just rallied to Činggis Qan, brought them back and made them also join the latter. I share the opinion of Haenisch (Ha, 50), Murakami (Mu, II, 23), and Onon (On, 65) that the

subject of the sentence is J̌aqa Gambu, as he was a Kereyit chief and the verb is in the factitive (*ire'üle'ei*).

In this section, Ong Qan and Yisügei Qan are called Ong Qa'an and Yisügei Qa'an respectively. This, the *only* occurrence in the whole work where they are referred to with the inappropriate title of *qa'an*, must be a later editorial or scribal error, since the original would have had only *qan* as in all other instances (see R, 279b, 342a). It should be noted, however, that the AT has Ong Qaγan throughout, and Yisügei is never called either Qan or Qaγan, but only Baγatur. See ATI, 222b, 277b-278a; and above, n. 50.

'Because they were living together very harmoniously', lit. 'In *that* they lived together nicely in peace (*sayibar el*).' *El* (~ *il*) is an important term, like its Chinese counterpart *p'ing* 平 'peace; to pacify.' The word is common to both Turkic and Mongolian. See TMEN, no. 653; ED, 121b-122b; C.F. Carlson in AB, 61; and, especially, Erdal 1993, for its various connotations. In the sense of 'peaceful' when applied to people, it meant the people who had been 'pacified', viz. who lived under the Mongol 'peace', i.e. the subject people, in contrast to the 'rebel' (*bulqa*) people, i.e. those not yet pacified (= brought under submission). See 'Trois documents', 454; *Lettres*, 27. Cf. below the remarks on the term *bulqa*.

'They had declared themselves sworn friends.' The declaration of *anda*-ship or sworn friendship between Ong Qan and Yisügei was mentioned in § 96; the background story is repeated in § 177, with additional details. The various versions of this story (Rašīd al-Dīn, the SWCCL and the YS) are at variance and at times inconsistent with each other. For a critical analysis, see HCG, 233-248. Thus, in our text, and in the parallel passage in AT[1], 53a (cf. LDAT, 130), the statement that Ong Qan had killed (Ha, 50, and Li, 55, understand 'wanted to kill') the younger brothers of his father Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan, viz. his uncles, is incorrect; the 'younger brothers' in question were actually Ong Qan's own brothers, not his father's. They were Tai Temür Taiši and Buqa Temür; another brother, Erke

Qara, had escaped in time to the Naiman. J̌aqa Gambu remained on good terms with Ong Qan. See the SH, §§ 151, 152 and 177. Ong Qan's father was called Qurčaqus, syr. Qûrîyaqûs (pers. Qūrčāqūz/Qūrǰāqūz; cf. SL[2], I/1, 130), i.e. Cyriacus; and the latter's father was called Marqus (this name is written Maryus in an Arabic-Mongolian document of 1272), syr. Marqûs (pers. Maryūz; cf. SL[2], loc. cit.), i.e. Mark – both names indicative of the Christian (Nestorian) faith of Ong Qan's family. See Pelliot 1914, 627; idem 1944b, 52ff.; HCG, 233, 236; Dauvillier 1948, 308-309; ČK[1], 3 (= ČK[2], 4). Buyiruq appears as a name here and elsewhere (see, e.g., the Buyiruq Qan of the Naiman in §§ 143, 158), but it is actually a title used from antiquity by Central Asian Turks, the Turkic form being *buïruq*. On the origin and possible meaning of this title, see Pelliot 1944b, 44-45; HCG, 297-298. Gür Qan, the name of Qurčaqus' brother, is also a title (see above, n. 141).

'He had become a rebel (*bulqa*).' For the word *bulqa* (= pmo., mo. *bulγa*) 'rebel', the antonym of which is *el* (~ *il*) 'peace(ful)' → 'subject', see Cleaves 1949, 111, n. 89; 'Trois documents', 492-493; TMEN, no. 768; Poppe 1955, 39; Fletcher 1986, 19. *Bulqa* belongs to the category of nomina verba, functioning as both substantive ('rebel, hostile') and verb (*bulqa-* 'to revolt, rebel, be hostile, to oppose resistance; battle, fight'). See Kara 1993, 153. For *el* (~ *il*), see TMEN, nos. 25, 653; Erdal 1993; CCME, 21-22. Cf. RH, 79, no. 2: *il* 'obedient.' On the Mongol concept of 'rebellion', i.e. the refusal to submit voluntarily to the Mongol ruler's authority, see de Rachewiltz 1973; idem 1996b, 6.

According to Pelliot (HCG, 260-261), the Qara'un ('Dark') Gorge (Qara'un Qabčal) must be situated in the mountains just north of Kyakhta. Pėrlėė[2], 10 (= Pėrlėė[4], 99), places it more broadly in the area 'along the Selenge', i.e. the Selenga River; in the earlier version of his article he gives as coordinates 49° N 105° E, thus placing it in an area south-west of Kyakhta. See Pėrlėė[1], 70. The interlinear Chinese gloss defines Qara'un as a 'name of mountain(s).' See Y[2] 5, 9b, and the sectional

summary, ibid., 10b. For *qara'un* (= pmo. *qaraγun*) 'dark, black', see TMEN, no. 277.

'Prompted (= affected) by his coming to him' (*imayi ö'er-dür-iyen irekdeǰü*). For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 374-375. Cf. Cl, 79: 'receiving him unto himself'; On, 65: 'asked him to come (back with) him.'

Qašin, from ch. Ho-hsi 河西 '(The territory) west of the (Yellow) River', was the designation of the Tangut state of Hsi Hsia 西夏 ('Western Hsia'), founded in AD 1032, which before its destruction by the Mongols in 1227 comprised part of the Ordos and Shensi, as well as Kansu and Ninghsia. Its capital was Chung-hsing 中興, the former Ning-hsia hsien 寧夏縣 (now Yin-ch'uan 銀川 in Ninghsia), known by the Mongols as Eriqaya. See below, nn. 249, 265. Rašīd al-Dīn calls the Hsi Hsia kingdom Xašīn as well as Tangqut. See NMP, I, 315. The latter name, in the forms Tangqut (= pmo. Tangγud) and Tang'ut (where -γ- > -'-), are also found in the SH. See below, n. 151. For Qašin cf. also OITG, 350b, s.v. 'Khesi'; L. Ligeti in MS, 308; Li, 157, n. 150, and 184-185, n. 265; and Cleaves 1988, 156, n. 4. The literature on the Hsi Hsia kingdom, and Tangut studies in general, has become extensive in recent decades thanks to the contributions of Russian, Japanese, Chinese, and American scholars. The best concise history of Hsi Hsia in a Western language is still OITG. For an excellent survey, see also R. Dunnell in CHCAR, 154-214, and in *JAH* 18:1984, 78-89. Important contributions on the subject are also found in HHYCLC and HHSLWC; and the largest collection of Chinese source material on the Hsi Hsia is THHHTL.

'He took *Ong Qan's* people and returned them to Ong Qan.' The people (*irge orqa*) in question were those belonging to Ong Qan, left behind at the time of his flight through the Qara'un Gorge. Yisügei brought them together and returned them to Ong Qan. See § 164, and the sectional summary of our § 150 in Y^2 5, 10b (cf. Wei, 102-103). For the expression *irge orqa* (~ *irgen orqan*, etc.; pmo. *irge oryγa*, *irgen oryγan*, etc.), see Mo, 230-231; Cleaves 1982, 79, n. 22; idem 2001a, 34-35, n. 46.

§ 151. For Ong Qan's brother Erke Qara and the background story, see above, n. 150, and HCG, 435b (Index). For the parallel account of this episode in the SWCCL and in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, see HCG, 231-232; SL^2, I/2, 110. On Inanča Qan, or Inanča Bilge Qan (§§ 177, 189, 194), whose full Turkic name was Ïnanč Bilgä Bügü Qan, see HCG, 250-251; cf. also TMEN, no. 669. He was the father of Buyiruq Qan, whom we have met in §§ 141-144 (see also further, § 158) and of Tayang Qan (see § 166). The Naiman princes bore Turkic names and titles, as well as Chinese ones; Nestorian Christianity had also penetrated their clans. See HCG, 214-221; Dauvillier 1948, 308. Ong Qan's second flight is recounted again in § 177, also with additional details.

'In his wanderings had *already* passed', lit. 'he had gone wandering about' (*bitün yorčiǰu*). The basic idea of *bitü-* is 'to go, or change, from one (place, person, etc.) to the other', hence 'to do something in succession; to roam, wander.' Cf. Les., 108a.

According to Li, 157, n. 151 (following Na^1, 169), the 'three cities' (*qurban balaqat*) designate *sensu lato* the three countries, or people, of the Tanguts, i.e. the Hsi Hsia (Qašin, see above, n. 150), the Uighurs and the Qarluqs, that Ong Qan crossed on his way to the Qara Kitai ('Black Kitai'), or Western Liao (Hsi Liao 西遼), empire in Central Asia. I think that the 'three cities' may well refer to the capitals of these three countries, viz. Eriqaya (Chung-hsing, see ibid.), Beš Balïq (north-east of modern Urumchi in Sinkiang, cf. below, n. 238) and Qayalïq (18 km south-west of present-day Taldy-Kurgan in southeastern Kazakhstan, cf. below, n. 235). It will be remembered (see above, n. 107) that Ong Qan's family had old ties with the Tangut kingdom, where J̌aqa Gambu had been brought up. At the same time, Ong Qan, no doubt because of his Nestorian persuasion and background, had also cultural ties with the

Nestorian communities among the Uighur and Qarluq Turks, as well as with those in the Qara Kitai empire. The ruler, or *gür qan* (on this title see above, n. 141), of the Qara Kitai was then Yeh-lü Chih-lu-ku 耶律直魯古, later (in 1211) deposed by the Naiman prince Güčülük (= tu. Küčlüg), the son of Tayang Qan. See HCG, 251-252. The Qara Kitai capital was Quz or Ґuz Ordo, the Turkic name of Balāsāγūn (formerly the capital of the Qarakhanids), on the Chu (Ču) River, 24 km south-west of Toqmaq in Kazakhstan, Balāsāγūn being 'perhaps a Sogdian name.' See NMP, I, 224; cf. de Rachewiltz 1962, 53, n. 75. In our passage the Qara Kitai empire is called Qara Kidat; however, in the SH the same name (with Kidat ~ Kitat) designates also the Kitans of north China who were subjects of the Jurchens. See below, n. 247. On the Qara Kitai, (Qara-Khitai, Qara-Khitay, etc.), see HCSL, 619-674; the references in NMP (see vol. III, 220a-b); HCG, 252; CHEIA, 410-412; FSHCA, 178b (Index). For the early Qarluq Turks, see Uchida Gimpū 內田吟風 in THTR, 57-70, and Ecsedy 1980; for their later history see HCSL, 735a, s.v.; MJK, 664b, s.v.; Li, 176, n. 235; Mu, III, 79-80, n. 1; TIKCA, 22ff.; TMEN, no. 1388; NNRS, Index, 12a. Cf. also below, nn. 198, 235.

Ong Qan's journey to Qašin/Hsi Hsia was no doubt prompted also by the need to reach Central Asia by a route other than the one which went through the hostile Naiman territory; we know that there was in fact a route, which later became well established (with post stations, etc.), from central Mongolia to Eriqaya through the Gobi (Čöl). Cf. Pelliot 1920, 178-182. After having quarrelled with the *gür qan*, Ong Qan on his return journey passed again through the cities (*balaqat*) of the Uyiqur (in the text Uyiqut, pl. of *Uyiqur = pmo. Uyiγur, Uyiγud) and the Tangqut. In the next paragraph these two names are written Ui'ut (where -γ- > -'-) and Tang'ut, as in § 177. In § 238 we also find the form Ui'ut. In §§ 198 and 279 we find the ethnicon Ui'urtai (< Uyiγurtai). In all other references, Tangqut is written Tang'ut (see Cl, 263b). For the name Uiqur = Uiγur (< tu. Uïγur), see Cleaves 1949, 100, n. 29; NMP, II, 753; HCG, 253; Poppe 1975, 166; MBT, 230b. For *iqu* (= *iγu*) > *i'u*, see IMCP, 66. The Uighurs of Turfan, Karashar and Kucha and their ruler the *ïduq qut*, were then vassals of the Qara Kitai *gür qan*, against whom they rebelled in 1209. See § 238 and com. On the Uighurs in the 12th-13th centuries, see TDMI, 567a, s.v.; 573b, s.v.; NUKSK, 1-17; LUKQ, 29-30; Allsen 1983; de Rachewiltz 1983a; MI, 67-68; KOSUG, 56ff.; WWETSL, 102ff.; TIKCA, 56-61; OISUDNK, 66ff.; ISK, 802b, s.v.; CEME, 136b, s.v.; CHCAR, 857b, s.v. Tangqut = Tangγud (> Tang'ut) is a Turco-Mongolian designation of Hsi Hsia: 'the Qašin people' (*Qašin irgen*: § 249) are also called 'the Tang'ut people' (*Tang'ut irgen*: §§ 249, 250, etc.), as well as 'the Tang'udut' (§§ 265, 266), i.e. 'the Tanguts.' For this designation, see Li, 184-185, n. 265; Dunnell 1984. Cf. also below, n. 249. *Balaqat* (= pmo. *balaγad*) 'cities' is the plural of *balaqasun* (= pmo. *balaγasun*), corresponding to mo. *balγad*, *balγasun* respectively, see TMEN, nos. 95, 712; Oz[1], VI, 534-535, n. 7. Bese's objection to the readings *balaqasun* and *balaqat* (Bese 1978, 359, no. 8) is unwarranted. Cf. VMI, 18: *balaqasun*; RH, 248, no. 21: *balaġasun*; 'ph. *balaqad* (MMḤS, 120a).

'Muzzling *their kids*' (*širgü'eleǰü*). In § 177, where the story is retold with some additional details, the same verb occurs in the form *širgöleǰü* (= *širgōleǰü*). In both cases the Chinese gloss is *chü-cho* 拘着. The verb *chü* 拘 means 'to grasp, seize', as well as 'to restrain, detain.' In the AT[1], 53b, *sirgüleǰü* is glossed *aduγulan* 'tending'; the section corresponding to § 177 is missing. The Chinese sectional summary does not translate the *širgü'ele-*, *širgōle-* of the text. Starting with Na[1], 170, most translators of the SH have rendered this verb as 'seizing' or 'seized' (the five goats), and recent translations still follow this early interpretation. Besides Cl, 80, cf. Do[1], 120; Ta, 79. Pe, 173, translates '*qu'il faisait attacher*' (id. on p. 174), with a footnote saying: '[Le verbe *širgü'älä-* est glosé (V, 11 *b*) 拘 *kiu* "saisir"; cf. Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte*, 52.]' However,

in HCG, 254, Pelliot translates the passage in question as follows: 's'étant emparé de cinq chèvres, il les trayait et piquant le sang des chameaux il s'en nourrissait.' Kozin's rendering 'he kept somehow with him five goats' is untenable, this being his own inexplicable extrapolation from the verb 'to seize' of the gloss, from mo. *sirgüge-* 'to rub', and from mong. *surGu-* 'enduire' (DMF, 364). See Ko, 122, 545. The interesting thing is that in § 177 (ibid., 135), Kozin translates *širgōleǰü sa'aǰu* as 'he milked to the last drop', without justifying this completely different interpretation (on p. 604 a confusion has occurred s.v. 'širkolku' which clouds the issue even further). Nevertheless, this rendering is found also in Ja, 193, 232 (擠乾 'he milked dry'), no doubt because the translator took the verb *širgü'ele-*, *širgōle-* as corresponding to mo. *sirgege-* 'to dry.' Probably, Kozin had made the same correlation in § 177, translating accordingly. On, 66, translates 'by milking his five goats, tethered together in a line' (2001 ed., 127: 'by milking his five goats, tethered in a line'), I do not know on what ground. The correct interpretation is supplied by TH, 251-252 (= ǰYT, 434-435): SH *širgü'ele-*, *širgōle-* = mo. *šörgele-* 'to put a muzzle (on a calf) to prevent suckling.' See MKT, 976a. A special device (*šorge*) was applied as muzzle at certain times, the purpose being to make sure that the calf would not suckle the mother dry and thus leave no milk for human consumption. Cf. DO, 630b, s.vv. '*šörgö*' and '*šörgölö-*'; MKeT, 2006b, 2007a. Oz[1], III, 215-216, n. 1, and Ev-Pop, 112 and 279, n. 23, have adopted this interpretation, which I found confirmed by an independent source. In the passage of the SWCCL[1] (19a) dealing with these events it is related how Ong Qan passed through the towns of the Ui'ur and Hsi Hsia, and 'half-way his provisions came to an end. He was left with (only) five goats which he milked after having tied their mouths, (taking their milk) as a drink.' See HCG, 231. Pelliot was puzzled by the reference to the tying of the mouths and could not explain it, merely stating 'à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'une pratique alors courante chez les Mongols, mais que je ne connais pas.' (Ibid., 254.) Clearly, the reference

in the original source was to the kids being muzzled, not to the goats themselves; in the SH the kids are also meant but are not mentioned. Therefore, the Chinese gloss *chü-cho* 拘着 must mean 'restraining *the kids*', and not 'seizing.' One wonders whether Pelliot's rendering in Pe, 173 and 174 '*qu'il faisait attacher*' (italicised in the original) indicates a second thought on his part. This is a perfect example of a Chinese source helping the understanding of the text of the SH. For *ima'an* (pl. *ima'at*), mo. *imaγan*, 'she-goat', see Hung 1956, 30, n. 5 (where the Ong Qan episode is briefly mentioned); and L. Bazin's interesting study on the names of the goat in Turkic and Mongolian (Bazin 1957). Cf. also Ligeti 1965, 280, no. 20; RH, 218, no. 23.

For *qana-* 'to bleed', cf. TMEN, no. 1357.

Lake Güse'ür (Güse'ür Na'ur) has been tentatively identified by Pėrlėė[2], 8 (= Pėrlėė[4], 90) with a lake, now apparently dried up, in the area of the Gurvan Xövsgöl Mountains in the Dornogov' Aĭmag, at 43° N 109° E. This lake or marsh is an important locality, connected with the seasonal movements of the Mongol court during the reign of Ögödei Qa'an (1229-41), when it was the emperor's usual autumn residence. According to Rašīd al-Dīn, before becoming the Mongol *qa'an*'s autumn residence, Lake Güse'ür had been one of Ong Qan's two summer encampments. As indicated by Boyle, this also was the place where Güyük's election was held. See Boyle 1972, 128-129; idem 1973a. According to Pelliot (HCG, 254), the Chinese sources point to a locality north of the Gobi and to the south, or south-west, of the Tūla River. More specifically, for Boyle the lake (or marsh) in question 'is to be looked for somewhere in the *aimak* of Övör Hangai, between Qara-Qorum and the modern town of Arbai Heere' (Boyle 1973a, 109). The localization of Pėrlėė is unsupported and undoubtedly incorrect, being too far to the south-east. Since Ong Qan was coming from Tangqut/Hsi Hsia, i.e. Ninghsia in the south, and was obviously aiming north, or northeastwards,

towards the Tūla and the Onon-Kerulen region, Lake Güse'ür would have been right on his way.

For Taqai Ba'atur and Sükegei J̌e'ün – whose names appear in different forms in the SH – see above, n. 120. For their role as Činggis' trusted envoys, see above, § 124 and com.

In § 150 we left Činggis Qan at Dersüt (? Deresüt), an unknown locality. Here he is back to his native grounds on the upper course of the Kerulen south of Khentei Khan. The account in § 177 is more precise and informs us that he was actually at Bürgi Ergi, the 'escarpment' on the Kerulen (see above, n. 96) where Činggis had his *güre'en*. From there, he went to meet (lit. 'went towards': *esergü otču*) Ong Qan at Lake Güse'ür and brought him into (lit. 'let him enter inside') his camp. Ong Qan was starved and exhausted (*turuǰu*). For this verb (= mo. *tura-*), cf. DO, 682b. Činggis 'raised taxes' (*qubčiri qubčiǰu*) for Ong Qan from his own people, not only to feed him, but also to assist him in restoring his fortunes, for which he obviously needed considerable material help, as clearly stated in the SWCCL (see HCG, 232). For Činggis' 'recollection' of these events, cf. § 177. The term for 'taxes, levies' is *qubčiri*; 'to raise taxes' is *qubči-*. (For the dev. noun suff. *-ri*, see GWM, 49, § 179.) For these important socio-economic terms, see TMEN, no. 266; Mu, II, 43-44, n. 19; Oz[1], III, 216-218, n. 2; and, more recently, Whaley 2001, 15ff. Besides Schurmann 1956 (already cited in TMEN, no. 266, pp. 390-391) and idem 1951, 303-304, cf. also Smith 1970, 70; Dardess 1972/73, 117ff.; and below, n. 279, on early Mongol taxation.

The question is: when did this second flight of Ong Qan take place? According to the usually unreliable chronology of the SH, Činggis Qan helped Ong Qan (after the latter's return from Central Asia and Hsi Hsia) in the autumn-winter of 1201-1202, i.e. before the battle at Dalan Nemürges against the Tatars in the autumn of 1202 (§ 153). Rašīd's chronology and sequence of events is completely at odds with the SH, but it is also unconvincing, as already pointed out by Pelliot (HCG, 260-261). Cf. the discussion by Hambis in GK, 56-57: his

conclusion is that Ong Qan's second flight occurred in the period within ten years *before* 1196, but not in 1196. Therefore, Rašīd's date of 1196 for Ong Qan's return adopted by Grousset (CW, 87-88; cf. also EM, 85-86) appears to be invalidated; this is also the opinion of Ratchnevsky who, however, owing to conflicting statements in our sources, cannot, like Pelliot, offer an alternative date. See ČK[1], 47-48 (= ČK[2], 50-51). Perhaps one should re-examine the chronology of the SH in this particular instance. Pelliot (ibid., 265) already indicated that Ong Qan's return to Mongolia is in all likelihood post-1196 (joint campaign against the Tatar Megüǰin Se'ültü, SH, §§ 132-133), in fact post-1198 (Ong Qan's campaign against the Merkit); see below. In both the SH and the YS (YS[2] 1, 7) Činggis' campaign against the Tatars, which is unquestionably of 1202, is recorded immediately after the unpleasant episode of Ong Qan and his brothers related in SH, § 152, which in the latter source follows Ong Qan's return. At the end of the present section of the SH, the text says that after Činggis had given shelter to Ong Qan and raised levies for him, they transmigrated and Činggis Qan 'wintered at Quba Qaya', which, as we know, was in the region of Mount Čekčer in eastern Mongolia (see above, n. 148). It is, therefore, interesting to note that in both Rašīd al-Dīn's work (SL[2], I/2, 118-119) and the SWCCL[1] (27a-b; cf. HCG, 422), it is stated that Ong Qan and Činggis Qan spent the winter before the Tatar campaign, i.e. the winter of 1201-1202, at Quba Qaya and Mount Čekčer respectively. While Ong Qan was definitely with Činggis in the earlier attack on the Tatar in the summer of 1196, also a firmly established date (see above, n. 133, and HCG, 265), and although Ong Qan's campaign of 1198 against the Merkit is placed in the SH, § 157, s.a. 1202, it is clear by all accounts that Ong Qan did not participate in the final campaign against the Tatar. This may well be due to the fact that he had not yet fully re-established his authority over his people owing to internal family and clan discord (cf. § 152). Such an interpretation is all the more likely if we accept the chronology of the SH which

makes Ong Qan return to Mongolia barely one year before Činggis moved against the Tatar. All in all, I think that the Ong Qan episode should fall between 1198 and 1201, rather than before 1196 as now generally accepted. The chronology of the SWCCL followed by Hambis (loc. cit.) and Okada (CIH, 88-90) may, therefore, need revising. Cf. Yoshida 1968, 44-45.

'Brought him into the camp (*güre'en*)', i.e. into his 'circular' or fortified camp. See above, n. 90.

'In an orderly way they moved *to new pastures*', i.e. they moved gradually, by stages (*ǰerge'er*), as one does when transmigrating for the winter or the summer. I do not think that in the present instance *ǰerge'er* (= mo. *ǰerge-ber*) can be rendered 'together', or 'at the same time, simultaneously', or 'in [parallel] ranks', as done by other translators. The Chinese gloss (依次) is unambiguous and makes sense in the context. Cf. Na^2, 147; Pe, 174; Li, 55. For a somewhat different usage of this term, see § 159 (ad fin.) and com.

§ 152. 'Our elder brother the Qan', lit. 'This Qan, our elder brother.'

'A rotten (lit. "stinking") liver' (*hümegei helige*), i.e. a foul character, or nature, an evil mind – the liver being regarded by Mongols and Turks alike as the source of the emotions. The word *hümegei* (= mo. *ümekei*, *ömekei*) has all the connotations of eng. 'foul' (as in 'foul smell', 'foul language'). Cf. kh. *ömxiĭ* 'smelly, rotten, putrid.' For *hümegei* and *helige*, both with initial *h*, see Pelliot 1925, 239, no. 72, and 211-212, no. 14. The expression 'to have (lit. "harbour in one's bosom": *ebürit-* = mo. *ebürle-*) a stinking liver' was a current idiom at the time, cf. Pelliot 1944b, 63, n. 6; HCG, 243, 421. See also Oz^1, III, 228-229, n. 2; and MKeT, 671a-b. In the modern literary language *(h)elige* 'liver' has been replaced by *sanaγa* 'thought, mind, etc.' in the expression *ümekei* (*ömekei*) *sanaγa* 'evil mind, evil intention, ill will.' Cf. Da^5, 104; MKT, 282b.

'What shall we do with him? (*e'üni ker kikün bida*). For this expression, cf. Cleaves 1964/65, 51, n. 9.

'When he was seven years old ... when he was thirteen years old', lit. 'the seven-year-old one (acc.) ... the thirteen-year-old one (acc.).'

'A kidskin coat' (*ešige daqu*). For *ešige*, mo. *esige ~ isige*, 'young male goat', cf. Hung 1956, 30, n. 5; DO, 249b.

For the situation of the Bu'ura Steppe, see above, n. 105.

'He pounded *grain in* a Merkit's mortar', lit. 'he pounded a mortar of the Merkit.' For *a'ur*, mo. *aγur*, *uγur*, 'mortar', cf. Khomonov 1970, 30; for *nödü-*, mo. *nüdü-*, *nidü-*, 'to pound', cf. DO, 503a-b.

For *ha'ul-* 'to raid', see above, n. 54.

On Ağai Qan, a chief of the Alči Tatar tribe, see Pelliot 1944b, 68; HCG, 245; Bese 1978, 354-355, no. 1.

'He took with him a shepherd of Ağai Qan.' It is not clear from the text whether it was a shepherd that helped young To'oril (the later Ong Qan) to escape and then fled with him, or whether To'oril escaped taking the shepherd as prisoner. Pelliot (HCG, 245) understands To'oril to have been 'délivré' by the shepherd. According to Rašīd al-Dīn, To'oril's mother *Ilma was ravished by the abductor, Alčitai, who must be identified with the Ağai Qan of the Alči Tatar. See ibid; SL^2, I/1, 113. During his captivity the Merkit made To'oril pound grain and, subsequently, the Tatars made him tend their camels, all menial activities which indicate that he was, in fact, demoted to the status of a serf. Cf. Ratchnevsky's and Ozawa's remarks in Ratchnevsky 1987, 78, and Oz^1, III, 229, n. 4.

Teme'en, mo. *temegen*, 'camel (in general)' is, like *bu'ura*, mo. *buγura*, 'camel stallion', a borrowing from Turkic. See TMEN, no. 1015; RH, 217, no. 14. Cf. above, n. 65, and below, n. 274.

'After that, he fled again for fear of the Naiman and went to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat on the Čui River, in the country of the Sarta'ul.' For the event in question, cf. §§ 151 and 177. The Čui River is, of course, the Chu (Ču) River in Kazakhstan. See above, n. 151. (The SH has the rather puzzling form in *-i* – possibly of Turkic origin – that is also found in the HYC, B,

8a [the 'Chu' in TOA, 120, is a mistake for 'Chui'; cf. MR, I, 98] and in other sources; see HCSL, 653; DTKO, 366; HYTM, 20.) The term Sarta'ul (= pmo. Sartaγul) designated *sensu lato* any Central and Western Asian Muslim, and, *sensu stricto*, the people of Khwārazm (*Sarta'ul irgen*). By 'the country of the Sarta'ul' is meant, very broadly, the entire Turkestan region. Much has been written on this term, its history and etymology. See NMP, II, 647, s.v. 'Ergiuul'; NHHO, 34; Cleaves 1949, 101, n. 33; Hambis 1960, 151-153; Li, 158, n. 152; Mu, II, 47-49, n. 24. Cf. also Vlad.[2], 169, 176; PM, 112; and RH, 258, no. 3 (in note 2 on p. 258, it is stated that 'In the Mongol era, it [i.e. the term *sartaul* – I.R.] denoted both "Muslim" and the "urban Iranian population"'). I shall only mention one problem in connection with the form Sarta'ul (= Sartaγul). This form is well attested, as is also Sartaqčin (= pmo. Sartaγčin), which occurs in § 181, and Sartaqtai (= pmo. Sartaγtai) in §§ 182, 263. All these forms are indeed found in the AT. See ATI, 244b. They all have the same meaning. Cf. the SH, where they are glossed *Hui-hui* 回回 'Muslim' (HW, 132). The written forms Sartaγčin and Sartaγtai clearly indicate that the noun on which they are formed is Sartaγ (mmo. Sartaq, where *-q* = -γ). Cf. NHHO, 34. According to Pelliot (NMP, II, 647), Sarta'ul derives from Sart, Sartaq, Sartaqčin with a final in *-'ul*. In Uighur script, this final is written *-γul*. Apart from the fact that Sarta'ul cannot derive from Sart (or Sartaqčin), but only from Sarta or Sartaq (= Sartaγ) (as correctly noted by Pelliot in HCG, 151, 253), the suffix *-γul* is not obvious, since it normally functions as a deverbal noun suffix and not as a denominal noun suffix. Cf. GWM, 46, § 153. However, in some rare cases, as in the present one, the suffix *-γul/-gül* is actually used as a denominal noun suffix (cf. also below, n. 174). See MÜIT, 2629, no. 183 (1). Alternatively, could Sarta'ul be an ancient plural in *-(u)l* of Sartaq (Sartaγ)? For this, still hypothetical, plural (not registered in our grammars), cf. D. Sinor in *AM* 2:1925, 214; Mo, 8; but see Doerfer 1970, 76; Street 1990a, 374 (8. 4). With regard to Khwārazm, I shall employ this transcription (rather than Xvārazm, Khwārazm, Ḫwārizm, Khwaresm, Kharezm, etc.) because it is the one more commonly in use.

'In less than a year', lit. 'a year not having elapsed.'

For the forms Ui'ut (pl. of Ui'ur = Uiqur ~ Uyiqur) and Tang'ut (= Tangqut), see above, n. 151.

From the present account of Ong Qan's wanderings and his plight we also learn that he spent less than a year with the *gür qan* of the Qara Kitai in Central Asia, and that, on his return journey, besides the five goats and the camel mentioned in § 151, he had a blind yellowish-white horse with a black tail and mane (*soqor qali'un moritu*). No doubt, some of these 'embellishments' are literary clichés used to characterize a particular situation, viz. a state of extreme hardship and distress. Further on in this section, we also learn that Ong Qan was not alone in his predicament (as we may have been led to believe), but had a number of followers with him.

The words 'Now, forgetting that he has kept himself alive like this thanks to his son Temüǰin' (*edö'e Temüǰin kö'ün-tür teyin yabuqsan-iyan umartaǰu*) have been translated in several different ways owing to the wide semantic range of the verb *yabu-* 'to go, walk; to act, live or conduct oneself as, be like; to undertake, practise'; and, as an auxiliary verb, 'to keep on (doing)', i.e. expressing continuity of action. The interlinear gloss translates *yabuqsan-iyan* as 'he went (*or* conducted) himself (acc.)' (行了的自的行), with the ambiguity unresolved. The sectional summary (Y[2] 5, 16b) simply paraphrases 'he forgot the previous favour.' Cf. Wa, 257. The AT[1], 54a, has the same wording of the SH which Šastina renders as 'And now, when he lives thus with his son Tömüčin, forgetting what had been (*o tom, čto bylo*, i.e. what had happened between them).' See LDAT, 132. Since the nomen perfecti of *yabu-* is in the reflexive-possessive accusative case with Ong Qan as the subject, the action of that verb must perforce refer to Ong Qan, not to Temüǰin, hence Cleaves' rendering 'forgetting the fact that he was so gone unto [his] son Temüǰin' (Cl, 81) – as against the renderings of most other translators down to On (2001 ed.),

128 ('Now, he forgets what his son Temüǰin did for him'). I agree with Cleaves (and with Na^2, 149, before him), but I take *yabu-* in the meaning of 'to keep going, to keep alive'; cf. ord. *jawų-* 'rester en vie, vivre, durer' (DO, 399b). And I take the dative case applied to Temüǰin (*Temüǰin-tür*) to be a dativus instrumentalis ('by means of, by virtue of, thanks to'). Cf. the expression *möngke tenggeri-yin güčün-tür* 'by the strength of Eternal Heaven' in § 224. See below, n. 224.

It is noteworthy that in the earlier account (§ 151), Činggis Qan is referred to as Činggis Qa'an, whereas in the present version of the same account he is called Temüǰin. Because of this inconsistency, and the fact that in the present account the speakers, i.e. Ong Qan's brothers and the Kereyit chiefs, say that Ong Qan 'came to his son Temüǰin' instead of 'went to his son Temüǰin' (cf. a few lines before where it is stated that he 'went to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat'), it is difficult to draw any conclusion concerning the time of the event. See the discussion in n. 151 above.

For Altun Ašuq ('Golden Helmet'?) and the other conspirators, see HCG, 419-422. In the Chinese and Persian sources they are named as Qul Bari, Altun Ašuq, El Qutur (*or* Qotor) and El Qongqor (*or* Qongqur). In the SH the last personage is not mentioned, instead we have Alin Taiši, whose name appears, albeit incompletely, in the SWCCL, and in its full form in Rašīd al-Dīn's parallel account. (The SH has, incorrectly, 'Arin' instead of 'Alin' = tu. *alïn* 'forehead'; and 'Taisi' 太子 for 'Taiši' 太師; cf. above, n. 50.) After Ong Qan's defeat in 1203, Alin Taiši escapes and, following J̌aqa Gambu's example, joins Tayang Qan of the Naiman. See SL^2, I/2, 118; SWCCL^1, 26b-27a. It should be pointed out that *all* these personages bear Turkic names – a further indication of the Turkish background of the Kereyit leadership. For El Qutur, cf. Bese 1978, 366-367, no. 17; for Qulbari, cf. also below, n. 177. For the name Altun (= mo. Altan 'Gold'), which occurs again in § 238, see below, n. 238.

'Their words', lit. 'the words that they had thus spoken to one another.'

'Who had thus conspired', lit. 'who had thus spoken to one another.'

For *bari'as* (w.f. *bariyas*; cf. AT^1, 54b) 'fetters', cf. mo. *bariya* id.

Ong Qan's words to the conspirators are interesting and deserve attention. Firstly, he recalls a mutual pledge (lit. 'what did we say to each other?') which is not self-evident. However, from the parallel accounts in the Persian and Chinese sources, it appears that during their arduous return journey, Ong Qan and his few followers (this is the first time we learn that he was not alone), i.e. the very same people who now conspired against him, had made an 'inviolable' oath that could only have been one of mutual loyalty and support to the bitter end. Cf. SL^2, I/2, 118; HCG, 417; YS^2 1, 7. Secondly, Ong Qan says: '*tanu metü ya'u setkigü bi.*' These words have been misunderstood by most translators (including myself in Ra, V, 153; cf. also Li, 56; Oz^1, III, 227; On, 67 [the revised rendering in the 2001 ed., 128, is much better]; Ta, 80; Ev-Pop, 113), but the correct interpretation is actually given in the Chinese sectional summary (Y^2 5, 17a): 'You are like this, *but* I am not like you.' These words have been correctly paraphrased by Waley as follows: 'That is the kind of people you are; but I am not going to behave to you as you would behave to me.' (Wa, 257; cf. Pa, 77.) This interpretation is confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn, loc. cit. Mostaert translated: 'Pourquoi aurais-je des sentiments comme vous?' [A.M.] Cf. Cl, 81: 'How could I think as ye?' The meaning is clear: 'If I were to think, and act, as you did, I would make an end of you, but I am not going to do that because I am not like you, therefore I shall spare you.'

'He had them freed from their fetters', lit. 'he had their fetters loosened.'

'After they had been spat on by the Qan *himself*': the 'himself' is necessary because of the corroborative particle *ele*. See Street 1986, 17 (27).

§ 153. Since the text speaks of the autumn (not the spring, as in Ha, 52) of the Year of the Dog (= 1202), 'that winter' should refer to the 1201-1202 winter, of which mention is made at the end of § 151, where it is stated that Činggis Qan had spent it at Quba Qaya (a fact confirmed by other sources, see above, n. 151). The year 1202 for this campaign is confirmed by the SWCCL[1], 30a, where the entry concerning the encounter at Ulqui Šilügeljit and the incident involving Altan, Qučar and Dāritai are registered. Cf. SL[2], I/2, 120, where the Year of the Dog (= 1202) for these events is given correctly, but the corresponding year of the Hegira (and its Christian era equivalent) is incorrect (578/1182 *pro* 598/1202). Cf. GK, 61-62, 72-73; ČK[1], 61-62 (= ČK[2], 66-67).

For the Tatar tribes engaged by Činggis, see HCG, 4-5, 240-245; Li, 158, n. 153. Ča'a'an = Čaqān (< Čaqa'an, pmo. Čaγaγan) 'White.' The form Ča'a'an – a *hapax legomenon* in the SH – is unusual, as one would normally expect Čaqa'an or Čaqān (see R, 206a). Cf., however, the names Ča'alun (§ 157) and Ča'adai (§ 242 et passim), both apparently formed on *ča'an* (= *ča'ān*) 'white' (+ the den. noun suff. *-lun* and *-dai*). See below, n. 242, for a possible explanation. The transcriptions Čaqa'an of Li[2], 109, and Chaqa'an of Ra, V, 46, and On, 67, are incorrect, as is the Chagaan of Oz[1], III, 236. Further on in the same section we find the form Čahan (= Ča'ān) *pro* Čaqan (= Čaqān). See above, n. 1. For the Čaqān Tatar, see Bese 1988, 37. On the Alči Tatar, cf. also Pelliot 1944b, 56, n. 4, 60; and, for the name Alči, idem 1935, 908ff.; and Bese 1988, 35. The word 'Tatar' after Duta'ut has been inadvertently dropped from the text, but it is found in AT[1], 54b; cf. Cl, 81, n. 23. See also Poppe 1975, 166; Bese 1988, 37-38. The text has Aluqai (Tatar), but the correct form is Aruqai, as shown by the AT[1], 54b, and this is indeed the form adopted by Ligeti in Li, 56. However, in Li[2], 109, and ATL, 114, Ligeti gives as the correct form Alqui which is unwarranted and which has unfortunately passed into On, 67 (the 2001 ed., 153, has 'Aluqai', still incorrect). Cf. Bese 1988, 35-36. The present campaign against the Tatar tribes is the final act of the ongoing feud between Činggis' family and the Tatars (cf. §§ 67-68 and 132-134). See Clark 1978, 35-37; Ratchnevsky 1987, 77.

Dalan Nemürges ('The Seventy Felt Cloaks') was the name of a place or, rather, an area, near the Khalkha (Qalqa, Xalx) River in eastern Mongolia, as evident also from §§ 173 and 175, and which, according to Pėrlėė[2], 9 (= Pėrlėė[4], 88), was in the basin of the Nömrögiin Gol (= mo. Nömörge-yin Γol) – an affluent of the Khalkha – at 47° N 119° 30 E (more precisely: 47° 18 N 119° 30 E). I incline to the view that Dalan Nemürges was the designation of a wider area (rather than of a specific place) because in § 173 Činggis Qan 'entered' it (*orobai*). The Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 5, 16b) does, in fact, refer to it as *ti-mien* 地面 'territory, area.' Moreover, its very name 'The Seventy Felt Cloaks' points to a hilly area, which I believe must be situated near, or be part of, the western slopes of the Khingan Mountains.

'Činggis Qa'an jointly issued *the following* decree', lit. 'Činggis Qa'an spoke together the decree' (*Činggis Qa'an ǰasaq ügüleldürün*). 'To speak the *ǰasaq*' = 'to set forth (declare, promulgate, issue) the *ǰasaq*.' However, the verb is in the reciprocal form, often used in the SH for the cooperative (*-ldu-/-ldü-* for *-lča-/-lče-*), and vice versa. See Haenisch 1950, 19-20. This has led translators to understand this sentence in several different ways: Č.Q. gave the order to all (Pe, Li); Č.Q. discussed the battle orders together with, or in front of his soldiers (Ja, On); Č.Q. 'spake an ordinance with [his soldiers]' (Cl); etc. Some scholars, notably Haenisch and Kozin, have ignored the reciprocal/cooperative form altogether, and Šastina has done the same in her translation of the parallel passage in the AT (LDAT, 132). It is true that the Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 5, 18b) does not take it into account and says simply that he 'gave *these* orders to the troops' (號令諸軍), but this is only a summary and not a literal translation. The interlinear gloss does render the reciprocal/cooperative form by prefixing the word *kung* 共 'together', regularly used for the

cooperative, thus indicating that the reciprocal has cooperative force. In view of what follows, it seems clear to me that the joint promulgation of the decree can only refer to it having been agreed upon by Činggis together with the other military leaders, chief among whom were his own kinsmen Altan, Qučar and Dāritai. I think that the reciprocal/cooperative form is used precisely in anticipation of what these very personages did, i.e. contravening the mutually agreed order. It is inconceivable, in my view, that Činggis would have discussed the *ǰasaq* with his soldiers to obtain their consent as stated by some of the translators; conversely, it makes perfect sense to have discussed the order with the other commanders. As for the *ǰasaq* (= mo. *ǰasaγ*), i.e. in the present instance the decree or ordinance (with normative force), issued by the *qan*, see above, n. 74, and the discussion in de Rachewiltz 1993 (the relevant passage is cited on p. 97). Most of the major contributions to the *ǰasaq* problem are reviewed, or mentioned, in the above paper; however, several others, either irrelevant to the discussion or not available at the time, were omitted. Among them, the articles by Pėrlėė in *SM* 3, 13-15:1962, 24; Čige & Oyun in *ÖMNŠU*, 1988.1, 123-138; Saĭn in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 80-91; and Bira in MTSTBS, III, 256-262; as well as ČQǰBB, this last work being a study of both the *ǰasaγ* and Činggis Qan's *bilig*s, i.e. his 'wise sayings'; and the important joint work ĖBČIZ. Cf. also D. Dašcėrėn in MNT, I, 40-48; and, more recently, Skrynnikova 2000; and, by the same author, KHIV, 42ff. I think the subject is virtually exhausted, at least for the time being.

For *olǰa* 'booty, plunder', see TMEN, no. 27; de Rachewiltz 1985, 216-217; and RH, 291, no. 34 (where we find the aberrant form '*oljam*' 'gift'). Cf. also above, n. 92. The early Mongol regulations concerning the acquisition and allocation of war booty and spoils deserves a thorough study. See, provisionally, the pertinent remarks in ČK[1], 61-62 (= ČK[2], 66).

'When the victory is complete', lit. 'When (*or* if) we have finished overcoming.'

'Will surely be ours' (*bidanu'ai bui ǰe*). For *bidanu'ai* 'ours', cf. *Lettres*, 78, n. 243.

'If we are forced by the enemy (*nökör gü'ün-e*) to retreat.' For this construction, see Poppe 1964, 369. The word *nökör* 'companion' accompanied by *gü'ün* 'person', occurs here with the unusual meaning of 'enemy' (cf. also § 267). Mostaert (Mo, 112) does not comment on it. Doerfer (TMEN, no. 388, p. 521) suggests that the original meaning of *nökör* is 'the other', hence its positive ('companion') and negative ('enemy') connotations. Cf. mmo. *nökö'e* 'the other, the second.' See HW, 118, 119, s.vv. 'noko'e' and 'nokor.' Doerfer cites indoeur. *ghostis* 'the stranger', goth. *gastis* 'the guest', and lat. *hostis* 'the enemy.' We may add ch. *k'o* 客 'guest, stranger' → 'enemy.' Cf. the *Kung-yang chuan* 公羊傳 in CCCC, III, 202: 宣 XV, 2 公. However, SH *nökö'e* corresponds to mo. *nögöge*, not *nököge*, and the initial vowel of the second syllable is *g* in virtually all Mongolian modern languages and dialects, which is strange if *nökör* and *nökö'e* are related. The Chinese transcription of the SH alone cannot, of course, be relied upon to establish such a relationship. However, it should be noted that the form with *k* is well attested in 'Phags-pa, but, as pointed out by Poppe (MMḤS, 33), 'Phags-pa offers numerous instances of confusion between *k* ('ph. *k*') and *g*. Cf. *Materiél II*, 3, 115-116; 'Quelques problèmes', 240-243. For mmo. *nökö'e*, mo. *nögüge*, Poppe (IMCS, 248) postulates cmo. **nöküge*. On the basis of the modern dialects, Tömörtogoo (MXTXÜ, 88) postulates Pmo. **nögüge*. Cf. Oz[1], III, 237, n. 2; VI, 423-424, n. 6. I am not convinced that the vowel of the second syllable was ever *ü*. Cf. MǰBT, I, 479b. This complex problem deserves further study.

'To the point where we began the attack', lit. 'to our place *from where* we stormed at the beginning' (*türūn-ü dobtuluqsan qaǰar-turiyan*). For *türūn*, cf. above, n. 111.

Ulqui Šilügeljit was the name of a river in the same general area, for we know from §173 that, following the Ulqui Šilügeljit upstream, one reached Dalan Nemürges. As this was near the

Khalkha River, the Ulqui Šilügelǰit must be identified with one of the rivers whose sources are not far from it. The most likely candidate is obviously the Ulqui (Ulkhui = Ulghui? ; 'Olqui' in CW, 110, following D'Ohsson, I, 64, n. 2, and, ultimately, the map of D'Anville) in the south-east at 46° N 119° E. See Poppe 1956, 41; NMP, I, 326. The Ulqui corresponds to present-day Urgen (= Örgėn) Gol (Uchingol, Wu-li-le-chi ho). This river receives the waters of its western tributary, the Selǰin (= Seyelǰi) Gol (Wu-lan-chi-i ho). While I agree with Pelliot (HCG, 410) that the Ulqui Šilügelǰit is one, not two rivers, its double name indicates perhaps that it is 'the Šilügelǰit of the Ulqui', which may well be the Selǰin Gol. See Yanai's map (in MSK) at 46° N 119° 30 E. Cf. MWESC 2, 20a, for references to these two rivers in Chinese sources; MGYMC, 88; and Mu, II, 58-59, n. 6.

For *muqutqa-* (*moqutqa-* in § 177; for *u* ~ *o*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 268-269) 'to destroy', cf. TMEN, no. 376; de Rachewiltz 1982a, 416; and above, nn. 113 and 133.

Altan, Qučar and Dāritai were last mentioned in § 142. Their relationship with Činggis Qan must always have been an uneasy one for reasons of seniority and leadership within the kin, Altan being Yisügei's cousin and therefore 'uncle' to Činggis; Qučar being the first cousin of Činggis; and Dāritai, Yisügei's younger brother, being a true uncle of Činggis. See above, n. 123. It seems that their infringement of the 'decree', i.e. the joint agreement regarding the collection of the booty, was a deliberate act of defiance against Činggis Qan's authority, eventually leading to their disaffection. Cf. ČK[1], 61-62 (= ČK, 66-67); Hambis 1975, 16, nn. 26, 27; 19.

'Had not complied with them', lit. 'had not complied with the words.'

For *ya'u ke* 'all one's belongings or personal effects, baggage; goods and things (in general: fr. *'n'importe quoi'*)', see Mo, 84-85; Ligeti 1971, 152; Oz[1], III, 238, n. 4.

The confiscation of the princes' booty was carried out by J̌ebe – here on his first official mission (as 'a *ǰebe*-arrow', see § 147) – and by Qubilai of the Barulas tribe (see § 120). These

two captains, with J̌elme and Sübe'etei, will later be known as the 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*) of Činggis Qan. See § 195 and com.

§ 154. 'To decide what to do with the *Tatar* tribesmen', lit. 'saying, "What are we going to do with their tribe people?"'

'In a single tent', lit. 'entering into a single tent.'

The 'great council' (*yeke eye*) was no doubt a 'family council' (ger. *Familienrat*), as stated by Ratchnevsky 1987, 104, on the strength of the reference to the 'kinsmen' (*uruq*), but it must have included also the chiefs (*noyat*) and companions (*nököt*) who had to carry out its decisions. The later *(yeke) qurilta*, or great assembly, was the natural development of the *yeke eye*. Cf. below, n. 282.

For the poetic passage beginning 'From olden days …', cf. § 133. Some translators treat this as a prose passage, but see Da[5], 106, and Če, 119-120. For the expression *ösöl ösöǰü kisal kisaǰu*, see above, n. 58.

'We shall measure *the Tatars* against the linchpin of a cart', i.e. all those who stood higher than the linchpin in the axletree of a cart were to be killed – in practice, this meant everyone except small children. The practice is well known, and it was applied to males only. Cf. HWC, I, 106-107. However, as pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 158, n. 154), not *all* the males of a tribe had to suffer this fate, but only the members of the leading clan (*oboq*) belonging to the same 'bone' (*yasu*[*n*]), i.e. whose lineage stemmed from a common ancestor (see above, nn. 9 and 112). See also the reference in § 139 to the destruction of the J̌ürkin clan. Cf. above, nn. 113, 133. 'And kill them to the last one,/We shall utterly slay them' is, literally, 'We shall kill slaying them,/We shall slay them until we exterminate them.'

'The rest', lit. 'those who shall have been left.'

'Some here, some there, dividing them among ourselves', lit. 'In all directions (*ǰük ǰük*) we shall apportion *them* to each other.' The idea was to completely break apart and scatter the survivors in order to destroy their tribal unity.

Yeke Čeren (? Čaran), a Tatar chief, must not be confused with the homonymous son of Činggis Qan's great-uncle Qulan Ba'atur, on whom see §§ 51, 169.

For *tungqaq* 'proclamation, announcement', cf. TMEN, no. 132.

'Surround and attack' renders *e'erekün*. *E'ere-* (= mo. *gere-*) is 'to assault, attack (usually by surrounding the enemy)', hence my translation.

'*Each* taking *an enemy with us as* a death-companion.' For this expression see above, n. 149.

'From now on Belgütei shall not join us', lit. 'After this, Belgütei shall not enter into (= participate in, join).'

'He shall judge litigations and those who are guilty of theft and falsehood', lit. 'he shall judge (*ǰarqulatuqai*) quarrels and those who have *committed* theft and deceitful deeds.' Cf. 'Trois documents', 464. For *ǰarqula-* (= mo. *ǰarγula-*) 'to judge' < *ǰarqu* (= mo. *ǰarγu*) 'judgement', see below, n. 203. In other words, Belgütei was to be in charge (*ǰasa-* 'to manage, handle, deal with') of the commoners outside the council, settle their litigations and, as judge, mete out punishments in matters of theft and falsehood, while Činggis Qan and the other chiefs were busy inside the tent with the affairs of the council. This passage is noteworthy on two counts. Firstly, the appointment of Belgütei, Činggis' half-brother, as the first judge (*ǰarquči*, mo. *ǰarγuči*) at the fledgling Mongol court – an office that will assume great importance later on. I shall expand on this in n. 203. Secondly, the magnanimous attitude of Činggis towards Belgütei after he had committed such a serious offence as the disclosure of the council's decision to an enemy chief, and the subsequent losses incurred by the Mongols as a result of that indiscretion. While excluding him from the council and major policy decisions, Činggis still conferred on him substantial authority. The relationship between Činggis and Belgütei is an interesting one, deserving closer scrutiny. Cf., for example, the famous episode involving Büri Bökö (§§ 131, 140), when Činggis intervened to take revenge on behalf of Belgütei to the

extent of arranging the killing of a rival athlete, an unconscionable action. More information on Belgütei can be gathered from the Persian sources and his biography in YS[2] 117, 2905-2906. Cf. HCG, 437a (Index).

'The ceremonial wine' renders the term *ötök* (= pmo. *ötög*), which derives from tu. *ötüg* 'prayer, request to a superior.' See TMEN, no. 574. In the interlinear gloss it is translated as 'wine which is offered' (進酒). This was a formal invitation to drink, performed according to established rules, at official banquets, ceremonies and gatherings (*qurim*). The ritual followed at the Mongol court during the Yüan period is known, and we have a good deal of information from western and other sources. See, provisionally, Pelliot 1930b, 33, n. 1; MP[1], I, 217-220; MP[2], I, 381-384; MP[3], 124-127; Li, 153, n. 130, and 164-165, n. 187; Ratchnevsky 1976, 527, n. 38. Cf. also above, nn. 70, 130; and below, n. 275.

The name of Dāritai (Otčigin), Činggis' uncle, is written here Da'aritai (w.f. Daγaritai > Da'aritai > Dāritai) as in § 242. It is interesting that he should be mentioned together with Belgütei, which implies that he, too, was culpable of the same or some other infringement, possibly in connection with the events related in the previous section (§ 153 ad fin.).

§ 155. 'Then, on that occasion', renders Mongolian *tende … tende*, lit. 'then … then.' Yisügen (< *yisü*[*n*] 'nine' + dim. suff. *-gen*, see below, n. 239) is already called *qadun* = *qatun* (see above, nn. 54, 132-133), although she became so only after she was taken by Činggis Qan as one of his (secondary) wives. On her name, cf. Bese 1974, 92-93; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

'He will take care of me, regarding me as a human being (*gü'ün*) and a person (*bodo*) *worth keeping*.' For this sentence, see Mo, 70-72. On, 68, renders *gü'ün* as 'a human being' and *bodo* as 'a beast of burden[185]', explaining in note 185 on the same page that in Mongolian *bodo* 'refers to domestic animals, either an ox, horse or camel', and citing § 195 where this word appears with this meaning. Cf. the 2001 ed., 130 and n. 347 (in

this version *gü'ün* becomes 'a chess pawn', and *bodo* 'a camel'!). However, then as now, *bodo* (= mo. *boda*, kh. *bod*) has two meanings, viz. 'large cattle' and 'object, body, substance, etc.' Cf. Les., 108b; MMED, 65a; TMEN, no. 812 (pp. 360-361); MKeT, 1003b. Both these meanings are attested in the SH with their corresponding Chinese gloss. See HW, 16. Clearly, in the present context *bodo* must be taken in the second acceptation, as the Ming translators did in their interlinear rendering (物). Ev-Pop, 115, translates 'ne pourrait-il pas me considérer comme une simple personne?', without taking into account the meaning of *asaramu* 'will take care of *me*', rendering *gü'ün* as 'une simple personne', and turning *bodo-da* into *boduǰu* 'reckoning', as in Če, 121. This interpretation is untenable. Cf. Oz[1], III, 250, n. 1.

'My elder sister, who is called Yisüi', lit. 'A sister older than me, called Yisüi.' For *egeči* 'elder sister', cf. TMEN, no. 67; Mo, 72; RH, 231, no. 27. Yisüi is a name also formed from *yisü(n)* 'nine.' Cf. Bese, loc. cit; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. The final *-i* is a feminine form suffix. This phenomenon is reflected in verbal endings, such as *-mu/-mi*, *-yu/-yi*, *-u/-i*, *-ba/-bi*, etc., on which see Ozawa 1992. Cf. MÜIT, no. 5, III, 2 (p. 2505a). Cf. also above, n. 55, and below, n. 214.

'She is *more* suitable for a ruler (*qan gü'ün-e*).' The compound expression *qan gü'ün*, lit. 'ruler person', means 'a person who is a ruler', i.e. 'a ruler.' Cf. below, n. 276.

'A bridegroom for her was taken *into our family* as a son-in-law' renders *güregen güregelen büligi*, i.e. 'a son-in-law was taken for her as (*or* became) a son-in-law', meaning that the young man to whom she was betrothed had come to stay for some time in the house of the father-in-law 'as a son-in-law', prior to taking his wife to his own house. This ancient Mongol custom is described earlier in the SH (§ 66). Cf. Vlad.[2], 59. Since this practice meant the virtual marriage of the couple, who lived together in the father-in-law's house as man and wife, the Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 5, 24a) says simply that she was married to him. He is, in fact, called *ere* 'husband' in the next

section (§ 156). For *güregen ~ gürigen ~ güre'en* 'son-in-law, bridegroom', see 'Trois documents', 474; Cleaves 1953a, 257. For the form *büligi* of the praesens perfecti of *bü-* 'to be', cf. 'Trois documents', 460; and above, nn. 3, 56, 74.

'I wonder now' renders *edö'e maqa*. For *maqa* (= pmo. *maγa*), cf. § 31, where it was translated 'no one really knows.' See the remarks in n. 31 above. The meaning is essentially the same: the speaker expresses ignorance as to the issue in question, and this is done by means of the adverb *maqa* 'really' in the form of a rhetorical question.

For *qa'aqši* (= mo. *qamiγasi*) 'where? (lit. "towards where?")', cf. *ord. χāši* (*χ̄āši*) id. See DO, 342b-343a. In their reconstructions of the Uighur-Mongol text of the SH, some scholars write *qaγaγsi* (see, e.g., Oz[1], III, 484) and some *qamiγaγsi* (see, e.g., Ir, 128). I think the latter form is the correct one in view of the fact that SH *qa'a* 'where' = pmo. *qamiγa* (see above, n. 31), and that in AT[1], 55b, we find *qamiγasi*. For the directional suffix *-γsi* (= *-si*), see GWM, 58, § 211; 59, § 216.

Bodulqan 'confusion, disorder' is a *hapax legomenon* in the SH. It corresponds to mo. *buduliyan* id. The verb *buduli-* 'to create confusion' is found in the Preclassical Mongolian version of the *Hsiao-ching*. See de Rachewiltz 1982, 35 (24a4), 47. Cf. TH, 154 (= ǰYT, 270).

'If ... is' is expressed with the combination *büksen bö'esü*, in which *bö'esü* = 'if.' The form *büksen* (= pmo. *bügsen*), nomen perfecti of *bü-* 'to be', would normally indicate a (completed) past state; it is used here because the elder sister is not actually there to be seen, and one only knows that she was, or had been, as described. Cf. Poppe 1954a, 413, n. 9; VG, 93; Oz[1], III, 252, n. 3. In English, however, one should use the present tense.

'Better than you' (*čimadača sayin*) can also be translated 'more beautiful than you.'

'Will you yield *your place* to her?' (*ǰayilaǰu ökgü-yū*). *Ökgü-yū* is the nomen futuri of the verb *ök-* (= mo. *ög-*, used here as an auxiliary) followed by the interrogative particle *-yū*. The corresponding form in the AT[1], 55b, is *ögkü-üü*. This is the form given also in Oz[1], III, 484, for the original text of the SH in Uighur-Mongol script, whereas that given in Ir, 128, is *ögküyü*. The interrogative particle which in Classical Mongolian is written *-uu*, *-u / -üü*, *-ü* (cf. GWM, 172, § 622) occurs in Preclassical Mongolian as **-u*, *-γu*, *-uγu*, *-yuγu* / **-ü*, *-gü*, *-ügü*, **-yügü* which corresponds to mmo. *-u*, *-'u*, *-u'u*, *-yu*, *-yu'u / -ü*, *-'ü*, *-ü'ü*, *-yü*, *-yü'ü*. It is clear from the presence of the intervocalic *-γ-*, *-g-* > *-'-* that the vowel of the interrogative particle *-u/-ü* is long, i.e. *-ū/-ū*; hence, in association with the connecting consonant *y*, we have *-yū/-yū*. Cf. 'Trois documents', 465; Mo, 90-91, n. 87, 238, n. 221; Cleaves 1982, 77, n. 13; and *Lettres*, 14, 67, for the 'consonne de liaison' *-y-* (however, Mostaert and Cleaves ignore the lengthening of the vowel). As for the transcription *ökgü-yū* in our passage, this is not the only possible one, since *ökgüi-ū* is also plausible and is, indeed, the form adopted in Oz[1], III, 248. Cf. Pe, 48, n. 4: '*ökgüy-ü*?' The form *ökgü* has been chosen here in preference to *ökgüi* because the former is the regular nomen futuri of *ök-* in the SH (see R, 277b). In view of the above, the reconstruction of the original form in Uighur-Mongol script of *ökgü-yū* remains purely hypothetical. For mmo. *ökgü* = mo. *ögkü*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 242-243.

'As soon as I see.' Cf. Cl, 83: 'If I but see.' Cf. also Street 1986, 42 (85), where *ele* in the present context is rendered as 'precisely.' However, the Ming translators understood this clause in the way I rendered it. See Y[2] 5, 24a; Pa, 79. Cf. also Da[5], 107, where the immediacy is expressed with the adverb *daruǐ* 'at once.'

'On this promise', lit. 'at this (= her) word' (*ene üge-tür*). In Mongolian, as in English, 'word' (*üge*) means also 'promise'; thus, further on, the expression 'keeping the promise she had made earlier', is, literally, 'reaching the word(s) she had spoken before.'

'Činggis Qa'an issued the order' (*tungqa'aǰu*). For *tungqa'a-* (= mo. *tungγaγa-*), lit. 'to cause to proclaim (*or* to announce)', cf. TMEN, no. 145; Cleaves 2001a, 47-48, n. 75. Cf. above, n. 154.

'Came across her' (*ǰolqaǰu'ui*), i.e. unexpectedly, as indicated by the third past, or praeteritum imperfecti, used by the narrator. Here the narrator himself was, I believe, with Činggis at the time, witness the use of the expression 'our troops'; indeed, he must have been quite close to him to relate this event in such great detail.

'Since she turned out to be ... *of his principal wives*', lit. 'Since she turned out to be like (= in accordance with) the words of Yisügen Qatun, he let *her* enter into his thoughts (= heart, affection). He took Yisüi Qatun *as wife* and made her sit in the row *of his principal wives*.' We know that the *qan*'s wives, like his high officials and courtiers, occupied well defined places at court according to their official rank. Yisüi Qatun was placed among Činggis' wives of the second 'rank' (*ǰerge*), and was the first, or principal wife belonging to the third *ordo* or 'palace.' Yisügen Qatun was the first of the wives belonging to the fourth *ordo*, so that Yisüi was, indeed, superior in rank to her sister. See YS[2] 106, 2695-2696, where the two *qatun*s are called Yisü and Yisügen respectively (cf. below, n. 156 ad fin.); Mo, 74, n. 71. However, the entire passage is understood differently by Poppe. See Poppe 1964, 375. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 516, 527, n. 38. For the expression 'to make enter into one's thoughts' (*oyin-dur-iyan oro'ul-*), see Mo, 73. Cf. § 66.

§ 156. 'After having completely ravaged the Tatars', lit. 'After having completed the ravaging (*daulin* [= *da'ulin*] *baraǰu*) of the Tatar people.' For the auxiliary of achievement *bara-*, cf. above, nn. 75, 149. On *daulin* for *da'ulin*, cf. below, n. 170.

'Having thought it over', lit. 'thinking within himself' (*dotora'an setkiǰü*).

'And no others' renders the restrictive particle *ele* 'only, just.' The passage 'You make … not his own' reads, literally, 'You – only these people that have assembled, stand you all in groups of related families (*ayimaq ayimaq*) – separate the persons of a group other than their own.' The words 'only … of related families' are interpolated as a direct order of Činggis to the people in question, the meaning being, however, 'let these people, etc.', as already pointed out in Cl, 84, n. 32. *Ayimaq* (= mo. *ayimaγ*) is a term designating a group of *ayil*, or related families, camping together – not a 'tribe' at this time – hence A. Waley's rendering 'camping-group' (Wa, 259). Cf. Vlad.[2], 176-177; Mu, II, 68-70; Oz[1], III, 258-259, n. 2. There is a good deal of literature on this important term and its usage before, during and after the Yüan period. See TMEN, no. 61; Ratchnevsky 1966, 180; Aubin 1974, 15, n. 16; RLGYC, 119ff.; cf. also Cleaves 1955a, 365, n. 26; and idem 1961, 67, n. 23. The Chinese interlinear gloss renders *ayimaq* as 'tribe' (部落), reflecting the later development of this early social grouping. For the period we are concerned with, the term 'tribe' properly applies only to *ulus* (*irgen*). Therefore, the rendering 'tribe' that we find in Cl, On, and Ev-Pop is not, in my view, accurate. For the *ayil*, see above, n. 81. 'Separate (imp.)' renders *ö'ere böldeyitketkün*, lit. 'cause to be alone (= set apart).' The verb *böldeyit-* (= pmo. *böldeyid-*) 'to be alone (*or* on his own, isolated)' occurs again in §§ 170 and 196 (in § 170 preceded by *ōre* = *ö'ere*; the '*öre*' of L[2], 124, is a misprint). For a possible semantic connection between this verb and *boldaq* (= mo. *boldaγ*) 'isolated hill' (see HW, 17), both deriving from **bolda-* ~ **bölde-* 'to stand alone', see Oz[1], III, 259-260, n. 3. Pelliot had already hinted at such a connection [P.P.-C.R.A.C.].

'A handsome and alert young man' (*niken ǰala'ui sayin gürümele gü'ün*). For *ǰala'u* ~ *ǰala'ui* 'young', cf. *ma'u* ~ *ma'ui* 'bad', etc. See SG, 299; and above, n. 3. For *gürümele* 'brisk, alert', cf. above, n. 90.

'To which clan do you belong?' (*či ya'un gü'ün bui*?). For this expression, see above, n. 15.

'He has been living as an outcast (*o'orčaq*)', lit. 'he has gone becoming an outcast.' In the interlinear gloss, *o'orčaq* is rendered as 'bandit, robber' (刼賊; § 200: 刼), an extension of its primary meaning of 'outcast, runaway; a vagabond, a man who avoids company', hence a man who lives by expediency (N.P. p.c.). In a nomadic or semi-nomadic society, a person who is detached or isolated from his kith and kin, or cut off – for whatever reason – from his tribe, is, *ipso facto*, an outcast, and the step from outcast to outlaw is but a short one. He then, as Ligeti points out, automatically becomes 'a free prey whom no one and nothing protects' (Li, 158, n. 156). *O'orčaq* is, in fact, a deverbal noun from *o'or-* (= mo. *oγor-*) 'to let off, drive away; to abandon' (for the suffix. *-čaq/-ček* [= mo. *-čaγ/-čeg*], see MÜIT, 2813a, no. 447 [2]). Cf. HW, 125; Les., 603a: *oγur-* 'to leave, abandon; to neglect'; *oγurčaγ* 'isolated, deserted, abandoned, lone.' Cf. also DO, 522b; and MMED, 396a. The secondary meaning of 'bandit, robber' is attested in later literary texts. See TH, 114 (= ǰYT, 202); cf. MKeT, 403a. However, I think the correct rendering here (as in § 200) is 'outcast' or 'runaway' (the '*fugitif*' of Mo, 125), for this describes exactly the young man's situation. For further comments on this word, see Oz[1], III, 259-260, n. 3; Če, 375-376, n. 258; Rassadin 1995, 113; and below, n. 214.

'Those like him' (*inu metüs-i*). For the 'preposed' pronoun *inu*, cf. Cleaves 1953, 78, n. 7.

'Cast him out of my sight!', lit. 'Cast him behind (= out) of *my* eyes!' In the present context the meaning is: cause him to disappear, wipe him out.

For some comments on the pathos of this episode within the context of love and friendship as portrayed in the SH, see Sárközi 1978, 152.

The episode described in this section is not related in the SWCCL nor in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, but both Yisügen and her sister Yisüi are often mentioned by Rašīd, who however calls them Yesügen ~ Yesüket and Yesülün respectively. See SL[2], I/1, 202a (Index), and I/2, 286a (Index). Whereas Yesüket can

be put down to a scribal error, the form Yesülün (= Yisülün) for Yisüi ~ Yisü (cf. above, n. 155) is difficult to explain since Yisülün is a woman's name in its own right. See Bese 1980, 319, no. 16. For initial *ye* ~ *yi*, cf. HCG, 2; and above, n. 50.

§ 157. The SH places Ong Qan's campaign against Toqto'a Beki s.a. 1202, but the chronology of these events is unreliable and the present campaign against the Merkit no doubt took place a few years earlier, in 1198, or very soon after (SL^2, I/2, 111, gives 1197-1198). See above, n. 151, and below, n. 177. Cf. HCG, 265-266; GK, 59-62. We last met Toqto'a Beki in § 109 when, defeated by the joint forces of Ong Qan, Temüǰin and J̌amuqa, he had fled and 'entered the Barquǰin *territory*', i.e. the Barquǰin Lowland (*töküm*; *tögüm* in §§ 8 and 177). On this area east of the Baikal, see above, nn. 8 and 109. As noted by Pelliot (HCG, 288), 'Le Barquǰin-tögüm apparaît à plusieurs reprises comme le lieu de refuge où se rendent gens ou tribus chassés de Mongolie; ils "entrent" au Barquǰin.'

For Tögüs Beki, Toqto'a's eldest son, see ibid., 281-282.

On Qutuqtai and Ča'alun, see ibid., 282-284. For the etymology of the name Qutuqtai, see Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; for that of Ča'alun, see HCG, 282, but cf. Bese 1978, 365, no. 14; idem 1980, 319, no. 7; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; and above, n. 153. As noted by Pelliot, loc. cit., 282, the text has 'Ča'arun' for 'Ča'alun' owing to a scribal error. The words *ökit inu* are probably a later interpolation (they are not found in the corresponding passage in AT^1, 56b); Qutuqtai and Ča'alun must have been the wives (*qatut*), not the daughters, of Toqto'a. Hence the text should in all likelihood read: 'seized Toqto'a's two wives Qutuqtai and Ča'alun.' On, 69, following Mu, II, 70, translated: 'He took Toqto'a's two girls, Qutuqtai and Cha'alun as his wives', but in the 2001 ed., 132, following Cl, 85, he rephrased the sentence as follows: 'He took Toqto'a's two daughters, Qutuqtai and Cha'alun, and his wives.' Wei, 109, had also taken the verb *yao* 要 of the Chinese sectional summary in the sense of 'to take for himself', which may be interpreted,

of course, as 'to take as wife or concubine', the Mongolian verb *ab-* (which is regularly glossed *yao* in the SH) having both the meaning of 'to seize' and 'to take as wife.' Cf. also El-Ar, 458, n. 3, quoting Hsieh, 81, where this phrase is understood in the same way. And we can add to the list Al, 76, who was probably the first to come up with this interpretation. However, neither the SWCCL nor Rašīd al-Dīn speaks of Ong Qan's taking the two ladies as wives, although both sources mention the event in question. See SWCCL^1, 21a, and SL^2, I/2, 111, where, in both instances, the verb used is 'to capture.' See HCG, 264. Oddly enough, as already pointed out by Pelliot, op. cit., 283, in this single passage of his work Rašīd refers to the two women as being the daughters of Toqto'a Beki, whereas elsewhere they are always called his wives. There is, therefore, a strange contamination here with the SH which is difficult to explain and which points to two diverging traditions.

Toqto'a's son Qutu (= Qodu) was mentioned earlier in §§ 141 and 144. See above, n. 141, for the problem concerning his name. On Čila'un, mentioned here for the first time, see HCG, 287. Cf. § 177 and com.

'Gave not one thing', lit. 'did not give whatever (*ya'u ber*).' For this use of the particle *ber*, see Street 1981, 156ff. Failing to share the booty with an ally was a dishonourable act and an infringement of the customary law. See Činggis Qan's later reproaches to Ong Qan on that score in § 177. Cf. SL^2, I/2, 128. In the SWCCL^1, 21a, and YS^2 1, 6, the fact that Ong Qan kept all the booty for himself is also mentioned. See HCG, 265.

§ 158. This entire section has been translated by Pelliot in HCG, 310, where, however, '(*muqulqa-*)' is a misprint for '(*muqut-qa-*).'

Buyiruq Qan, on whom see above, §§ 141-144, 151, was the son of Ïnanč Bilgä (the Inanča Qan of § 151, and Inanča Bilge Qan of §§ 177, 189, 194) and the (elder?) brother of Tayang Qan (see below, § 166), with whom he had quarrelled. His domain, or camping and grazing grounds (*nuntuq*), was in the

region of the river Urungu south of the Altai, his brother having retained the ancestral Naiman territory further to the north-west, i.e. the region of the Black Irtysh and Bukhtarma rivers. Thus Činggis, who was coming from the east, clashed first with Buyiruq. However, in this passage the SH has apparently again confused two different expeditions, as in the case of the joint campaign against the Merkit related in §§ 104-112. At any rate, the campaign against Buyiruq seems to have taken place also in 1199. On all these chronologically complex questions, see HCG, 297-311; GK, 63, 73; and ČK[1], 53-56 (= ČK[2], 57-61). For Güčügüt (Güčü'üt in § 141), see above, n. 141.

As pointed out earlier (n. 151), the Naiman were strongly influenced by Turkic culture, as evident in their nomenclature. In this section, most of the geographical and proper names are Turkic or part-Turkic (i.e. Turco-Mongolian hybrids): Uluq Taq (= tu. Uluγ Taγ 'Great Mountain'); Soqoq Usun (< tu. *soγuq* 'cold' and mo. *usun* 'water', i.e. 'river'; cf. SMT, 25; Dogsürén 1977, 188); Qum Šinggir (= tu. Qum Seŋir 'Sand Promontory'); Yedi Tubluq (< tu. 'Who Has Seven Balls'); Kišil Baš (= tu. Qïzïl Baš 'Red Head'). On the Uluq Taq and the Altai mountains, see above, n. 144. Soqoq Usun, mentioned in the Chinese and Persian sources, has been identified with present-day Söög Gol or Sogoogiyn Gol, north-west of the city of Kobdo (Xovd), at 49° 01 N 89° 27 E. See Pelliot 1920, 173; TH, 239 (= ǰYT, 412-413). Cf. also HCG, 310. According to Pérlée[2], 5 (cf. Pérlée[4], 96), Soqoq Usun at 47° N 90° E is still called Sogug Usu. The Ürünggü (= Ürüngü, also a Turkic name of uncertain etymology) is the well-known river Urungu (kh. Üréngé; ch. Wu-lun-ku ho 烏龍古河), in the Altai-Kobdo area (west of the Altai and south of Kobdo), but actually in northern Sinkiang. See HCG, 314-316; Hambis 1974, 38-39; TH, 132 (= ǰYT, 231). Qum Šinggir is an unidentified locality on the upper course of the Urungu, probably near present Bulgan (ch. Pu-erh-ken 布爾根), at 46° 07 N 90° 31 E. See HCG, 315-316. Lake Kišil Baš is the modern Pu-lun-t'o hai 布倫托海 (Üréngé or Ülénggüür Nuur) – the Ulyungur Nor of (still) most maps – into which flows the Urungu, always in northern Sinkiang. See HCG, 311-314; Hambis 1974, 39. Cf. Li, 159, n. 158, also for the other place-names; Ligeti 1966, 128-130; Poppe 1955, 40; TMEN, no. 1482. On Yedi Tubluq, see HCG, 317-318; Li, loc. cit.; On, 70, n. 188.

For *qara'ul* 'patrol', see above, n. 142. *Qara'ul yabu-* is, literally, 'to go as a patrol.' Cf. Oz[1], III, 268, n. 2.

For *bolun*, lit. 'becoming' = 'being on the point of ...', 'being about to ...', cf. VG, 51-52 (where, however, on p. 52, '§ 159' is a misprint for '§ 158').

For the words *olang-niyan tasuraqdaǰu*, lit. 'undergoing the breaking of his saddle-strap', see Poppe 1964, 376.

The events in this section are retold with additional details and slight variations in § 177.

§ **159**. On Kökse'ü (~ Köksegü) Sabraq, see HCG, 318. He was one of the leaders of the army of Tayang Qan of the Naiman whom Tayang sent to meet the forces of Činggis Qan and Ong Qan that were approaching his territory. For *kökse'ü* < tu. (čag.) *köksägü* 'chest pain', cf. TMEN, no. 1678. Cf. below, n. 163. *Qatqulduqči*, lit. 'fighter, warrior', i.e. 'good at fighting', 'a great warrior.'

The Bayidaraq Confluence (Bayidaraq Belčir) was an area just south of the point where the river Baidarik (i.e. the Baydarag or Baǐdragiǐn Gol) meets its main tributary, the Dzak (or Dzag, Zag) Gol, south of the Khangai Mountains. See HCG, 321-322. According to Pérlée[2], 6 (cf. Pérlée[4], 86), this locality at 47° N 99° E (the '74' of Pérlée[2] is a misprint, tacitly corrected in Pérlée[3], 8, which has unfortunately passed into Pérlée[4]) is now called Zag Baǐdragiǐn Bélčir. Cf. Hambis 1974, 39-40. For the name Bayidaraq ~ Baidaraq (cf. § 177), see Cleaves 1956, 273, n. 784. *Belčir* is a term meaning 'the place or area where two rivers meet', i.e. 'the confluence.' In § 161 (Y[2] 5, 31b) it is glossed *ku-k'ou* 谷口, lit. 'the mouth of the valley' – i.e. of the river valley. It can, therefore, be loosely rendered as 'vallée'

[A.M.]. Cf. Les., 97a; SMT, 16, s.v. '*belčėr*'; HCG, 320-321. The armies of Činggis and Ong Qan were returning from lake Kišil Baš to their respective camps on the Tūla and the Kerulen and, then being winter, they naturally preferred to stay on the southern side of the Khangai. See HCG, 318-322.

'We shall fight in the morning!' (*manaqaru qatqulduya*), i.e. 'tomorrow morning.' We have already encountered the word *manaqa(r)ši* (§§ 66, 72, 143) 'the following morning; next day', and *manaqar* (*üdür*) (§§ 83, 142) 'tomorrow', about which see n. 66 above. This is the first occurrence of *manaqaru* (= pmo. *manaɣaru*) which, as in § 177, is glossed in Chinese as *ming-tsao* 明早 'tomorrow morning', whereas in § 246 it is glossed *tsao-ch'en* 早晨 '(early) morning.' For *manaqaru* (~ *manaqari*), etc., cf. Mo, 17-18, n. 12 (where Mostaert states that *manaqaru* is a variant of *manaqar*, mo. *manaɣar*, 'morning'; cf. AT[1], 57a, id.), 172-173; de Rachewiltz 1990, 288, n. 25; Oz[1], VI, 210, n. 8; and below, n. 177. The expression *manaqaru qatqulduya* corresponds to *manaqar qatqulduya* of § 142, which I translated 'Tomorrow we'll fight!' However, in view of the fact that the two words are not exactly the same in Mongolian, and that in § 142 the Chinese gloss is *ming-jih* 明日 'tomorrow', I have slightly altered the rendering in the present instance, but the meaning is the same.

'In *battle* order' renders mmo. *ǰerge'er*, a word which occurs also in § 151, but with a different meaning ('orderly, gradually'). See above, n. 151.

As noted by Pelliot (HCG, 323), the fires were lit because it was winter. Relating this event, the YS[2] 1, 6, expands as follows: 'That night Wang Han (i.e. Ong Qan) lit many fires in his camp so that they would not suspect that he was surreptitiously moving his tribesmen to another place.'

'In the place where he was stationed', lit. 'in his position' (*bayidal-dur-iyan*). As a military term, *bayidal* means 'the position, or station, of the troops for combat.' Poppe 1964, 375, renders it as 'military camp.'

'That same night' (*söni bö'et*), lit. 'having been (= being still) night.' Cf. above, n. 110.

Qara Se'ül ('Black Tail') is a river not identified by Pelliot (HCG, 325) which, according to Pėrlėė[2], 7 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 91) is probably the present Xar Süüliĭn Gol (north-east of Zag Baĭdragiĭn Bėlčir at 47° N 100° E), a river which is not marked on our maps.

§ 160. The 'anti-*qan*' J̌amuqa, who suddenly reappears here after the debacle described in § 144, had actually rejoined Ong Qan and Činggis Qan in this campaign, but, according to the SH, only to play a treacherous role. On these events, see GK, 62-64; ČK[1], 53-56 (= ČK[2], 57-61).

'Has been sending envoys to the Naiman, lit. 'had envoys at the Naiman', i.e. he had been having relations with them. Cf. § 166.

'The skylark that stays *in one place*' (*aqu qayiruqana*). The *qayiruqana* of the SH has been identified with mo. *qayiraɣučai*, kh. *xaĭrgacaĭ*, the Mongolian skylark, or steppe lark (*Melanocorypha mongolica*). See HCG, 326-327; Li, 159, n. 160; Oz[1], III, 274-275, n. 2; Vietze, 1990, 384-385. On the other hand, Mostaert identifies the *qayiruqana* with ord. *χ̄ārχanaķ šiwī̧* 'nom d'un petit oiseau', the written form of which is *qayiraɣana* 'the seagull' (DO, 346a, and Addenda et Corrigenda, xiiib). Poppe, for his part, writes (p.c.): '*qayiruqana* = Khalkha *xaĭrguuna* "Falco Eleonorae", Engl. "Pigeon hawk" (see *Bull. of the Terminological Commission of the Mongolian Acad. of Sc.*, Nos 78-80, Ulaanbaatar, 1970, p. 24).' I think Pelliot is correct in view of the contrast implied in J̌amuqa's utterance. The term *bildu'ur* corresponds to the *bilǰi'ur* of §§ 77, 220. See above, n. 77. I translate *aǰiraqu* as 'migratory', since both the ideas of moving away and returning, of coming and going, are conveyed by the verb *aǰira-*. See HW, 4; Oz[1], III, 275, n. 2. The contrast expressed by the poetic simile is, of course, that between a stable and loyal person and one that is fickle and treacherous. Cf. Hung 1956, 17, n. 6. For

the variant simile used in the same story recorded in the SWCCL[1], 22a, in SL[2], I/2, 113, and in the YS[2] 1, 9, see HCG, 326-327.

Gürin Ba'atur is also known to us from Rašīd al-Dīn and the SWCCL, see HCG, 295 and 328-329. Pelliot (ibid., 328-329) has discussed the appellation Ubčiqtai – an ethnicon of *Ubčiq (= *Ubčiγ) – of the SH, and suggests that it is probably an early scribal error for Übčiritei, lit. '(With the face) flayed (i.e. red, for shame)', so that it would in fact be a nickname ('Red Face') by which Gürin Ba'atur was also known. AT[1], 57a, has the corrupt reading Uručičitai Gürün (not Gürin as in ATL, 119) Baγatur. See, however, Bese's remarks in Bese 1988, 29-31, countering Pelliot's interpretation, proposing instead the reading '*Občiγtai* "male member of the Občiγ (clan)"' for the 'epithet of Kürin Baγatur' (ibid., 30).

'How can you speak so deceitfully', lit. 'How can you speak deceiving (*ǰusuritču*) thus.' *J̌usurit-* 'to deceive' = mo. *ǰisurid-* id.; cf. mo. *ǰisurla-*, *ǰusurla-* 'to flatter, to deceive cunningly.' See TMEN, no. 169.

'Speak ... backbiting and slandering' (*ulkin ǰingkün ügüleyü*). Cf. Mo, 169, n. 155, where the expression *ulkin ǰingkün ügüle-* is rendered simply as 'médire, calomnier.' See also Ligeti 1972, 3, n. 3; Oz[1], III, 277-278, n. 6. (The 'ügüleye' of L[2], 114, is a misprint for 'ügüleyü.')

'Your upright (*šili'un*) brother.' For *šili'un* (= pmo. *siliγu*, *siliγun*; mo. *siluγun*) 'upright, noble, sincere, etc.', see Cleaves 1950, 113, n. 75; de Rachewiltz 1982, 75-76, n. 224. Cf. also DO, 634b. Here Činggis Qan is referred to as a 'brother' (*aqa de'ü*) of J̌amuqa, the term 'brother' used *sensu lato* with the meaning of 'cousin', the two being indeed cousins by reason of their common ancestry from Bodončar. See above, n. 104.

§ 161. 'Early next morning, at daybreak', lit. 'Early next day ("the morrow": *manaqar*; see above, n. 159), the day lightening.'

'He wanted to fight', lit. 'Saying, "let us fight!"'

'They certainly treat us like burnt offerings *at the sacrifice for the dead*' (*ede či bidan-i tülešilen aǰu'u*). *Tülešilen* is the converbum modale of *tülešile-* 'to regard *someone* as being like *tüleši*.' **Tüleši* (= ch. *shao-fan* 燒飯) was a special term for the sacrificial food offering to the spirits of the dead – food that was burnt in the ground and the remains of which were thrown away after the ceremony. Hence, metaphorically, something that is no longer useful and can be disposed of as one pleases. See Mo, 19-20, n. 14; HCG, 323; Li, 159, n. 161; Tomka 1965, 174; Franke H 1975, 138. For the sacrifice to the ancestors at which food was burnt in the ground, see above, n. 70. For the role of the corroborative-adversative particle *či*, cf. Street 1984, 140.

On the Eder Altai (the 'Eter' of Cl, 86, is not correct) Confluence (*belčir*, cf. above, n. 159), see HCG, 335-338. The place has not been identified. The identification proposed by Pėrlėė[2], 4 (= Pėrlėė[4], 89), situating this locality at 100° N 49° E, is unacceptable as it would place it too far north of the route that Činggis must have followed in order to go from the Bayidaraq valley to the Sa'ari Steppe, i.e. from approximately 47° N 99° E to 47° N 107° E. For the Sa'ari Steppe (Sa'ari Ke'er), see above, n. 128. In other words, Činggis had returned to his own camping grounds between the Kerulen and Tūla rivers.

Qasar is Činggis' younger brother J̌oči Qasar.

'Having realized the difficulties of the Naiman' (*Naiman-u tübü'üd-i uqaǰu*), possibly referring to the internal problems due to the family discord of the Naiman leadership, i.e. the enmity between Buyiruq Qan and Tayang Qan, the two sons of Ïnanč Bilgä (Inanča Bilge) Qan, which had split the tribe in two (cf. above, n. 158), but see the remarks at the end of the present note. The word *tübü'üt*, a plural of **tübüg* (the mmo. pl. suff. *-t* > *-d* before a vowel), poses a problem, as this word is a *hapax legomenon*. The Chinese gloss interprets it as meaning 'the main points (*or* essentials), gist' (大概), while the sectional summary gives 'measure (*or* device)' (計量) (Y[2] 5, 32a; Wa, 260, has misunderstood the passage). The word has been read *tubu'ud* as well as *tübü'üd* (cf. Pe, 49 and n. 4; L[2], 114; Oz[1], III,

279; Ir, 132; El-Ar, 467; Če, 124); it has also been related to tu. *tüp* (*tüb*, *tip*) 'bottom, foundation, root, etc.' (see ED, 434a-b; DTS, 598a) by TH, 271 (= ǰYT, 470), followed by El-Al, 468, n. 5, and Oz[1], III, 280 and 284-285, n. 5. Thus, on the basis of the Chinese gloss, or the sectional summary, or the presumed Turkic correspondence, we have various renderings of the term: 'l'essentiel' (Pe, 179), 'die Pläne' (Ha, 55), 'the intentions' (Li, 59), 'the devices' (Cl, 86), 'the general situation' (Ja, 205), 'the foundation' (Do[1], 130), 'the gist' (Na[2], 162), 'the (military) situation' (Mu, II, 73; On, 71 [id. in the 2001 ed., 133]); 'the true character' (Oz[1], III, 280); 'a general idea' (Oz[2], I, 193); etc. Other investigators, beginning with Kozin and including Damdinsürėn and Gaadamba, see in **tübüg* the mo. *tübeg*, *töbeg* 'difficulty, trouble' (cf. kalm. *tüw^{ü}G*, ord. *t'öwök* id.) and translate accordingly. See Ko, 126 (where, however, the sentence is misunderstood), 546, 606; Da[5], 109; Га, 88; Ra, V, 51; Če, 124; Ta, 85; Ev-Pop, 118. The interpretation based on the correspondence with tu. *tüp* is, in my view, unacceptable because there is already a word *tüb* in the SH (§ 220) glossed *chung* 中 'middle, centre', which is indeed a borrowing from tu. *tüp* – a term which, besides the meanings given above, has the military acceptation of 'main, principal, central (army, camp).' See TMEN, no. 995. Cf. mo. *töb* 'centre, middle, straight, righteous, etc.' In the SH, *tüb* is used only with this technical meaning, and the meanings 'essentials; devices; etc.' attributed to it are not found in Mongolian. Moreover, the plural of *tüb* would be *tübüd*, not *tübügüd* (SH: *tübü'üt*). I am, therefore, still in favour of *tübü'üt* = mo. *tübegüd*, pl. of *tübeg*. In the AT the word in question appears in the corrupt form *tubun* (AT[1], 57b), which Ligeti has tacitly amended to *tubud* (ATL, 119). Of course, **tubud* (= *tubūd*) could be the contracted form of **tubuγud*, the plural of **tubuγ* and, if so, we *may* have an instance of a vocalic ambivalent word (such as *ümere* ~ *umara*, *söyü-* ~ *soyu-*, *getül-* ~ *γatul-*, etc.), i.e. **tübüg* ~ **tubuγ*, but this is speculative. In her translation of the AT, Šastina has not commented on this puzzling word and her rendering follows

Kozin's interpretation (see LDAT, 136). Čoyiǰi's commentary (AT[4], 250) is also of no help. In view of this, and the fact that Kozin's, Damdinsürėn's and Gaadamba's interpretation is at variance with both the Chinese gloss and the sectional summary, one cannot accept it without reservations.

'No longer counted them as people *to be reckoned with*', lit. 'did not count them as people' – 'people' (*haran*) meaning here 'fighting men', i.e. a fighting force that could still cause much trouble to the Mongols. As noted by Ev-Pop, 280, n. 51, there is a similar statement in the SWCCL[1], 24a, where we read that, after routing the Naiman with his brother Qasar at *Hulān J̌anče (possibly a mistake for Hulān Če[g]), Činggis Qan 'saw that the power of the Naiman had been reduced and there was no (longer) need to worry (on account of it).' Cf. HCG, 387. However, this applies to another, subsequent campaign which is not mentioned in the SH nor by Rašīd al-Dīn, but which is recorded in the YS[2] 1, 7, where the account ends with the words 'The power of the Naiman was henceforth reduced.' Cf. Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 387-388; and GK, 65. It seems that in the course of the later editing of the SH a sentence was transposed from another entry in a Chinese or Mongol source to the SH. This final sentence of § 161 is, indeed, somewhat incongruous as later events showed that the Naiman, in spite of their internal feuds, were still a power to be reckoned with.

§ 162. Senggüm (= Senggün) is Ilqa Sengün, the son of Ong Qan, called Nilqa Senggüm in §§ 165, 166 and 167; always Ilqa (I-la-ha 亦剌合 [= 哈]) in the YS, see YSJMSY, 14a; and Īlqa Sēngūn ~ Nīlqa Sēngūn in Rašīd al-Dīn's work. See SL[2], I/1, 130, 131; I/2, 114 (twice). Nilqa is a nickname meaning 'junior, little one (= the youngest boy or son).' Cf. § 195 (see, however, On, 73, n. 199). *Sengün* (> *senggüm*) is a mongolized form of the Kitan/Liao title *hsiang-wen* 詳穩, itself a retranscription in Chinese of the Kitan form of the original Chinese title *hsiang-kung* 相公 'His Excellency the Minister', usually given to ministers and heads of the Secretariat. See HCG, 334; and

above, n. 47. During the Liao dynasty, the title (introduced in 938) was applied to the heads of various government offices, and it was also applied 'to the chief of an army, a camp, a small tribe, or a group of imperial followers' (HCSL, 129, n. 42, 434; cf. also ibid., 719c, s.v.). Like other titles of Chinese origin (often passing through Turkic and other cultural intermediaries), this too was used as a personal name. Cf. Bese 1974, 94. For Ilqa ~ Nilqa, see HCG, 331-334. Cf. also Pelliot 1920, 176, n. 2; idem 1930b, 22-24. Senggüm and his brother J̌aqa Gambu were in the rearguard of Ong Qan's army which was attacked by Kökse'ü Sabraq. See HCG, 295; GK, 64.

'The wife of *his son* Senggüm together with *all* his people' (*Senggüm-ün eme kö'üt irge orqa selte*). For the '*mot-couple*' *eme kö'ü(n)* 'woman/wife – child' = 'wife', see above § 104, and Mo, 41-42. Here, however, *kö'ü* is in the plural (*kö'üt*); nevertheless, even in the plural this expression still means 'wife', as shown in the Ordos usage. See ibid., 42. (The syntactic uses of the plural forms in Middle and Preclassical Mongolian deserve a thorough examination; cf. also below.) For *irge orqa* (= *irge orqo*) 'people', see above, n. 150. The 'people' are all his subjects and dependants.

Telegetü Pass is the Telētü (< Telegetü) Pass of § 136, west, or north-west of the Tūla River. See above, n. 136. After having attacked the rearguard, Kökse'ü Sabraq pushed forward in a westerly direction right into Ong Qan's territory, raiding his people before returning to Tayang Qan of the Naiman. The text speaks of 'half the people and livestock' (*ǰarimut irge adu'un ide'e*), the rendering of *ǰarimut*, a plural of *ǰarim*, with 'half' being based on the Chinese gloss and the sectional summary, both translating this term as *i-p'an* 一半 'one half' and *i-p'an-mei* 一半每 id. (pl.). See Y^2 5, 32b, 33a. *J̌arim* in the singular, as well as *ǰarimut*, occur several times in the SH, always with the same meaning (半, 一半, 一半每). See R, 245a; HW, 86; GHMBK, 839. In Written Mongolian and in the modern Mongolian languages, *ǰarim* (kh., bur. *zarim*; ord. *Džarmin*; etc.)

means 'some, certain, part of', but not 'one half', which is the meaning of *yarïm* (> *ǰarim*) in Turkic. The latter meaning in Middle Mongolian is well attested. See, e.g., the HIIY (*Matériel I*, 65); and MA, 201b. The plural form is employed when the noun it modifies is a collective one, such as 'people' (*irge*). However, in a preclassical document, the expression *ǰarimud aran* means 'some people.' See Cleaves 1959, 44 [11v7, 8], 59, 89, n. 333. Clearly, in the old language the word *ǰarim* was already used in both ways: in the sense of 'one half' under Turkic influence, as the word is ultimately a loanword from Turkic (see TMEN, no. 1786), and in the secondary meaning of 'some' which eventually prevailed. Therefore, Ozawa's rendering of *ǰarimut* as *kanari no* 'considerable (number)' (Oz^1, III, 286, and 287-289, n. 1) was not justified; hence his revised translation in Oz^2, I, 193.

For *adu'un ide'e* 'livestock', see above, n. 23.

§ 163. Köksegü (= Kögsegü) is the written form of the name Kökse'ü (*egü* > *e'ü*). Cf. Negüs and the ethnicon Ne'üdei (§§ 218, 120), etc. See HCG, 137. For Kökse'ü Sabraq's name, see above, n. 159.

'Through the envoy he sent this message', lit. 'When he sent the envoy he sent saying (= fr. "il envoya dire").'

'Of my people and my wife': Ong Qan is speaking here for his son Senggüm. See § 162. In the first two sentences I use two different verbs ('to be pillaged' and 'to be robbed') to render the Mongolian *da'uliqda-*, the passive of *da'uli-* 'to pillage, rob, plunder, spoil, etc.'

On the 'four steeds' (*dörben külü'üt*), i.e. Bo'orču (see § 90), Muqali (see § 137), Boroqul (see § 137), and Čila'un (see § 84) – the four stalwarts or champions of Činggis Qan – and the legend associated with them, see HCG, 340-342. This is the first time that they are mentioned as such in the SH. *Külü'üt* (= mo. *külügüd*) is the plural of *külük* (= mo. *külüg*) 'fine horse, steed' → 'champion, stalwart, hero.' For this loanword from Turkic, see above, n. 3, and below, n. 205. Cf., however,

Choimaa 1997. The 'four steeds' are parallelled to the 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*, see § 195), viz. J̌ebe (see § 146), Qubilai (see § 120), J̌elme (see § 97), and Sübe'etei (see § 120), the other four champions and army leaders. Cf. HCG, 340. For brief sketches of these personages, see ČQK and, especially, TYÖ. According to Rašīd al-Dīn, the four sons of Činggis Qan (J̌oči, Ča'adai, Ögödei and Tolui) were also known as the 'four *külüks*.' See *Successors*, 159. Cf. SH, § 254, confirming Rašīd's statement. As for the symbolism of the number four, see Moses 1996, 80-81.

Hula'an Qut ('Red Cliffs') is a locality which, according to Pėrlėė[2], 5 (= Pėrlėė[4], 96), corresponds to modern Ulaan Xus (the Ulaan Hus of our maps) in the Bayan Ölgiĭ Aĭmag, at 49° N 89° E. Pėrlėė's identification seems to be an arbitrary one. This place-name occurs again in § 177, in a longer and different form (J̌orqal Qun-u Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut). Although Pelliot could not identify this locality (HCG, 380), by a different argument he developed it can be definitely situated near the Selenga in the region of modern Kyakhta. See below, n. 177.

'Had been shot in the thigh by an arrow' (*quya qaqdaǰu*). *Qaqda-* is the passive form of *qa-* 'to shoot (an arrow).' Cf. kalm. *χa-* id. See Oz[1], III, 294-295, n. 3.

'Those "four steeds" arrived and saved him (*abura'at*), and they recovered ... for him (*aburaǰu ökbei*).' *Abura-* 'to save, rescue' is followed here (as in three other instances in this section) by the auxiliary verb *ök-* (= mo. *ög-*) indicating that the action is performed in the interest of a person other than the subject (Činggis Qan), i.e. for the benefit of Ong Qan and Senggüm. It is, therefore, not necessary to translate *ök-* as 'to give, return, etc.' Cf. Cl, 87.

'His good father' = 'his late father', as in § 73. Ong Qan is referring to the events described above, §§ 150-151.

'Who had been lost', lit. 'who had finished going' (*odun baraqsan*), i.e. 'gone to the last man', 'utterly dispersed', with *bara-* 'to finish' acting as the auxiliary of completed action. Cf. above, n. 149.

'People', i.e. one's tribesmen, is rendered in this section with the expressions *irge orqo* (~ *orqa*) and *ulus*, which are synonymous. Cf. § 177: *odun baraqsan irge orqo*.

The words 'now, once more, ... for me' have been rendered in my translation in conformity with the Chinese wording in the sectional summary (Y[2] 5, 35a-b) supported by AT[1], 58a, which is slightly at variance with that of the SH. See Cl, 87, n. 43, for a comparison of the three texts.

For the exact connotations of the last sentence, cf. *Lettres*, 83 and n. 252; and below, n. 172. Cleaves' translation 'Let the protection of Heaven and Earth know how I shall return the benefit' is incorrect insofar as the verb *mede-*, 'to know', in the present context means 'to decide', as indeed shown in *Lettres*, loc. cit. Cf. also ibid., 47-48.

Regarding the events related in the last sections (§§ 160-163), it seems odd that Činggis Qan should wish to assist Ong Qan and Senggüm in their predicament after Ong Qan's treacherous behaviour described in § 159. For possible explanations of Činggis' intentions, see ČK[1], 54-56 (= ČK[2], 58-61).

§ 164. 'Gathered the lost people and returned them to me.' The verb *quriya-* 'to gather, assemble, bring together' implies also the action of 'conquering.' See below, n. 196.

'As for myself' (*bi ber*). For this anaphoric-emphatic use of the particle *ber*, see Street 1981, 147-148. Cf. Oz[1], III, 300, n. 2.

'To ascend to the heights' and the parallel expression 'to ascend to the cliffs' are metaphors for 'to die', as already pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 159, n. 164). This no doubt originates from the ancient custom of burying the chief on the slopes of a (sacred) mountain, as we know was the case with Činggis and several of his successors. For some references to burial grounds on elevated places, see Barthold & Rogers 1970, 210-211; *Successors*, 141. Cf. also Pėrlėė 1956; Boyle 1974a; Tatar 1976, 4-7; and Cl, 88, n. 44, for further references. *Qaldut*,

'cliffs', plural of *qaldun*, poses a problem. In § 103, 'Qaldun' stands for 'Burqan Qaldun', the sacred mountain of the Mongols. In our passage, however, the Chinese interlinear gloss for *qaldut* is *yai-mei* 崖每 'cliffs', a meaning that *may* have been inferred by the Ming translators from the word *ündüt* 'heights' of the preceding couplet, and from the fact that it occurs in the name of Mount Burqan Qaldun. But the explanation of the name Burqan Qaldun as 'Buddha Mountain (*or* Heights, *or* Cliff)' is by no means certain. See above, n. 1. Nevertheless, I too accept, albeit with some reservations, the Chinese gloss.

'Lack *force of* character' (*aburi üge*[*i*]'*ün bui*), lit. 'are without a *good* character.' Cf. Cl, 88: 'are without virtue.' *Aburi* does, in fact, mean both 'character, nature, disposition', and 'virtue' (< '*good* character'). See de Rachewiltz 1982, 53, n. 6; Cleaves 1982, 78-79, n. 20.

'There is only Senggüm, my one son, but it is as if he did not exist', lit. 'My only son is as if I did not have him (*ügei šitü*), and Senggüm is the only one', i.e. Ong Qan's only son, Senggüm, is a nonentity, a worthless man (in the father's opinion), but, alas, he is the only one he has. This, in fact, was not true. As already pointed out by Cleaves, according to Rašīd al-Dīn Ong Qan had at least two sons. See Cl, 88, n. 47. Cf. HCG, 237. For the Persian text, see SL^2, I/2, 109 and n. 6, where the name of Ong Qan's youngest son (Senggüm was the eldest) is given as 'Eku' ('Īqū' in Pelliot's transcription). It would seem that here, again, the SH twists the facts to produce a dramatic effect; however, one cannot exclude the possibility that when Ong Qan made this statement the second son was already dead. For the use of *šitü* 'as if, like' (= mo. *metü*), with and without *ügei*, see Cleaves 1951, 80, n. 54; Oz^1, III, 302, n. 6. Cf. DO, 620a-b.

Ong Qan's and Činggis Qan's mutual declaration in the Black Forest (Qara Tün) by (lit. 'of') the Tu'ula, i.e. the Tūla River (see above, n. 96), was the formal oath sanctioning the father-son adoption established through the bond of *anda*-ship between Ong Qan and Yisügei Ba'atur, on which see §§ 96 and 104 and com.; Li, 149, n. 104. See also Vlad.^{2}, 76. What we have in the present section is the actual wording of the oath. Cf. § 177, where Činggis reproaches Ong Qan for not having kept to it. The exact locality in the Black Forest area where the declaration was made is also specified in § 177, which says it was the 'Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut of J̌orqal Qun' i.e. the 'Red Solitary Hills of Deer Cliff.' See below, n. 177.

'The reason why ... was because', lit. 'As for the reason for which ... *it was* by the reason that.'

'Such was the reason' (*yosu teyimü*). The *yosun* in L^2, 116, is an oversight for *yosu*. Cf. *Lettres*, 70.

'Out of jealousy' (*nayidaǰu*), lit. 'being jealous.'

'We shall attack together as one ... We shall chase them together as one!' 'As one' renders the Mongolian *niken-e*, lit. 'in one.' Cf. Cl, 89: 'in one place' (a literal but incorrect translation of the Chinese gloss *i-ch'u* 一處, here = 一同 'together'); On, 72: 'with one (goal) ... with one (aim)' (cf. the 2001 ed., 135: 'with a single [goal] ... with a single [aim]'). However, *niken-e* is inseparable from *qamtu*, forming the expression *qamtu niken-e* which means 'together, jointly, simultaneously, unanimously' (Les., 925a). Cf. Oz^1, III, 299.

'Should a snake with *venomous* teeth ... Should a snake with *venomous* fangs' – all familiar similes for a treacherous man who pretends to be a friend.

For *södürte-* 'to provoke or incite (discord, a quarrel) among each other' and the parallel verb *adarda-* (= pmo. *adarta-*) 'to slander, to sow discord through slander', see Ligeti 1972, 2-3, n. 3. Cf. Oz^1, III, 304-305, nn. 9, 10.

For *ara'a* (= mo. *araɣa*) 'large tooth: molar, fang', cf. TMEN, no. 474; Les., 47b.

For the expressions 'By talking *only* mouth to mouth (lit. "by teeth and mouth")' and 'By explaining *only* face to face (lit. "by mouth and tongue")', cf. Mo, 210.

The entire poetic passage is translated in Mo, 172, n. 155. See also Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 71.

For the expression *üge baraldu-* 'to pledge one's word', see above, n. 123.

For the corresponding section in the SWCCL[1], 19b, see HCG, 257, 262. For Rašīd al-Dīn's account, see SL[2], I/2, (110), 116, where the locality of Ong Qan and Činggis Qan's meeting is given as the Sa'ari Steppe (Sa'ari Ke'er, see above, n. 123), i.e. the area west of the south-west corner of the great bend of the Kerulen and east of the great bend of the Tūla – an area therefore contiguous to the Black Forest and, indeed, occasionally identified with it. See above, n. 128. The different accounts are discussed in ČK[1], 55-56 (= ČK[2], 59-61).

§ 165. 'More affection', lit. 'double affection' (*dabqur amaraq*).

J̌oči is Činggis' eldest son, mentioned here for the first time. For the name J̌oči, read by some scholars as J̌öči and almost certainly meaning 'guest', see above, n. 51. Cf. also Golden 2002. J̌oči was born soon after the Merkit's defeat and Börte's rescue (§ 110), probably – at the latest – in 1184 (see above, n. 104). If so, he must have been about eighteen (according to the SH chronology) when these events took place, viz. in 1202. On him, see also below, n. 254. After the failure of the projected marriage with Ča'ur Beki as related in this section, J̌oči married a daughter of J̌aqa Gambu. He was the father of Batu, *qan* of the Golden Horde (r. 1227-55). He died probably in 1227 (or, possibly, earlier – the exact date is not known) and, according to Rašīd al-Dīn, was buried in a different burial ground from that of his father, i.e. not at Burqan Qaldun. There were always doubts about his paternity, since Börte had apparently conceived him while in captivity, but Činggis recognized him as his son. However, he was not his favourite offspring. His personality is somewhat shadowy. He seems to have been mostly interested in hunting and shooting, and, generally, fighting; and he liked boasting (cf. SH, §§ 254, 255). On him and his descendants, see NMP, III (Index), 137a-b; NHHO, 10 et passim (see the Index, 255a); *Chapitre CVII*, 3, 52-53; *Successors*, 358a (Index); YShi, 160; Aubin 1975, 470 and n. 19; Golden 2002.

For *döyi* 'younger sister', see above, n. 85.

For Senggüm's younger sister Ča'ur Beki (and the name Ča'ur), see HCG, 58-59, 234, 235, 246. The word *ča'ur* (= pmo. *čaγur*) means 'raid, plunder'; cf. HW, 26. It is often used as a proper name. Cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. For *beki* (read *begi*?) – an honorific title given to both men and women – see the discussion in n. 49 above.

Qoǰin Beki (*read* Qočin Begi?) was the eldest of Činggis' daughters and, indeed, of his children; she later married Butu or Botu (who had first married Činggis' sister Temülün). See HCG, 50-51, 235. Cf. NMP, I, 303; and below, n. 202. Qoǰin Beki is called Fuǰin Begi by Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 70; *Successors*, 97), Qo'aǰin Begi in the SWCCL[1], 33b, and Qočin Begi in the YS[2] 109, 2759. The MTPL, 6b, has Aǰin Be'i for Qo'aǰin Begi. See CG, 24, 30-31, n. 14. Her original name requires further investigation. Cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

For Tusaqa, Senggüm's son, cf. HCG, 234, 235, 339; NMP, loc. cit.

'By the door' (*ala'un-a*). The Chinese interlinear gloss and sectional summary both take the word *ala'un* (w.f. **alaγun*) to mean 'the back of the door' (門後), so that *ala'un-a* is, literally, 'at the back of the door (of the tent).' Unfortunately, *ala'un* is a *hapax legomenon* in Mongolian. The AT[1], 58b, has *alun-a* (= *alūn-a* < **alaγun-a*), which does not help, as *alun* is also not attested elsewhere. The explanation given in TH, 91-92 (= ǰYT, 162) to the effect that *ala'un* corresponds to čag. *alay* 'fire' (< pers.) and adopted by On, 73 and n. 198 (and repeated in the 2001 ed., 136-137, no. 365), is in my view far-fetched and unconvincing. The word appears again in § 214, likewise glossed 'back of the door.' However, in the corresponding passage in AT[1], 68a, the word *ala'un-a* has been dropped by the copyist. I think we should accept the Chinese interpretation, particularly since it is repeated in another section of the work.

'Only' (*e'enekče*, mo. *egenegče*). For this word, which can also be rendered as 'exclusively' and 'constantly', cf. Cleaves 1949, 107-108, n. 65.

The back of the tent (*qoyimar*) is the place opposite the entrance and facing south; it is, therefore, the place of honour occupied by the master of the house, his wife, and his special guests. What Senggüm means is that, should a girl from his clan marry into Činggis' clan, she will have to sit near the door of the tent, i.e. she would be treated like a servant; if, on the other hand, a girl from Činggis' clan should marry into Senggüm's family, she would expect to sit in the back of the tent, facing the door, i.e. she would be treated like a lady. Hence Senggüm's refusal to give his daughter. For a different interpretation, see CW, 117; and Li, 160, n. 165. For the term *qoyimar* (~ *qoyimor*), see Cleaves 1948a, 451, n. 9; Oz[1], III, 311, n. 4.

'He spoke disparagingly of us.' This statement is noteworthy, for by 'us' (*bidan-i*) is meant the family of Činggis Qan, not the Mongols in general. The person who relates this incident must, therefore, be a member of that family. See Section Three of the Introduction and n. 52.

'In his heart (= in his mind)', lit. 'within himself' (*doto-ra'an*). Cf. above, n. 156.

For Nilqa Senggüm = Ilqa Senggüm, see above, n. 162.

'Lost affection', lit. 'the heart (= affection, love) remained behind' (*dura qočorču'u*). For the expression *dura qočor-* (~ *qočar-*) 'to lose one's affection (for someone)', see Cleaves 1948a (where the relevant section of § 165 is also translated and annotated, ibid., 451-452); *Lettres*, 68-70.

As other scholars have pointed out, the purpose of the marriage proposed by Činggis Qan – outwardly an expression of closer friendship – was motivated by a desire to increase his own prestige and power through a double alliance. Later Mongol historiography may have regarded this proposal and Senggüm's rejection as somewhat demeaning for the ruling house and not fit for inclusion in the official account. Hence the omission of the episode in the SWCCL and Rašīd's work. See Ratchnevsky 1976, 511; Hung 1956, 17, n. 5. Cf. ČK[1], 62ff. (= ČK[2], 67ff.), also for the echo of the story concerning Činggis'

failure to establish a marriage alliance with Ong Qan in Marco Polo's *The Description of the World.*

§ 166. After the events described in § 153 (s.a. 1202), Altan, Qučar and Dāritai had turned against Činggis Qan. We are now in the spring of the following year, the Year of the Pig 1203. The names of the other personages listed present a problem, as it is not clear whether they are all proper names, or whether two or more of them (Qardakidai, Söge'etei, Ebügeǰin and Noyakin) are ethnic designations (i.e. of the Qardakid, the Söge'en, the Ebügeǰin and Noyakin tribes or clans). Therefore, we have different interpretations, resulting in the actual individuals named being from five to nine in number with J̌amuqa, Altan and Qučar. Among the more recent translations, cf. Li, 166 (8); Mu, II, 98 and 105-106, n. 8 (6); Oz[1], III, 315 (5); Oz[2], I, 197 (5); Cl, 90 (8); On, 73 (9; but in the 2001 ed., 137, the 'Qardakids, Ebügejins, and Noyakins' have become 'people'); Ev-Pop, 120 (8). Of the earlier ones, Pe, 170, lists seven, while Ha, 57, lists only six. There is a total lack of uniformity; however, we know that To'oril was a man of the Söge'en (w.f. Sögegen) tribe (on him and his tribe see HCG, 128-130, 255-257; cf. Bese 1988, 33-34), and that Qači'un (~ Qaǰi'un) Beki was a Dörben. See § 141, and HCG, 402. Moreover, the 'Qardakidai' mentioned together with Ebügeǰin and Noyakin is obviously related to the 'Qarta'at' that appears, also with Ebügeǰin and Noyakin (but after their names) later in this section. In AT[1], 59a, we find in the first instance 'Kirdaqubai' and in the second 'Kirdaqdai', which Ligeti (ATL, 123) has equated to 'Qardakidai' and 'Qartaγad' respectively on the basis of the SH readings. 'Qardakidai' is clearly an ethnicon from *Qardakin. Cf. Qadagidai 'a Qadagin (tribesman)' < Qadagin. See HCG, 394-395. Qarta'at (w.f. Qartaγad) is a plural of Qarta'an (w.f. Qartaγan) which is the name of a Mongol tribe. See SL[2], I/1, 78, 183. 'Qardakidai' must then be a misreading for *Qarta'adai, probably because of a phonetic resemblance with Qadagidai. Ebügeǰin and Noyakin were two Qarta'an

tribesmen. Later they are mentioned again with their tribal designation in apposition: 'Ebügeǰin and Noyakin – the *two* Qarta'at (pl. of Qarta'an).' This interpretation would account for the different designations of these two personages. For the incorrect form 'Nobukin' for 'Noyakin' in Y^1 and Y^2 (5, 40a), cf. Y^3 6, 11a: 'Noyakin.' See Cleaves 1948a, 452-453, n. 16. For Qarta'an, Qarta'at, *Qarta'adai, cf. Borǰigin, Borǰigid, Borǰigidai. See ETI, 33b. For Qači'un's title of *beki*, unrelated to that of *beki* = *begi* of § 165, see HCG, 180, and *TP* 28:1931, 231.

Berke Elet ('Difficult Sands') was, according to Pėrlėė[2], 8 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 97), a locality situated in the region of the southern Bayan Uul (= Bayan Ula, at 47° N 109° E), with which he identifies the J̌eǰe'er Heights (J̌eǰe'er Ündür). Pėrlėė's suggestion is probably correct: Berke Elet was certainly in this general area, and J̌eǰe'er must not be confused, as some investigators have done, with the Čekčer of § 61, etc., which was in eastern Mongolia (cf. HCG, 423) The identification in the CKA, 53b (cf. ibid., 32, A-5) of Berke Elet with 'Berkhiyn khöndiy' (i.e. Bėrxiĭn Xöndiĭ) in the Argun Range area must be dismissed, since the J̌eǰe'er Heights cannot be identified with the Argun Range. See below, n. 185. For the word *berke* in the combination Berke Elet, see Cleaves 1959, 86, n. 282.

'Has messengers *sent* with secret communications', lit. 'has messengers with a tongue (*keletü*)', i.e. with verbal communications (= secret information). Cf. above, n. 142, for the special usage of the term *kele* 'tongue.' See also Oz[1], III, 317-318, n. 2.

Tayang Qan was one of the two leaders of the important Naiman tribe, first mentioned in § 141 in connection with Buyiruq Qan who had rallied to J̌amuqa. The name Tayang is in reality an epithet like Ong Qan, deriving from the Chinese title *ta-wang* 大王 'great king (*or* prince).' See HCG, 221; TMEN, no. 122; Fletcher 1986, 23. His real name was Tai Buqa. He was the brother, probably the younger one, of Buyiruq; their father was Inanča Bilge Qan, on whom see above, n. 151. As already mentioned (n. 158), the two brothers had quarrelled and

split, so that the Naiman tribe, or tribal complex, was now divided, with Buyiruq Qan and his followers occupying the mountain region of the Altai in the south down to the river Urungu, and Tayang Qan the territory of the Black Irtysh and Bukhtarma rivers in the north-west. For Tayang Qan, besides HCG, 304-310, see also Gaadamba 1968, 96-100.

For *nende-* 'to make a surprise attack', see Oz[1], III, 318, n. 4.

'I will join you *and attack* his flank' (*köndelen-eče oroldusu*), lit. 'I shall enter (= join) from the side.'

'For you ... For you ...': the action in favour of Senggüm is expressed by means of the auxiliary verb *ök-* (= mo. *ög-*) 'to give.' Cf. above, n. 163. Pelliot's translation (Pe, 181) 'nous [te] donnerons ... je vous le donnerai' is, therefore, incorrect.

For 'the *two* Qarta'at', see above.

For *kölde-* 'to seize the feet' (*köl kölde-* id.), cf. DO, 426b.

'The best plan is to go' (*arqača otču*). For *arqača* (pmo. *arɣača*, cf. AT^1, 59a) = *arqa-ča*, an ellipsis for *arqa-ča sayin anu* 'the best from among the schemes (*or* ways and means, methods, plans) *at our disposal*', see Mo, 23.

'If his people are taken away *from him*' (*ulus-iyan abda'asu*), lit. 'if he undergoes the taking of his people.' For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 373-374.

'Prince Nilqa Senggüm' (*Nilqa Senggüm kö'ün*). Here *kö'ün* 'son' = 'prince.' See HW, 105. I follow Mu, II, 99, and others in taking *kö'ün* with this meaning, which is appropriate as Senggüm was the son of Ong Qan (his only son according to the SH, § 164), and there was no particular reason for Qači'un Beki to call him 'son.'

'Whatever you decide', lit. 'what*ever* you think (*or* intend *to do*).'

'To the farthest limit', lit. 'To the extreme point of the long (= length)', rather than 'to the top (of a tree)', as understood by some translators on the basis of the sectional summary (Y^2 5, 42a). Cf. Na^2, 169; Pe, 181; Mu, loc. cit.; Wa, 263; etc. The Mongol couplet is obviously an ancient saying corresponding to

our expressions 'all the way', 'in fortune and misfortune', and the like. Cf. El-Ar, 482, n. 11. It occurs again in § 199 where, however, the word for 'bottom' (*hira'ur*) appears in the form *hiru'ar* = mo. *iruγar* id. For this word, see ibid.; Pelliot 1925, 217, no. 26; Poppe 1969, 268.

The beginning of § 166 up to 'set out and went' is translated and annotated in Cleaves 1948a, 452-453.

The present account represents the development of a situation which originates in § 160 with the *rapprochement* of J̌amuqa to Ong Qan and Činggis Qan (made, however, with ulterior motives according to the SH), and which will inexorably lead to the break-up between Ong Qan and his adopted son in the following sections. This interplay between J̌amuqa, Senggüm and Ong Qan which is described in the SH at the *personal* level, reflects the tribal struggle for supremacy in Mongolia between the three main rival groups, with shifting and ephemeral alliances, at a time when the Kereyit leadership was weakened by internal conflict and the problem of succession (see §§ 152, 164). On the special relationship between Ong Qan and J̌amuqa, and on the latter's role in the present circumstances, cf. Buyandelger 1989.

§ 167. Sayiqan Töde'en appears only once in the SH, but is mentioned in other works, including SL[2], I/2, 123, where he is referred to as an *emir* (= mo. *noyan*) of Senggüm. On the name Töde'en, see HCG, 126 and 467b (Index).

The demonstrative pronouns *ede'er* (= mo. *edeger*) 'these' and *tede'er* (= mo. *tedeger*) 'those' appear here for the first time. For these forms of *ede* and *tere* (which, in my opinion, have not been satisfactorily explained), cf. PLA, 70; IMCS, 228. See also HW, 41, s.v. 'ede', where *ede'er* is defined as 'attributive'; and Street 1981, 159-160. In my opinion *ede'er* and *tede'er* are slightly emphatic, with the ending *-'er* (= *-ger*, *-ber*) corresponding to the Russian particle *-to*.

For *turuq* 'support' (Cl, 91: 'prop'), a term that seems to occur only in the SH, cf. tu. *turuγ* 'standing' (< *tur-* 'to stand'),

and yak. *turuk* 'support.' Cf. TH, 266 (= ǰYT, 461). Ozawa reads *tuluG* further on in the same § 167 (Y[2] 5, 44a), and takes it to mean also 'support' (< mmo., mo. *tul-* 'to lean on, support' + conn. vo. *-u-* + suff. *-G* [= γ]). See Oz[1], III, 324, n. 1; IV, 155-156, n. 12. His interpretation is shared by Γa, 91 and 340, n. 503, who equates SH *tuluγ* with mo. *tulγa* 'support.' However, the argument in favour of the reading *turuq* (= *turuγ*) is stronger because this reading (with *-r-*) occurs three times (§§ 167, 179, 207), whereas *tuluq* occurs only once (i.e. the second occurrence in § 167), and on this occasion the corresponding word in AT[1], 59b, is *(t)uruγ*, clearly confirming the form with *-r-*. The form *tuluq* of § 167 is therefore due to the editor or scribe dropping the diacritical character 舌, as is often the case in the SH. Moreover, the Yakut correspondence (for which I am indebted to N. Poppe) is perfect. I should add that the word *tulγa* 'pillar' is well attested in Preclassical and Middle Mongolian. See Cleaves 1951, 56 [32]; MA, 354a; *Matériel I*, 103. Cf. also below, n. 245. In the SH, §§ 245 and 254, we find the word *tulu* meaning 'the stone base of a pillar.' There is also a *tulu* in § 272 meaning 'trout'; and a *turuq* (= mo. *turuγ*) in §§ 201 and 207 meaning '(for) a long time.' Finally, a word '*tuluγ*' appears once in ATI, 103, line 4511, but this is an error for *toloγ* 'a large felt rug or carpet.' See SH, § 189: *toloq* id.; DO, 666b, s.v. '*t'oloķ*' 'tapis de cérémonie en feutre blanc.' Cf. LDAT, 265.

For *ima'ari* (pmo. *imaγari* = *imaγar-i*) 'by him', see IMCS, 214. *Turuq ima'ari bolǰu* is, literally, '*our* support being by him.'

'We shall not be loved by Heaven.' Here, again, we have a reference to Heaven withdrawing its love, i.e. protection, as a consequence of an evil intention. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1977, 27.

'J̌amuqa has a glib tongue', lit. 'J̌amuqa has a tongue that usually (*or* always) goes (= moves)', i.e. he indulges in wild, unreliable talk. Cf. the sectional summary (Y[2] 5, 45a). The AT[1], 59b, glosses *yabudaγ* with *qudal olgiyan* 'lie and gossip.'

For *yabuday*, cf. also TMEN, no. 401 (the '410' in TMEN, IV, 545a, is a misprint).

For the expression *ǰöb-ü'ü tab-u'u* (AT[1], 59b: *ǰöb-üü tab-uu*), lit. 'right(ly)?, correct(ly)?', cf. the expression *mön-üü bisi-üü* 'right or wrong?' (Les., 547a). The idiom occurs again in § 168; and in § 275 the interrogative phrase *ǰöb-i tab-i bol-*, lit. 'to become right, correct?', is used to express uncertainty with regard to the outcome of an enterprise such as a military campaign. Cf. Oz[1], III, 325-326, nn. 2, 3.

'When *any* man with a mouth and a tongue says *these things*', lit. 'Whereas (*or* while) a man who has a mouth and who has a tongue is speaking', i.e. it is common, general knowledge, hence it must be true. The sectional summary (Y[2] 5, 45a) says: 'Now people who have mouths and tongues speak thus', which Waley renders as 'Every man that has mouth and lips says the same' (Wa, 263). See Pan[1], 119, and Pan[2], 57: 'If every man who has mouth and tongue speaks thus.' Cf., however, Onon's translations: 'In spite of the men (I send) with (eloquent) mouths and tongues' (On, 74); and '[I send] you men with [winning] tongues' (idem, 2001 ed., 138).

'He sent messages twice, three times' (*ǰiči quči ügüleǰü ile'et*). For *ǰiči quči* (= pmo. *yučï*) 'twice, thrice', cf. Vietze 1990, 381.

'He went to him in person', lit. 'he went by himself in person' (*ö'esün be'engedün otču*). The expression *be'engedün*, 'in person', occurs in Preclassical Mongolian texts written *beyenggedün*. See Cleaves 1950, 113, n. 76. In the past, this word has been split in two and read as *be'en* (= mo. *beye*[*n*] 'person, body') *gedün*. Cf., e.g., H, 42; Ko, 249; L[2], 119; R, 78, line 5133. However, Pelliot read correctly *bä'ängädün* (Pe, 51; note 6 should be deleted) following Y[1] 5, 43a, which transcribes the word as a single unit. Buriat has a verb *bėenxėdė-* meaning 'to strain or exert oneself.' See BRS, 130b. I have no doubt that this verb is the same as pmo. *beyenggedü-* and mmo. *be'engedü-*. The SH *be'engedün* would, therefore, be its converbum modale in *-n*, lit. 'straining (*or* exerting) oneself',

but used in an adverbial function with the meaning of 'in person.' In the 'Činggis Qaγan-u yeke öčig' edited by Damdinsürėn, we find the same form written *beyenggidün* (= *beyenggedün*). See MUǰ, 76a. On *be'engedün*, *beyenggedün*, see Oz[1], III, 326, n. 4; TH, 147 (= ǰYT, 255); and Gaadamba's comments regarding the formation of the word in Γa, 341, n. 505.

'Even *now*, at a time when you are *still* so lively *and well*', lit. 'Even (*bel*) at the time of you being so much alive.' For *bel* 'even, also' – a rare word – see ET[2], I, 73-74; TH, 147-148 (= ǰYT, 257); Oz[1], III, 326-327, n. 5.

'*Temüǰin* has not the slightest regard for us', lit. 'is not making *us* to be even a thing (= anything).' Cf. Street 1981, 163.

'*Will have reached the age when men*/Choke on the white *milk*,/And are stifled by the black *meat*', lit., 'Will choke on the "white" *food*,/Will stifle on the "black" *food*.' The 'white' (*čaqa'an*) foods comprise milk, milk products such as kumis, and liquid food in general; and the 'black' (*qara*) ones are meat and solid foods. See Mo, 76. Senggüm intimates that once Ong Qan reaches old age – the age when one is liable to choke on *any* kind of food – Činggis Qan will take advantage of the situation to seize his subjects. For a discussion of this passage, see ibid., 74-77; Li, 160, n. 167; Cl, 91, nn. 58 and 59. For a different interpretation of the 'black' (*qara = qara usun* 'black water, water'), see Ja, 213, n. 2. Whereas there is no doubt about the meaning of the 'white', i.e. milk and milk products (see Kǰ, 351-360; cf. Ts. Saranguerel in *Anda* 22:July 1996, 12-13), the meaning of the 'black' as meat and solid food is not as clear-cut and well attested. Mostaert's interpretation may, indeed, have to be re-examined, although the meaning of the sentence is perfectly clear. Cf. Oz[1], III, 328, n. 7.

For Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan, see above, n. 150.

'In such great number', lit. 'so much' (*edüi*).

'How will he let anyone govern it?' (*ken-e ber yekin mede'ülgü*) – a rhetorical question which is, literally, 'How will

he let govern it (= let it be governed) by anyone?' For a different interpretation of this sentence, see Mo, 77; Li, 62; Cl, 91; etc., who take *ber* as the conjunction 'and' following the Chinese interlinear gloss (*yeh* 也). But *ken-e ber* must be taken together ('by anyone'), as correctly understood by Haenisch (Ha, 58). Cf. Street 1981, 157. Therefore, renderings such as 'Who will he let govern them [i.e. the people – I.R.]?' (On, 74; cf. the 2001 ed., 139: 'Who will he let rule them?'), and 'For whom will you manage it?' (LDAT, 140) miss the point.

'Concerned about *losing* the affection.' For *qayirala-* 'to be concerned (*or* feel sorry) about', cf. § 267.

'Who knows whether we shall be loved by Heaven after all?' The words 'Who knows whether ... after all?' render the single term *maqa*, on which see above, n. 31.

'You say, "How shall we do away with the son?"' This sentence has been interpreted in several different ways, but I think that the above translation is the correct one. Cf. the sectional summary rendering (Y^2 5, 45a): 'How do you intend to forsake (= kill) the son?' See Cl, 92 and n. 63. The passage has been completely misunderstood by Pankratov (Pan^1, 119; Pan^2, 57). For some relevant remarks on this section, chiefly concerning Ong Qan, Senggüm and the 'father-son' relationship between Ong Qan and Činggis Qan, see Gaadamba 1968, 120.

The events just described have their counterpart in the YS^2 1, 9; $SWCCL^1$, 34a-35a; and SL^2, I/2, 123, s.a. 1202 (the SL^2 gives 1202-1203). The differences between the three narratives (SH, YS and SWCCL/SL) are as interesting as their similarities, especially in the phraseology.

§ 168. 'Those same *people* requested' (*müt lü ... quyu büle'e*). For *müt lü*, lit. 'the same, indeed', cf. Mo, 121; Street 1986a, 17-18. The rare emphatic particle *lü* (~ *lu*) appears here for the first time. The question of whether one should read *lü* or *lu* is still under discussion. See ibid., 9-10; cf. Oz^1, III, 333 (*mud-lu*); VI, 331 (*Ögödei-lü*). *Müt* is the plural of *mün* (= mo. *mön*), hence the reading *mud* with the back *u* is incorrect. For *quyu büle'e* instead of *quyun büle'e*, cf. § 31: *qono ağu'u* for *qonon ağu'u*, and § 84: *qono a'ululāi* for *qonon a'ululāi*. The disappearance of the final *n* (suffix of the converbum modale) is simply due to the failure of the transcriber or copyist to note the small diacritic character *ni* 你 at the end of the word to render the sound *n* at the end of the syllables *yun* and *non*.

For the Mongol traditional 'betrothal feast' (*bu'uljar*), see Mu, II, 114-115, n. 1; and Yao 1963, where the whole episode is critically discussed. The term *bu'uljar* (written *buγulčar* or *buγuljar* in the corresponding passage in AT^1, 60a), occurs in the YS^2 1, 9, in the form *pu-hun-ch'a-erh* 布渾察爾 (**buhulčar* = **bu'ulčar*; see below) glossed as 'betrothal feast' (許親). Cf. Hung 1956, 16, n. 3. Mo. *bayalǰayur*, *bayalǰuur*, *bayalǰur*, and, more rarely, *boyolǰuur*, means 'throat'; in the Ujumchin dialect of Inner Mongolia, *bayulǰuur*(=*bayalǰuur*)*-un qurim* (*bayalǰūrin hurim*) means 'betrothal feast (*or* banquet).' See TH, 154 (= ǰYT, 270). Da^1, 134 (cf. Da^5, 112-113), followed by Ja, 214, n. 1, explains the term *bu'uljar* as 'sheep's neck' – the feast being so called because the meat from the sheep's neck was partaken of by the betrothed in the hope and expectation that the marriage would be as strong, i.e. durable, as a sheep's neck. See Yao 1963, 96-99; MCS, 83, 91, 93. Cf. On, 74, n. 201; Ev-Pop, 281, n. 70. (Damdinsürèn's interpretation has been adopted by virtually all Mongolian scholars.) In the SH, *bu'uljar* is glossed 'betrothal banquet' (許婚筵席), which Cleaves renders as 'betrothal meal' (Cl, 92), thereby translating the expression *bu'uljar ide-* as 'to eat the betrothal meal.' There is no indication in the SH that *bu'uljar* means anything but 'betrothal feast *or* banquet.' Also, the word for 'throat' is not obvious for 'sheep's neck.' Furthermore, although we have descriptions of Mongolian wedding ceremonies going back several centuries, there is no record of an early 'sheep's neck' custom. Cf. Serruys 1945, 128-130; Yao 1963, 96-99. However, the main objection is the difficulty in reconciling SH *bu'uljar*, written *buγuljar*, with mo. *bayalǰūr* (< *bayalǰayur*) since the intervocalic

velar consonant in *baγa* is retained in all Mongolian languages and dialects (as *γ*, *g* or *χ*), whereas it had already disappeared in the word *bu'uljǎar* of the SH. (In the written form *buγuljǎar*, the letter *γ* stands merely for the hiatus.) This problem was indeed noticed by Ozawa who expressed his reservations, without dismissing a relationship between the two words. See Oz[1], III, 336-337, n. 2. Murakami (in Mu, II, 114, n. 1), hinted at a possible relationship between *bu'uljǎar* and (mo.) *boγu- ~ buγu-* 'to tie, bind', but this runs into difficulties too because the transcription of the above two Written Mongolian forms are actually incorrect: the verb in question is neither *boγu-* (as in Les., 111a-b), nor *buγu-*, but *boγo-*. See VGAS, 21, 123, 139; MKT, 469b-c (cf. 1999 ed., 469b). This verb occurs as *bō-* in the modern Mongolian dialects. In the SH, § 240, we find a verb *bo'o-* (w.f. *boγo-*) 'to obstruct (the way)', which also occurs in the MA, 121a, with the meaning of 'to strangle.' Mo. *boγo-* and the dialect forms (*bō-*) encompass these various related meanings as do their Turkic counterparts. Cf. tu. *boγ-*, *buγ-*, *bō-*, *bū-*, etc. 'to strangle, choke; to tie, obstruct.' See VGAS, loc. cit.; ÈSTY, II, 164-167. However, a verb **buγu-* (> *bū-*) must have existed in Ancient Mongolian since it is still present in the word *buγulγa* (kh., bur. *buulga*, i.e. *būlga*) 'yoke, (horse) collar' which is evidently formed on **buγu-* 'to fasten to the neck' and the deverbal noun suffix *-lγa* (as in *qaγalγa* 'gate' < *qaγa-* 'to close'). At an early stage there were, therefore, two parallel forms, viz. *boγo-* (> *bō-*) 'to strangle, obstruct', and **buγu-* (> *bū-*) 'to fasten, tie', the latter converging later into *boγo-*. *Mutatis mutandis*, a similar development occurred in Turkic. This being the case, Murakami's suggestion (discarded in favour of Damdinsürèn's interpretation) must be reconsidered. A verb **buγu-* > *bū-* must have had an intermediate form *bu'u-*. The SH *bu'uljǎar* may be the evidence of such a development, provided we read *bu'ulčar* instead of *bu'uljǎar*. The form *bu'ulčar* is supported by the YS, as we have already seen, and the AT[1] form can be read either *buγuljǎar* or *buγulčar*,

the letter *č* in the ms. being used for both *č* and *ǰ*. Moreover, the confusion between the two affricates in the SH transcription is well attested, and we have a perfect example of this phenomenon in § 195, where the verb *šilemelče-* 'to drivel' is transcribed as *šilemelče-* and *šilemelǰe-*. (Cf. also § 194: *belǰi'el* 'pasture' for *belči'er*; §§ 134, 179: *ǰa'ut quri ~ ča'ut quri*, a title; §§ 128, 201: J̌oči Darmala ~ Čoǰi Darmala, pr. name; etc.) The confusion is always due to the ambivalence of the letter *č* in the Uighur-Mongol script – further evidence, incidentally, that the text of the SH used by the Ming transcribers was written in this script and not in 'Phags-pa script, which distinguishes clearly between the two letters. Assuming, then, that *bu'ulčar* is the correct reading, this form can be explained as a deverbal noun in *-r* (see GWM, 49, § 178) of the co-operative in *-lča-* (see ibid., 63, § 233) of *bu'u-* (w.f. **buγu-*) 'to fasten, to firmly tie or bind', i.e. 'a firm mutual bond or tie (= union)' – a most appropriate term for 'betrothal.' The meaning 'betrothal feast' would simply be an extension of it (→ 'the betrothal [occasion = feast/banquet]'). Thus, *bu'ulčar ide-* would literally be 'to eat the betrothal (feast)' or, as Waley puts it (Wa, 264), 'to eat the Feast of Betrothal.' Cf. the expression *qurim ide-* 'to eat (= to attend) a banquet or feast' (Les., 990b). If this interpretation is correct, it follows that the Ujumchin expression referred to above is based on folk etymology, i.e. the ancient expression *bu'uljǎar/bu'ulčar ide-* was incorrectly interpreted as meaning *baγaljǎuur ide-*, and so the custom of eating the sheep's neck was introduced. There are many examples of similar folk etymologies in Mongolian literature, beginning with the SH itself, where, e.g., the meanings of clan names are explained merely on the basis of phonetic affinities (Ch. 1). In my translation I have rendered the SH expression as 'to dine at the betrothal feast' without altering the meaning, whatever the etymology (still unresolved) of *bu'uljǎar/bu'ulčar*.

For Father Mönglik, now again on Činggis Qan's side, see above, n. 130. The present passage concerning him and Činggis (whom he calls 'son') is discussed in Hambis 1975, 24-25, in the

light of the parallel passages in the SWCCL and SL. See also above, n. 68. Cf. Street 1986a, 18.

'On the contrary' and 'contradicting themselves' both translate the adverb *buru'ui-a*, lit. 'in the opposite direction.' Cf. Oz[1], III, 337, n. 4.

'You must proceed with caution', lit. 'You must go understanding.' Cf. Poppe 1964, 371.

'Our herds are lean, and we must fatten our horses *first*.' The word for 'herds' and 'horses' is the same (*adu'u*[*n*]). See above, n. 23.

'Let us send *a message* giving as an excuse', lit. 'Let us send saying pretending (*or* in pretence: *šiltaǰu*).' For *šilta-*, cf. Cleaves 1955, 35, n. 18.

§ 169. The Yeke Čeren mentioned in this section – the younger cousin (lit. 'younger brother': *de'ü*) of Altan – was the son of Qulan Ba'atur, as clearly stated in § 51. Cf. HCG, 125. According to a different tradition recorded in the SWCCL[1], 35b, this personage was called Yeke Čaqaran (= *Čaγaran). Cf. the form J̌ārān (= Čārān) of the second element of this name in Rašīd al-Dīn's work (SL[2], I/2, 124, n. 5), which may be taken as a contraction of *Čaγaran. On the strength of the SWCCL and SL, Hambis has adopted the form 'Yäkä-Tchaqaran' in GK, 76. But the editors of SL[2] have preferred to transcribe Rašīd's J̌ārān as Čėrėn, i.e. Čeren, following the SH (SL[2], I/2, 124). However, it should be pointed out that the second element of the name in Uighur-Mongol script can be read Čeren as well as Čaran and therefore the name as found in AT[1], 10a (= SH, § 51) and 60b (= SH, § 169), can be read Yeke Čeren or Yeke Čaran. The Ming editors of the SH, who were unacquainted with the real pronunciation of this name, may have transcribed it from the text in Uighur-Mongolian script simply 'by ear', i.e. making the second element agree in vocalization with the first. Rašīd's informants, on the other hand, may have known the correct reading from Mongol oral sources. Thus, one cannot exclude that the true pronunciation of this name was Yeke Čāran or

Čārān (? < *Čaγaraγan; cf. Rašīd's J̌ārān). I think we can dismiss the interpretation of the name Yeke Čeren as 'Grande-Longévité' in Ev-Pop, 48 and 122-123, which is based on the assumption that Čeren = tib. *tse-ring* 'grand âge, longévité' (ibid., 260, n. 104), since this common Tibetan-Mongolian name, written Cėrėn in Cyrillic, is regularly written Čering (C'RYNK) in Uighur-Mongol script and not Čeren (C'R'N), as confirmed by the AT. There is, of course, no connection between our Yeke Čeren and the Tatar chief of the same name, on whom see above, §§ 154-156.

'What sort *of a reward* might be expected by a person ...?', lit. 'Just (*ele*) what will a person ... be made to become ?', i.e. what kind of treatment (= reward) will there be for him? A rhetorical question. Cf. Poppe 1964, 371; Street 1986, 26.

Alaq It, the name of Yeke Čeren's wife, is a hybrid Mongol-Turkic name meaning 'Spotted Dog.' Oz[1], III, 339, 343, n. 3, amends this name to Alaγčid; however, this would be a most unusual form for a personal name and unsupported by any source. Moreover, the form Alaqud of AT[1], 60b, is clearly a copyist's error for Alaqid = Alaγ Id = SH Alaq It. The form Alaq Nidün of SL[2], I/2, 124, is a corruption of Alaq Id (with a prothetic *n-* and the genitive suffix *-ün* incorporated in the name). On this name see also Rybatzki [2003], s.v. 'Alaq.'

'*Some* people.' By 'people' (*haran*) are meant the household staff, i.e. servants, grooms, etc.

Yeke Čeren's herdsmen Badai and Kišiliq were first mentioned in § 51, where they are referred to as *darqat* or 'freemen', thus anticipating the special status that Činggis Qan will confer on them in § 187 as a reward for the service they perform in the present episode.

'Withdrew', lit. 'returned' (*qariba*).

The name Narin Ke'en (w.f. Kegen, see AT[1], 60b) means 'Fine Adornment.' For his remarks deprecating his father's careless words, see Mo, 79-82. Narin Ke'en says that it would have been better if they – the inclusive *bida* 'we' refers to his family – had had their tongues torn out so as to prevent them

making such imprudent, and irreparable, comments on the impending attack.

For *hürü-* (= mo. *ürü-*) 'to polish or sharpen (an arrow)', see Pelliot 1925, 239, no. 74; the 'huruḥu, hurḥu' of HW, 79, must be amended to 'hürügü.'

With regard to the two horses, the Chinese gloss indicates that Merkidei Čaqa'an ('The Merkit White') and Aman Čaqa'an Ke'er ('The Bay with a White Muzzle') were their respective names. On the other hand, the Chinese sectional summary takes these epithets as purely descriptive, except for 'Merkidei' which it ignores. See Y^2 5, 51a. Cf. § 87. I think Damdinsürèn is correct in taking them as descriptive terms and not as proper names (see Da^5, 113); therefore, I render 'Merkidei' (Merkit + the suff. *-dei*, on which see Poppe 1975, 162-163) simply as 'Merkit.' This may refer to a particular type of horse or, more likely, to a horse seized from the Merkit. An unpublished note by A. Mostaert renders *Merkidei čaqa'an* as 'Le blanc de chez les Merk.'

For *huya-* (= mo. *uya-*) 'to tie, tether', see Pelliot 1925, 223, no. 46.

'Tonight, towards daybreak.' The expression *söni erte* is glossed *yeh-li tsao* 夜裏早 'in the night, early (in the morning)', while in the sectional summary it is rendered *ming-jih tsao* 明日早 'early tomorrow' or 'tomorrow early (in the morning).' Since in the Chinese interlinear translation the two Mongolian words are glossed one after the other, i.e. *söni* = ch. *yeh-li*, and *erte* = ch. *tsao*, *yeh-li tsao* must be understood as above and not as 'early in the night' (Cl, 93). Oz^1, III, 348-350, n. 7, discusses this expression at length, but his rendering *yofuke* 夜更 'late at night' (cf. ibid., 344) is, in my view, not sufficiently precise. *Söni erte* means 'in the night just before dawn', clearly referring to the following day. Cf. Da^5, 113: ... *xonood öglöö ėrt* 'having spent the night, early in the morning.'

'I have checked what you said a short while ago', lit. 'I have carefully examined (*bolqa'aba*) your information (*or* news, message: *kelen*) of a moment ago.' For *bolqa'a-* (~ *bolqā-*; cf. § 246) 'to carefully examine, to check', see Mo, 169.

'Travel-tent' renders *qoš*, a term borrowed from Turkic and meaning 'a conical pole-tent with felt cover.' See Róna-Tas 1963, 50. Cf. Poppe 1955, 40-41 (see also idem in *ZDMG* 99:1949, 278); Rassadin 1995, 114. At this time, *qoš* designated a small tent suitable for casual use by one or two individuals; however, later in the Yüan dynasty, the term *qoš* was apparently used for a felt-house on wheels, i.e. a coach or tent-cart. See Mu, II, 119-120, n. 11; T. Kobayashi in *TYGH*, 32, 4:April 1950, 88; and MSR, 120; Khomonov 1970, 36-37; DO, 308a, s.v. '^{4}*qoši*.' Cf. also the reference to this type of small tent in MP^1, 173. For the tent called *qošiliq* (< *qoš*), see above, n. 80.

'From the back of his tent.' Badai and Kišiliq followed a strict rule that was evidently already observed at the time, and was formalized later, after the reorganization of the Guard (*kešik*), viz. that any man coming at night with an urgent message should not be let in, but should stand with the nightguards at the back, i.e. at the northern side, of the tent and communicate his message from there. See §§ 229 and 278. This was obviously a precautionary measure; and talking through the wall of the tent presented no problem.

'If Činggis Qa'an favours us *with his trust*, he will not hesitate *to act*', lit. 'If Činggis Qa'an deigns, there is no hesitation (*ariyal ügei*)', or, more freely, 'Please, Činggis Qa'an, don't hesitate!' Most translators understand 'If Činggis Qa'an favours us, he will not doubt (what we say).' Cl, 94, renders this sentence: 'If Činggis Qa'an favours [us], [we assure him that] there is no doubt.' Cf. On, 76, and Ev-Pop, 123. However, in § 141 the verb *ariya-* definitely means 'to hesitate, waver, falter', i.e. to be in doubt as to whether to do something or not; hence *ariyal ügei* must mean 'without hesitation', and it must refer to a course of action. Cf. TH, 95 (= ǰYT, 169); and Oz^1, III, 353, n. 15. As we shall see, Činggis followed the two herdsmen's advice and later generously rewarded them.

As noted by Wei Kwei Sun, there is an apparent difficulty with distances in this section. Badai and Kišiliq reached Činggis Qan's camp in the same night, while the references to the horses' leanness in § 168 implies that Činggis' camp was situated much further from Senggüm's camp. However, by then Senggüm had joined his father Ong Qan at his camp in the Black Forest on the Tūla River. We know from § 164 that Ong Qan was in the Black Forest, and that he had a meeting with Činggis whose camp in the Sa'ari Steppe was not far removed from his. On the other hand, Senggüm's own camp was at Berke Elet, north of the J̌eǰe'er Heights in the southern Bayan Uul region, i.e. about 200 km (as the crow flies) east of Činggis' encampment (see § 166). Furthermore, from § 166 we learn that Senggüm went to his father's camp to change Ong Qan's mind about Činggis and get his approval to trap the latter, in which endeavour he eventually succeeded. Thus, Senggüm's plot was hatched in the Black Forest camp, and he himself stayed there to carry it out with his father and allies. It is clear from § 169 that the distance between them and Činggis' camp could be covered in a few hours' ride, which in the light of the above makes perfect sense.

The accounts of the same events in the SWCCL, SL and YS are somewhat different. For example, the SWCCL[1], 36a, and YS[2] 1, 9-10, state that Badai was Kišiliq's younger brother, whereas SL[2], I/2, 124, says (like the SH) that they were *nökör*s, i.e. companions – one of those rare instances in which Rašīd al-Dīn is at variance with the SWCCL and agrees with the SH. Also, it is only from the SH that we learn that Yeke Čeren (*or* Čaqaran) was Altan's younger cousin: the SWCCL and SL call him simply a high official and retainer of Ong Qan's. The YS account is much shorter. Cf. Hung 1956, 15, n. 1. There is also a discrepancy in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, which gives a different account in *The History of the Tribes* involving Kököčü Teb Tenggeri (on whom see below, n. 244). See SL[2], I/1, 133. Cf. ČK[1], 64, n. 115 (= ČK[2], 69).

For a critical discussion of § 169 from the literary point of view, cf. Gaadamba 1968, 100ff.

§ 170. The entire section from 'On this intelligence' to 'he would have been *caught* unprepared' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 82-90. The following are some additional remarks.

For the expression *teyin ügülekdeǰü* 'On this intelligence', lit. 'being so told', cf. *Lettres*, 82.

For the expression *söni bö'et* 'that same night', see above, n. 110.

'The trusted men (lit. "the trustworthy ones") who were at his side' (*dergede'ün bükün itegelten-e* [dat.]). For *dergede'ün* 'in the proximity of, by', cf. Ligeti 1971, 147.

'His baggage', lit. 'all his things (= effects, possessions).' See ibid., 152; and above, n. 153.

'Set out and fled in the night', lit. 'fleeing (being night =) that same night he moved on.' For *burūila-* < *buruγuyila-* (= mo. *buruγula-*) 'to flee', see Oz[1], IV, 17-20, n. 5. In this passage I have variously rendered the verb *gödöl-* (= mo. *ködel-*, *ködöl-*) 'to move, depart', as 'to set out', 'to proceed', 'to move on', and 'to advance.' Cf. Mo, 88.

The Ma'u ('Evil') Heights (Ma'u Ündür) refer to an as yet unidentified mountain near, and south of, the river Khalkha (Qalqa) in northeastern Mongolia which flows into the Buir Nōr. According to Pėrlėė[2], 11 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 100), this mountain is situated near this river and the river Nömrög (= Nömörge), i.e. the Numurgin Gol of our maps at 47° 18 N 119° 30 E. The text has 'Mau' throughout (cf. the form *niuča* 'secret' for *ni'uča* in Y[2] 1, 1a), but the reading 'Ma'u' is guaranteed by the 'Maγu' of AT[1], 61a and 61b. For *au* ~ *a'u*, cf. Mo, x, n. 8 (however, Mostaert does not elaborate the point), and F.W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13:1950, 232; for *niuča* = *ni'uča*, see Cl, xvii; and, especially, 'Quelques problèmes', 257-258, where Mostaert discusses 'l'omission fautive de l'hiatus.' For this common phenomenon in the Arabic-Persian sources, cf. the forms *umdaan* ~ *umda'an* (VMI, 71), *baraun* ~ *bara'un* (ibid., 18),

naur ~ na'ur (TMEN, no. 381; RH, 245, no. 2), *sibauči* and *šibawun* (= *šiba'un*) (RH, 137, no. 9; LH [1928], 60), etc.

J̌elme Qo'a must not be confused with J̌elme, the son of J̌arči'udai, who was also an Uriangqai (= Uriyangqai). See § 97. On this otherwise unknown J̌elme Qo'a and his name, see HCG, 138.

'As his rearguard', lit. 'as the rearguard of his rear' (*qoyina'an čaqdu'ulsun*). For the military term *čaqdu'ulsun* (= pmo. *čaγduγulsun*) 'rearguard', see Poppe 1967, 510-511, no. 4; Kałużyński 1978, 131. And for *qara'ulsun* (= pmo. *qaraγulsun*) 'scout (lit. "watchman")', see Vietze 1990, 383-384.

The Qalaqalǰit Sands (Qalaqalǰit Elet) must have been a sandy plain somewhere further to the south of the Khalkha River. For Qalaqalǰit Rašīd al-Dīn writes Qalālǰit and Qalālǰin. See SL[2], I/2, 302b (Index); cf. HCG, 46. Li, 160, n. 170, is of the opinion that Qalalǰit is the correct form. AT[1], 61a, has 'Qalaγaǰin' or 'Qalγaǰin' (? = Qalqaǰin; cf. ATL, 128). If Qalaγaǰin is the correct reading, as I believe, it must be a scribal error for Qalaγalǰin (the letter *l* could easily have been dropped); such a name would normally develop into Qalālǰin, plural: Qalālǰit. This may explain Rašīd al-Dīn's Qalālǰin *and* Qalālǰit, but, according to Rašīd, Qalālǰin was the name of a river, which makes it unlikely that Qalālǰit is the plural of Qalālǰin. I think that the former is a scribal error for the latter (the AT[1] has the *-n* ending). On the other hand, Pėrlėė[2], 10 (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 99), reads this name as Qara Qalǰid and suggests that it refers to a place south of the confluence of the Nömrög and Khalkha rivers (at 47°/48° N 119°/120° E), where there are to this day various sandy areas such as Xuučdyn Els, Kuran Els, Udaart Els and Moĭlt Els. Poppe 1956, 41, no. 11, deals with this locality. His conclusion is that 'it must be somewhere near the Khalkha and Ulkhui rivers which are on the frontier of Outer Mongolia and Manchuria.' The locality is also discussed in Schubert 1970, 524, n. 5, proposing another identification further to the west (which is most unlikely).

'To rest and eat' (*üderin*). The verb *üderi- ~ üderit-* = mo. *üdele-* 'to rest at noon for a meal when travelling.' For this practice and the supposed identification of the site in question 32 km north-east of Delgerkhan (Dėlgėrxaan) and 3 km south-east of the Tsenkher (Cėnxėr) River (at 47°/48° N 109°/110° E), see Schubert 1970.

The names of Čigidei and Yadir, Alčidai's two horseherds, do not occur again in the SH. On Činggis' nephew Alčidai, see below, n. 242.

'Led their geldings to pasture, some here and some there, on the fresh grass. As they moved *about* ...', lit. 'when they were going, feeding their geldings in groups (*ǰüyil-e ǰüyil-e*) on the green (= grass), ...' *J̌üyil-e ǰüyil-e* has been variously translated as 'while on the way' (Na[2], 178), 'par groupes' (Pe, 184), 'jeder seines Weges' (Ha, 61), 'from place to place' (Ko, 130), 'chacun de son côté' (Mo, 88), 'one after the other' (Li, 64), 'each one' (Mu, II, 123), 'here and there' (Oz[1], IV, 10; Oz[2], I, 219), 'each his own way' (Cl, 95), 'to the spots' (On, 76; left untranslated in the 2001 ed., 143), 'all kinds of (grass)' (Če, 132), 'diverses (herbes)' (Ev-Pop, 127). For other renderings see Oz[1], IV, 24, n . 9. Pelliot's translation 'par groupes' agrees with both the Chinese gloss (*i-lu i-lu* 一路一路, where *lu* means 'group') and the Mongolian text (*ǰüyil* = pmo., mo. *ǰüil*). The horses were scattered on the pasture, some here and some there, as is usually the case when feeding, hence my somewhat free rendering.

'Coming in pursuit', lit. 'approaching from the rear (= after them).'

Hula'an Burqat (Buruqat in the text) means 'Red Willows.' For a discussion of this name, see Li, 160, n. 170. As stated in the text, it was a place on the south side of the Ma'u Heights. The full imagery of the dust raised by the enemy on this occasion is repeated in § 173.

For the impersonal (passive) construction with *ke'ekde-* 'to be told', cf. Mo, 108; Poppe 1964, 368.

'That is Ong Qan', lit. 'Ong Qan – that *one* –.' Cf. Cleaves 1959, 91, n. 364.

'Unprepared' (*genet*). For *genen* (pl. *genet*), see above, n. 104. Cf. also Oz[1], IV, 27-29, n. 12.

'Who are those with son Temüǰin who are likely to fight?', i.e. who pose a real threat. For this sentence, cf. Poucha 1955, 166ff.

For the Uru'ut and the Mangqut, see above, n. 130; Ratchnevsky 1966a, 183, n. 10, 182; and Li, 160, n. 170. See also below, n. 195. For *ke'en* 'called', cf. Mo, 89, n. 85.

'Every time they turn about … wheel round': these expressions refer to military manoeuvres, such as the well-known technique of the Mongol army to feign retreat and then return to attack from the sides. See, e.g., SF, 81; MM, 36. 'Their battle array (*toyi*) holds (lit. "is proper").' The military term *toyi* (= pmo. *toi*) corresponds to tu. *toy* 'camp', on which see ED, 566b; DTS, 572a; Poppe 1955, 41. Cf. Pelliot 1944b, 65, n. 1. In view of this, Poppe (p.c.) understood the Mongol sentence as follows: 'Each time they surround (circumvent), [their] camp holds.' He also pointed out that the AT (see AT[1], 61b) renders *toyi* with *töb* 'center', which could be the same as 'camp, headquarters.' 'Their ranks (*dem*) holds (lit. "is proper").' *Dem* is glossed *tz'u-hsü* 次序 'order of sequence', i.e. 'rank(s).' However, in the later literary language and in the dialects, *dem* has the meaning of 'aid, help, assistance; skill, ability, dexterity.' At the root of this term used in the military sense is the idea of 'order' – an order based on the skill of the soldiers and their mutual interaction. Cf. Oz[1], IV, 31, n. 16.

'Those people are accustomed to swords and spears (*üldü ǰida-tur daduqsan*).' For the expression *üldü ǰida* 'sword *and* spear', cf. Cleaves 1959, 95, n. 426; and for *dad-* 'to get accustomed (to), get used (to)', cf. Cleaves 1949, 126, n. 216.

'They have black and multicoloured standards' (*qaraqči'ut alaqči'ut tuqtan bui*). *Qaraqči'ut* is the plural of *qaraqčin* (= pmo., mo. *qaraγčin*), formed on *qara* 'black' + the denominal noun suffix *-qčin* designating colours and names of female animals and people, or forming another noun of the same meaning, as is evident from its usage in the SH where it is glossed simply as *hei* 黑 'black.' Cf. Poppe 1975, 164, 166. The same applies to *alaqči'ut* (< *alaq*, pmo., mo. *alaγ* 'multi-coloured, variegated, motley' + *-qčin* + *-'ut*) 'multicoloured (pl.).' Cf. § 124: *alaqči'ut qonind-i* 'pied sheep (acc.).' The AT[1], 61b, confirms this by adding the glosses *qara* and *alaγ* to the two obsolete words *qaraγčiɣud* and *alaγčiɣud* of the SH. In view of this, my remarks in *Matériel II*, 39, where I discussed the expression *alaqčin ügei* and stated that the suffix in question is *-čin*, are incorrect. The relevant suffix is *-qčin* (= mo. *-γčin*), on which see, provisionally, JŚ, 32-33, § 31; MÜIT, 2651b-2653a, no. 211. See also Oz[1], IV, 31-34, n.17; and Vietze 1990, 384. Neither scholar can find a satisfactory answer to why a feminine suffix should be used for an object like a banner; however, as demonstrated by the example of *alaqčin ügei* in the HIIY (IIA, 14r,4), this suffix has other functions which have not yet been properly investigated.

'They are the people of whom we must be wary!' (*tede serelten irgen bui*). Cf. Cl, 96: '[They] are people against whom one should forewarn himself.' *Serelten* is the plural of *sereltei* 'vigilant' (see AT[1], 35b), and both the Chinese transcription and translation of the word leave no doubt as to its meaning. See HW, 134; GHMBK, 533. However, On, 78, translates it as 'inferior', stating in note 207 on the same page that the word should be read *saraltan* 'lower-class people' (id. in the 2001 ed., 144 and n. 380). This interpretation is unacceptable, since it would not make sense in the context, the Uru'ut and the Mangqut being in fact outstanding warriors, witness J̌amuqa's pertinent remarks.

The J̌irgin, or Čirkin, tribe to which Qadaq belonged was a subtribe of the Kereyit. See HCG, 56, 398; Bese 1988, 24-25. At the time of John of Pian di Carpine's visit to Güyük (1246), there was at the Mongol court a Kereyit (?) chancellor by the same name who was a Nestorian Christian like his colleague, the famous Kereyit (?) Čingqai. See Pelliot 1914, 628; ISK, 108,

109, 587; Buell 1994, 181-182. For Čingqai, see Section Three of the Introduction.

'Shall meet them', lit. 'shall oppose them.' For *tušiyaldu-* 'to oppose one another', cf. Oz[1], IV, 34-35, n. 18; TMEN, no. 136.

'In support' (*geǰige*), i.e. as reserve. For *geǰige* 'reinforcement, reserve troops, auxiliaries', see TMEN, no. 357; Kałużiński 1978, 131; Róna-Tas 1986, 136. Further on in this section I render the term *geǰige* as 'to support.' The original and primary meaning of the word is 'nape of the neck, occiput' (cf. RH, 206, no. 3; Les., 381a), and its usage as a military term is secondary and derivative.

On the Tümen Tübegen and Olon Dongqayit, see above, n. 150. For Ačiq Širun, who is mentioned again in §§ 174 and 181, see also SL[2], I/1, 128; I/2, 131 (where, however, Rašīd al-Dīn writes 'Ačiq and Širun', indicating two people rather than one).

For *turqa'ut* (pl. of *turqaq*) 'bodyguards' (later 'day-guards'), see above, n. 79. Although I use the term 'bodyguard', this term must be understood here *sensu lato*: Ong Qan's 'bodyguard' is an enlarged élite force (1,000 men: *minqa*[*n*]), the pick of the cavalry, sent ahead of Ong Qan who leads the main body of the army (*qol*). For *minqa*[*n*] (= *mingqa*[*n*], mo. *mingγa*[*n*]) 'thousand', cf. RH, 243, no. 14: id. See also TMEN, no. 1749; IMCS, 248.

On the name Qori Šilemün, see HCG, 62. For the title *taiši*, see above, n. 50.

'The main body *of the army*' renders *yeke qol*, lit. 'the great centre.' *Qol* by itself designates the main force. See Poppe 1967, 513-514, no. 7; cf. above, n. 142, and below, n. 247. For the importance of the military organization of the Kereyit under Ong Qan in relation to the future army organization of Činggis Qan, see the relevant remarks in Li, 160-161, n. 170.

'Drew apart', lit. 'went out being alone apart' (*ōre böldeyitčü qarču*). For *ōre* (< *ö'ere*) *böldeyit-*, lit. 'to be alone (= set) apart', see above, n. 156.

'Less capable', lit. 'on the other side (*or* beyond) me' (*nadača činaru*), i.e. 'he cannot (even) reach me.'

'Not much of a companion, is he!' (*čaqtu nökör buyu*), meaning that he is, in fact, a very mediocre, hence unreliable, friend. *Čaqtu* is, literally, 'having a measure', *čaq* (= mo. *čaγ*) having also the meaning of 'measure' besides that of 'time, season, etc.' Cf. Poppe 1967, 511. A person 'who has a measure' is measurable, hence not out of the ordinary (see Cl, 96, n. 3). The Chinese gloss gives *cho-chung* 酌中 'middling', i.e. nothing remarkable, as the equivalent of Mongolian *čaqtu*. For the expression *cho-chung*, cf. MEYD, 188-189, n. 200. In § 245, *čaqtu* is rendered as 'common, mediocre' (*p'ing-teng ti* 平等的) in the sectional summary (Y[2] 10, 41b). I should point out, however, that *čaqtu* can also mean 'having a (set) time, seasonal', hence 'occasional, transitory.' Cf. Kow., 2108a: *čaγ-un γalaγu* 'oies de passage.' In other words, *čaqtu nökör* may also mean 'an occasional (*or* opportunistic) companion.' See Ra, VI, 46; On, 78; Ev-Pop, 128, and 283, n. 10. Cf. also T. Kobayashi's remarks in *TYGH*, 32, 4:April 1950, 88. In either case the meaning is essentially the same: a companion not worth having. Cf. Če, 134: *yaliqu ügei nökör* 'a companion who is not of good quality' – one, therefore, that can be abandoned without compunction.

'To be on his guard', lit. 'saying that the sworn friend must be on his guard.'

For 'secretly' (*doro'un*), cf. Ligeti 1971, 147.

'Sent the following message', lit., 'sending a tongue (= a verbal communication, a secret message) ... sent saying.' Cf. above, n. 166.

The passage within brackets is missing in the SH, but is preserved in the AT[1], 62b. Cf. ATL, 130; Cl, 97, n. 4.

'From this I realized', lit. 'When (*or* If) I considered, *I realized* from this.'

§ 171. Jürčedei, the chief of the Uru'ut, and his tribesmen had separated earlier from Jamuqa and had joined Činggis Qan. See

§ 130. See ibid. also for his designation of 'uncle' (*ebin*). For the clan and family grouping of military units (together with their dependants such as the *bo'ot* [= pmo. *boγod*]) forming the vanguard (*manglaila-*), as in the case of J̌ürčedei, see Vlad.[2], 117ff. Cf. also the important note 170 in Li, 160-161.

'Before J̌ürčedei could utter a word', lit. 'Before J̌ürčede[i] made a sound.' The final *i* of the name J̌ürčedei has dropped once in this section and once in § 176; however, J̌ürčede may be a variant of J̌ürčedei. Cf. Ögölei ~ Ögele, Ilügei ~ Ilüge, etc. See HCG, 129.

Quyildar of the Mangqut first appears in the SH, § 130, where he is called Quyuldar (on this form, see HCG, 168). He had also defected from J̌amuqa, had received the appellation of Sečen ('the Wise') by Činggis Qan, and the two had become *anda*s, or sworn friends. See ibid., 167-168; Li, 160, n. 170; Mu, II, 139-140; and below, n. 175.

'I shall fight in front (*emüne*) of my sworn friend!' The adverb *emüne* (with the gen.) means 'in front of, before' and 'for, on behalf of.' Cf. Buck, 99-100, no. 31; 123, no. 31; and above n. 147. Cl, 97, and Oz[1], IV, 47, have opted for the second interpretation ('I shall fight on behalf of ...'), which is grammatically correct. However, this interpretation does not make much sense because it is obvious that Quyildar, a sworn friend of Činggis, would fight *for* him; the question here is in *what capacity* in the battle formation. Quyildar will go as vanguard before Činggis Qan, thus taking the brunt of the attack and seriously endangering his life, hence the pointed remark about his 'orphaned children.' Cf. also the sectional summary (Y[2] 6, 10a: *mien-ch'ien* 面前 'before, in front'), and Pa, 88. Naka had understood the text correctly (Na[1], 211).

For *önečit kö'üt* 'orphaned children', cf. Cleaves 2001b, 70-71, n. 37. For the whole sentence, see *Lettres*, 184.

In the description of the encounter, the action verbs 'to attack' (*dobtul-*), 'to advance' (*ayis-*), and 'to overcome, defeat' (*daru-*) are repeated several times. To avoid these monotonous repetitions in the translation, I have made use of synonyms ('to attack'/'to charge', 'to rush (against)'; 'to advance'/'to go forward', 'to press ahead'; 'to overcome'/'to crush', 'to defeat').

'Turned back and *stood guard* over Quyildar.' The expression *de'ere eke'er-*, lit. 'to return over (someone)', is apparently a military expression meaning for soldiers to turn back and gather around, 'covering' as it were, a wounded comrade to protect him. The Chinese sectional summary paraphrases as follows (Y[2] 6, 10b): 'The Mangqut troops turned back and stood where Quyildar had fallen from the horse.' The same expression occurs a few lines further down with the verb *bayi-* 'to stand, stay.'

'Without permission from Ong Qan', lit. 'without counsel (*eye ügei'ü*) from Ong Qan.' Cf. Cleaves 1953, 79-80, n. 12.

'Was shot by an arrow in *one of* his bright red cheeks (*enggesge qačar*).' Although the interlinear gloss gives only 'red' (紅) for *enggesge* (see HW, 44), mmo. *enggesge ~ engeske* (= mo. *enggeske*) properly means 'rouge.' See MA, 161a; Les., 318a. Both Pelliot and Ligeti are of the opinion that Senggüm had applied rouge to his cheeks and have translated accordingly. See Pe, 186; Li, 66. For Onon, 'red cheek' simply means 'cheek' (On, 79 and n. 210; cf. the 2001 ed., 146 and n. 385), following in this the Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 6, 10b) which ignores the qualifier. I think that the expression 'rouge-cheek' means 'a cheek as red as if rouge had been applied to it', i.e. a very red or bright red cheek. The qualifier is there because in all probability Senggüm's complexion was unusually red even by current Mongolian standards. The arrow wound in Senggüm's cheek is reported again in §§ 174 and 208, from which we also learn that it was caused by an *učumaq*-arrow. See below, n. 174.

'Touched the hilltops', lit. 'hit upon the hills.'

'Spent the night some distance from there', lit. 'spent the night separating themselves', i.e. taking up a position distant from Ong Qan and the battlefield.

The narrator presents the engagement between the coalition led by Ong Qan (but without J̌amuqa) and Činggis Qan as a

victory for the latter, but as will become apparent from subsequent events, the battle of Qalaqaljit Sands was in fact a reverse for the Mongols. See the pertinent remarks in Li, 160, n. 170. As Ligeti points out, Činggis could 'separate' himself from Ong Qan only after being severely mauled. Cf. ČK[1], 64-65 (= ČK[2], 69-70). The tendentious interpretation of the SH is taken up by all the other sources, whose accounts present the battle also as a defeat for Ong Qan foreshadowing the end of Kereyit power. Cf. SWCCL[1], 37a; SL[2], I/2, 125-126; YS[2] 1, 10.

§ 172. Öködei (= Ögödei), mentioned here for the first time, was Činggis Qan's third son. He was born in 1186, was elected emperor (*qa'an*) on 11 or 13 September 1229, and died on 11 December 1241 of alcoholism. On him see HWC, 178-239 et passim (Index, 750a, s.v.; and 751b, s.v. 'Qa'an'); *Successors*, 17-94 et passim (Index, 362b); SL[2], I/1, 209a; I/2, 293b; D'Ohsson, II, 1-109; *Chapitre CVII*, 71-73; HCG, 456b; NMP, III, 201a-b; Vlad.[2], 276b; ISK, 788a-b (s.v. in the indices of the last four works); YShi, 111-112. The reading with *-k-* occurs only in §§ 172 and 173; elsewhere it is Ögödei. For *k* ~ *g*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 240-243; *Matériel I*, (3,) 5, 37, 100. When the events related in this section took place (1203), Ögödei was only seventeen years old.

'Bo'orču and Boroqul as true friends', lit. 'The trustworthy (*or* reliable) Bo'orču and Boroqul.' Bo'orču and Boroqul were two of the 'four steeds' (*dörben külü'üt*). See above, n. 163.

'How could they part from each other, whether (*ber*) living or (*ber*) dying?' For the use of *ber* in this rhetorical question, see Street 1981, 152-153, § 4.3.1. For *ayu* 'living', lit. 'being', cf. VG, 69; Oz[1], IV, 58-59, n. 4.

'Approaching from the rear' (*qoyinača ayisu gürčü*). For the present in *-u* of *ayis-* 'to approach', see Mo, 96; Cleaves 1982, 87, n. 70; YMT, 77.

'Let Eternal Heaven decide *what should be*!' (*möngke tenggeri medetügei*), in other words, 'Let Heaven take care of this!' This was the usual phrase or formula used by the medieval Mongols when they wanted to thank Heaven, or take Heaven as witness of an oath, a promise or a threat. See *Lettres*, 47-48. As noted by Ligeti, these words were accompanied by a ritual beating of the breast with the fist to establish communication with the supernatural powers (Li, 161, n. 172). On particular and solemn occasions other acts of submission to, and reverence for, Heaven were also performed. See § 103 and com. The Mongolian formula may be compared, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Christian expression *Fiat voluntas Dei*: in both a submission to the will of the Supreme Power is implied. The MTPL (17a) and the HTSL (11a) refer to the Mongol custom of invoking Heaven, and, in the latter source, P'eng Ta-ya remarks that 'with regard to things that have already been done by other persons, they (i.e. the Mongols) say, "Heaven knows." There is not a single matter that they do not attribute to Heaven.' P'eng's 'Heaven knows' is a more literal than accurate rendering of the Mongolian *tenggeri medetügei*, since *mede-* in this case means 'to decide', not 'to know.' Cf. CG, 141. It has escaped scholars so far that the formula in question is also quoted by William of Rubruck in his *Itinerarium*, but in a different context. Rubruck (SF, 230) mentions the Buddhist formula *On mani battam* (= *Oṁ maṇi padme ḥūṁ*). Stating that a priest from a temple in Qara Qorum translated it as 'God, you know' (MWR, 154). Clearly, the monk, who did not know the meaning of the invocation in Sanskrit ('Oṁ, the jewel in the lotus, Amen'), assumed that it was the same as the familiar invocation in Mongolian. (For an example of the use of the verb 'to decide' applied to the supreme authority of the *qan*, cf. *Successors*, 148.) As for the term *möngke* (= pmo. *mǫngke*) 'eternal', the usual epithet of Heaven which appears here for the first time, see TMEN, no. 1744. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1973, 28-29.

For *čölö* 'pause, intermission', cf. Mo, 120.

'The pack-saddle' (*inggirčaq*). As noted by Cleaves, this term designates 'a wooden saddle serving as pack-saddle for horses and oxen, without stirrups attached' (Cl, 99, n. 11). Cf.

TMEN, no. 562; DO, 396b; Oz[1], IV, 60-61, n. 8; Khomonov 1970, 35.

'Following the tracks left by our *men* when they withdrew *from the battlefield*, I went on, found them and here I am', lit. 'Following the trail (*or* path) that we (i.e. our men) went by withdrawing *from the battlefield*, I went on, found them, and have just come.' Cf. Cl, 99; LSHM, 25; Oz[1], IV, 61-62, n. 9. The verb *mütki-* 'to follow (the tracks/path), trail' is a variant of SH *möčgi-* (= mo. *möski-*) id. See HW, 109; cf. Oz[1], IV, 62, n. 10; and IMCS, 113, for *č* > *s*.

§ **173**. 'Then, a moment later, another man approached' (*basa qorumut atala basa niken gü'ün ayisu*). For this sentence, cf. VG, 70. *Qorumut atala* is, literally, 'while there is *but* a moment.' Cf. above, n. 31.

'His feet dangling under him.' As explained immediately after, Boroqul was riding the horse while holding the wounded Öködei (Ögödei) in front of him. The 'dangling' (*unǰilǰaǰu*) feet were, of course, the latter's feet. Since the two were riding double (*sundulaǰu*), a frontal observer saw only one person riding with his feet hanging loose. For *unǰilǰa-* 'to dangle' (rather than 'to hang', as in Cl, 99), see DO, 735a; Oz[1], IV, 66, n. 1; *sundula-* 'to ride double' = mo. *sundala-* id. See Les., 737b.

'When he came up and drew to a halt', lit. 'When he finished coming ... he arrived.'

'With blood trickling from the corners of his mouth', lit. 'letting blood trickle with (*or* by) the corners of the mouth.'

'His heart was pained' (*duran alǰaqat*). For the expression *dura(n) alǰa-* '(for) the heart to be pained (*or* troubled)', cf. Cleaves 1950, 129, n. 309; and, especially, *Lettres*, 69-70.

In this section we have another description of the Mongols' treatment of arrow wounds, which included cauterization. The procedure of sucking the blood and letting the wound bleed freely, so as to clean the wound and avoid blood clotting, was already described in § 145 (see above, n. 145). Cauterization of the wound is mentioned here for the first time. Cf. Kaszuba 1996, 64.

'Boroqul had sucked the *wound*-clogging blood, letting it trickle from the corners of the mouth: *that's how* he came', lit. 'Boroqul came, sucking it with his mouth and letting the clogging blood trickle from the corners *of his mouth*.'

'The dust *raised* by the enemy ... direction.' For these words of Boroqul, cf. the similar phrase employed in § 170. See also Mo, 90, n. 86.

'Had he come *after us ... later*!' This passage has been interpreted in several different ways, considerably altering the meaning of the original which must be understood in the context of the events just described. Cf. Pe, 187; Ha, 64; Ko, 174 (completely misunderstanding the text); Li, 67; Cl, 99; Oz[1], IV, 65; Oz[2], I, 226 (somewhat different from the Oz[1] version); Ta, 96; On, 173; Če, 136; and Ev-Pop, 131. I am now of the opinion that my former rendering (Ra, VI, 32) is not correct. 'If we are *now* witnessing the enemy take flight' is, literally, 'if we are the object of the fleeing and moving away by the enemy.' For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 375. Činggis speaks of the enemy's flight in response to Boroqul's remarks about the enemy's horsemen raising dust while retreating, and his (Činggis') earlier statement that, should the enemy come, he would fight him. Činggis' remarks or, rather, the remarks attributed to him by the SH, are tendentious insofar as they try to disguise the fact that Činggis himself was actually retreating with his badly mauled troops, and moving further to the south-east. Neither Ong Qan, whose son Senggüm had been badly wounded, nor J̌amuqa who was playing a very ambiguous role as Ong Qan's ally, were intent on pursuing Činggis at this stage (see § 174). Later on Činggis will admit that had Senggüm not been wounded, 'what would have become of us?' (§ 208). As it was, Činggis prudently moved from the area of the Qalaqalǰit Sands south of the Khalkha River to Dalan Nemürges following the 'Ulqui Šilügeljit' (see above, n. 154) upstream, i.e. closer to the Khingan Mountains, to rest, take stock of the situation,

regroup his forces and plan the next move. This, as we shall see, will be one of the most brilliant products of his strategic genius, the so-called 'Lament of Činggis Qan' (§ 177-181).

'He departed ... left ... moved': all three verbs render the Mongolian *gödöl-* (= mo. *ködel-*, *ködöl-*) which is constantly repeated in this passage.

§ 174. Qada'an Daldurqan of the Tarqut was mentioned in § 120 among those who had joined Činggis when he first parted company with J̌amuqa. From this section it appears that he had subsequently joined Ong Qan.

'Then, from the rear, Qada'an Daldurqan came up, leaving *behind* his wife and children', lit. 'Then, Qada'an Daldurqan came from the rear separately (*qaqas*) from his wife and children (*or* child/son).' For *qaqas* (= mo. *qaγas*) 'separately, half, respectively', see Lewicki 1939/49, 251-255; Mo, 146, 150. Cf. also above, nn. 50, 55. The expression *eme kö'ün* may mean 'wife and child (*or* son)', 'wife and children (*or* sons)', or, simply, 'wife.' Cf. above, nn. 104, 105, 146, and below, n. 185.

The *učumaq* (= pmo. *učumaγ*) was a particular type of arrow, almost certainly the 'three-pointed long arrow' (*san-chien p'i-tzu* 三尖鈚子), i.e. a long arrow with a three-pointed head, of the CYIY, 56a (this page should logically follow p. 54b), the Mongolian equivalent of which is given as *e-ts'ao-ma* 遏曹馬 **ȯ-tsau-ma*. Cf. Ligeti 1990, 267, no. 212, and Kara 1990, 330, s.v. '*učа<m>ma*[*q*]' (where, however, the suggested emendation to *yü-chang-ma* 遏昌馬 should be discarded). During the Ch'ing dynasty, the *p'i* 鈚 designated an arrow with a long shaft (99.2 cm) and with a thin and broad iron arrowhead 9.6 cm long. See DKJ, XI, 40234. However, I think that here *p'i-tzu* designates only a long-shaft arrow. The term *učumaq* probably derives from tu. *uč-* 'to fly.' Cf. Tserensodnom 1993, 197-198; Rassadin 1995, 113.

The poetic passage beginning 'When it would have been better ...' is translated and discussed in Mo, 90-92. Cf. Li, 161, n. 174; and Waley 1960, 527. For *qada'asun* (= pmo. *qada-γasun*), cf. TMEN, no. 1435.

'*But*, having arrived in time *to save my* son's life' (*kö'ün-ü ami erüsun*). These words have been misunderstood by most modern translators. For *erüs-* 'to arrive in time', see Mo, 62-63, and n. 56. Cf. also mo. *erüs-* 'to forestall' (Les., 332b). *Ami erüsün* may also be understood as 'profiting from the life', i.e. 'taking advantage of the fact that the life (of my son has been saved).' Cf. *Matériel II*, 57 (21r, 2).

'Desist!', lit. 'let it be!'

'A son who was yet to come', lit. 'a son who was "at the back" (*ečine*, i.e. out of sight, absent)', in other words 'not yet born.' Cf. VG, 94.

'We made magic strips' (*elbesün ǰalama kiǰü*). The words *elbesün ǰalama* are not glossed in the Chinese interlinear version. However, as pointed out by Murakami (Mu, II, 151, n. 11), *elbesün* is undoubtedly mo. *ilbi* (cf. ord. *ilbe*, *elbe*) 'magic' + the denominal noun suffix *-sün(/-sun)*. Cf. bur. *ėl'bėšėn* 'magician, wizard.' See BRS, 763b; BŠDT, 103b-104a. On *ilbi*, *elbi*, etc., see SG, 371; DO, 381b; Les., 402b-403a; Marazzi 1987, 835-836; de Rachewiltz 1989a, 60. As for *ǰalama*, this term designated coloured ribbons attached to tree branches, to the mane of horses and the neck of other consecrated animals, and placed on graves and sacred places as part of the shamanistic ritual for the worship and invocation of spirits. See DO, 182a; Les., 1030a; IBŠ, 186; BŠDT, 52a; and the additional references in TH, 291-292 (= ǰYT, 506-507), and Oz[1], IV, 84, n. 10. Cf. also Oz[2], I, 249, n. 4.

The expression *abui babui* is also not glossed in the text. Li, 161, n. 174, referring to the Nestorianism of the Kereyit, is quite positive that these words are 'the distorted initial words of some Syriac prayer.' On the strength of Ligeti's remarks, I suggested in 1977 that *abui babui* may be a corruption of the words *aba baba*: *aba* meaning 'father' in Syriac, and *baba* meaning 'father' in Turkic. 'This (I stated) could then be an invocation to God the Father in both Syriac and Turkic – quite

plausible in view of the Nestorian-Turkic cultural background of the Kereyit.' I also pointed out, like others had done before me, that, as evident from the SH, the Nestorian-Christian faith of the Kereyit ruling family was by the 13th century very much imbued with shamanistic elements – a fact confirmed by independent witnesses like William of Rubruck. See Ra, VI, 49, for further references. On the basis of TH, 88-89 (= ǰYT, 156), On, 81, n. 213, states that 'The words they cried (*abui, babui*) have various meanings, including "Pa! Ma!" (ie, the informal address of parents) and "dearest!" Here, on the assumption that they are addressed to the longed-for son, I have chosen the latter.' (Cf. the 2001 ed., 148, n. 390.) Since the words in question are obviously part of a prayer addressed to the protecting spirits or to a superior being, I doubt whether this interpretation is the correct one. Ev-Pop, 132, renders *abui babui* as 'les pères', the supporting argument (expounded in note 14 on p. 283) being that kalm. *abai* is the usual term of respect of a junior for his senior, while *baaba* may designate the father, the uncle, the mother, the paternal aunt, as well as the mythical ancestor of the Kalmucks. The expression *aaba baaba* is also used with the meaning of 'father and grandfather.' Ev-Pop continues: 'On sait que les Mongols s'adressaient à leurs esprits sous les noms de père ou de mère: "Père [*Baabai*] Seigneur Taureau", etc. Guillaume de Rubrouck précise, dans sa relation de voyage, que certains des esprits protecteurs des Mongols s'appelaient "frère du maître de maison".' Ev-Pop's interpretation, although much sounder than that of Eldengtei et al., remains, like mine, to a large degree hypothetical. Cl, 271a, compares the 'prayer formula' *abui babui* to *abracadabra*; and Pan[1], 121, breaks the two words into four words: '*A bui, ba bui*', which does not help much towards their understanding. Cf. Pan[2], 60.

'So at last *your* son Senggüm was born, let us take care of him!', lit. 'Let us take care of the son Senggüm who achieved (*baraqsan*, i.e. finally succeeded) to be born in such ways (*edün*, i.e. by such means)!' Cf. Oz[1], IV, 85, n. 12; Mo, 114, n. 106. For another instance in the SH of a birth by magic, see § 189.

'On our side', lit. 'with us.'

'Who have *but* a horse as a mount,/Who have *but* a tree as a shelter', lit. 'Who have as a riding animal a horse,/Who have as a shelter a tree', in other words, they are in a bad state of affairs and, therefore, incapacitated as adversaries – no doubt a reference to Činggis' predicament after the battle at the Qalaqalǰit Sands. For *nemüre* 'shelter', cf. DO, 498b; Khomonov 1970, 33.

'Like dry horse dung' (*morin-u ǰunda'ul metü*). The reference is to the dry dung collected for use as fuel (argal, argol). For the word *ǰunda'ul* (= pmo. *ǰundaγul*, see AT[1], 64b: *ǰu*[*n*]*daγul*), cf. mo. *ǰungγaγ* 'dirt; excrement of a baby or young animal' (Les., 1079b). Cf. also TH, 301-302 (= ǰYT, 524); Gantogtokh 1989, 121-122; Gantogtox 1990, 125-126. This word is closely related to tu. *yundaq* 'horse dung', on which see ED, 947a. I think it is formed on *yundaq* > **ǰundaq* ~ **ǰundaγ* + the rare denominal noun suffix -'*ul* (= -*γul*), on which see above, n. 152. The term *arqal* (= pmo., mo. *arγal*) also occurs in the SH, but only in a place-name. See below, n. 183.

'Correct! If this is so, I fear my son may be exhausted.' For these words, see Cleaves 1949a, 527.

'From the battlefield', lit. 'from the place where they had fought.'

§ 175. The river Qalqa of the SH is, of course, the Khalkha River (Xalxiĭn Gol) in eastern Mongolia to which reference has been made in the previous notes, but which is mentioned by the SH for the first time in this section. On this important river, see Hambis 1974, 29-30.

'And counted his forces', lit. 'counted the number (i.e. of his soldiers).' With regard to Činggis Qan's forces after his encounter with Ong Qan at the Qalaqalǰit Sands, which according to the sober account of the SH amounted to only 2,600 men, Rašīd al-Dīn says that they were 4,600 (SL[2], I/1,

185, and I/2, 125-126; cf. the SWCCL[1], 35b, which gives the same figure). The discrepancy is discussed by Ligeti (Li, 161, n. 175), who is of the opinion that Rašīd's figure is exaggerated. As Ligeti points out, Činggis Qan's army must have been scanty and poorly equipped since it had to provide its own food supply by hunting while on the march. Ačiq Širun's remarks quoted in the previous section confirm that the condition of Činggis' army was anything but brilliant. Činggis' 'lament' and the Balǰuna episode all support this interpretation. A further discrepancy between the SH on the one hand and the SWCCL on the other, is that the former speaks of the 'western' and 'eastern' banks (lit. 'sides') of the Khalkha, whereas the other speaks of 'southern' and 'northern' banks (SL[2] merely refers to 'one bank', and 'the other bank', see ibid., I/2, 126). One section of the river does indeed run in an eastwesterly direction before turning southwestwards and flowing into the Buir Nōr. Činggis Qan, having learned from Qada'an Daldurqan that Ong Qan was not going to pursue him for the time being, left the area of Dalan Nemürges, where he had taken shelter, and moved again westwards, i.e. towards the Buir Nōr, following the course of the Khalkha River downstream. He would have proceeded first in a northwesterly, then in a westerly, and finally in a southwesterly direction. Depending on the 'stage' of this progress, both accounts are correct. Half the force led by Činggis rode along the left bank of the Khalkha, i.e. the western or southern bank; the other half, composed of the Uru'ut and Mangqut troops, rode along the right bank of the river, i.e. the eastern or northern bank. Dividing his troops in this way would have made it easier to obtain provisions by hunting on both sides of the river.

Quyildar had been wounded in the battle (see § 171), but obviously felt he had to participate in the hunt and as a result had a relapse (lit. '*his wounds* opened again'; cf. Cleaves 1949a, 527; and *Lettres*, 25) and died. This was a great loss for Činggis Qan who was in an *anda*-relationship with him; the SH makes a point of mentioning his burial on a cliff and, later, the fact that Činggis took care of his family (§ 185). The episode has been

discussed in Harayama 1974; see also idem 1972, 7, and Ratchnevsky 1968a, 127, concerning the hunting aspect of it. On Quyildar's burial in relation to other ancient Mongol burial practices, see also Tomka 1965, 166; Perlėė 1956. The expression 'to bury', is, literally, 'to place the bones' (*yasun talbi'ul-*); cf. the expression *yasu bari-* id., lit. 'to take (in one's hands) the bones (= the body of the deceased).' See Cleaves 1951, 91-92, n. 95; TMEN, no. 405; Tomka 1965, 166, n. 30. For the burial on an elevated place, cf. above, n. 164, and below, nn. 201 and 241.

Keltegei Qada. In the Chinese interlinear version *keltegei* is glossed *pan* 半 'half, one-sided' and *qada* as *yai* 崖 'cliff.' Or Nu'u (one word in the Chinese transcription) is glossed *shan-ming* 山名 'name of a mountain.' The sectional summary (Y[2] 6, 19b) says that Quyildar was buried 'on the "half cliff" of Mount Ornu'u of the Qalqa River.' By 'half cliff' is meant the 'one-sided cliff', i.e. a cliff slanting on one side, i.e. at an angle, inclined (possibly overhanging), as correctly understood by Mu, II, 154, n. 17, and Ja, 227; not 'half-way up the cliff' as in Wa, 268. This is, indeed, what *keltegei qada* means. See Les., 449: *keltegei* 'slanting, askew, inclined.' My earlier rendering (Ra, VI, 33) 'Jagged Cliff' is not quite accurate. This particular cliff was situated at Or Nu'u, i.e. at the Or Bend. (For *nu'u* ~ *nū* < *nuɣu*, lit. 'corner', see above, n. 94.) The explanation given by On, 82, n. 214 (cf. the 2001 ed., 149, n. 392), that Or = *ör* 'the pit of the stomach: the heart' on the basis of TH, 127 (= ǰYT, 222) is speculative. Cf. below, n. 280. The locality cannot be identified with certainty, but it was probably at one of the two main bends of the Khalkha River. In the corresponding section relating the same events in SL[2], I/2, 126, Keltegei Qada is given as the name of a place on the 'Ūr River' (Ūr Müren); and Keltegei Qada is mentioned again (ibid., 147) in connection with the 1204 campaign against Tayang Qan of the Naiman, as a place 'in the valley of the Q(a)lāat River' ('Qalāat' being no doubt a mistake for 'Qalqa'). In the corresponding passages of the SWCCL[1] (37a and 54a), Keltegei is called a 'mountain

ridge' (山岡) of (*or* at, by) Or Nu'u, and a 'mountain' by the Qalqa River. Rašīd's 'Ūr River' is obviously a conflation of Ur (= Or) Nu'u and the Qalqa River. Both Keltegei Qada and Or Nu'u are mentioned again in the SH, § 191, in connection with the campaign against the Naiman. In the interlinear version and sectional summary they are referred to as 'place-names' (地名) and 'places' (地) respectively, and from the context it is evident that they were not very far from Abǰiqa Köteger (the Abǰi'a Ködeger of § 187) which was near the sources of the Khalkha (see below, n. 187). Finally, in YS[2] 1, 12, always with reference to the 1204 campaign, Keltegei Qada is mentioned as 'Mount Kentegei' (a perfect transcription of Keltegei). In view of these numerous references in the SH, SL, SWCCL and YS, it is clear that Keltegei Qada was a well-known place on the Khalkha River at the time of Činggis Qan, and must not be interpreted literally, as several scholars have done following the misleading version of the Chinese sectional summary of § 175. Cf. Oz[1], IV, 90, and 93-94, n. 6, where Ozawa puts forth the alternative rendering of *keltegei qada* as 'the steep cliff.' Cf. Oz[2], I, 228.

§ 176. 'Just where', lit. 'at the extremity' (*huǰa'ur-a*). For the use of the term *huǰa'ur* to designate the point where the river branches off (either at its source or at its estuary), cf. Oz[1], IV, 96-99, n. 2. It should be remembered that *huǰa'ur*, mo. *iǰaγur*, designating, as it does, the 'extreme point' of something, can mean either its beginning or its end. Cf., e.g., MA, 184b, 368a.

For Lake Buyur, i.e. the Buir Nōr, see above, n. 53. The Onggirat, or Qonggirat, was the well-known tribe of eastern Mongolia to which Činggis' in-laws belonged. See above, n. 61. For this important tribe, besides HCG, 402ff., see also Li, 161-162, n. 176.

For the Onggirat chief Terge Emel ('Amel' in the text), see above, n. 141. Cf. Cl, 101: 'the Unggirad [chiefs] Terge, Amel, and others'; Oz[1], IV, 95, 96: 'the Unggirad tribe of Terge, Emel and others'; On, 82: 'Terge, Emel and others of the Onggirat'

(the 2001 ed., 149, has 'other members' instead of 'others', but the word 'members' is not in the text).

J̌ürčedei was the chief of the Uru'ut, not of the Mangqut as stated in Cleaves 1955a, 389. His name occurs once in this section without the final *i*. Cf. above, n. 171.

For the poetic passage in this section, cf. § 64.

'Because he had been sent with this message' renders the words *ke'eǰü ile'esü*, lit. 'when he sent, saying.' My rendering of this passage is somewhat free to make it more readable in English. For a literal translation and discussion of the whole § 176, see Mo, 92-95. Cf. also ibid., 182, 194, n. 178.

This section of the SH is the last one to have a regular counterpart in the AT, where the SH narrative resumes with § 208 in AT[1], 65a. Cf. ATL, 136-138. Interestingly enough, the first personage to be mentioned in AT[1], 65a, is the same J̌ürčedei who appears in § 176. One wonders whether this is a coincidence. See Section Five of the Introduction.

§ 177. The Tüngge Stream (*qoroqan*, but a little further on *qor*[*o*]*qan*) is an unidentified stream near the Onggirat camp close to the Buir Nōr and the river Khalkha. Against the reading Tünggeli(k) of the sectional summary (Y[2] 6, 31b), the reading Tüngge of the Mongol text is confirmed by the SWCCL[1] (38a; but the text should be revised following SWCCL[2], § XXVII; cf. SWCCL[3], 84b-85a), Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 127), and the YS (YS[2] 1, 10), although all these texts designate it as a lake, not as a stream. Since the SWCCL and SL mention the Tüngge Lake together with a Torqa Stream (Torqa Qoroqan), it is possible that the Tüngge Qoroqan of the SH is merely a conflation, due to a lacuna or corruption in the text, of Tüngge (Na'ur) and (Torqa) Qoroqan, as in the case of Rašīd al-Dīn's 'Ūr River' (see above, n. 176). Cf. HCG, 386, and HHCG, § XXVII, n. 31. The 'Tunggeli(k)' of the sectional summary is clearly an amendment of the Ming translator-transcriber who assimilated it to the other streams called Tünggelik in the SH. I think, therefore, that the '(sic)' after 'Tüngge' in On, 82, should be

removed, as has in fact been done in the 2001 edition of this work (p. 150).

'Gave ... a verbal message to be delivered', lit. 'made a voice (= a verbal communication) to be carried by ... .' Arqai Qasar and Sükegei (~ Sügegei) Je'ün had been sent earlier by Činggis Qan as envoys to Jamuqa and to Ong Qan (see §§ 127, 151); their role as trusted envoys is specifically referred to in § 124, where Činggis is made to say to Arqai Qasar, Taqai, Sükegei and Ča'urqan: 'Be *my* far-*flying* shafts,/Be *my* near-*flying* arrows!' – the arrow being not only a simile for a courier or envoy (*elči*), but the actual credential of the bearer. See above, n. 124.

'Have gained strength', lit. 'the joints of the bones (= the articulations of their legs) have become stronger.'

The passage beginning with 'My father the Qan' and ending with 'coming between us?' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 95-98. The following are some additional remarks.

I render Mongolian *ma'u*, lit. 'bad, evil', with 'poor' in the sense of 'miserable' – a self-derogatory (and, at times, also endearment) term, as elsewhere in the SH (§§ 111, 124; 245). Cf. Li, 162, n. 177. The 'sons' and 'daughters-in-law' are, of course, Činggis' close relatives – his brothers and sisters-in-law – who are also related to Ong Qan through the latter's adoption of Činggis Qan as his son. See above, n. 164. Mostaert's statement in Mo, 25 and 97 (cited also in Cl, 102, n. 25) that the 'sons' and 'daughters-in-law' are Činggis' own sons and daughters-in-law is, therefore, incorrect. What Činggis Qan means is that if Ong Qan has a grievance against him, he should 'frighten', i.e. reprimand or punish, only him and leave the other members of Činggis' family – who are now also members of Ong Qan's family – in peace (cf. below, n. 183). The word for 'daughters-in-law' is *berinet* (= *beri* + *-net*, pl. form of the pl. suff. *-ner*). For *beri* 'daughter-in-law', cf. TMEN, no. 76; RH, 232, no. 4; Mo, 235. For the double plural suffix *-net* (= pmo. **-ned*), see Street 1990a, 348, § 1 (D); GWM, 70, § 262.

'The couch on which they sat/According to their rank' renders Mongolian *ding sa'uqui iseri*. The word *ding*, which is not glossed in the interlinear version, is not clear. Albeit with some reservation I take it to be a borrowing from Chinese *teng* 等 'grade, rank, kind', this word being in fact transcribed as *ding* in Preclassical Mongolian documents. See, e.g., Cleaves 1949, 108, n. 71: '*Ding* = *têng* 等.' From its position it is clearly an adverb qualifying *sa'u-* 'to sit.' Thus, *ding sa'u-* would mean 'to sit by rank (i.e. according to one's rank or dignity)'; however, other interpretations are possible, although some are rather forced. Cf. Pe, 188: 'bas'; Ha, 65: 'immer' (difficult to justify); Mo, 97, n. 92: (tentative) 'au même niveau'; same rendering in Ir, 151; Li, 68: 'high' (see also ibid., 162, n. 177); Da[5], 122: 'peacefully' (same rendering in Oz[1], IV, 116; Oz[2], I, 229; On, 82, etc.; see TH, 282 [= JYT, 490]); Če, 394, n. 318: 'for a long time'; Ev-Pop, 133: 'à peine' (difficult to justify); and so on.

The word for 'smoke' occurring twice in the AT in the passage corresponding to § 242 of the SH is *üni*. See AT[1], 89b (where the reading *kini* of the first occurrence is an obvious clerical error for *üni* as shown by the second occurrence). This would lead us to believe that, since this word had an initial *h* in Middle Mongolian, we should read *hüni* in the present section (as well as in § 242) instead of *huni*, as has indeed been done in Pe, 58 (cf. also Pelliot 1925, 238, no. 69); L[2], 131 (and 208); and R, 86, line 5804 (and 139, lines 9511 and 9512), 235a. However, the correct reading is *huni*; see my remarks in Ra, VI, 51, n. 177, and Oz[1], IV, 122, n. 8. Cf. also DN, 99a. The *üni* of the AT can be explained by the fact that mo. *uniyar* 'mist, haze' ~ *üniyer* (see Kow., 343b, 486a), with the same front-back vocalic alternation that we find in words like *umara* 'behind, north' ~ *ümere*. Činggis Qan is reproaching Ong Qan for wishing to destroy the respect that the members of his (i.e. Činggis') family command (figuratively, by bringing down the couch on which they sit), as well as to ruin their homes (by scattering the smoke of their tents) – in short, to punish them, without their being in no way responsible for anything wrong

that Činggis may have done in the eyes of Ong Qan. Cf. Li, loc. cit.

'Have you been stung .../Have you been stirred up ...?', i.e. 'Did someone cause discord between you and me?' The idea of pricking, or needling, is associated in Mongolian with the manoeuvres of a person who sows discord between two friends. See Mo, 98, n. 93. Cf. the beginning of § 127 where the same idea is expressed; and § 201, repeating the same lines in inverse order. 'Coming between us', lit. 'staying in the way (= crosswise)', i.e. obstructing the path (between us).

The 'Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut (w.f. Ulaγan-nuγud Boldaγud) of J̌orqal Qun', or 'Red (pl.) Hills of the Deer (?) Cliff' is the same place called Hula'an Qut ('Red Cliffs') in § 163. The name is mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn in the form Hūlān Bōltāvūt (= Hulān Bolda'ut), which is described as 'a place by the river Qara' and 'near a mountain called J̌orqal Qun' in SL^2, I/2, 129. The corresponding passage in SWCCL^1, 41b, gives Qarqa in place of Rašīd's Qara; however, as shown by Pelliot (HCG, 267-270), these are scribal errors and misreadings: the original Mongolian source of Rašīd al-Dīn's chronicle had Qaras, i.e. Qaras Muras, a locality west (i.e. north-west) of the Kerulen and near the Selenga, thus, broadly, in the region of Kyakhta.

For the earlier agreement between Ong Qan and Činggis Qan, see § 164; the wording in § 177 is slightly different, but the meaning is the same. See also Mo, 210.

For the words 'Even if I *and my followers* are few *in number*, I gave you no cause (lit. "did not make you") to seek for a more numerous *group* (lit. "for many"); even if I am bad, I gave you no cause to seek for *someone* better (lit. "for the good")', cf. Mo, 98-101, 275; Waley 1960, 525. For the use of the word *čö'en* (= mo. *čögen*) 'few', cf. also Cleaves 1986, 196, n. 26.

For the events relating to Ong Qan's earlier life which Činggis Qan is recollecting in this section, cf. §§ 150-152.

Ong Qan's younger brothers Tai Temür Taiši and Buqa Temür are mentioned here for the first time. For Tai Temür

('Colt-Iron') Taiši (as usual this title is written incorrectly as Taisi, cf. above, n. 50), see HCG, 234ff. Mmo. *tai* = tu. *tay* 'a one- or two-year-old foal, a colt' (ED, 566b); for *temür* 'iron', cf. TMEN, no. 1012; Rybatzki 2002, 113-116. For Buqa Temür ('Bull-Iron'), see HCG, 234ff.; Cleaves 1955, 43, n. 36. For Erke Qara, see above, n. 151. Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman is the Inanča Qan of § 151.

'Because you had become the murderer of your younger brothers, your paternal uncle Gür Qan moved against you', lit. 'Saying, "He (i.e. Ong Qan) has become the killer of his younger brothers", your ... .' Cf. § 150, where it is incorrectly stated that Ong Qan had killed the brothers of his uncle Qurčaqus, i.e. his uncles. See above, n. 150.

For Ong Qan's daughter Huǰa'ur Üǰin, i.e. Lady Huǰa'ur, see HCG, 266, 287; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. She became the mother of Toqto'a's fifth son Čila'un, who is mentioned for the first time in § 157.

'Gave ... to please him' renders *ni'urqan ökčü*. The rare verb *ni'urqa-* (w.f. *niγurqa-*) 'to please, to curry favour, establish cordial relations, etc.' has caused much discussion among translators and commentators. See Ra, VI, 52; Cl, 104, n. 33; Oz^1, IV, 131-133, n. 23; Kara 1995a. Kara's contribution has settled the problem of interpretation.

The Qunan mentioned in this section is a Tayiči'ut and, therefore, a different person from the Qunan of the Geniges tribe first mentioned in § 122. Both he and Baqaǰi are mentioned in the SWCCL^1, 38b, as Udur Unan (for Qunan) and Baqaǰi; and in SL^2, I/2, 127, as Udur Qunan and Buqaǰi. The word *udur* of uncertain meaning (? < tu. *udur*; cf. DTS, 606a) occurs in proper names. See, e.g., Udur Bayan in SL^2, I/2, 26, 30, 31; and Alaq Udur in the SWCCL (see HCG, 430).

Qurban Telesüt ('The Three ?') is, according to Pėrlėė^2, 8, to be identified probably with the present Gurvan Tėėl on the Orkhon at 47° N 101° E (the 'Gurban Geel' of Pėrlėė^4, 89, is a misprint for 'Gurban Teel'). The locality is mentioned also in the corresponding passages in the SWCCL^1, 39b, and SL^2, I/2,

127, as 'the Talasu(t) Steppe' and as 'Qurban Talasut' respectively. Cf. HCG, 225-226, 263. This locality should not be confused with the Tersüt = Dersüt (= Deresüt ?) of § 150. Pėrlėė's identification is due, I think, to a phonetic similarity between Qurban Telesüt and Gurvan Tėėl. However, in view of Yisügei's pursuit of Gür Qan in the direction of Qašin, which corresponds to the Tangut state of Hsi Hsia in north-west China (see above, n. 150), one must look for Qurban Telesüt further to the south. One must also exclude as a possible candidate the 'Gurban-tala' of the MGYMC, 120, as it is far to the south-west. The word *telesüt* (? *talasut*) remains to be explained, since a reading *teresüt* (pro *telesüt*) = *deresüt* cannot be excluded, as pointed out by Pelliot (HCG, 225).

For the formula 'Let *only* the protection of Heaven Above …', see above, n. 163.

On Erge Qara and Inanča Bilge Qan, cf. § 151, where their names are written Erke Qara and Inanča Qan. For Erke Qara see above, n. 150.

'Fleeing with a few men, you went to …', lit. '– a few persons fleeing – you went out and departed to … .'

For the Qara Kidat (~ Kitat), i.e. the Qara Kitai, the Sarta'ul (here written Sarda'ul as in § 198), the Ui'ut (= Uiqut) and the Tang'ut (= Tangqut), see §§ 151 and 152, and n. 151. Cf. also below, n. 198.

'I sent as envoys Taqai and Sükegei to meet you' (*Taqai Sükegei qoyar-i esergü činu elči ile'et*), lit. 'I sent Taqai and Sükegei as envoys towards you.' *Esergü* is an adverb and postposition meaning 'against, facing, opposite, towards', thus corresponding exactly to ger. *entgegen*. See Buck, 100, no. 33; Poppe 1982, 409. For Taqai and Sükegei, i.e. Sükegei J̌e'ün, cf. §§ 120, 124 and com.

'Furthermore, … I in person went to receive you' (*basa bi ö'esün … uqdun yorčiǰu*). The verb *uqtu-* (= mo. *uɣtu-*) 'to greet, receive, welcome' occurs in the SH in the forms *uqdu-* (§§ 177, 252) and *uqtu-* (§ 239). For *t* ~ *d*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 243-244.

For the Bürgi Escarpment (Bürgi Ergi), see above, n. 96. It is evident from §§ 151 and 177 that this place was situated on the upper course of the Kerulen. Whereas § 151 speaks of 'the source of the Kelüren *River*', our section merely says 'on the Kelüren *River*.' See above, n. 151, also for the problematic Lake Güse'ür.

The campaign against Toqto'a of the Merkit, at the conclusion of which Ong Qan failed to share the plunder with Činggis Qan, is mentioned in § 157, s.a. 1202, but only Ong Qan figures in it, as Činggis was then fighting against the Tatars (see § 153). This campaign was, however, preceded by a joint raid, in which J̌amuqa also participated, against Toqto'a to rescue Činggis' wife Börte who had been captured by the Merkit, but this took place before Ong Qan's flight from Erke Qara and Činggis' breakaway from J̌amuqa (see § 104). The chronology of these events is confused and, as already pointed out by Pelliot, there may have been other campaigns against the Merkit that have been conflated into the two mentioned in the SH. See above, n. 157. As for the locality of the encounter Mürüče Se'ül (? Muruča Se'ül, ? Muručaq Se'ül) near the Qadiqliq (= Qadingliq) Ridge or Mountains (*niru'un*), it must have been situated towards the Selenga and 'il peut s'agir d'une steppe touchant aux montagnes à l'Est de Kiakhta' (HCG, 273). According to Pėrlėė[2], 10, this as yet unidentified place was south of the confluence of the Selenga and the Khilok (Xyolgo) River, on the left (= west) side of the Selenga. Cf. Mu, II, 171, n. 10. For Qadinliq = Qadingliq (tu. Qadïnglïq 'Having Birch-trees'), see HCG, 272.

'Their grain*stores*' (*tariyat anu*). For *tariyan* 'grain', see TMEN, nos. 119, 886; RH, 256, no. 15. This is the first occurrence of the word 'grain(s)' in the SH; for its significance cf. Ratchnevsky 1968a, 127, 132, n. 9; idem 1987, 66.

For Činggis' rescue of Ong Qan, the levying of taxes for him and taking him to his 'circular camp' (*güre'en*), see also § 151 and com.

For the campaign against Buyiruq Qan 'the Güčügür' (Gučügürtei Buyiruq Qan; on the ethnicon Güčügürtei, cf. HCG, 306), i.e. of the Güčügür clan of the Naiman (on which see above, n. 141), see § 158 and com.

'And, … we finished him off' (*moqutqaǰu abu'ai*), rather than 'et nous l'avons pris et en avons fini avec lui' (Pe, 190), and 'we caught up with him … and destroyed him' (Ra, VII, 37), since *ab-* is here an auxiliary verb. *Moqutqa-* = *muqutqa-*. See HW, 110, 111; 'Quelques problèmes', 268-269. Cf. above, n. 153.

For the events at Bayidaraq Belčir and Ong Qan's troop withdrawal under cover of night, see §§ 159-161. For the expression *üdesi ǰilda* (§ 159: *ǰilda*) 'as evening fell' (lit. 'evening-late'), and *manaqaru erde* (§ 159: *manaqaru*) 'early tomorrow', cf. Mo, 172-173. See also above, n. 159; and below, n. 240.

For Kökse'ü Sabraq's attack on Senggüm and Činggis Qan's dispatch of the 'four steeds', see §§ 162-163.

For the Telegetü (= Telētü [< Telegetü] in § 136) Pass, cf. above, n. 136.

For the form Qudu of the name of Toqto'a eldest son, see above, n. 141. In view of the uncertainty of the reading I have reproduced the forms of the name as found in the SH. The two envoys requested by Činggis were Qulbari Quri and Idürgen. Qulbari (Quri is a title, see above, n. 134) already appeared in § 152 among the nobles and brothers of Ong Qan who had conspired against him. On him, see HCG, 419-420. Idürgen (= Itürgen) appears again, and for the last time – he is executed by Qasar – in § 184. On him, see ibid., 379-380; Bese 1978, 368, no. 20.

The parallel versions of Činggis Qan's 'lament' in the SWCCL[1], 38a-43a and SL[2], I/2, 127-129 (cf. D'Ohsson, I, 73-77) are at variance with those of the YS[2] 1, 10, and the SH. See Hambis 1975, 38-39, n. 59; Li, 162-163, n. 177.

The 13th century *Secret History of the Mongols*, covering the great Činggis Qan's (1162-1227) ancestry and life, stands out as a literary monument of first magnitude. Written partly in prose and partly in epic poetry, it is the major native source on Činggis Qan, also dealing with part of the reign of his son and successor Ögödei (r. 1229-41).
This true handbook contains an historical introduction, a full translation of the chronicle in accessible English, *plus* an extensive commentary. Indispensable for the historian, the Sino-Mongolist, the Altaic philologist, and anyone interested in comparative literature and Central Asian folklore.

IGOR DE RACHEWILTZ Ph.D. (1961) in Chinese History, The Australian National University, has published extensively on the political and cultural history of China and Mongolia in the 12th-14th centuries, and on Sino-Mongolian philology. He is at present an Emeritus Fellow in the Pacific and Asian History Division of the ANU.

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

'As the author writes in his introduction, books are still to be written about many particular aspects of the Secret History. *Certainly his present magnum opus, in which he successfully incorporates all achievements of previous investigations and the many fruits of his own research, will be a great source of inspiration for the generations of scholars to come.'*
György Kara, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 2005.

'...de Rachewiltz sweeps the board in a most convincing way.'
D.O. Morgan, *Social Anthropology*, 2005.

SET
ISBN 90-04-15364-0
ISBN 978-90-04-15364-6
9 789004 153646

VOLUME 1
ISBN 90-04-15368-3
ISBN 978-90-04-15368-4
9 789004 153684