THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOL DYNASTY

(Yuan-Chao-Pi-Shi)

Translated and Edited with Introduction & Notes

by

KEI KWEI SUN, M.A., Ph.D. (Alig.)

With a Foreword

by

PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD HABIB

Published by

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THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOL DYNASTY

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE Ph.D. DEGREE
OF THE ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

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THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOL DYNASTY

FOREWORD

If human values are totally ignored and world-conquest (*Jahan-Kushai*)—power over one's fellow-men, their lands and their means of subsistence—is regarded as an end in itself, then no man yet born can be considered as the equal of the great Chengis. Alexander, perhaps, comes a close second, but even Timur and Napoleon are nowhere near him.

How was the man made? Whence that source of his terrific power? How far can he be put down as a purely "mental case," created by a curious juxtaposition of protons or neutrons, which has never occurred again? Or is the man at least partially explicable in terms of training, environment and tradition? Now since history is not and cannot be applied biology, the subtle effect of these social influences must be traced. The legislative capacity of Chengis could not have been the result of purely physiological causes.

Unfortunately while history tells us so much about the events of Chengis Khan's later days, little is known of his earlier life. Leaving mere romance aside, the first attempt to give an account of his early life was made by Rashiduddin, the author of *Jamiut Tawarikh*, on the basis of the *Golden Book of the Mongols*. But Mr. Wei K. Sun has provided us with a more reliable material, the *Secret History of the Mongols*.

There is nothing secret about the *Secret History*, nor is it difficult to guess its origin. Very soon after the death of Chengis Khan, a Mongol officer wrote or dictated a book in the true Mongolian style by the side of a pleasant Mongolian stream. He knew everything about Mongolia —its peoples and their customs, practically every hill, dale and valley, and certainly every route, in that extensive territory. He wrote with Mongolian brevity and with that richness of apt similes for which the Mongols were famous. Our author neither adored nor disliked Chengis Khan. For him Chengis Khan was a fact, just as a storm or a thunderbolt is a fact. He merely narrated what had happened; that was considered to be the true Mongol tradition. But if our author knew a lot about Mongolia, he knew little about the outside world. He certainly did not accompany the Khan in his western campaigns, for there are numerous errors in the few paragraphs he devotes to Chengis' conquests in Muslim Asia. He did not give his name; literary fame was not a

thing he cared for. Also in a narrative dictated by such an officer, there was sure to be overlapping, misplacement of paragraphs and of events; if he could not remember an event in its proper sequence, he dictated it just when it came to his mind. His training had been conversational, not literary ; he makes no attempt at artistic finish, and there were probably no literary models he could imitate.

The chief feature of our author has still to be noted. He had a purely secular and local Mongol moral consciousness, and was not aware of any moral contradictions in his faith. He refers to Mongol customs without commenting upon them. He had, for example, a purely Mongolian idea of the legitimacy of children and no fear whatsoever that a generation after him Chinese and Muslim influence would so change Mongolian ideas of sex-morality, that people like Juhji and even Chengis himself, who were perfectly legitimate in his eyes, would be considered bastards. So the Mongol Emperors of the Yuan dynasty had no alternative but to declare the work to be a secret—in fact, a dreadful secret—for it could be used for those "researches into paternity" which the Imperial family was not prepared to tolerate. Taken as a whole, the book was too Mongolian for the later Mongols. They preserved it and proscribed it.

Two further facts have to be kept in view to give us a correct picture of the work. The original has perished and only the Chinese translation has survived. This need not cause any surprise. The manuscript of the work was by chance carried to China instead of being brought to Central Asia. Since a book in the Mongol dialect and the *Uighur* script would be of no value to the Chinese, they allowed the original to perish and preserved the Chinese translation. Secondly, there are traces of interference by a later and incompetent hand. Some one tried to continue the book but was unable to do so properly and left his work incomplete. He may also have interpolated a few paragrahs, quite forgetful of the fact that he was contradicting what the *Secret History* had said elsewhere.

The work of the unknown Mongol officer and its edited translation by my young pupil, Mr.Wei-Kwei-Sun, gives a correct picture of the early career of Chengis and the Mongol legends current at the time. It replaces romance by sober history and makes a critical analysis of Mongolia and the Mongols possible. It has men and women but no heroes and no gods. Priestcraft was unknown and was suppressed when it dared to appear. The Supreme Being (Il-tengiri) is there with his chosen people as in Islam but without a theological paraphernalia. Chengis, the chosen one of the chosen people, was a terrible deist. Does this redeem his character or blacken it the more ? We do not know ; Il-tengiri alone knows.

—MUHAMMAD HABIB

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOL DYNASTY

(YUAN-CHAO-PI-SHI)

Introduction

1. The Secret History

In 1866 Archimandrite Palladius made the learned world (in Russia) acquainted with a Chinese, or rather Mongol, historical work of considerable importance. In the fourth volume of the *Records of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission* at Peking, Palladius presented a Russian translation of the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, or the *Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*. In the introduction to his translation Palladius gave a minute and detailed history of the work, from which we learn that it was originally written in the Mongol tongue and had been finished in 1240 A.D. at the time of a great assembly on the river Kerulen. It treats of the early history of the Mongols, the reign of Chengis and the beginning of the reign of Ogotai. In the early Ming time a Chinese translation of it was made. The *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* is mentioned in the *Hung-wu-shi-lu*, or the detailed record of the reign of Hung-wu, under the year 1382. It is stated there that it had been written in the *Uighur* script and the Mongol tongue and that a Chinese translation of it was made, to which the Mongol text was annexed, not in the original *Uighur* script, but by rendering Mongol sounds through Chinese characters. After Palladius had published his translation, he happened in 1872 to obtain a MS. copy of the Ming edition of the work—the Chinese text of the work accompanied with the Mongol text (in Chinese characters). It was found that the text Palladius had translated was only an abstract of the original work, which consists of fifteen chapters, but has no title. In spite of many archaisms and clerical errors in this text, the restoration of the Mongol original should present little difficulty to men acquainted with both Chinese and Mongol. For all students of Mongol history this rare document of ancient Mongol literature is of exceeding interest. It corroborates in a general way the statements of Rashiduddin in his well known *Jamiut Tawarikh* and occasionally we find passages in *Rashiduddin* which look like a literal translation of this Mongol document. This proves that Rashiduddin made use of the same source of information as the unknown author of the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*. The dates in the latter work are generally in accordance with the dates given by the Mohammedan authors. (In a few cases the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* commits great chronological blunders and misplaces events, as, for instance, with respect to the war in the west,

but probably these paragraphs are later interpolations or have been caused by the error of the translator and the scribes).

Palladius' MS. copy of the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* was in the library of St. Petersburg University. An accomplished Mongol scholar, Professor Pozdneyeff, had undertaken to publish a facsimile of the texts with translation and notes. The preface and the greater part of the texts had already been printed—(P. 192, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* by E. Bretschneider).

M. Barthold, the well known historian of Turkistan, says that according to a statement of Rashiduddin, the Chinese *Wazir* of Chaghtai had in his possession even before his appointment a list containing the history of Chengis' campaigns and that there has come down to us, in the original as well as a Chinese translation, a narrative composed in Mongolia in 1240. Then in a note Mr. Barthold adds, "On the Mongolian original see pamphlet of A. M. Pozdneyeff (St. P., Zap, Russk, Arkhcol. Ob., 1833) ; on the Mongolian title (Mongolun Nigucha tobichiyan—*Secret History of the Mongols*) see Prof. Pilliot's reference in *T'oung Pao*, xiv (1913), p. 131 sq . . . The Mongolian original was to have been published by Pozdeneyeff in Russia, and will now be published by Prof. Pelliot (see his promise in J. A., 11, xv, 132)." M. Blochet in his *Introduction a l'Histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din*, has translated into French the first part or chapter of the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*. He adds that the first part has been restored into Mongol by M. Pozdneyeff of St. Petersburg, that the work has become extremely rare, that it is impossible to procure a copy of it, and that his translation was based on a copy of the first part in Russian characters rendered particularly for him by M. Ivanof and M. Rosenberg.

The value of the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* or the *Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty* will be discussed presently. But this is all the progress that has been made in rendering that work accessible to the non-Chinese world. Years have passed since the first attempt of Palladius but the English speaking world of today, in spite of its increasing interest in Chengis Khan, can only get some glimpses of the *Secret History* through second hand works. The zeal of European writers for the translation of oriental works, which had reached its zenith by the end of the nineteenth century, is now flagging, and has by a sort of mutual consent been left to the people of the Orient. At the same time European interest in the East, specially in the United States, has greatly increased. So when I came as a research scholar from China to the Aligarh Muslim University and it was arranged that I should work on that borderland where Muslim and Chinese civilisations meet, I decided that I could best fulfil my peculiar mission by bringing out a carefully edited translation of the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*. I regret that I have not had the opportunity of comparing my text with the restored version of the Russian scholars. However, after comparing my text with Blochet's translation, I am convinced that there cannot be much difference between the Russian version and my Chinese text. But

I find that the first part or chapter of the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, as translated by M. Blochet from the Russian, stops where the first part of my text has not ended. This may be due to the fact that the Chinese text used by the Russian scholars stopped here—or else they did not continue their work. For the first part of the *Secret History* I have relied to a great extent on the rendering of M. Blochet, who only makes some modifications of the Russian forms of names given by Pozdneyeff. Though M. Blochet's work only covers a small fraction of the whole book, it is sufficient to prove that there is little inaccuracy in the Chinese translation. So far as the Chinese transliteration of names is concerned, my text seems to be quite regular and signs are given in it to indicate the silent consonants and the pronunciation of particular Chinese characters; so that by regularly substituting Chinese characters any one who is acquainted with the Mongol language will not find it difficult to restore them into Mongolian. But this question can only interest specialists of the Mongol language. Readers who wish to compare the names given in the *Secret History* with those in Persian histories will be able to identify them easily. Nevertheless, specific Chinese terms, such as *Huang-di* (*i.e.* Emperor for Khan or Khakhan or Khagan) or Yuan (for Mongol or Da-da) could not have been in the original; but such terms can easily be picked out by any one familiar with Chinese terminology.

The Chinese translation of the *Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty* (the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*) does not give the name of the Mongolian author. It is stated at the end of the book that the manuscript was finished in the seventh month of the year of Mouse (1228 A. D.), a year before the accession of Ogotai Khakhan (Khagan), though some events shortly after this year (*i.e.*, at the beginning of the reign of Ogotai) appear to have been inserted later on. The book was brought to the Imperial Library, when Hung-wu (or Chu Yuan Chuang), the founder of the Ming Dynasty, captured Dah-du, the capital of the Yuan, in the year 1368 A. D. But the compilers of the *Yuan-shi*, the official history of the Yuan Dynasty, who started their work in the following year, do not seem to have had access to the *Secret History*, because it was not translated into Chinese till 1382 A. D., the fifteenth year of the reign of Hung-wu.

The present Chinese text of the *Secret History* was taken from *Pung-lai-hsiong's Geographical Research Series* by Ding Chian of Chekiang Provincial Library Publications, No. II ; it was in turn copied from the *Yung-lo-dah-dien* (*Imperial Library of Emperor Yung-lo*, 1403-1425 A. D.), by Chang Shih-chow (Chang Mu) in the year 1841 A. D. The author of *Pung-lai-hsiong's Geographical Research Series* lays great emphasis in his notes on geographical identifications, which, following in the footsteps of my predecessor, I have also utilized in my notes so far as they are helpful to an understanding of the text.

The Chinese name of the *Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty* is *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*. *Yuan* or "original" is the Chinese title of the royal Mongol family which governed China ; *chao* means "dynasty" ; *pi*

means "secret" ; and *shi* means "history". The Mongol name of the book, if it had any, is not given. Koo Chien-li says at the end of the *Sih-shih-chai-chi* that he had seen a text of the *Secret History* copied from a manuscript of the Yuan Dynasty at Chang Tai-siou's (Perfect Chang's place) in Lu-Chow, which had underneath the (Chinese) title of the book two lines of Chinese characters : on the right *Mong-gu-lun-niu-cha* and on the left *To-cha-an*. Now it is mentioned in the biography of Cha-han (a *Wazir*) in the *Yuan-shi* that "Jen-tsung (or Palipata, the fourth Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty, who ruled for nine years, 1312-1321 A. D.) ordered Cha-han to translate the *To-bi-chi-yan*, to give the translation the title of *Sien-wu-kai-tien-chi*, and to put it at the disposal of the board of official historians." Again it is stated in the biography of Yu-ji in the *Yuan-shi* that "Wen-tsung (or Tou-Timur, the seventh, and the last but one Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty, who ruled from 1328 to 1333 A.D.) ordered Yu-ji to compile *Keen-shih-dah-dien* (or *A study of the Mongol World*). Yu-ji requested the Emperor for permission to utilise the *To-bi-chi-van* as an additional source of his information on the Mongol or national history (Kuo-shu), specially for the career of Chengis Khan (Tai-Tsu). But the Chen-ji (a court official), Ta-si-ha-ya and others protested ; the *To-bh-chi-yan* records secret and forbidden things ; it should not be allowed to be copied and issued to the public. The Emperor agreed with them." From these remarks in the *Yuan-shi*, we may conclude that *To-bi-chi-yan* or *To-bh-chi-yan* was the same book which Koo Chien-li had seen with the Chinese characters, *To-cha-an ;* and *Mong-gu-nun-liu-cha To-cha-an* seems to have been the original name of *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* or the *Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*.

Tsien Dah-hin says about the *Secret History* in the *Yuan-shi-yee-wen-ji-bu* that the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* has ten proper chapters or parts and two additional chapters (in continuation), not bearing the name of the author, and recording the history of Tai-tsu (Chengis Khan) and the subjugation of the Kin by Tai-tsung (Ogotai) ; he thinks it is the same as the book called *To-bi-chi-yan*. Now our text, which was copied from the *Yung-lo-dah-dien* (*Imperial Library of Yung-lo*) under the section of the word, '*Yuan*,' in the eighth month of the twenty-first year of the reign of Tao-kuang (1841 A. D.) and checked with a written copy of the original manuscript, consists of fifteen parts or chapters and appears to be the complete Chinese version of the *Secret History*, though the division into paragraphs is not always logical. I have often taken the liberty of combining several paragraphs into one, so as to secure the continuity of the narrative. As a whole the text runs smoothly throughout ; it can be translated without a single alteration. Several Chinese terms, such as *Huang-di* (for Khan or Khagan), etc., which I have restored to their supposed original forms, have been pointed out in the notes. As far as possible I have tried to follow the regular Chinese transliteration and to give in my notes the Persian equivalents of the same names ; for it is the Persian, not the Mongolian or Chinese, forms of these names that have

become familiar to the world at large. The Mongolian names usually have a meaning and the personal names are closely associated with the tribes to which the persons belong ; this is more apparent in the first part of the *Secret History*. For the meaning of the names in Part 1, I have had to depend much upon M. Blochet's notes and for those in the other parts upon the notes in the Chinese text and occasionally on English works on Mongol history. Had the restored version of the Russian been accessible to me, I would have been able to add the explanations of some more names to the notes. The kind reader, it is hoped, will overlook this minor shortcoming. My present object is to give a complete English translation of the Chinese version of the *Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty* for the general reader as well as the specialist, and to enable students of history to compare the Muslim, Chinese and Mongolian versions of the early legends and early history of the Mongols. Such a comparison, in my opinion, is very necessary for there are several things which I find lacking—and much misinterpretation—in the histories of the Mongols written by the "cultured" Persian authors of later date in their usually pompous style, which instead of giving the reader the atmosphere of the steppe leaves upon him the impression that he is reading an account of the events of a Persian court. It was difficult for the Persian writers to visualize either the life of the steppe dwellers or to understand their moral code ; thus small tribal chiefs became kings and princes with all the paraphernalia of an organised court or *durbar* while his industrious housewife is described as a queen with the title of "Her Majesty" or *Hazrat*. The reader has only to compare the simple and unvarnished narrative of the *Secret History* with the "manufactured tradition" of the Muslim historians given in the first volume of Abul Fazl's *Akbar Nama* to understand what I mean. Thus, for example, the Alan Goa of the *Secret History* is an efficient widow who even in the eyes of her own legitimate sons has been guilty of adultery with her servants ; Abul Fazl, on the other hand, not only gives her the status of a dowager queen but also visualizes her as the "Virgin Mary of the Mongols".

Apart from its simple and realistic style, which comfortably carries the reader to the remote steppe of Mongolia, the *Secret History* shows a remarkably accurate knowledge of the geography of Mongolia and Eastern Turkistan. Obviously the author was intimately acquainted with the hills, valleys and plains of his native land,and the character of his narrative seems to indicate that most of his information was based on his own travels or official reports rather than hearsay evidence. His knowledge of the camping ground and the pasture land of the greater tribes enables us to fix their position on a modern map in the steppe of Mongolia. Great importance also attaches to the record of the genealogy of the Mongol chiefs. We have fortunately for comparison a later and independent version of the same genealogy in the *Shajratul Atrak*, a book prepared by, or under the supervision of, Ulugh Beg Mirza, the scholarly grandson of Timur. Genealogical tables based on the two works are

given in the Appendix, and comparison between their statements has some times been made in the notes.

We find in the *Secret History* neither the heroism and romanticism of modern European works on the Mongols nor the panegyrics and eulogies of the oriental historians. We are face to face with a shocking, crude and almost barbaric realism in its true Mongolian setting. It is a simple and objective history of a nomadic people from the hand of a nomad—perhaps, the first of its kind. The characters speak in their own language and act in accordance with their own moral standards. The *Secret History* is the only contemporary work from a Mongolian hand that is at present within our reach, the only first hand evidence we have of the Mongolian 'world-outlook'. The complete absence of religious or theological elements will not fail to strike even a casual reader. It is fortunate for us that the Chinese translator adhered closely to the original and resisted the temptation of making a free translation.

We can proceed now to examine the geographical position of the steppe tribes as indicated by the *Secret History*, the most important document we have on this perplexing topic. But to interpret it properly we have also to keep in mind what we can learn from other sources. The term, Mongol or, as the Chinese pronounce it, Mong-gu, is used by the *Secret History* only once as a part of the personal name of Khutukhtu Mongur (Mong-gu-rh), the third son of Khabul (Kabul) Khakhan, in Part I. The tribes to which Chengis' ancestors belonged called themselves Da-da, and this is the only name by which they were known to their neighbours. Their camping ground was on the banks of the Kerulen, the upper Onon and the Tula rivers. The terms Da-da and Mongol, as explained elsewhere, must be considered equivalent; to begin with, both terms indicated the nomads of this region, but with the expansion of Chengis' Empire the term, Da-da, disappeared while the denotation of the term, Mongol, was enlarged to mean all non-Muslim subjects of Chengis belonging to the Sino-Turkish stock. The Da-da or the Mongols were distinct from the Tatars who were then living in the region around the Buir Nor and the Kulun Nor. The Chinese divided these nomadic neighbours very roughly into three categories: the White Ta-ta, the Black Ta-ta and the Wild Ta-ta. The division was based on the degree of culture and not on any scientific or ethnological basis.

According to M. Blochet, the Mongols were one of the new and later issues of the so-called *Altaique peoples*, against whom the Chinese had been fighting numerous battles from the earliest period of their history. The names of these early nomads have only survived in their Chinese form, such as the Hiung-nu (or Hun), the Sien-pi (Sibir in Persian transcription), Juan-juan (perhaps the ancestors of Churchah), Tu-kiu (or Turk), Yeh-tha (or Yeh-tha-i-li-to), To-pa, who have given their name to Tibet (*Tobbat* of the Arabs), Niu-che (Nuchi of the *Jamiut Tawarikh*), etc. From the beginning of history these tribes had been wandering in the immense space of Siberia, but we know very little about them except from some

references to their incursions into China. It was for the purpose of preventing their invasions that Chin-shih-huang-di (221-209 B.C.), built the Great Wall of China. These peoples themselves have left to us no historical documents of any kind; and we can only gather some incoherent information about them from the Chinese sources and the first part of the *Jamiut Tawarikh*. Rashiduddin, like other Muslim historians, affirms that they all belonged to the Turkish race ; and this theory is in turn confirmed by the close relation of the languages that are spoken in Siberia and which along with the Turkish, Finnish, Mongolian and Manchurian dialects, were very probably derived from the same original stock.

The name of the Mongol people, according to the *Tung-kian-kang-mu*, did not appear in world history until a time quite late in the Tang Dynasty (619-907 A.D.). It comes into prominence when the historic role of the Turkish tribes of antiquity is over and their names have fallen into oblivion. Rashiduddin in his history of the tribes, with which his *Jamiut Tawarikh* begins, follows closely the Mongol tradition of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. We do not find in it, as M. Blochet has correctly remarked, any name of the clans of Altaique antiquity. Rashiduddin insists with vehemence that there did not co-exist in Siberia a Turkish race and a Mongol race, that there was only one race, the Turkish, of which all the Mongol and Siberian tribes, the Chalair, the Tatar, the Kirghiz, the Kunghurat, the Aroulad were no more than sections or clans, and that the name 'Mongol' was quite modern. "The peoples whom we now call Mongols," he says, "were not so named in the past, because this term has been invented after their epoch . . . Even today, the Mongol nation (*shubah-i-Mughul*) is nothing more than one of the Turkish peoples (*aqwam-i-Atrak*) ; it is on account of the prowess and glory which the Mongols have acquired that all other Turkish tribes have received the name of Mongol. It was for the same reason that these very Turkish tribes had till then been given the name of the Tatars ; the Tatars themselves had been one of the most famous tribes of the Turks" (M. Blochet's *Introduction*, p. 201, ff.). In short, Rashiduddin and other Muslim historians believe that in ancient times the Mongols were simply one section of the Turkish nomads. It would be interesting if we could compare Rashiduddin's account with the Chinese sources ; but as Chinese information about this ancient Turkish race is by no means adequate for the purpose, this seems to be an impossible task.

Nevertheless, Rashiduddin's account of the origin of the Mongols will help us in understanding the relations between the tribes of steppe as presented in the *Secret History*. M. Blochet tells us in a note (*Introduction:* p. 202) that Rashiduddin's work was a Persian abridgement of the *Altan Debter* or the *Golden Book*, which was a history of the Mongol tribes in the Mongolian dialect. He adds that what is contained in Rashiduddin's book presents a great resemblance to the Mongol original of the *Secret*

History of the Mongol Dynasty (or the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*) and to the *Altan-Topchi*, which has been published at St. Petersburg ; that we do not find in these works, or in the *Origin of the Mongols* by Sanang Sechen, any remark on the ancient Altaique tribes ; that the history of the Mongols begins with Alan Goa or Burte-Chino, and that is all.

The reliable information we can obtain on the early history of the Mongols from Muslim works comes primarily from two sources—the investigations of Rashiduddin incorporated in his *Jamiut Tawarikh* and the tradition of the Chaghtai Horde incorporated in the *Shajratul Atrak* and other Timurid works, like the *Matlaus Sa'dain* of Abdur Razzaq and Sharafuddin Yazdi's *Introduction* (also called *Tarikh-i Jahangir*) to his *Zafar Nama*. Yazdi seems to have been ignorant of *Uighur*, but Abdur Razzaq had the reputation of being a great scholar of things Turkish. Alauddin Ata Malik Juwayni, who wrote the earlier part of his *Tarikh-i Jahan Kusha* in 1260 A. D., was an *Uighur* scholar, but though he had excellent opportunities, he seems to have lacked the time and inclination to make any investigations in this direction and in his great work all the steppe tribes are unceremoniously dismissed. Minahjus-Siraj's knowledge of the steppe tribes was very vague and inaccurate. Later compilers like Abul Fazl could only draw on these earlier works. Now the *Secret History* is an independent document, untouched by Muslim hands, by reference to which the accounts of Muslim histories can be tested, revised and supplemented. Among other things, it enables us to dismiss completely the claims made by the Timurids for the greatness of their Mongol ancestors. A careful examination of it will also reveal the tribal politics of the steppe in the early days of Chengis' career and, in particular, the rivalry between the descendants of Bartan Bahadur, Chengis' grandfather, and the collateral lines.

The *Secret History*, further, enables us to specify the grazing grounds of the various tribes at the time, a subject in which the greatest confusion has prevailed.

The tribes governed by the ancestors of Chengis, the Da-da or the Mongols, as has already been mentioned, lived on the banks of the Kerulen, Onon and Tula rivers. These rivers are still known by their old names. East of the Mongols—distinct from them and hostile to them—were the Tatars. They lived round the waters of Buir Nor and Kulun Nor. But the bitter hostility between the two tribes did not prevent interbreeding as the *Secret History* conclusively proves. The Merkits, also called Mekrits, dwelt between the Selenga and the Orkhon rivers. The Taichiuts camped north of the river Onon. The Jadaran (or Jajarat) tribe under the chieftainship of Jamukha (or Jamuga) encamped along the Khalkha river and south of Buir Nor. The traditional home of the Angira tribe was on the bank of the Gan river in Western Manchuria. The Keraits lived along the Tula river; and the Uriankhai east and west of Lake Baikal. The country of the Naimans was divided between two brothers, Tayang and Buirukh, north and

south of Kobdo; this tribe had been converted to the Christian religion. The Prestor John of European tradition is obviously the head of the Naiman tribe, in particular, Guchuluk (Kushluk, Kuhluk), who having established himself in Khutan, harassed the Mussalmans with religious controversies and persecution and compelled them to put on Chinese clothes as an alternative to conversion. According to Rashiduddin, the Naimans lived near the source of the Irtish river, west and east of the Altai mountain (*D'Ohsson*, I, 425). The same territory is assigned to the Naimans by Chinese authorities (Bretschneider, I, p. 43 and note). It was numerous and powerful and more civilized than the Da-da. The Kirghis, a forest people then, lived along the Irtish river. Culturally the Ui-u (Uighur) were the most important of all; their kingdom was in the eastern part of the present Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. West of the Ui-o (Uighur), round the Ili valley, were the Kharlu (Karluk). West and south of the Ui-u and the Kharlu was the famous Kara-Khita dominion, which covered the lands between the Chu river and Kashghar and which had once extended as far as Kirman. Beyond the nomad world we find the Kin Empire to the east, the Si-hsia kingdom to the south and the Khwarezmian Empire to the east of the Jaxartes, while the orthodox Chinese dynasty, called Sung, was further south of the Kin and dominated the Yangtse valley and the remaining China south of that river. The rulers of the Kin and the Si-hsia were foreign rulers in China, though the bulk of their subjects were Chinese and their kingdoms were Chinese in culture also. The author of the *Secret History* indiscriminately gives the name of Huei-huei (Muslim) to all Muslim states, to the Empire of Khwarezm and to the Caliphate of Baghdad. The Indus is referred to as the Sin river, in the valley of which lived the Hindus. The above mentioned are the principal tribes of Mongolia and Sinkiang to which the *Secret History* refers. There were, of course, many other tribes and peoples of whom the Muslim and Chinese historians have much more to say than our Mongolian author.

We have, lastly, to see what light the *Secret History* throws on the vexed question of inter-tribal relations. The fact that the Taichiuts and Jadaran tribes are said to have been founded by the direct ancestors of Chengis Khan indicates that there was some conception of unity or nationhood among them. The most important steppe tribe at the time was the Kerait (Karayat). Raverty, on the basis of Muslim historians, declares it to be 'a sept of the Duralgin Moghuls, and one of the most considerable of the Turkish nation' (p. 940). Its ruler is styled both as Toghril and Wang Khan (in Persian, Aung Khan). According to the *Secret History*, the Keraits were closely related to the Da-da. The Merkit or Mekrit, bitter enemies of Chengis Khan's family, belonged to the Kaiat (Kayat) division of the Mongols according to Muslim histories. This tribe was divided into three septs, all of whom have been named in the *Secret History*. The Angiras (or Kungkurat) closely allied by matrimonial relations with the

royal family of the Mongols was, according to the Muslim sources, a Mongol tribe of great antiquity. Many other Mongol or non-Mongol tribes have been mentioned in the *Secret History* ; but the one that commands great interest is the Barulas (Barlas), because from a chief of this tribe, Karachar Noyan, were descended two later conquerors, Amir Timur and Zahiruddin Babur.

The reader will be able to find on the map prepared by me almost all the important places in the *Secret History*; as to places of less importance, every care has been taken to indicate their whereabouts in the notes to the text on the basis of Chinese authorities. For more detailed map-work I have no alternative but to refer the reader to large scale Chinese maps of Mongolia, Manchuria and Sinkiang. Terms like central, left, right, last or rear *banner*, or left or right *wing*, indicating tribal positions, are also to be found on Chinese maps ; they are given in my notes for those who can use Chinese maps, for such indications are not to be found in ordinary western maps.

II. The Mongols

a. Da-da, Mongols and Tatars

Some discussion of the term 'Mongol' is necessary. The people on whom Chengis Khan's power was first based did not, if we are to trust the *Secret History*, call themselves 'Mongols' or *Mong-gu*, nor were they called so by the other tribes. The term 'Mongol' is simply unknown to the *Secret History* which always refers to the people of Chengis as the 'Da-da'. The 'Da-da' of the *Secret History* are quite distinct from the Tatars as well as other great tribes of the steppe. Nevertheless, Mongol or *Mong-gu*, meaning 'brave', is an old word, and the history of the Tang Dynasty of China (618-907 A. D.) refers to the *Mong-gu* as the people whose camping ground was along the Kerulen, the Upper Noani (Onon) and the Argun rivers, the very land in which we find the Da-da living some centuries later when the ancestors of Chengis began to assert themselves.

There is no alternative but to conclude that the 'Da-da' of the *Secret History* are to be identified with the '*Mong-gu*' or 'Mongols' of Chinese words. The Da-da, or the people of Chengis, are clearly distinguishable from the other steppe tribes or tribal-unions—the Tatars, Merkits, Keraits, Uighurs, etc.—to whom the *Secret History* refers so often. It is no use confusing people who were thirsting after each others' blood at the time our records begin.

But by a process on which the *Secret History* throws a good deal of light, Chengis Khan succeeded in welding almost all the steppe tribes into a single unit and led them out to conquer the world. Thereafter the eastern Turks, Tatars and Mongols formed one unit and their names were often mingled. A people often has two names, one used by itself and the other by foreigners. With the foundation of a steppe-state by

Chengis Khan, which had the solid loyalty of all steppe-tribes, the term 'Mongol' would prove more appropriate than 'Da-da'. The Mussalmans were not acquainted with the term 'Da-da'. In general parlance any term could be applied to the whole organisation just as the term *Ferangi* (French) was used by mediaeval Mussalmans for centuries to indicate all Europeans. Persons who came under the heels of Chengis' slaughtering hordes were in no mood to distinguish one barbarian element from another. Even a cultured and well-informed Indian poet, like Amir Khusrau, himself belonging to a family of Central Asian immigrants, calls them Turks, Tatars, Chinese and Mongols as the spirit prompts him or the necessities of rhyme and metre require. "More than a thousand infidel Tatars," he says in the *Qiranus Sa'dain* which was dedicated to Sultan Kai-Kabad (1287-1290), "were brought mounted on camels with other soldiers . . . They do not consider it bad to each other's vomit for they are Turks of the tribe of *Qay* (vomit)." In the *Khazainul Futuh* he gloats over the treatment meted out to the invaders by Sultan Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316). "The Tatars and Chinese were hanged from the ramparts". European peoples preferred the term 'Tartar' compounded out of Tatar, the correct tribal name, and Tartarus, the underground region.

Muslim writers before the rise of the Mongols had been using the term 'Turk' for the more cultured Muslim elements of what we now call the Sino-Mongolian race. The basis of distinction was not 'Islam' but 'culture'. Mere conversion did not 'Turkify' the nomad ; he remained what he was—a Turkoman, a Khizz or a Kerait. But if he took to agriculture, began to build houses, got accustomed to city life and honoured the religious scholars, he became a Turk automatically. Thus all the Mongol settlers in Mawaraun Nahr and Turkistan, the appanage of Chengis' second son, Chaghtai, came to call themselves Turks and considered 'Maghulistan', their certified homeland, a territory of heathens and barbarians and used 'Moghul' as a term of contempt.

The 'Moghuls' of India do not concern us here. Babur in his *Memoirs* (*Tuzuk*) shows the same dislike of the Mongols as Timur in his *Autobiography*. He never called himself anything but a Turk. Nevertheless, the term 'Moghul' came into general use in the reign of Jahangir, but it had quite a different connotation. Khafi Khan writing in the reign of Mohammad Shah (1720—1740) takes care to inform his readers that the original Mongols are repulsively 'white' like sufferers from leprosy, their colour being devoid of 'salt'. The French traveller, Bernier, gives as accurate a definition as was possible of the current use of the term when he says that to be a 'Moghul' one must be a Mussalman and tolerably fair-coloured

b. Mongol Religion and Society

The real reason for all this confusion is the constant change in the principle of social identity. To understand this we should examine

the nature of the basic social unit of the Mongols and the Turks—the clan or *ulus*. By the Turko-Mongolian *ulus*, as originally used, we must understand a unit of families, who had 'a common name' for themselves. The common name may be a very simple one taken from a self-made leader, who had brought the families together or his supposed ancestor ; it may be a thing immemorial or a creation of yesterday. Some *ulus* names are compound words, indicating that the unit was part of a larger unit. But the name in all cases indicates a conception of identity, primarily of military identity.

The units of the early Aryan society—the family, house, gens and tribe among the Romans and castes and sub-castes among the Hindus—have been the object of much investigation and research. The Aryan social unit consisted of persons who were descended from a common ancestor or believed that they were so descended. Outsiders could be admitted into the unit by a complicated religious ceremony of 'adoption', and for all intents and purposes the tie of adoption was as good as the tie of blood. The *ulus* of the Mongols is not to be visualized on Aryan lines, for the two great features of Aryan civilization—a somewhat chaotic pantheon of gods and a very well organised heirarchy of priests—were altogether wanting among the Mongols.

No scholar, administrator, traveller or even Christian priest who came into contact with them, tells us anything very definite about the religion of the Mongols. In fact there was little to tell. Belief in one God—visualized not anthropomorphically in human form or with human attributes but in terms of the unlimited space, the great Sky or Il-Tengiri—was intense and universal. Muslims who hated Chengis were nonetheless astounded at his faith in his God; to that God Chengis always turned and he would turn to no one else. But to their great Il-Tengiri the Mongols offered no formal or regular prayers, built no temples and made no sacrifices. From one end of the country to the other you would find no place of worship—no sacred house, no consecrated tent, no hallowed image of gold, bronze or stone. For Il-Tengiri, unlike the God of the Jews, Christians and Mussalmans, was essentially a God for the individual and not for the social organisation. No congregational forms of worship were known or desired. Religion was the business of the individual; he had to settle his affairs with his God in the way he thought best; in its hour of greatest distress a Mongol community would not know how to worship the Supreme Being as a body. The chief would pray for the community in such way as he knew or could devise for the occasion. Intensity of emotion, and not specific words and movements, was the thing needed. We find occasional references to the spirits of rivers and forests but they were only passing fancies and never became a part of the Mongol faith. For the Mongols of the old days faith began and ended with Il-Tengiri. The Mongols would add nothing to the concept and no subtraction was possible.

A people with no dogma, no church or temple, no fixed forms of worship and no religious doctrines which it wished to teach to the world, was also a stranger to that terrible adjunct of religion—persecution. Mussalmans and Christians alike were struck by the fact that the Mongols were extremely tolerant in religious matters. Why should such a people persecute any faith ? Throughout their career they respected places of worship and men of religion, but for themselves they needed neither the one nor the other.

Taken all in all the Mongols are the 'purest' theists of whom history has left a record. They give no human form or attributes to their God; there is no desire for prayer-forms or spiritualistic mechanics of any sort in their nature. Now is this the primitive ignorance of an uncultured people or the greatest advance in the sphere of spiritual freedom to which the mind of man has attained ? Those who cannot visualize a God except through a community, an historic tradition and regulated forms of mechanistic worship will hardly be fair to the Mongols. And he is pretty independent of the opinion of others. Not feeling the need of any other religious solace save what the thought of God can give, he passes by all mosques, churches, synagogues and idol-temples with a feeling of reverence ... "Let everyone have the spiritual medicine he needs ; thanks God, I am healthy." Conversely, he has no innate objection to adopting any creed provided it is compatible with the conception of Il-Tengiri. If he becomes a Mussalman, he will continue worshipping the same God as Tangiri Taala (High Tangiri). Whatever our personal views may be, to the impartial students of history one thing should be clear. The nature of primitive societies has been carefully studied and all those things which we associate with primitive societies—animism, tree worship, nature spirits, lingas, mother-goddesses, star-worship, idols, bell-ringing, fasts, ablutions, regulated bathing, caste systems and the like—are conspicuous by their absence from among the Mongols. Why were the Mongols free from these self-made and unnecessary trammels of the human mind ? History will never reveal to us the various stages through which the steppe-mind proceeded for thousands of years by the only means that are available to man—experiment, discussion and interpretation. But the last stage is clear. In the course of centuries and centuries all gods had been tried and found wanting ; by the process of elimination Il-Tengiri alone remained. Similarly, perhaps all prayer-forms had been tried and proved to be futile, except that prayer which strengthens the human mind by bringing it into contact with the 'unconditioned' God. Beyond that the Mongol would not go ; he had as little inclination to atheism as to idolatory. A religion without forms and without rites would also be a religion without taboos. It would postulate nothing super-experiential. So in the sphere of practical life, the only sphere which mattered to him, he was prepared to learn by experience and experience only. This is the real cause of Mongol greatness. There were no idiotic shackles on his mind or on his institutions. He guided his steps in all things by the light of

secular reason only.

Priesthood in any shape or form was inconceivable to the Mongol mind. Il-Tengiri would need no priests. He was there on plain and mountain—and by the sweet-flowing Karulen under the crystal-clear sky. One could turn to Him whenever necessary. The Mongols tolerated a certain amount of magic. The atmosphere of his land was subject to cataclysmic changes ; suddenly the summer sun would be hidden by clouds, and rain and snow would follow. Like the neighbouring Turkish tribes, he also believed that thunderstorms in summer could be brought about by magicians operating the *viddah-stone*. When he was ill, you could tell him stories about spirits who had to be propitiated and for the time-being he might believe in you. But the normal Mongol was not prepared to brook any priestly nonsense. Ecclesiastical adventurers were not wanting in Mongolia, as we see from the career of Teb-Tengiri. But the soil was most unpromising. So long as the would-be priest asked for nothing, his tricks were considered interesting and commendable. The moment, however, he tried to obtain influence or worldly goods—and there is no sense in being a priest unless you can have the one or the other—a clash was inevitable. When the followers of Teb-Tengiri equalled those of Chengis, Otchigin fought with him and killed him in a way no Mussalman or Christian would fight and kill his priest ; and when Teb-Tengiri's body disappeared from the well-guarded tent, nobody was frightened by the trick. Religious convictions apart, there must have been in the Mongolian mind a sub-conscious realisation of the fact that a priestly order could only live on what society over-produced. And steppe-labour produced but little ; the chiefs seized what they could get ; there was nothing to spare for the priest.

A priestless society believing in one God, willing to learn by experience and having traditions based on experience only, with little faith in, or fear of, a future life and measuring all things human by purely human standards—this is the steppe-society we find in the last half of the twelfth century. Under favourable circumstances such a society could have made enormous contributions to the arts of peace; Chengis Khan and the Mongols as a whole had a singularly scientific attitude of mind. But as the steppe-society was, unfortunately, so circumstanced that it could only move on the path of war, its striking power could not fail to be terrific.

We return now to the problem of the Mongol *ulus*. The exigencies of the English language have compelled the use of terms like 'clan' and 'tribe', but the *ulus* is in no sense to be compared with any Aryan social unit. The ceremony of adoption was not known to the Mongols; mutual agreement and force were the chief elements that counted in the expansion and reorganisation of the *uluses*. The element of blood-relationship must not be overemphasised. A cursory reading of the *Secret History* might leave upon the reader the impression that an *ulus* had a definite and assigned ancestor. But this was not the case. The attribution of

descent from chosen chiefs is simply a form of speech and was never intended to be anything else. We read, for example, that a well known chief has three sons, A, B and C and the *ulus* X, Y and Z are descended from them. A careful calculation, however, will convince anyone who takes the trouble to do so that so far as the non-mythic ancestors were concerned, there was simply not enough time for the descendants of the chiefs to have multiplied into a whole tribe. The calculation of blood relationship was for the chiefs only. Ordinary Mongol families were shifted on from one *ulus* to another according to the exigencies of the situation; but whenever they were joined under one chief, they began to talk as if they were of one blood, much as an army unit of today begins to develop a feeling of brotherhood and an *esprit de corps*. Essentially the *ulus* was a military or fighting unit, though under the conditions of steppe-life and the constant struggle for pastures, for domesticated animals and for women, civil and military affairs could never be separated. When after over-powering all his enemies in the steppe-land, Chengis sat down to divide the conquered families among his officers of Ten, Hundred, Thousand and Ten Thousand, keeping the fact of geographical contiguity in view but practically ignoring blood relationship, the procedure did not strike any one as strange. The *Secret History* tells us that as a special favour he allowed a few of his officers to bring into their contingents their blood relations, who had been widely scattered in this process. As a rule military requirements took precedence over claims of blood. Ultimately, the blood relationship of the four sons of Chengis alone counted, and the term *ulus* was used for the four great Mongol 'hordes' as well as their armies. Still the old form of speech remained and Persian historians often talked as if the whole population, governors and governed—all those who contributed men to the army—were descended from Chengis Khan's four sons. By the time of Timur the word *ulus* was used as equivalent to the army; thus the 'Ulus-i-Chaghtai' is the army of Amir Timur. The Mongol *ulus-names* were preserved, but they had lost their old significance and were merely names for army contingents.

The enemies of the Mongols have described them with venom, but perhaps not unjustly. Their eyes were small slits, peering at you from below thick eyebrows and creating a feeling of repulsion and horror. The Chinese have smooth, clean faces on which the advance of age leaves impressive lines bespeaking deep thought and reflection. On the face of the Mussalman, everything except the eyes and the nose was hidden by the beard while half the forehead was concealed by the turban. Still in case of at least fifty per cent Mussalmans, the beard was well worth growing. It gave the impression of manly dignity, poise, calm and, in the more successful growths, of religious and spiritual eminence. The face of the Mongol was wrinkled, leathery ; his beard was repulsive, ugly, goat-like. In Europe Alexander the Great, and Scipio Africanus, had set the fashion of clean-shaving for military men ; this fashion was never accepted by the East; the Mongols, in any case, were too slovenly

for such a habit. They were also strangers to the habit of bathing, and kept their skin or woollen cloaks on their bodies till they were torn to pieces. Men and women, they all stank horribly. Gur Besu, the Naiman queen, was, perhaps, expressing the opinion of the more "civilised" neighbours when she remarked that "after the Da-da beauties had been taught to bathe, they may serve to milk the cows and goats." "Their faces are like dogs," says the Indian poet, Khusrau, "but their bones are bigger." An enormous amount of lice lived and multiplied in their woollen clothes which were never fumigated, cleaned or changed. The skin of their body was full of red spots from insect bites, like sesame sprouting out of barren soil. They scratched themselves incessantly for the lice were biting them all the time. They drank the warm blood of their horses and camels, just sucking it from the opened veins. Like the criminal classes and jungle tribes of India, they would eat any animal—mice or carrion—to ease their ravenous appetite. They were brutal in their methods; their enmity extended even to corpses and they enjoyed drinking wine out of the skulls of their dead enemies. The charge of cannibalism has been brought against them by some European chronicles, in particular that of making *achar* or pickles from the flesh of plump European virgins by immersing them in vinegar. But it deserves no serious consideration.

c. Progress of the Mongols by the time of Chengis Khan

The Mongols of Chengis, though living under the hard conditions of the steppe, were in no sense 'primitive'. They were barbarians only in the sense that they were 'barbarous'—the greatest shedders of blood in human history. All attempts to explain their success on the basis of physical factors are futile. Starvation and overpopulation lead to extinction and death—not to world conquest.

Attempts have also been made to explain the rise of the Mongols according to the Marixst theory of class struggle and class exploitation. Chengis, according to this view, is the leader of the decaying aristocracy of the steppe. He reorganises it, weeds out its inefficient and intractable members with remarkable thoroughness, cajoles and terrorises the nomad working class into submission and loyalty, and then leads them both to conquer the world for the benefit of the steppe aristocracy. Now there is greater truth in the Marxist interpretation of history than scholars of the old school are inclined to admit. The Mongol empire, like all other empires, conduced to the prosperity of the aristocracy alone. The Mongol soldier (like the British 'tommy') was driven to the ends of the earth for what he fondly believed to be the good of the state. But we can see what, fortunately for his own peace of mind, the Mongol soldier was not destined to see : that for him the whole enterprise was an enormous swindle. In the course of three generations of continued struggle, the Mongol working class, put into arms and driven against the enemy in every land, completely perished. Only a small part of the spoils, most

of it consumed on the spot, fell to his lot, while all that was best went to the state and its officers. The Mongol officers, to do them justice, were extremely careful of the lives of their men ; their number being limited, they had to be used with care. Still the great enterprise could not succeed without enormous losses and the bones of Mongol soldiers were sprinkled thick in every clime—a victim to the inclemencies of the climate and the just wrath of the enemies they had provoked. Their gain was transitory and their extinction was final. A century after Chengis we find the descendants of the steppe-chiefs settled comfortably as a landed aristocracy in all countries from the Volga to the Takla Makan desert, proud of their birth and their genealogical trees. But the soldiery of the Mongolian steppe had practically ceased to exist. To use Napoleon's expressive term, it had been 'consumed'. A sprinkling of Mongoloid features is the only trace they have left in the conquered lands.

In the imagination of contemporaries and in the popular histories of later days, the Mongol conquest stands for the supremacy of the barbarians over the civilised. But temporary panics should not mislead the critical historian. In the long struggle between barbarism and civilisation, the scales have been frightfully tilted in favour of the civilised. Civilised societies, in general, are in great danger from each other ; the barbarian can, on the whole, be ignored. The sober fact is that the 'alleged' barbarian never succeeds unless he has equipped himself with all the weapons of civilisation, both civil and military, and brings to his task a mental capacity and character decidedly superior to that of the 'civilised' races. Barbarian morality is always of a sterner type, and, among other things, it pays little regard to human life. Civilised societies, on the other hand, have generally had a great regard for human life so far as their own members are concerned. But throughout the whole course of recorded history civilised societies have been reckless of barbarian lives, counting them hardly equal to beasts. The oft-quoted affirmations of Aristotle express the attitude of the civilised races for all time : Some people, the civilised Greek, are free by nature, while others, the conquered barbarians, are by nature slaves. As for the unconquered barbarians, their chiefs are only noble in their own country while the noble Greek is noble everywhere. The taking of human lives without just cause or excuse is the greatest of human crimes and political objectives can never be a just cause for such an offence. The crime of killing, on the whole, has been a crime of the civilised ; but occasionally, and on the whole very rarely, the barbarian has been able to hit back, and then there has been no end "to weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth."

The most striking feature of the Mongol, as he suddenly steps into world history, is his brain-power, every mental capacity developed to the fullest extent. His mode of expression is a very good indication of the character of his thought. He will waste no time in useless speech. His words, whether spoken or dictated, are few and expressive. He avoids long titles and florid expressions and the only literary lapses he will

permit himself are metaphors and similes from his steppe life. Unlike the Persian, who loses the strings of his thought in the complexities of diction, he is direct and crystal clear. But if it suits his purpose to leave matters in perplexity and doubt, he can do that also in the fewest possible words. "If you do not obey us," is his message to all Muslim cities, "we do not know what will happen. Il-Tengiri alone knows." Venturing suddenly into an environment of the geographical and scocial character of which he had no previous personal experience, he proves himself equal to every occasion. Some of his mental qualities, courage, manliness, preparedness to face death, may have been the result of steppe experience. But others must have been painfully and consciously acquired through generations of effort. Tribal warfares and tumults do not train one for international diplomacy ; if anything, they cramp a man's vision and unfit him for the higher task. But the Mongol, from the moment he sits down to the game, moves all the pieces on the international chess board with remarkable knowledge and skill. He knows all that it is necessary for him to know of the French King, the Roman Catholic Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor in the west and of the Chinese governments in the east. He is frightfully inquisitive and also learns more as he progresses. Speaking for the first time in his history to emperors, kings, city councils and tribal chiefs, he shrewdly estimates their mental make-up, their weakness and their strength, and suits every act and word to the occasion. If the aim of diplomacy be the acquisition of the maximum of power with the minimum of cost, then the Mongol is the greatest diplomat that has ever lived. He built one of the largest empires that history has known in the course of a single generation ; no administrative and political structure of such tremendous dimensions has been built in such a short time by the hand of man. All the great tricks of the trade are known to the Mongol; he is the greatest swindler that has ever lived. He will fight, if and when necessary. But so far as possible, he will obtain his object without fighting or with the minimum use of force. He is always reluctant to risk Mongol lives for he is leading soldiers, not martyrs. He divides his enemies, unites his friends, crushes his erstwhile friends the moment he ceases to need them, and within a year succeeds in creating the conviction of Mongol invincibility in all Muslim lands. The reign of Mongol terror once established, everything proceeds smoothly. The chief feature of Mongol diplomacy, as we see it in retrospect, was its singular combination of boldness and caution. He creates the conviction of invincibility because he never aspires for the unattainable and attempts nothing unless victory is assured. His remarkable successes never turn his head, and he always plays for security. Chengis never tempted fortune, like Napoleon and Hitler, and wisely turned back from the bank of the Indus without venturing on a hopeless campaign in the north Indian plain.

The Mongol capacity for improvisation—for meeting sudden, unexpected and dangerous contingencies as they arose with steady nerves, calmness of mind, ready wit, shrewdness, foresight and skill—was noted

by many observers. This faculty was necessary for those who would succeed in the unceasing struggle of the steppe in which the hand of every tribe was against every other tribe and in which "promises were but words and breath because there was no sovereign power to enforce them". But the Mongol capacity for planning, and planning for world conquest, must have been consciously acquired through the slow process of trial and error by those who knew what they were at. A people that had been divided into *uluses* and had been offering its allegiance to the tribal *ulus*-chiefs, suddenly decides to discard all tribal loyalties, forms itself into a single unit—a national state entrenched in the affections of the people so that no divided allegiance is thereafter possible. The tribal chiefs become state officers; the tribal wars vanish. The Mongol Empire, unlike the Empires of the Romans and the British, was not a product of slow growth. It was deliberately and cnsciously planned. Its successful establishment in the course of a single generation was only made possible by a great revolution in Mongol thought and feeling—a revolution which, like the French, the Soviet and the Chinese Revolutions, expressed itself almost overnight because it had been collecting strength for years. The essence of that revolution, as already explained, is the transference of allegiance from the *ulus* or tribe to the state. Deep in the mind of all people—of *bayans* or Mongol sages, of the widowed mothers who exercised such a dominating influence over Mongol society and of the ordinary nomad who milked the goats and sheared the sheep—there must have been a slowly growing desire for a national leader, a national law and a national programme. Viewed in the proper perspective, Chengis like Robespierre and Lenin, is more the consequence than the cause of a great mental revolution. And psychologically such a revolution is not possible except through long-sustained and purposive thinking.

Now mental development postulates education, though not necessarily in the form of reading and writing ; it also postulates extensive and accurate knowledge. If a statement of Minhajus Siraj is to be believed, Chengis Khan and, probably, a large number of his people could only speak Mongolian and were ignorant of the Turkish dialect of their neighbours. The Mongols had no script of their own and depended upon the Turks to read and write for them in the Uighur script. But once they had started on the path of conquest both Chengis and his officers developed extremely efficient secretariats of Chinese, Persian, Turkish and other scribes, from which brief and singularly well-worded messages and orders were sent to men of all tongues. Chengis ordered a large number of Mongol boys to be taught the Uighur script, but the secretariats, nevertheless, remained a monopoly of the conquered people. Alauddin Ata Malik, writing at the beginning of Mangu Khan's reign, deplored that the study of Uighur had become the prime object of educated Mussalmans. But the Mongol officers sternly retained in their own hands the power of planning and deciding; the Muslim scribes seldom tried to influence

their Mongol bosses and they could not possibly have approved of ninety per cent of the orders they were directed to prepare and despatch. Of the two, the Mongol officer was certainly not only more capable but also better informed.

In the generations preceding Chengis Khan, a knowledge of the outside world must have been carefully acquired by the Mongol *bayans* or sages. The Mongols did no travelling till they travelled to conquer ; there are very few recorded instances of Mongol travellers or merchants in Muslim lands before Chengis Khan. But the gradual infiltration of Muslim merchants in Mongolia is mentioned. The Mongols were, in fact, helplessly dependent on foreign imports. They had no mines, no factories, no highly qualified artisans and no technical skill of any sort ; and war, since the advent of the Neolithic Age has been entirely dependent on mining, metallurgy and manufactured implements. Even for the ordinary necessities of life—anything beyond meat, milk products and skins—the Mongols depended upon imports. Their country produced no corn. Chengis Khan's insistence on the free movement of merchants through all lands, and their proper treatment to ensure their free movement, was obviously based on the conviction that they were a necessity for the life of his people. Without imported goods his people would not be able to fight. Even before the days of Chengis, Mongolia must have been an excellent market; she needed a lot but could give her rare products in return. The mediaeval merchant was a geographer-*cum*-journalist in every land, and there can be little doubt that Muslim merchants, without thinking of the consequences of their actions, gave to the insular Mongol that exact knowledge of Asian politics and trade routes without which Chengis' invasion would not have been possible. It would be an error, lastly, to over-insist on the insularity of the Mongols. If an unhappy expression of the Roman historians be permitted, they were very well acquainted with the 'semi-civilised barbarians'. The Naimans had been converted to Christianity and we find that their chief, Guchuluk, was able to enter into some sort of religious controversy with the Muslim scholars of Khutan. The way in which the Mongols began to patronise Muslim and Christian priests from the very start shows an intimate knowledge of the tenets and institutions of both religions as well as a shrewd capacity for paralysing the elements of opposition among the conquered people by winning over their religious guides.

Several eminent Muslim scholars have commented with great respect on the social system of the Mongols. Its basis was the Mongol conception of law and justice; its external aspect was discipline, the consciousness in the individual of his position in the social order and of his obligation to perform the functions assigned to him with efficiency and devotion. Discipline was enforced by fearful punishments which the criminal could not hope to escape. We will never understand the significance of Chengis Khan in Mongolian history unless we visualise him primarily as a great legislator. His *Yasas* or Laws (also called *Torah*) covered every subject

from the election of the Khan and the organisation of the national *Kurultai* (Assembly) to the infliction of the death penalty on persons who infected canals and streams by bathing in them during the summer season. Like most legislators, Chengis formulated his *Yasas* as occasion demanded. A few Mongol customs were preserved without change while others were so twisted out of their old shape as to be hardly recognisable. But a large number of *Yasas* are original, based on Chengis' conception of what was good and right for his state and his people. The *Yasas* were written down and carefully preserved, and at least for three generations to come the original text of the *Yasas* was available for reference in cases of doubt. That text is now lost, but the industrious student will not find much difficulty in collecting almost all the important *Yasas* from the works of the Persian writers. The Mongols continued to follow the *Yasas* long after they had left their homelands and became Mussalman except in the few items (*e.g.*, the slaughtering of animals) where they directly contradicted the teachings of the Faith. "It is not permitted by the *Torah*," Timur remarks wisely at one place, "that you advance deep into an enemy's territory without reducing the forts on your way." There is no religious element in the *Yasas*, though a few quaint, old customs are preserved. Very little, if anything, is said about individual rights, it being assumed that in all such matters the existing laws of the Mongols and other peoples would continue. The main topics of the *Yasas* are the state, government, civil administration, army, warfare. The traditional element has definitely fallen into the background as being unfit for present and future needs ; and no attention is paid at any time to tribal distinctions. Taken as a whole the *Yasas* were an excellent code for the Mongols as a progressive nation. Even more significant than Chengis' framing of the *Yasas*, is his people's preparedness to accept them. There was no conservative party with its devotees to ancient ways; we hear of no opposition. Obviously in the generations preceding Chengis Khan the people had been prepared for the new legislation.

The most bitter critics of Chengis Khan have not failed to pay a tribute to his sense of justice. But his justice is not the justice of Plato or Justinian which seeks to establish a rational harmony among the elements of the social order by giving to every man his due. It was more akin in temper and aim to the justice of Carlyle: "Give every man his due and who will escape thrashing." Where international customs existed, such as the sanctity of ambassadors and the free movement of merchants, Chengis was a faddist for their observance; he would not violate them himself nor permit their violation by others. Secondly, where a law existed, its enforcement by Chengis was inevitable. He would hear of no exceptions. Punishment inevitably followed guilt. Thirdly, if people had made a promise, it was their duty to keep it. Where the law, was silent, contract was as good as law. Chengis himself had the reputation of being a man of his word, though it has to be admitted that he often, diplomat that he was, left people in doubt as to whether he had

made a promise or not. Nor were promises on his part incompatible with mental reservations of the existence of which the other party had no suspicion. Like the 'Prince' of Machiavelli, Chengis could combine truthfulness, or the reputation for it, with political chicanery of a very low type. Lastly, where international custom, state law and contract did not exist, you could do what you liked. "Mongol justice" was quite compatible with ruthless killing and terrorism as instruments of world conquest.

Muslim observers were surprised at the extraordinary discipline of the Mongols and the efficiency with which orders were executed. We seldom find recklessness or lack of foresight in official orders. The impossible was never demanded and regard was also paid to the weaknesses of the flesh. Still Mongol efficiency in the execution of orders has been seldom equalled and never surpassed. Obedience was enforced with punishments so brutal that the world stood horrified. Still in no society, not even in Mongol society, could law and order be preserved by punishments alone. A Muslim or Christian prince resorting to such steps would have been immediately overthrown by a civil or military revolt. The remarkable feature about the Mongol criminal code is the general acceptance of it as something necessary, right, fair and just. Nobody sympathised with the wrong doers, and in not a few cases we find the criminal himself submitting to the punishment without any moral protest.

But it is in the military sphere that we see most clearly the wonderful progress of the Mongol mind. Steppe war could certainly develop some soldierly virtues, but these virtues are common to all military men. The distinctive feature of the Mongols was their capacity to stand hardships; they asked for little and worked a lot. In sheer physical strength and body weight, they were no match for their opponents. The portraits of the Mongol leaders, which have survived to us from the *Il-Khan* period, depict them as light in build, with undeveloped chests and no indication of biceps or triceps in their long slender arms. This may be due to the traditions of Perso-Chinese painting, which did not aspire for accuracy. But many contemporary accounts of the Mongols have survived, and in none of them are they credited with superior muscular strength or finer physical build. But unstinted praises are showered on them for physical qualities much more necessary for army men—physical stamina, resilience, capacity for enduring suffering and pain and an ebullient energy that ended only with death. No race of mankind has been so superbly gifted with these physiological blessings. Neither privations on the one hand, nor drunkenness and gluttony on the other, seem to have had any effect on the hardy Mongol frame. Still steppe warfare could only develop military capacities which though basic are, nonetheless, elementary—excellent horsemanship, rapid marching and countermarching, taking cover, guiding oneself by the stars at night, forecasting weather, following tracks, scouting, leaving fires burning in your camp to deceive the stupid enemy while you marched away at night. There were no massive hill forts ; no walled cities ; no *manjaniqs* (catapults) or other mediaeval instruments of war ; no large masses of men to be equipped, fed, clothed, moved across enormous distances or put into well provisioned cantonments ; no great rivers to be spanned with pontoon bridges or extensive deserts to be provided with watering stations ; no long lines of communications to be maintained in enemy territory, through waste land and jungle, over mountain passes and marshlands ; no deployment of large masses of soldiers in sieges and battles—none of those problems, in fact, the successful solution of which has made 'war' into a highly developed science. The *uluses* lived by plunder, fought each other with native intuition; the question of a scientific war simply did not arise.

Within some ten or twelve years everything was changed. First, in accordance with the military *Yasas* of Chengis, all the people of the steppe, whom he had already organised into a nation, were put under one of the most effective conscription regimes that history records. Every Mongol capable of wearing arms was conscripted, told of the implements, from needles to swords, which he was to provide himself with, and assigned to a unit of ten, which was required to pay implicit obedience to its commander. These units were combined into higher units till the highest contingent, the *tuman* or unit of 10,000, was reached. Information was sent up, and orders were sent down, with remarkable quickness ; within twenty four hours of receiving the summons, all required units could assemble at the place appointed. The mere increase in size is astounding. Chengis Khan, after his early successes, may have been able to muster an army of four thousand or so. Wang Khan of the Keraits could put some twenty thousand soldiers in the field. When the detailed account of the *Secret History* is coming to a close, we find Chengis organising a force of 95,000 with officers and body guard all complete. But on the eve of his campaigns into Muslim lands, Chengis commanded a conscript army which, according to the *Rauzatus Safa*, numbered at least 800,000. One hardly knows what to admire most—the rapid growth of the war machine or the efficiency with which it was managed. No such army is reported to have assembled in Mongolia before, and neither Chengis nor his officers had previous experience in handling such large numbers.

Secondly, the moment the Mongols march into China on the one side or into Central Asia on the other, we find them acquainted with all the technicalities of the art of war which the civilised races had evolved. They made and handled machinery of every description. They knew all that there was to know about the arms and equipment of the enemy and his method of deploying on the battle-field, and their knowledge was so complete that they hit him with unerring judgment at the weakest spot. The rapid development of the Mongol war office was surprising; it shows a very high degree of mental capacity in those who controlled it. They did not learn their art of war from the Mussalmans, for Muslim

strategy and tactics were different, and the Mussalmans had never, except in the first generation of Islam, worked a sound system of conscription. They might have learnt it from the Chinese with whom their contact was more intimate.

But the most astounding feature of the Mongol war office was its originality. Never since the Macedonian Alexander succumbed to fever at Babylon, had the world seen campaigns planned and executed on such an extensive scale. They took everything in their wide sweep from Eastern Europe to the Chinese Sea and from the desolate wilds of Siberia to Makran, Multan and Lahore. It took a merchant three to four months to cross the empire of the Golden Horde and this was only one of the four Mongol *uluses*. On a map of Eurasia the campaigns of Pompey, Caesar and Napoleon seem small scale enterprises by the side of the stupendous Mongol achievement. Even the old Persian Empire of the Achaeminians pales by the side of this monstrous creation. And along with the strategic capacity for carefully planned campaigns, there went a capacity of attention to details, a genius for improvisation, for civil organisation and a coordination of military movements and diplomacy that were really startling. The hill forts, if the garrison was determined to fight to the last and refused to be terrorised by threats or wheedled by tricks, were a problem for the Monglos as they were for everyone else before the invention of gun powder.Muslim writers often refer to the Mongol ambush or *kamin*, a feigned and rapid retreat by the main army, which induced the enemy to advance in disorder when the contingents which were hiding fell on it, took it unawares and cut it down. It was impossible to guess this trick in advance for the Mongols took everything into account before the battle—the character of the terrain, the resources of the enemy in men, weapons and provisions, the availability of water, sun and wind, and above all the morale of the opposing forces. They had a new plan for every battle and from Chengis' invasion of Central Asia in 1218 A. D. to the siege of Damascus by Halugu's forces, they never suffered a reverse worth mentioning in Muslim lands. The great walled cities of Mawaraun Nahr and Persia could entertain little hope of effective resistance in face of the Mongol ingenuity which drove the Muslim inhabitants of the open country pell mell with sword slashes and whips to fill the ditches, scale the walls and storm the ramparts for the invader. All the scientific knowledge and craftsmanship of the conquered peoples was appropriated by the invader, put into new combinations and used against them. The Mongol genius for appropriating the achievements of civilization was as remarkable as their capacity of improving upon it, so far as their immediate needs required. The rapidity of Mongol marches surprised and perplexed their enemies. Mongol officers, who had never been out of their steppe homeland, moved large masses of men, Mongol and non-Mongol, providing for everything and foreseeing everything, across new lands with a rapidity and swiftness which was not equalled till the advent of modern mechanised armies.

They were at home in all countries and climes—on the heights of the Karakorum range, in Russian snows and in Multan heat. A quick and efficient news service was absolutely necessary for these world wide, global designs, and the Mongol development of the old system of relays (*yams*) which carried official information at the rate of about fifteen miles an hour, making no difference between day and night, was a surprise to Europe and Asia.

Great credit goes to the genius of the Leader but still greater credit should go to the people and its chiefs, who made the Leader possible. In the scientific planning and execution of military measures, Chengis and his officers rank with the greatest masters of the art—masters who had attained to their eminence through technical training based on the long military traditions of their countries. They are in no way inferior to the best in other lands—to Alexander or Caesar, to Napoleon or Moltke. That *ulus* chiefs, who had never seen war except in its rawest and crudest form, should emerge from their steppe and execute campaigns which rival and even surpass the campaigns of Austerlitz and Sadowa, and that their staff and men should be up to all that was required of them, can only be explained on the hypothesis that the Mongols had been observing, hearing, assimilating everything for a long, long time. But to understand this we should turn to their past masters and future subjects —the Chinese.

d. The Mongols and China

Like most of the nomad tribes in the northern steppe of China, who had to acknowledge the paramountcy of the Chinese Empire, the ancestors of Chengis Khan, and on one occasion he himself, became vassals or officers of the Kin who were then ruling at Yen-King (the present Peking). Their main objective had been the subjection of neighbouring tribes. Nachen, uncle of the young Khagan, Kaidu, compelled the Barghut and other tribes to accept his authority, and Kaidu on attaining to maturity subdued the powerful Chalair tribe. Yesugai Bahadur, a descendant of Kaidu, again subdued other neighbouring tribes and began to cause uneasiness in the mind of the Kin Emperor. Before Yesugai the Mongols had been tributaries of the dynasties of Liao and Kin ; he was the first Mongol who delivered his nation from the suzerainty of the Chinese Empire. Some years later, he again subdued the great tribe of the Tatars and captured its chiefs. He had also assisted Wang Kan of the Kerait tribe, who appears to have been the most important chieftain in Mongolia, in regaining his throne after his misfortunes and the two chiefs became sworn brothers.

The author of the *Secret History* knew a lot about the ancestors of Chengis but he seems to have had the vaguest ideas of foreign lands, whether Muslim or Chinese, and makes no attempt to correlate Mongol and Chinese history. Obviously the achievements of the Mongolian people under Chengis could not have been possible without a long period of

internal preparation, and we have to look round for some evidence of the importance of the Mongols in the pre-Chengis period. According to the *Tung-kian-kang-mu*, it was as early as the year 1135 A.D. that the Mongols really became a menace to the imperial security of the Kin. "The Kin attacked the Mong-gu," it says, "who inhabited to the north of the Niu-chen (*i.e.*, the Niuche or the Manchurians, to which the Kin belonged). At the time of the Tang (618-907 A.D.), it was the tribe of Mong-gu, which was also called Mong-ku-suh. The people of this tribe were energetic, courageous and talented in combat ; they were able to discern objects at night; they employed shark's skin to make their cuirasses which could protect them against stray arrows"—(*Tung-kian-kang-mu, Sou-pien*, chap. 13, p. 71). The Kin army was under the command of a general called Hu Sha-hu. The same work says that in the year 1139 A.D. Hu Sha-hu was pursued and defeated at Hailing by the Mongols and that the Kin again sent back a big force into Mongolia (*ibid.*, chap. 14, p. 28). In the year 1147 A.D., according to the Chinese histories (*ibid.* chap. 15 p. 7 ; *Li-tai-ki-sse*, chap. 92, p. 16), the Kin Emperor sent against the Mongols an army under the command of a general, called U-chu, who was compelled to conclude peace with the Mongols. The text of the agreement reads : "The sovereign of the Kin and the Mong-gu made peace . . . (The Kin) ceded (to the Mongols) twenty seven fortified posts to the north of the river Hsi-ping-ho ; and agreed to forward cattle, sheep, rice and beans yearly. (The Kin) were going to make the Mongol chieftain, *As-lo-po-ki-lieh*, the king of Mong-fu (the Assisted Kingdom). But he refused the title and proclaimed by his own authority (the establishment of) the Great Mongol Empire. This was the first time a peace treaty was concluded (between the Kin and the Mongol). In every year we (the Kin) sent numerous gifts. Hence, the chief of the Mongols proclaimed himself Tsou-yuan-huang-di and named his reign Tien-hing."

Timuchin, according to the Chinese history *Li-tai-ki-sse* (chap. 94, p. 1), proclaimed himself Emperor in the sixth year of the reign of Chang-tsung of the Kin (1206 A. D.)—that is, fifty-nine years after the chief of the Mongol tribes had forced the Chinese (or the Kin) Emperor to an agreement with him.

M. Blochet remarks that it is impossible to reconcile this Chinese information with the account of Rashiduddin, which we give for what it is worth. According to Rashiduddin, the war between the Turkish tribes and the Chinese Empire had been waged since time immemorial. At the time of Munulun (Namulun), the widow of Dutun Menen (Menen Tudun), the Chinese invaded Mongolia, crossed the Kerulen and defeated the Chalairs. Kabul Khagan (Khabul Khakhan) surrendered to the court of Altan Khan (*i.e.*, the Kin Emperor) ; but he afterwards killed the Chinese ambassadors and came into conflict with the Tatars, who were Chinese subjects. The Tatars carried off the son of Kabul, Ugin Bukhan (Ugin Barkhakh or Ukin Buqan), and sent him to the Emperor, who impaled him on a wooden ass. Ambaghai Khagan (Anbahai or

Hambaqai Qaan), the ruler of the Taichiut and great grandson of Kaidu, was also captured by the Tatars and sent by them to the Kin Emperor, who meted out the same punishment to him. To avenge his death, Yesugai Bahadur and other chiefs sent a Mongol army commanded by Kubila Khagan (Khutula Khakhan or Qabulah Qaan), who ravaged the north of China. Possibly the *Tung-kian-kang-mu*, in recounting the events of 1135 A.D., has referred to the incidents following the murder of the Chinese ambassadors in the reign of Kabul. But all this is very confused. It shows, says M. Blochet, that the so-called *Altan Debter* was a book of mere genealogy and not a history—something similar to the chapters on Chengis' ancestors which form part of the *Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*. Still both Muslim and Chinese sources, however scanty and confused they may be, agree that the great work for which credit is generally given to Chengis Khan had been started long ago by his predecessors. One would fail to comprehend his sudden rise without taking into account these preliminary and very necessary steps. The Kin, however, continued to treat the Mongols as their tributaries even after Chengis had proclaimed himself Emperor ; and when Cheng-huei of the Kin ascended the throne, he sent one of his officers in 1210 A.D. to enjoin Chengis to pay the tribute which the Mongols owed and to receive the Kin order on his knees. Chengis treated the ambassador with insolence and prepared to march against the Kin (*Tung-kian-kang-mu, Sou-pien*, chap. 18, p. 9. For the above account, cf. Blochet's note on pp. 178-181, in his *Introduction a l'Histoire des Mongols de Fade Allah Rashid ed-Din*).

III. China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasions

As the Mongol invasions began with China and ended with China, a brief survey of the condition of China on the eve of the Mongol invasions will not be out of place here. During the last century considerable research work has been done on this world conqueror from the East as well as his race ; it has often been combined with a good deal of romanticism. The general tendency has been to make the appearance of the Mongols in Central and Western Asia and Europe as sudden and dramatic as possible. It is true that Chengis Khan appeared to the conquered peoples as a Scourge of God sent directly from Heaven, when the invading Mongol hordes swept over the civilized lands like a whirlwind; the fact remains, nevertheless, that for centuries various forces had been working to ensure the ascendancy of the nomads and the fall of that 'sedentary civilization', for which China has stood as a unique champion in the Far East. The struggle went on for centuries before the sway of sedentary civilization over the nomads was finally upset. The chief factors which we have to keep in mind need a brief review.

a. Participation of the Barbarians in the Affairs of China

The northern nomadic people, with whom China had been engaged in

unceasing struggles, may conveniently be divided into two branches—to the western branch belonged the Huns or Hsiung-nu, the early inhabitants of Mongolia, who were probably ancestors of the Turks, the Uighurs, the Kirghiz, the Mongols, etc. ; to the eastern branch belonged the Tung-hu, Tunguses or Hsien-pei, who were the ancestors of the Ki-tan (or, as the Muslim historians called them, the Khitai), the Manchus (or, as the Muslim historians called them, Niuche), and the Koreans. The struggle between the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu, which started even before the Han Dynasty (202 B.C.—220 A.D.), gained in momentum during the period of the division of China between the North and the South or, as the Chinese historians style it, the Nan-pei-chao (317--420 A.D.). The assimilation of Chinese civilization by the barbarians went side by side with their increasing interest in the Chinese affairs. The period of intense fighting between the barbarians in North and the Chinese in the South ended with establishment of the Sui Dynasty (580-618 A.D.). The Sui Dynasty and the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), which followed it, inaugurated an era of reconsolidation. As if events were destined to proceed in a cycle, this period of reconsolidation was again followed by a long period of Chinese disintegration, which finally led to the Mongol invasion. The unification of China under the Sung (960-1279 A.D.), as we shall see, was never successful in the North; when Chengis began his career at the sources of the three rivers in Mongolia, the centre of Chinese national activity had already shifted to the Yangse valley from the Huang-ho.

Under the early great rulers of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), a period coinciding with the rise of the Arabs, China passed through an important epoch of expansion during which the Chinese army successfully penetrated far into the heart of Asia, particularly against Tu-kiu (Turks), Huei-ho (Uighur) and Tu-fan (Tibetan). When this imperial dynasty began to decline, its feudal chiefs and warlike generals relinquished their allegiance to the central power. The end of the Tang was followed by five small dynasties (907-960 A.D.) which were all ephemeral, namely, the Later Liang (three rulers, 907-923 A.D.), the Later Tang (four rulers, 923-936 A.D.), the Later Tsin (two rulers, 936-947 A.D.), the Later Han (two rulers, 947-951 A.D.), and the Later Chow (two rulers, 951-960 A.D.). This period, which closed with the unsuccessful unification of China under the early rulers of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), witnessed an increasing interest and participation of the barbarians in Chinese affairs. Many great generals and several princely families, which attained to independence, were of Altaique origin. In the meantime the centre of Chinese national life shifted from the North to the South as a consequence of the devastating wars that had raged since the decline of the Tang in the middle of the eighth century A.D.

It should not be presumed that the devastation of Northern and North-western China after the decline of the Tang Dynasty and the rivalries between Liao (Ki-tan or Khitai), Kin (Niuche), and Si-hsia

(Tang-gu) was the direct cause of the Mongol invasion. The trespass of nomads upon the richer land of the sedentary people is a force natural in itself ; but the rapidity of the Mongol conquest and the helplessness of the conquered cannot be solely explained by the inherent capacity and cruelty of Chengis or the superhuman barbarism of the Mongol race. Forces were at work in China which made this strange conquest possible. For this reason a brief discussion of the historial forces which led to the Mongol conquest in China would be desirable.

b. The Shifting of the Political and Economic Centre of China from the North to the South

The population of Southern China had greatly increased since the Tang Dynasty, while that of Northern China, due to the devastating wars, had decreased. This ruthless and persistent devastation had reduced Northern China to such a pitiful state that it had even become dependent for the supply of rice on the South. One of the reasons why the Sung selected Kai-fong as capital was that its geographical position enabled it to receive the supply through the Yangtse and the Huai. Some available estimates of the situation, however unscientific and inaccurate, will serve to indicate the social and economic tendency of the age.

In the days of the Sui (489-618 A. D.) there were less than three hundred thousand families in the provinces of Kiang-su, Che-kiang and Fu-kien, all south of the Yangt e, but in the era of the Sung Dynasty they had increased to more than five million families. The Sung at the zenith of their power divided the country into twenty-three *lu* or provinces, of which only eight lay north of the Huai and the Han rivers. Out of a total population of about sixteen million five hundred thousand families, a little more than five million families lived north of these rivers ; the rest lived south of them. This tendency continued down to the Yuan and Ming Dynasties. The following figures from Professor Tsien Mu's *Kuo-shi-dah-gan* (*Outline of the History of China*) give the population of China in the North and the South in the period of the Yuan Dynasty:

Number of families		Number of heads	
North	1,435,360	North	4,558,235
South	11,395,909	South	51,828,651

The ratio was, approximately, one to ten. Later, during the Ming Dynasty, when the condition of Northern China became considerably better, the population of the North never reached the level of the South.

Maritime customs were introduced in China by the Tang Dynasty but it was in the period of the Sung Dynasty that they became an important source of income for the imperial exchequer. The annual revenue of the Sung at the beginning was more than sixteen million *min*, twice as great as the income of the Tang. Later, in the reign of Hi-ning (*circa* 1068) it was raised to more than fifty million *min*. A *min* or *guan* consists of a thousand iron coins threaded together through a hole in the centre. The annual revenue of South Sung, or the Sung after their withdrawal

to the south of the Yangtse, increased to more than sixty million *min*. It is remarkable that the revenue of a state should increase while its territories diminished. It is recorded in the *Wen-hien-tung-kau* that in the tenth year of Hi-ning, 1077 A.D., the income from duties on commercial goods was divided between the North and the South as follows :

Amount of Annual Revnue from Customs Duty			Total No. of Places that yielded the Amouut	No. of Places Located in the North	No. of Places Located in the South
Above	400,000	*guan*	3	2	1
,,	200,000	,,	5	–	5
,,	100,000	,,	19	1	18
,,	50,000	,,	30	12	18
Below	50,000	,,	51	25	26
,,	30,000	,,	95	45	50
,,	10,000	,,	35	20	15
,,	5,000	,,	73	19	54

These figures show that the deterioration of Northern China began long before the Sung shifted their capital to the South. Coincidentally in 1047 A.D., the Yellow River, due to lack of care and repair, changed its course after an uninterrupted service of nine hundred and seventy-seven years. This natural calamity did much to add to the sorrows of the people, who were already torn by wars.

So far as China was concerned, the Mongol conquest was nothing more than the concluding act of a drama of great devastation which covered a period of six centuries and can be divided into five stages. The *first* stage began with the decline of Chinese military power about the middle of the eighth century and lasted up to the disappearance of the Tang Dynasty. The *second* stage extended from 907 to 959 A.D. during which period five ephemeral dynasties ruled in succession ; this stage ended with the supremacy of the Ki-tan . The *third* stage started with the temporary unification of China under the Sung and the formation of the tripartite relations of the Sung, the Liao (Ki-tan or Khitai) and the Si-hsia (Tang-u) ; it ended with the withdrawal of the Ki-tan or Liao from the scene in the year 1125 A. D. In the *fourth* stage the Kin played the part of the Liao but all were carried away by the Mongol invasion. The *fifth* and last stage was the reign of the Yuan. Throughout all the five stages some alien elements were always present and at work and Northern China paid heavily for their assimilation.

Some account of the condition of China in the period preceding the Mongol invasion is now required.

c. Ki-tan or Liao

The Ki-tan or Liao was known to Muslim historians as the Khitai. It was the race to which Yeliu Chu Tsai (the famous *Wazir* of Chengis Khan) and Yeliu Tashi (the first *Gur Khan* of the Kara Khitai) belonged.

The original home of the Ki-tan was at the Liao-ho in the Liao-tung Peninsula in Manchuria. This north-eastern region of China was politically and culturally within the boundary of China even before the Christian era. Here for centuries the arms of the nomads and the culture and economy of the Chinese had been co-ordinated in an excellent way. Before the rise of the Ki-tan, a fairly progressive state, called Bo-hai-kuo, was founded through such a collaboration and lasted for more than ten generations.

According to Chinese historians, the Ki-tan belonged to the Shengi-pei, having an affinity with the Tu-kiu (Turk) and the Huei-ho (Uighur). M. Rene Grousset accepted the opinion that the Ki-tan was of the Mongol race. Speaking of the origin of Kara Khitai he says, "Les ki-tan, on l'a dit, etaient de race mongole"—(*L'Empire des Steppes*, p. 200). It is obvious, however, that the Ki-tan was, at the beginning of the dynasty, a nation half-nomad and half-agriculturist. The *Liao-shi* records that the grandfather of Tai-tsu or Apaoki, the founder of the Ki-tan dynasty, was 'skilled in pasturage' but also 'liked farming' and that at the time of Su-lan, the uncle of Apaoki, the people began to 'build cities', to 'plant mulberry tree and jute' and to 'weave'. Apaoki liberally employed the Chinese in the establishment of his state from the very beginning and even built a city to accommodate Chinese refugees. He proclaimed himself Emperor in 916 A.D. and established his capital at Lin-huang, a place on the upper course of the Si-liao-ho (the West-Liao River) in the Jehol province in Inner Mongolia in 918 A.D. He organised a dual system of government. North Yuan (Pei-yuan) dealt with all matters concerning the imperial tents, the tribes and the dependencies, and South Yuan with the revenue and the army of the Chinese colonies. The latter was practically a copy of the Tang's administrative system. The Chinese were entrusted with administrative offices, but matters of high policy were exclusively retained in the hands of the ruling families of Yeliu and Siao. The latter were related to the former by marital ties. The *Er-shyq-syh-shi-dah-chi* (*Notes on the Twenty-four Histories*) says that the Emperors and many Ki-tan people were acquainted with Chinese language and literature. At the height of their power the Ki-tan established five *kings* or capitals—Shang-king or the Upper Capital, already mentioned ; Chung-king or the Central Capital at Dah-ding in south-eastern Jehol ; the Tung-king or the Eastern Capital at Liao-yang in Manchuria; the Nan-king or the Southern Capital at Peiping in Ho-pei; and the Si-king or the Western Capital at Dah-tung in Shan-si. The boundaries of Liao extended to the sea in the east, to the Kin-shan (Altai Range) including the Gobi (or Shamo) in the west, to the Lu-kiu-ho in the north and in the south to Pai-kou. The total area of the Kingdom was more than ten thousand square *li*, 1.7 *li* being equal to one kilometre; and it had one hundred & fifty-six fortified localities (*Chou-chun-chen*) and two hundred and nine *hsien*. The state had an army of one million six hundred and forty men, excluding the forces of the tribes and the

dependencies. All able bodied men fit to bear arms were called up.

The assimilation of the nomads with the Chinese in North-eastern China had been far more thorough than that of the Hisung-nu (Huns) in Northern China during the Han Dynasty period (202 B.C.—221 A.D.). Physically, Western Manchuria is a steppe consisting chiefly of lowlands, but the eastern highlands have extensive forests of the coniferous and broad-leaved trees. In the days before the Mongol conquest, the country was ruled by the cultured nomads with the support of sedentary Chinese. Its culture was predominantly Chinese ; ethnologically it was a motley nation—a combination of several nomadic tribes and Chinese immigrants. This is how Hu Chiau in his *Hien-pei-chi* (*Record of the Northern Expedition*) describes Liao's Shang-king :

> "There were inhabited buildings and markets. Trade was conducted through the medium of cloth instead of money. Various silks and cloths were being woven. There were officials, *hanlin* (fellows of royal academy), artisans, singers, trumpeters, *siau-tsai* (scholars), monks, nuns, Taoists, etc.—all Chinese immigrants from Ping, Feng, Iou and Jih. (1)"

When Tai-tsung (or Yeliu Deh-kaung), the son and successor of Apaoki, entered Pien (or Kai-feng), he caused all the artisans, courtiers, armours, musical compositions along with the calendars, tapestries, seals and records to be transported to Shang-king. Pasturage developed side by side with agriculture, mining, minting, salt-production, etc. In the earlier days of the dynasty the country already had more than a million horses ; they multiplied in the course of the next two centuries and numbered scores of millions when the last Emperor of the dynasty ascended the throne. It is but obvious that this semi-Chinese empire had attained to considerable prosperity for a time.

Some conclusions may be safely deduced from the above account : (1) The gigantic work of the Ki-tan or Liao, which lasted for two centuries (916-1125 A.D.), was a sign of the greatness of the nomads in the age preceding the Mongol conquest. (2) The first large scale collaboration between the sedentary Chinese and the nomads had proved a success ; it gave protection to the disheartened people in an age of devastation and also provided a better channel for developing their capacity for organisation. (3) A way had been shown to the nomads. The extensive dominions of the Liao, enclosing a vast area of both steppe-land and arable land & its high degree of sedentary culture & influence, could not but leave a deep impression upon the rest of the nomads, including the Da-da (Mongols) and the Tatars who, though still adhering to their old mode of life, were nevertheless yearning for something better and greater. (4) The Kara Khitais of Turkistan were directly descended from the Ki-tan and inherited their civilization and culture ; the establishment of the Khitain Empire by the Gur Khans, a state which lasted for eighty-four years, should not be considered an incidental triumph of arms, for it

1. These were four prefectures in Northern China.

was probably due to a temporary superiority in culture and strength of organisation of a people from north-eastern China over peoples of north-western China. (5) With a strong foreign power in the North, the Sung had from the very beginning a very weak government; consequently, all its earnest measures of social-economic reform failed to produce the desired results.

d. The Inherent Weakness of Sung

The first and greatest weakness of the Sung was the constant menace from the North. The Sung started its work of unification from the South and it had failed to annexe the territories north of the Huang-ho, which had been in the possession of the Ki-tan from 936 A.D., twenty-four years before Chao Kuang-jeng founded the Sung Dynasty. Tai-tsung, the second ruler of the Sung, twice led his expeditionary forces against the Ki-tan, but he was defeated on both occasions. The mistake that Chao Kuang-jeng had committed in adopting 'the South-first policy' and leaving to his successors the hard task of clearing the alien elements from the North proved to be detrimental, and even fatal, to his dynasty. When the Ki-tan were driven out of China proper in 1125 A.D. by the more vigorous and wild Niu-jen (the Niuche or Manchurians), the situation of Sung became quite hopeless. To the great dishonour of the Chinese, the last two Emperors of North Sung were carried away by the new invaders. The Sung withdrew to the south of the Yangtse and concluded a peace agreement with the Kin in 1142 A.D. The Muslim historians refer to the ruler of the Kin or the Neu-jen as 'Altan Khan'. *Altan* and *Kin* both mean 'gold'. South Sung survived under these unfavourable conditions up to 1279 A.D. when Kublai Khan put an end to it seventy-three years after Temuchin had been proclaimed 'Chengis Khan' and twentyone years after Hulagu Khan established the Il-Khan Dynasty in Persia. Although the failure of the Sung to cope with successive invaders was the inevitable result of an age of devastation, the regime of the Sung was not without faults of its own, and the Chinese at that time, in spite of all their worthy endeavours, did not show the vigour and energy of a virile nation.

Chao Kuang-jeng who owed his throne to the mutiny of soldiers was keenly alive to the danger they might do to his own state. In the second year of his reign, 961 A.D., he cordially recalled most of the powerful *je-du-shi* or viceroys to his court; he entertained them well, offered them residences in his capital and, finally, appointed civilian officials to their posts. By this policy he saved his state from the turbulence of these marshal-chiefs of the provinces, an evil legacy of the Tang Dynasty, and concentrated all civil, military and financial powers in the hands of the central government. His policy of 'all-civil' administration and of security at the cost of military weakness would have won him a reputation for statesmanship, had the country been free from foreign menace. But it was definitely not an age for wishful dreams of civil prosperity. The

policy which consolidated the state also sealed the fate of the dynasty. Too late in the day the error was realised; and then the attempt to build up an enormous military machine only made matters worse.

The burden of the newly enlisted huge army along with a gigantic administrative structure bore hard on the economic resources of the country, which were constantly deteriorating. Instead of demobilisation *after* the inauguration of the new central government as the dynasties preceding it, the Chin, Han, Tsin, Sui and Tang had done, the Sung had to pursue the opposite policy on account of the foreign menace. Within a hundred years from the beginning of the dynasty, the army was increased to seven or eight times its former figure—from less than two hundred thousand men to more than one and a quarter million. The highest estimate was one million four hundred thousand. The larger the number of soldiers, the more unserviceable they proved. They consisted of groups of volunteers drafted from the vagabonds, refugees and able bodied men from famine stricken areas. They served in the ranks from the age of twenty to the last moment of their earthly existence. Those who were fortunate enough to be selected for the imperial guards needed others to carry their beddings, while they themselves, even when on duty, did not care to carry their own rations. In order to humble their pride and to save them from stagnancy, Chao Kuang-jeng hit upon the plan of changing their stations once in three years. But this only made the expenditure of the army in peace time equal to its expenditure in war. In addition to this there were annual, monthly and numerous occasional gifts to the soldiers. In 1065 A.D., the second year of the reign of Ying-tsung, it cost fifty million *min*, five-sixths of the total revenue, to maintain a force of about one million two hundred thousand soldiers. Chen Siang reported to Chen-tsung who reigned from 1068 A.D. "If the total annual income of the population were divided among the million soldiers, not more than ten families would have to support a soldier and not less than ten acres of farm-land to maintain a fighter." However figurative this estimate may be, the anxiety of the people over the question of military expenditure could not have been better expressed.

Moreover, it became a tradition with the Sung rulers to give preference to civil servants and men-of-letters over military officers and the war services. The salaries of the civil servants were raised and the civil service examinations were held once in three years. Sometimes as many as seventeen thousand three hundred candidates appeared in the examination and they were selected by hundreds, not by scores. The number of gazetted officials was more than doubled, almost tripled. It reached the number of 24,000 in the reign of Ying-tsung (1064-1068 A.D.). As a result of this extraordinary situation, the annual expenditure soared up and the taxation had to be increased. In the year 1065 A.D. there was a deficit of 15,736,047 *min* in the annual budget, though the revenue had already been increased to six times the amount of Tai-tsung's reign (976-998 A.D.).

As the situation kept worsening, two scholarly statesmen and reformers appeared on the scene—Fang Chung-an and Wang An-shin, the former a liberal orthodox and the latter a die-hard legalist. Both of them obtained the full support of their earnest Emperors for the prosecution of their drastic schemes for financial reform and national defence. But the tendency of the age could not be checked and the two reform movements had to be abandoned in favour of conservative opinions after brief periods of experiment. Had the radical 'state-socialist' policies of Wang An-shih been carried out ruthlessly to the end, the course of later history would have been different. But the age of devastation was destined to reach its culmination. Now that sedentary genius had failed to yield fruit, the terrible impact of the nomads was certain to prevail.

e. The Entrance of the Kin and the Tripartite Relations

The career of Chao Kuang-jeng, the founder of the Sung Dynasty, was cut short by his death while he was hastening at the head of his forces to crush his old enemy, the prince of Han. Tai-tsung (976-998 A.D.), his brother and successor, after three years' deliberation resumed his enterprise against Tai-Yuan and completed the subjugation of Han and the pacification of the Empire. In this enterprise he, for the first time, had to face the intervention of the King of Liao-tung, whose troops were repulsed by a covering army sent by him while he prosecuted the siege of Tai-Yuan in person. After this success Tai-tsung began to think of crowning it by a speedy overthrow of the Liao or Ki-tan. But his over confidence as well as the superiority of the Kitan army and the ability of its general, Yeliu Hiuco, caused him to suffer a serious defeat on the bank of the Kaoliang river. Thereafter in every endeavour on his part to recover from his losses, he was opposed by that eminent general who inflicted fresh defeats on him in several pitched battles. After these reverses Tai-tsung's reign closed. The Chinese under the reign of Chen-tsung (998-1023 A.D)., the son and successor of Tai-tsung, were for the first time, after the death of Yeliu Hiuco, successful in their campaign against the Liao. But soon the enemy grew so powerful that they had to purchase peace again and again by annual allowances of silk and money. After a long peace secured in this manner both parties slackened their defences. Then there came another horde of nomads to clear the way for the final assault of the Mongols on the civilized world.

The conquest of the Kin was the last achievement of the nomads in China before the Mongol invasion; the Mongols first conquered the Kin and this conquest provided them with invaluable resources for their further aggression. Demetrius Charles Boulger in his *History of China* gives the following account of the rise of the Kin:

"The Niu-che or Chorcha Tatars, (*i.e.*, Niu-jen or Manchurian),

who more than a century before had come to settle in China, had steadily multiplied and gathered to themselves a considerable power. Their seven hordes represented a military force of considerable proportions, which had become subservient to the Leaoutung) (Liaotung) administration in the time of the great Apaoki. But a large number of them, sooner than surrender their privileges, had withdrawn beyond the reach of the Kitan (Ki-tan) power into the country which is now Manchuria. Early in the twelfth century, however, this people had come together again, and the remembrance of common origin caused them to form a fresh antipathy to the Khitans of Leaoutung. Among these there appeared a great warrior, Akouta, who first distinguished himself in battle in the year 1114 A.D. against his Khitan neighbours and the oppressors of his race. Inspired by his first success, he led his army from victory to victory, taking many towns and subjecting a large extent of territory."

Akouta proclaimed himself Emperor and his family *Kin* (or Gold) in the year 1115 A.D. He addressed his troops on the occasion of this proclamation as follows :

"The Khitans had in the early days of their success taken the name of Pintei, meaning the iron of Pinchow, but although that iron may be excellent, it is liable to rust and can be eaten away. There is nothing save gold which does not destroy itself. Moreover, the family of Wangyen, with which I am connected through the chief, Hanpou, had always a great fancy for glittering colours. I have resolved to take this name as that of my imperial family. I therefore give it the name of *Kin*, which signifies gold." (Boulger : *A Short History of China*, p. 41).

It has been recorded in Chinese histories that the Kin originated in the region between the Hung-tung-kiang and Chang-peh-shan (Long. 128, Lat. 42) in the Ki-lin province. They belonged to the race of Moh-her. In the fifth century, during the rule of Yuan-Wei, they divided themselves into seven tribes. At the beginning of the Tang Dynasty there were two branches of the Moh-her: the Heh-sui and the Suu-mou. The Su-mou founded a state, called Bo-hai-kuo, and the Heh-sui was, its dependency. When the Ki-tan overthrew Bo-hai-kuo, the part of the Heh-sui who surrendered to the Ki-tan was called the Su-niu-jen, while the other branch, which refused to be the subjects of the Ki-tan, was known as the Sen-niu-jen. ('Su' here means 'tamed' ; 'sen,' 'untamed' ; Niu-jen is also written as Niuche). It was the Sen-niu-jen who later founded the Kin Dynasty.

The Kin owed their sudden rise to power much to their fighting qualities. Their force consisted exclusively of cavalry. As they were later on one of the chief opponents of the Mongol invaders, a description of their army and mode of fighting from Mailla's translation of the Chinese official history may not be irrelevant here :

"At first the Niuche had only cavalry. As their sole distinction

they made use of a small piece of braid on which they marked certain signs, and they attached this to both man and horse. Their companies were usually composed of only 50 men each, twenty of whom, clothed in strong cuirasses and armed with swords and short pikes, were placed at the front, while behind these came the remaining thirty in less weighty armour, and with bows and arrows or javelins for weapons. When they encountered an enemy, two men from each company advanced as scouts; and then arranging their troops so as to attack from all the four sides, they approached the foe at a gentle trot until within a hundred yards of his line. Thereupon galloping at full speed, they discharged their arrows and javelins and again retired with the same celerity. This manoeuvre they repeated several times until they threw the enemy ranks into confusion, when they fell upon them with swords and pikes so impetuously that they generally gained the victory." (*Boulger :* pp. 41-42).

In the year 1122 A. D., when the Niu-jen started their revolt against the Liao, they had barely two thousand five hundred men, but after their preliminary gains their ranks swelled to a total of ten thousand men. And this small army in a surprisingly short time conquered a state which had lasted for two centuries. The sudden collapse of the Liao can only be ascribed to the deterioration of the country and the refusal of the Chinese to support their alien rulers, who had been growing more and more oppressive. Having conquered an immense territory north of the Yellow River, the Kin were sorely in need of a truce to consolidate their new gains. In the years 1140 and 1141 A.D., the Sung scored several victories over the Kin. In both states timid appeasers temporarily got the upper hand, and they concluded in 1141 A.D. a treaty to the great disadvantage of the Sung, regardless of the Sung's recent victories. The peace lasted only twenty years during which the Kin removed their capital (in 1153 A.D.) from Shang-king to Yen-king and concentrated their attention on the administration of the lands north of the Yellow River. When Lianq, the fourth ruler (1149-1161 A.D.), killed his cousin, Hi-tsung (1135-1149 A.D.) and usurped his throne, he moved his capital to Kai-feng and attacked the Sung. The Sung, however, rose up to the occasion and scored another victory against the invaders. The latter killed Lianq, the usurper, and withdrew to the North. If the bureaucrats of the Sung had not been corrupt to the core, it had an excellent opportunity of recovering the lost territories of China. But it was not to be.

No sooner had the new conquerors settled down than they began to foresake their nomadic life. The assimilation of the nomad conquerors with the Chinese and the attitude of the ruler towards his Chinese subjects could not be more clearly expressed than in the words of Shih-tsung (1161-1190 A.D.), the fifth Emperor of Kin. He once said to his courtiers:

"I have learnt the manners and customs of the Niu-jen and up to the present day I have never forgotten them. Nowadays all

our feasting and music is in the Chinese style, which I dislike. My heir apparent does not know the traditional manners and customs of the Niu-jen ; it is only due to me that they are preserved. I am afraid that if these traditions are foresaken, our security will not endure."

He promulgated decrees ordering the Niu-jen not to adopt Chinese names or to wear Chinese apparel and severe punishment was promised to the violators. He also ordered his people to learn riding and archery diligently, for it grieved him to see that instead of entertaining themselves with horses and bows, the Hiu-jen had begun to take to chess-playing and other Chinese diversions. He said : "Liao would not forget its old customs ; it was right, I believe. Hai-ling followed the Chinese example ; he was, in other words, forgetting his own origin." With this deep racial prejudice against his Chinese subjects, this alien ruler was unlikely to win their loyalty or support. In fact, the Kin regime was never firmly established in the country, for there were many large scale revolts among the Chinese peasants. The long and bitter contest between the Sung and the Kin led to no decisive result, but a balance was luckily maintained between the degenerating conquerors on the one hand and the exhausted orthodox Chinese dynasty on the other. In defiance of this balance, an impetuous Chinese general thought it fit to lead an expedition against the Kin. This inconsiderate act cost him his life and brought to his country another dishonourable peace in the same year (1206 A.D.) in which Temuchin ascended the throne on the bank of the Onon river. Henceforward the power of both the Kin and the Sung was at the lowest ebb. The whole of China, free or occupied, was itching for a change; that change was brought to them by the swift Mongolian ponies from the steppe. But it was not the change they wanted.

The third party to the two successive tripartite relations in the period preceding the Mongol conquest was Si-hsia (*i.e.*, Hsia or Tangut) in Western China and in the very heart of Asia. But the role it played in the history of the age was minor and uneventful in spite of its long standing.

It had been an old and consistent policy of the imperial Chinese government to repopulate the north-western part of China. From the Chin (255-202 B.C.) to the West Han (202 B.C.-6 A.D.), the Chinese central government continually sponsored large scale immigrations from other parts of China to the north western regions beyond the present Si-an. On one occasion, during the reign of Wu-di (140-86 B.C.), the number of immigrants exceeded seven hundred thousand. Such policy, however, could only be pursued by a stable central government. When the central government of East Han (25-220 A.D.) found itself too busy to prosecute this forward policy, deterioration became evident within a short period. The decrease of population in north western China was in striking contrast with the general increase of population in China at that time. Tun-huang, a well known *fu* or prefecture during the

West Han period, consisted of six cities ; but only 748 families were left in it. The territory of Hosi had 136,390 families (or 698,836 heads) during the West Han period (202 B.C.-6 A.D.) ; during the East Han period only 5,698 families (or 20,836 heads) remained.

After the East Han period these regions again attained to a prosperity comparable to that of the central Chinese plain. But after 755 A.D. when the attention of the Tang was again diverted to rebels inside China, the Tu-fan (Tibetans) invaded the vast region of Sze-chuan, Kan-su and Shen-si and took possession of it. Chang-an or Si-an, the present capital of the Shen-si province, was plundered for fifteen days. Though the Tang managed to recover these territories after a time, yet their old vigour and vitality was gone. Under such condition these territories beyond Tung-kuan passed into the hands of the Hsia (or Tangut). Si-hsia at the height of its power in the reign of Yuan-hao consisted of the territories of Hsia, Ning, Sui, Yiu, Jing-ling, Yen, Sin, Huei, Kan, Liang, Su, Kua and Sha (covering the present Ning-hsia, Kan-su and the eastern part of Sin-kiang); with its boundaries to the east of the Huang-ho, to the west at Yu-men, to the south at Siau-kuan, and to the north at the Shamo (or Gobi). After a long period of devastation, this immense territory was not economically self-sufficient. It was said that had the annual gifts and the permission of inter-state commerce been withheld from it, it would not have formed a state in the proper sense of the word ; and its people would have had to live on curd and wear furs. This was generally taken by the Chinese historians to explain its ready submission to the Liao and its dependence on the Sung. The fact is that the north-western regions had been reduced by the nomads into a desert studded with ruins. The people kept aloof from the national life of China.

As to origin of this state, Chinese historians have recorded that during the reign of Hi-tsung of the Tang Dynasty (874-889 A.D.) a *pi-chiang* or lieutenant-general, called Tou-bah-si-ch'ing (of Toubah or Toba family), who was descended from the tribe of Dang-shianq, won, by the virtue of his meritorious part in defeating Huang-chau (a great rebel), the honour of adopting the imperial surname, *Li*, and the governorship of Hsia-chow. A mutiny broke out in the reign of the third ruler of his family and a certain Li Jen-fu was placed on the throne. We do not know how closely or distantly he was related to Tou-bah-si-ch'ing. After that the state was called Hsia; it was the last alien heritage of the feudal warlords of the Tang Dynasty. Si-hsia was inaugurated in the reign of Tai-tsung, the second ruler of the Sung (976-997 A.D.). At the time of Jin-tsung (998-1022 A. D.), Si-hsia captured Ling-chow ; in the meantime its ruler, Li Chi-chieng, died and was succeeded by his son, Deh-ming. When Deh-ming died and was succeeded by Yuan-hao, who was a cortemporary of Jen-tsung (1023-1063 A.D.) of the Sung, the power of Si-hsia was at its zenith. The Sung deputed its great minister and its general, Fang Chung-an and Han Chi, to Shen-si to cope with the new situation. After five or six years of war they concluded a

treaty which assured Si-hsia an annaul 'gift' of 2 hundred and 50 thousand *min* in terms of silver, silks and tea from the Sung. This 'gift' was due to the weakness of the Sung and not to the strength of Si-hsia. The readiness with which Si-hsia surrendered to Tai-tsung (1123-1134 A.D.) of the Kin and later on to Chengis Khan, proves that it was the weakest of the three governments in China. The deterioration of Chinese power in the north western part of the country and the long absence of their stabilizing influence from the 'heart of Asia' let loose the tide of adventurous nomads from the steppes into the civilised world—if we may be permitted to call it civilised.

(f) The Significance of the Mongol Rule in Chinese History

For the first time in her history, the whole of China was subjected to foreign rule by the Mongols. The details of campaigns and battles do not concern us here but the Mongol conquest of China may be divided into three stages : *first*, the occupation of the dominion of the Kin north of the Yellow River and the conquest of Si-hsia ; *second*, the occupation of the Kin territory south of the Yellow River (1228-1234 A.D.) ; and *third*, the conquest of the lands on the banks of the Yangtse River and south of it. The orthodox Chinese dynasty, the Sung, was not exterminated till 1279 A.D. The Chinese, though ultimately overpowered, offered a tough resistance. We have only to compare the rapidity of the Mongol conquests in Central and Western Asia and Eastern Europe with their slow, up-hill progress in China to understand what this means. Indeed, during the entire process of their world conquest the Mongol found in the two weakened dynasties in China, the Kin and the Sung, their most stubborn enemies. From the accession of Chengis Khan in 1206 A.D. to the extermination of South Sung by Kublai Khan it took the Mongols seventy-eight years (covering five Mongol reigns) to subjugate the whole of China. The power of the Golden Horde in Eastern Europe and of the Il-Khans in Persia had been established much earlier and with greater ease. With the complete subjugation of the country, the headquarters of the Mongol Empire was shifted from Mongolia to China. Kublai Khan, the founder of the Yuan Dynasty in China (1280-1363 A.D.), was more of a Chinese Emperor than a Mongol Khagan. The Yuan Dynasty had eleven rulers who reigned for one hundred and nine years; but the nine intermediate rulers between Kublai Khan and Chun-di reigned for thirty-nine years only.

Of all the conquerors of China the Mongols seemed to be the least capable of absorbing her culture. Most Mongol Emperors and officials in China did not know Chinese ; and their polity marked an abrupt departure from ancient and orthodox Chinese traditions. *Firstly*, four distinct classes were created on the Chinese political scene : (*a*) the Mongols, (*b*) the colour-eyed (*i.e.*, people from Central Asia or the western regions beyond China, consisting of more than thirty groups), (*c*) the Han (*i.e.*, the Chinese living along the Yellow River, originally under

the Kin), and (*d*) the Nan-jen or Southerners (*i.e.* the Chinese living along the Yangtse River and south of it, originally under the Sung). The political position of these four classes was most unequal. The Han and the Southerners could not hold a higher office than that of a deputy. Throughout the Yuan Dynasty there were only three non-Mongol *Chen-siang* or Prime Ministers. One of them was a Muslim and the other two were from the Han. The Han were however, preferred to the Southerners ; the colour-eyed to the Han; and the Mongols, the ruling class, were at the top of all others. The Mongol rule in China had no political ideals and only two basic objectives—the prevention of revolt and the collection of taxes.

Secondly, the financial and economic policy of the government, specially the wholesale auction or farming of state revenues was most detrimental to the interest of the common people. The ever-increasing taxation was a heavy burden on the life of the nation. A Muslim, called Abdur Rahman, bought the revenue of the whole state for two million and two hundred thousand ounces of silver, in spite of Yeliu Chu Tsai's intervention. Even the enlightened Kublai Khan employed such men as Ahmad, Lu Shih-jen and Sun Ku who exacted the utmost from the people in order to oblige their master. Corruption naturally was the order of the day. Once, during the reign of Cheng-tsung (1295-1308 A.D.), as many as eighteen thousand seventy-three corrupt officials were dismissed.

The *third* great trouble was paper money. The issue of paper money was introduced under the Tang and greatly increased by Kao-tsung (1127-1163 A.D.) of the Sung Dynasty. But it was the Kin who first discarded the use of coins altogether when their paper money depreciated to one thousandth of its face value. The Yuan followed the example of the Kin and used paper money exclusively almost throughout its period of power. The plan worked well at first but soon the inevitable inflation set in. Old currency notes had to be replaced with new notes at regular intervals. The issue of paper currency, control over its reserve in terms of gold and silver and stabilization of the prices of commodities entailed a well developed and complicated system of monetary administration ; it involved, as a consequence, the concentration of gold and silver in the hands of the government, prohibition of the use of copper coins, and a ban on the export of gold and silver. Its close resemblance to modern currency control in war time China is obvious. The existence of such a complicated system six hundred years ago has a special significance in the monetary history of the world.

The exclusive use of paper money had definite political objectives. By bringing all gold and silver into government hands, it enabled the government to unify the country and to establish its control over the national wealth. When iron and copper coins were in use, any place where iron or copper mines were to be found could mint its own coins ; and this facilitated the partitioning of the country. The paper money

of the Yuan Dynasty was used not only in China proper but also in the north western border regions, including the land of the Uighurs. A sound paper money regime is only possible for a strong and stable government, but given such a government, paper money will add to its strength and power over the people. And this is what happened in the early Yuan period.

Fourthly, the Yuan divided their armies into four groups corresponding to the four classes of their subjects—the Mongol army, the Tang-machi army, the Han army and the Newly Attached Army. The first was recruited from the ruling class, the second from the tribes, the third from the Han (Northern Chinese), and the fourth from Chinese subjects who were originally under the Southern Sung. The secrets of military organisation were very well concealed from the Chinese officials. In some areas every twenty families formed a *chia*, headed by a Mongol who could do anything he liked. The Chinese were forbidden to hunt, to learn the use of weapons or to wear them, to congregate or to travel at night. The 'colour-eyed' to whom belonged all alien Muslims were better treated than the Chinese. We are informed by Muslim historians that Chengis Khan once ordered that the blood money (*khun-baha*) of forty gold-*balishes* was to be taken for the life of a Muslim while the life of a Chinese was considered equal to the price of a donkey. In preferring Muslims to Chinese, the later Mongol rulers in China were only continuing the policy of the great conqueror. The Muslims were chiefly represented by the merchant class, whom the Mongols employed to do business for them, for they were definitely better traders. Apparently there was a great immigration of Muslims into the plain of China, particularly south of the Yangtse River, during the Mongol period. The Chinese were primarily represented by the peasant class and among them the artisans held a comparatively high position.

Fifthly, in the sphere of spiritual and cultural life, the Yuan Dynasty in China (unlike the Il-Khan Dynasty in Persia) is a period of stagnation; and it has no achievements to its credit except in the field of drama and superstition. Kublai Khan exhibited toleration towards all religions, but later rulers of the Yuan Dynasty, though giving liberty to the followers of different faiths, were much attached to Buddhism. But the Buddhism they preferred was the Lamaistic order of Buddhism imported from Tibet and not the Buddhism which had been found in China since Ming-di (58-76 A.D.) of the Han Dynasty. By the special favour of the rulers, the Lamas and Buddhist priests were formed into a privileged class side by side with the ruling nobility. The clerical class became for the first time one of the corner-stones of great edifice of feudalism in Chinese history. A great portion of state revenue was deflected to the use of the Buddhists. It is said that in the year 1291 A.D. there were forty-two thousand three hundred and eighteen priestly estates and 2 hundred & thirteen thousand one hundred and forty-eight monks and nuns. Quite contrary to the traditions of the Chinese social order, and completely

reversing the super-Confucian and highly civilian administration of the Sung Dynasty, the Mongol rulers were generally vigorous in the suppression of the intelligentsia, who were the masters of the Confucian classics. Their feudalistic structure was sustained by military colonisation alone and stood so long as their military prowess was intact. The *ju* or Chinese classical scholars, who occupied traditionally the highest rank in the Chinese social order, were displaced by the clerical class, who ranked next only to the nobility and the military. Next to the priests ranked the merchants, the artisans, the hunters and the peasants. The *ju* was the last but one, the last being the beggars. Such ranking was obviously untraditional. The repressed intelligentsia and the over burdened mass of peasantry rose before long and drove their oppressive foreign rulers out of the country.

During the reign of Timur, the grandson and successor of Kublai Khan, floods, famines and earthquakes rendered the people more wretched and more inclined to rebellion. In the succeeding period of the Yuan Dynasty rebellions became frequent, and numerous secret societies sprang up all over the country working for the overthrow of the Mongol rule. The dynasty of Chengis and Kublai failed to produce any ruler, capable of grappling with the situation. Compared with the long dynasties preceding and following it, the eighty-eight years of the Yuan Dynasty was a short and stormy period. Owing to the vast territory brought within the suzerainty of China, the close contact between the Chinese and the people of Central Asia and even Europe, the gigantic structure of the administration and its far reaching financial measures, and the grandeur of the Mongol court and their long range expeditions and conquests, Chinese scholars naturally find the Yuan Dynasty a period of particular interest in their long history. But in the history of Asia as a whole, the Mongol conquests constitute the concluding part of an age of steady decline of Chinese and Muslim civilizations at the two extremities of the Continent which had begun in the seventh century with the later Abbasides in one region and the Tang Dynasty in the other. Never has the history of Asia revealed to us more clearly than the Mongol Invasion that the security and freedom of one end of the continent is closely linked with the security of the other.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOL DYNASTY

YUAN-CHAO-PI-SHI

Translated by

WEI KWEI-SUN, M.A., PH.D. (Alig.)

Part I

THE GENEALOGY OF THE ANCESTORS OF CHENGIS KHAN

THE origin of the Yuan Dynasty[1] was from the mating of a heaven-born grey wolf and a whitish doe[2], who together crossed a river called the Tengis[3], and reached the source of the Onon river[4], where they settled down at the foot of Mount Burkhan[5]. There a son, called Batachi Khan, was born to them. Batachi Khan's son was called Tamacha ; Tamacha's son was Khulichar Mirgan[6]; Khulichar Mirgan's son was Aghuchin Boroghon[7]; Aghuchin Boroghon's son was Sali Khalchaghu ; Sali Khalchaghu's son was Yeke Nidun ; Yeke Nidun's

1. The Yuan Dynasty is the Mongol Dynasty (1260-1368 A.D.) in China. *Yuan* means 'original' or 'the beginning'. *Yuan* could not have been in the Mongol text; this name, meaning 'original', was given to the Dynasty in 1271 A.D. in the reign of Kublai Khan, while our author finished his work in 1228 A.D.

2. They are, in Mongol, Burte Chino and Goa Maral. The birth of a man from a wolf and a doe is similar to the legend recorded in the *Tu-kiu Chuan* (*History of the Turks*), which mentions that a she-wolf bore a man; of the ten sons of whom A-shi-na, being the most sagacious, became the chief. It seems that the Mongols adopted this old Turkish legend believing it to be auspicious.

3. The river Tengis here and the river Tungeli and the Tungelik in the later passages of this work, according to Ding Chian, the commentator of the present text, are varied forms of the same name, but the rivulet Tungeli in Part VII is different from the Tengis. Ding Chian holds that the Tungelik (Tungeli, Tengis) is the present Tengelik river. This river is repeatedly mentioned along with Mount Burkhan in this work, indicating that they are near to each other. But, I think a distinction should be made between the legendary Tengis river and the real Tungelik in the later passages.

4. The Onon river is one of the upper courses of the Amur river (the Hei-lung-kiang), which forms the northern boundary of Manchuria (the Three North-Eastern Provinces).

5. The full form of Mount Burkhan is Burkhan-Kaldun, which is given on the map as the south-eastern branch of the Kentei mountains. On the south-west of this mountain is the source of the Kerulen river and on the east of the Tengelik, which is itself the upper course of the Barkha river, and on the south-east that of the Tsirgalantu river (or the Chimurkha). *Burkhan* in Mongol means *fu* or 'Buddha', a term indicating great respect. Mount Burkhan is the Burqan Qaldun of the *Jamiut Tawarikh* of Rashiduddin.

6. *Mirgan* means 'one who is skilled in archery'.

7. *Aghuchin Boroghon* means 'heavy rain'. Some officers of the Turks bore the title of *Yaghmur* or 'rain'. (Blochet: *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols*, p. 273, note 5.)

son was Sinsouchi ; Sinsouchi's son was Khorchi[8]. Khorchi's son was Borchikitai Mirgan ; he had a wife, called Mongholchin Goa[9], who gave birth to a son named Torghalchin Bayan[10]. Torghalchin had a wife called Borokhchin Goa ; he also had a page called Buroltai Suyalbi and two gelded horses, one a *dair*[11] horse and the other grey (*boro*). Torghalchin Bayan had two sons: Duwa Sokhor[12] and Dobun Mirgan.[13] Duwa Sokhor had only one eye in the middle of his forehead with which he could see things three stages away.

One day Duwa Sokhor and his brother, Dobun Mirgan, climbed up Mount Burkhan. Duwa Sokhor saw from the top of the Mount a troop of people coming along the bank of the Tungeli river[14] and said to his brother: "In front of a black cart among that troop of people coming up is a beautiful girl. If she is still unmarried, I shall ask her for you. Brother, go and find out." Dobun Mirgan went to those people and learned that the girl's name was Alan Goa, and that she was both beautiful and unmarried. Those people belonged to the family of Khorlartai Mirgan. In times past, the master of the land of Kol Barghuchin,[15] who was called Barghutai Mirgan, had a daughter named Barghuchin Goa ; she was married to Khorlartai Mirgan, a chief of the Khorlartu Madun[16] tribe and Alan Goa, their daughter, was born at Alikh Usun.

8. Or *Khanichi,* meaning 'shepherd'. (*Blochet,* p. 273, Note 7.)

9. *Goa,* as we see in this work, often formed a part of the name of Mongolian beauties.

10. *Bayan* means 'a sage'.

11. Blochet says, "*Dair* is certainly the name of a colour here." In later passages of this work we will come across the name *Dair Usun; Usun* means water and *dair* obviously seems to indicate its colour.

12. Duwa or Dua is the Arabic transpriction of the Mongol, Dogha, which was also the name of a great Chaghtai prince. *Duwa* means 'a scout' or 'a soldier who is sent before an advancing troop to search the road' according to the *Hei-lung-kiang-wai-chi. Sokhor,* according to the *Pei-lu-shih-ji* by Wang Ching of the Ming Dynasty, means 'one-eyed'.

13. Dobun Mirgan is Dūbūn Bāyān (Dūbūn the Sage) of the *Jamiut Tawarikh*

14. This Tungeli is probably not the same as the above-mentioned Tengis river. Blochet reads it *Tounggelik* here.

15. Kol (or Gol) Barghuchin, the reverse form of Barghuchin Kol, is to the east of Lake Baikal within the present Soviet boundary. *Kol* in Mongol means 'river'. The full term here means 'the land on the banks of the river Barghuchin'. *Usun,* according to the *Kin-shi Yu-jieh,* or *Glossary of the History of Kin,* means 'water' or *shui.* Alikh Usun is identified by Ding with a river called A-lien-jya about two hundred *li* east of the *Barghuchin.* 1.7 *li* is equall to one kilo-metre.

16. The name of this tribe as given in the Chinese text is Ho-li-tu-ma-dun. Blochet says that there is no such term as Khartu (Ho-li-tu) anywhere and that the name of this clan does not appear in the *Jamiut Tawarikh.* He thinks the correct Chinese form of this name should be Ho-li-(la)-tu Ma-dun (Khorlartu Madun); for Khorla(r)-tu is an adjective derived from the word Khorlar by adding the suffix *tu;* and Khorla(r) and Khorlas are both plural forms of Khorla. (*Blochet*: p. 276, note 1.) But Ding holds a different opinion. He says that Ho-li-tu-ma-dun is the same as Ho-li-tu-ma-teh in Part XII of this history, which was a branch of the forest nomads; and, according to the *Si-yu-shi* (i.e. Hung Chiun's translation of the *Jamiut Tawarikh*), there were four tribes inhabiting the land east of Lake Baikal, namely the Hu-li, the Bu-li-ya-teh, the Co-la-shih and the Tu-ma-teh, who were probably living

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Khorlartai Mirgan had left his old grazing ground because he had been forbidden by some people of his own tribe to hunt ermines, squirrels and other wild animals there. Greatly dissatisfied with this prohibition and hearing that game abounded on Mount Burkhan, he came with his whole family to join Shenchi Bayan, the chief of Mount Burkhan, and assumed the name of Khorlar.[17] It was in this way that Dobun found Alan Goa, who later bore him two sons, Bukunutai and Belkunutai.[18]

Dobun's elder brother, Duwa Sokhor, had four sons. The two brothers and their sons lived amicably together till Duwa Sokhor's death. But after that Duwa Sokhor's sons did not treat their uncle properly ; they deserted him and assumed the name of Dorben.[19]

One day Dobun went hunting on a mountain, called Tokhachakh Undur.[20] In the forest he met a man of the Uriankha tribe[21] who had killed a three-year-old deer and was roasting its flanks, fore-legs, stomach and entrails. Dobun Mirgan asked him for the venison. The man kept for himself the scalp and lungs of the deer and gave Dobun the rest of the venison. Dobun put it on his horse and started off. On his way home he met a poor man with a boy coming towards him. "Who are you?" Dobun Mirgan asked. "A Makharikh

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jointly at that time. Therefore, Ho-li-tu-ma-dun may be the compound name of Hu-li and Tu-ma-teh. The Ho-li-tu-ma-dun and the Barghuchin people were close neighbours; the marriage of Khorlartai Mirgan and Barghuchin Goa would, therefore, be natural. Having no positive proof for either of the above theories, the present translator retains Blochet's form of the name for the time being. Ding's explanation is not entirely unacceptable.

17. It would seem that like other people at the same stage of culture the Mongols changed their surnames, family names and tribal names quite easily. On the one hand, the tribes often broke up through internal dissensions due to lack of grazing ground or game or the rival ambition of tribal politicians; on the other hand, various tribes coalesced by some method of adoption and formed a new unit under a new chief. By the time of Amir Timur (Tamerlane) the Mongol *ulus* or tribe had become a purely military unit or a section of the population, the identity of which (in spite of the continuation of old *ulus* names) was determined entirely by the law of the state.

18. Bukunut and Bulkunut in the *Jamiut Tawarikh.* The suffix, *tai,* serves the same purpose as the *i* of the Persian names in such form as Kirmani, Bokhari, etc. Note also the reverse order of these two brothers in the later passages of this work.

19. *Durban* in the *Jamiut Tawarikh,* meaning 'the bride of the four'.

20. *Undur* means 'high mountain'. Ding identifies Tokhachakh Undur with Tosuk Kalun south of the Onon.

21. The Uriankha is the present Uriankhai. Owen Lattimore refers in *The Geographical Factor in Mongol History* (Jan. 1938, *The Geographical Journal,* Vol. XCI.) to the grave-finds of Pazyryk (lat. 50° 50'N., long. 36° 10' E.) in the eastern Altai, excavated in 1929, which are attributed to about 100 B.C. Owen Lattimore makes use of the excavated mask of reindeer for horses, the special type of saddle used for the reindeer, etc. to explain the overlapping and interpenetration of the hunting economy (often combined with reindeer nomadism), the strict steppe economy and even agriculture. He adds, "In what is now the Tannu Tuva Republic the mixed hunting and reindeer economy, steppe pastoralism and agriculture are still practised within a short distance of each other." (Pp. 8-9).

The *Uriankhai* is understood by the Chinese to be the name of a race

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Bayautai man," he replied, "I am in desparate need. If you give me your venison, I will give you my son in return". Dobun Mirgan gave the man one hind-leg of the deer in exchange for his son and brought the boy home to be his attendant.

After Dobun's death, his wife Alan Goa gave birth to three sons more, named Bukhu Khatagi,[22] Bukhatu Salji[23] and Boduanchar.[24]

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whose vocation or means of livelihood was hunting. In other words, they were a people or tribe representing the so-called 'hunting economy' or 'forest nomadism' as distinct from 'pastoral nomadism'. The Uriankhai are represented in Chinese histories and other records as inhabiting a vast territory. They were found in the Altai mountains and the Tannu mountains as well as on the banks of the Amur river (according to the *Ming-shi;* and Yaksa, mentioned in the Imperial Order of Kang-hsi, who reigned in the period 1661—1722 A.D.). Here this Uriankha was found east of Lake Baikal.

On Czaplicka's map, Uriankhai is found west of Lake Baikal and north of the Tannu Ola Mountains. Czaplicka says: "The country to the east of the region occupied by the Chern 'Tatars', i.e. that part of the Yeniseick Government between the Sayan Mountains and its 100,000 inhabitants are usually grouped together under the same name, Uriankhai, sometimes in its Chinese form, Uriangut." (*The Turks of Central Asia,* p. 58.) He adds: "The Uriankhai are sometimes called Soyot (sing. Soyan, from the clan-name, Saya). But it is not certain whether this name ought to be applied to all of them. The name by which they call themselves in the North is Tuba." (P. 59). According to the Eastern Turkish scholar, Katanoff, the language of the Uriankhai is Turko-Tatar; but, as Czaplicka remarks, they are now mixed to a great extent with the Mongols. In short, they seem to combine the traits of the Mongol horse-nomads, the Turkish hunters and cattle-breeders, and the Tungus reindeer-breeders.

22. Bukhu Khatagi is *Būqūn* Qataghi in the Persian transcription; he was the ancestor of the Khatagin or Qatqīn tribe.

23. Bughutu Salji is Būghū Sālchī of the Persian historians; he was the ancestor of the Saljiut (Salchiyut) tribe.

24. Boduanchar is Buzanchar of the Persian historians; *Buzanchar* means the 'great sovereign'. He is the ninth ancestor of Chengis Khan, and the fourteenth ancestor of Amir Timur. In due time he succeeded to the chieftainship of the Mongols. The descendants of the three sons of Alan Goa, who were born after Boduanchar's death, are designated by Muslim historians as *Nurun,* for *nur* or light. All the Mongol Khans—and one copy of the *Tarikh-i-Jahangir* adds, "and all the Sultans of Turkistan"—trace their descent from Buzanchar. The 'race' of Alan Goa's 'demon lover' is naturally impossible to decide.

The descendants of Alan Goa's legitimate sons by her human husband, Dobun, known as Duralgin, are considered lower in rank than the descendants of the three *Nuruns.*

We are also told by Major Raverty in a foot-note (p. 893) of his translation of the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* that the majority of writers state that the birth of these sons of light took place in the time of Abu Muslim Khorasani (or Maruzi), the proclaimer of the rights of the Abbasids to the Khilafat. Abu Muslim is said to have been born in 99 H. (717-8 A.D.) but some authorities put his birth in the following year. The *Shajratūl Atrak* states that it took place on the first of the month in the year 130 H. (Nov., 747 A.D.).

Fasihi, on the contrary, states that Alan Kuwa gave birth to Buzanchar and his brothers in the year 376 H. (middle of 986 A.D.). Raverty says that the date given by Fasihi for the birth of Buzanchar is 186 years previous to the death of Chengis Khan's father, the eighth in descent from Buzanchar—an average of little more than twenty years to each—but 130 H. (747 A.D.) for the accession of Buzanchar gives an average, to the death of Chengis Khan's father, of exactly fifty-four years to each reign.

Buzanchar is styled 'Qa-an'; he is said to have framed laws and regulations and divided the Mongols into tribes. The *Tarikh-i Jahangir* and a few other histories state that some of the Tatar leaders and the *amirs* of other tribes, who for a long time, had been ruled by their own chiefs, now submitted to

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Once the two sons of Alan Goa, Belkunutai and Bukunutai, who had been born in the life-time of Dobun, said to each other confidentially: "Our mother now has neither the brother of our father[25] nor a husband ; yet she has given birth to these three sons. There is only Makharikh Bayautai,[26] our attendant, among us. Are they his issue?" Their mother by chance overheard these words. So one day in the spring Alan Goa cooked some preserved mutton and asked her five sons to sit in a row. She gave each of them an arrow to break and they all broke it. Then she gave them five arrows bound together and asked them to do the same. They all tried to break them but failed. She then said to her sons: "Belkunutai and Bukunutai, my two sons! you doubt as to who is the father of my other three sons. There is good reason for this. But you do not know that every night there entered a golden hued man from my brightened window and came in contact with my bosom, into which his light penetrated. When he left, he climbed out like a swift yellow dog and disappeared on the rays of the sun or the moon. Stop talking idly. Judged from all that has happened, my other three sons are apparently the children of Heaven. They are above common men. When they become emperors or kings you will know it."[27] Further, in order to teach

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Buzanchar (or Buzanjar) Qa-an's authority and acknowledged his suzerainty. But this, as Raverty remarks, is a Moghal account of later days.

The *Secret History,* the earliest of our extant authorities says nothing of the Qa-anship of Boduanchar or the date of his birth or accession; but it seems likely that Boduanchar was the first of the ancestors of Chengis Khan who claimed some sort of overlordship over the neighbouring tribes.

25. 'Brother of our father'—*Aqa wa'ini* in the *Jamiut Tawarikh.* The remark seems significant. Could a Mongol widow, like a widowed Jewess, bear sons to her deceased husband by his brother? But the old Jewish law only gave this permission in case the deceased man had left no offspring to succeed him. It is laid down in the *Old Testament*: "If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother (or, next kinsman) shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her.

"And it shall be, that the first-born which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel." (5-6, chapter 25, Deuteronomy.)

26. *Ma-a-li-heh-bai-va-u-dai* in the Chinese text; Blochet adds the guttural *kh* or *gh* to the second syllable. Rashiduddin mentions two clans of the Bayaut, Chadi Bayaut and Kharun Bayaut; there were possibly other clans among them.

27. Barbarians though the Mongols may have been in those early days, both the influence of Chinese civilization as well as of Islam and Christianity is discernable in their laws. We shall never know for certain whether Alan Goa—the 'Alan Kuwa' of Muslim historians—brought forward the story of the 'heavenly visitor' to justify her illegitimate issue (assuming that she really existed) or her illegitimate descendants, destined to future greatness, took a suggestion from Christianity in order to 'hallow' their origin. Muslim historians have given various versions of Alan Kuwa and her 'demon lover'; it would be tedious to refer to all of them. Abul Fazl, trying to find the finest pedigree for his master, the great Akbar, has given the legend of this 'Mary of the Mongols' in its most developed form and I will content myself with quoting it from Mr. Beveridge's translation of the *Akbar Nama*:—

"The extraordinary story of her Majesty is a case in point. She was the happy-starred daughter of Juina Bahadur of the Qiyat tribe and Barlas

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them a lesson, Alan Goa explained: "All you five sons have come from the same bosom of mine. If you stand apart like these five broken arrows, anyone will be able to break you easily ; but if you are of one mind and one spirit, like these five arrows bound together, others will not be able to injure you." Thereafter, the five sons lived peacefully together till their mother's death.

After Alan Goa's death the inheritance of the five brothers was partitioned by four of them, namely Belkunutai, Bukunutai, Bukhu Khatagi and Bukhatu Salji. Considering Boduanchar, the youngest, a simpleton and a weakling, the elder brothers did not treat him in a brotherly manner or give him his share. Seeing that his brothers had not treated him properly, Boduanchar said to himself, "I will leave this place all alone and let my brothers live and die in their own way." He mounted a roan horse with a galled back and a mangy tail, and rode along the Onon river till he arrived at a place called Balchun Ala,[28] where he built a hut to live in. After he had

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family. (Note: Erdmann says she belonged to the tribe of Qurulas. See also *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Elias and Ross, 51, where the author states that she was Kurkluk(?). In B.H. No. 7628 of Rashiduddin's great work, 456b, the name of the tribe is written Qurulas. Barlas then must be a copyist's error). Her physical and mental beauty went increasing from her earliest years, until by loftiness of thought and sublimity of genius, she became the Unique of the Age, and by acknowledgment of friends and foes, relatives and strangers, was magnanimous, pious, and a lover of wisdom. The lights of theosophy shone from her countenance, the Divine secrets were manifested on her forehead. She sat secluded behind the screen of chastity and abode in the privy chamber of meditation on the Unity, was a theatre of holy epiphanies and an alighting-stage of Divine emanations. When she arrived at maturity, she was, according to the custom of princes and the practice of great ones of Church and State, given in marriage to Zūbūn Bīyān, king of Moghalistan and her own cousin and (thus) they joined the unique pearl of purity with a temporal ruler. As he was not her match, he hastened to annihilation and her Majesty Alan Quwa who was the repose of the spiritual world, became likewise the ornament of the temporal world and, applying herself of necessity to outward acts, she became the sovereign of her tribe (*ūlūs*).

"One night this divinely radiant one was reposing on her bed, when suddenly a glorious light cast a ray into the tent and entered the mouth and throat of that fount of spiritual knowledge and glory. The cupola of chastity became pregnant by that in the same way as did her Majesty (*Hazarat*) Miryam (Mary) the daughter of 'Imran (Amram)." (Vol. I, pp. 178-9).

"When the period of pregnancy was fulfilled, Alan Quwa bore three noble sons. The first was Būqūn Qanqī from whom the Qanqin tribe is descended; the second was Yūsūqi Sāljī from whom the Sāljīūts are sprung. The third was Būzanjar Qāān. The descendants of these nobly-born ones are called Nairūn, i.e., light-produced and are considered to be the noblest class among the Moghals." (P. 183.) (Other accounts of Alan Kuwa are quoted from the *Tarikh-i Ghazani*, the *Tarikh-i Jahangir*, etc. by Raverty in his translation of the *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, p. 892, note.)

28. Adopting Pozdneief's restoration, Blochet calls it Balchun Aral. Blochet says in his note that Rashiduddin knows a river named Bālchīūnah or Bālchūnah on the banks of which Chengis fought a battle aainst Wang Khan; but he does not know what is the relation between Pa-le-chun Ala and the river. The 'river' referred to appears to be the Baljuna Lake (north of the Onon river, according to the *Si-yu-shi*) iin Part VII of the present history. On the bank of this lake Chengis passed the summer of 1203 A.D. and from there he marched across the Onon against Wang Khan in the following autumn. Bretschneider says that the Baljuna Lake lies south of Chita in Transbaikalia.

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settled down there, Boduanchar one day saw a baby-falcon seize a woodcock. After considerable thinking, he plucked some hair from the tail of his horse, made a snare out of them, caught the falcon and began to rear it.

Not having a sufficient stock of food, Boduanchar had to look beyond the cliff for any game which might be held at bay by the wolves, so that he may shoot it ; or he had to obtain for himself and his falcon the remnant of the flesh that had not been devoured by the wolves. Thus he passed that winter. With the advent of the spring there came plenty of geese and ducks. Boduanchar first kept his falcon hungry and then let it fly to catch the birds. When the birds thus caught were more than he could consume, he hanged them on the trees to rot.

Beyond the ridge of Mount Duilon[29] lived a group of people who had been along the Tungeli river. Boduanchar visited them daily when he went out hunting with his falcon and asked them for mare's milk to drink. In the evening he would return to his hut where he spent the night. These people asked Boduanchar to give them his falcon but he refused to part with it. Thus both parties went on without ever taking the trouble to enquire the name of each other. At last Boduanchar's eldest brother, Bukhu Khatagi, came in search of him along the Onon river. On reaching the bank of the Tungeli, Bukhu Khatagi met the above-mentioned people and asked them if they had seen such and such a man on a roan horse. "There is a man like that with such a horse," they replied, "Besides, he has a falcon which he lets fly. He comes every day to our place for mare's milk, but we do not know where he lives at night. Whenever the wind blows from the north-west, it brings hither the feathers of the geese and ducks (which he has killed) like flakes in a snowstorm. We think that he must be living in that direction. This is the time of his coming to us. Please wait a while."

Soon they saw a man coming. He was Boduanchar. His eldest brother recognised him and brought him back to their home. Boduanchar rode behind his brother and on the way he said aloud: "A complete man must have a head on his body ; a complete coat must

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(Cf. note on the Baljuna Lake in Part VII of the *Secret History*). Ding identifies the Balchun of Balchun Ala with the Kaldun of Burkhan-Kaldun (in Part III of this work) and says that Kaldun is a branch of the Burkhan mountain. *Ala* means a 'little levelled hill' in the Manchurian language. He points out that as Boduanchar used to go from his hut to the people on the bank of the Tungelik river every day and the feathers of the geese and ducks hung up by Boduanchar on the mountain were blown by the wind to the river, Balchun Ala (or Kaldun) should be near the river.

29. Mount Duilon is identified by Ding with the Kulyan mountain, which is to the south-west of the Central-Left Banner in the Right Wing of Tsu-tsen Khan, north-east of which is the Tengelik river. The Tungeli is given in the *Yuan-shi* as the Tungili Hulu; in the Mongol text of the *Secret History* as Tungelik Khuluhan. *Khuluhan* means 'rivulet'.

have its collar." Bukhu Khatagi did not reply. Boduanchar repeated this statement twice. "You have said this two or three times," Bukhu Khatagi, asked, "What do you mean?"

"These people whom we have just left on the bank of the Tungeli river have no chief over them ; the big and the small act equally ; and we can easily capture them." "Well", said Bukhu Khatagi, "let us discuss this matter with our brothers at home. We can then return to capture them." On reaching home they discussed the project together and decided to send Boduanchar as their scout. Returning to the old place, Boduanchar seized a pregnant woman and asked her as to which clan she belonged. "I am from the Jarchiut Adan Khan Uriankhachin," she replied. All those people were captured and brought back by the five brothers, who henceforth possessed many cattle along with attendants to serve their tea and meals.

Boduanchar took the pregnant woman to wife. She gave birth to a son, called Jajiratai[30] from whom the Jadara tribe[31] is descended. The son of Jajiratai was called Tuguutai ; Tuguutai's son was Buri Bulchiru ; Buri Bulchiru's son was Kara Khadaan ; Kara Khadaan's son was Jamukha,[32] whose descendants formed the Jadaran tribe.

Boduanchar begot by the aforesaid woman another son, called Baaritai,[33] who was the founder of the Baarin tribe.[34] Baaritai's son was called Chitukhul Boko.[35] Chitukhul Boko had many wives and sons, who later on constituted the Menon Baarin clan. From Belkunutai were descended the Belkunut ;[36] from Bukunutai the Bukunut ;[37] from Bukhu Khatagi the Khatagin ;[38] from Bukhutu Salji the Saljiut ; and from Boduanchar the Borjigin.[39]

Boduanchar also took another wife by whom he begot a son, called Barin Shiratu Khapichi.[40] Further, a maid-servant of Khapichi's mother, who came with her lady in the latter's marriage,

30. Chadaratai, according to Pozdneief; Būqā in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*, whose son was Dūtūm Minin. Jajiratai, as the first born by the pregnant woman, was probably an issue of her former husband.

31. Chāchīrāt in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*.

32. Jamukha, as we shall see, was the sworn brother or *anda* of Chengis Khan, but later on their friendship turned into bitter enmity. If we are to rely on the present text of the *Secret History*, Temuchin and Jamukha were both descended from Boduanchar, the former in the tenth generation and the latter in the fifth. Jamukha is called Chāmūqah in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*.

33. Būqūtai in the *Jamiut Tawarikh* whose son was Nāchīn. Baaritai is the adjective ending in *tai*, derived from the name of the tribe of Baarin with the regular disappearance of the final *n*.

34. Bārīn in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*.

35. Or Chitukhul Buka, meaning 'the mighty wrestler'.

36. Būlkūnūt in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*.

37. Būkūnūt in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*.

38. Qatqīn in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*.

39. Būrchghin or Burchqīn of Muslim historians.

40. Barim Shartu Qapichu, the son of Toumena, in the *Jamiut Tawarikh;* Ba-lin-shi-yi-la-tu-ha-bi-chu in the *Yuan-shi*. He is Bookee (or Booka) in the *Shajratul Atrak*. See the genealogical table in the Appendix to the present work.

became the concubine of Boduanchar and gave birth to a son, called Chaoghuretai.[41] Boduanchar treated this Chaoghuretai like the rest of his sons and asked him to take part in all sacrificial ceremonies.

After Boduanchar's death, Barin Shiratu Khapichi did not treat Chaoghuretai in a brotherly manner and said that as a man of the Adan Khan Uriankhatai tribe had often come to his house, Chaoghuretai might be this man's son. Finally, at a sacrificial ceremony he drove Chaoghuretai out of his house. The Chaoghuriet tribe is descended from Chaoghuretai.[42]

Khapichi's son was called Menen Tudun.[43] Menen Tudun had seven[44] sons, namely, Khachi Kyuluk[45], Khachin, Khachiu,[46] Khachula, Khachiun,[47] Khalantai[48] and Nachin Bahadur.[49]

Khachi Kyuluk's son was called Kaidu.[50] His mother was called Namulun.[51] Khachin's son was called Nayagitai (Noyakhtai)[52] and his family was named Noyal (Noyar)[53] on account of his disposition to pretend that he was a man of dignity. Khachiu's son was called Barulatai ; his family was named Barulas[54] on account of his collossal body and his gluttony. Khachula had four sons, who also on

41. Chaoghuretai (i.e. Chao-u-lieh-tai in the Chinese transliteration) is read by Blochet as Chaghuratai, meaning 'intermediate between two'.

42. 'Chaoireit' in the restoration of Pozdneief. Blochet does not think that this is the name of the tribe of Chalaid or Chalair in the Persian transcription with plural endings in *d* or *r;* he inclines to consider it as the tribe of Chaūrīāt, though Rashiduddin says (Berezine, *Preface*, p. 266) that this tribe is the issue of Dur Bayan, the seventh son of Toumena and it is the same tribe called Chāchīrāt. (Blochet, *Introduction*, p. 285, note 1.)

43. Dūtūm Manan in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*.

44. According to the *Jamiut Tawarikh*, Dūtūm Manan had nine sons, but Rashiduddin names among his sons only Kaidu, who appears in the present work as grandson, not son, of Menen Tudun.

45. *Khachi* means 'knavery'.

46. Or Chachighu, meaning what is 'capricious or deceitful'.

47. Qachaghun or Qachiun in the Persian transcription.

48. Or *Kharam-tu* in Mongol, meaning 'avaricious or envious'.

49. 'Nachin' is a kind of vulture'. He seems to be Macheen (uncle of Kaidu) of the Muslim historians. Macheen is given in the *Shajratul Atrak* as the son of Tookta, son of Boozunjar (Boduanchar).

50. Qāidū is the sixth ancestor of Chengis Khan according to the *Jamiut Tawarikh*.

51. In the Chinese translation, the name of Kaidu's mother is given as Namulun and the name of his father as Khachi Kyuluk, son of Menen Tudun, while the Numulun of the *Jamiut Tawarikh* or the Khatoon Menooloon of the *Shajratul Atrak* (Col. Miles' translation) is represented as the wife of Dutum Manan or Dootmeen. If we are permitted to identify the various forms of the name of this eminent mother of Kaidu, only the paternal side of his parentage can then be questioned. Whether Kaidu should have as his father Menen Tudun or Khachi Kyuluk, son of Menen Tudun? The difference of our authorities on this point needs clarification. See Appendix A for a further discussion of the matter and the history of the Mongols from Boduanchar to Kaidu.

52. Blochet reads Nayagitai as Noyakhtai, meaning 'chief' or 'commander'.

53. 'Na-ya-le' in the Chinese transcription; 'Nayali' according to Pozdneief. Blochet cannot find in the *Jamiut Tawarikh* any name resembling that of this tribe; he suggests that *nova-r*, like *nova-t*, is the plural form of *novan* or 'chief'.

54. 'Barulas' is the plural form of 'Barula'; 'Barulatai' is the adjective. 'Barulas' seems to be the 'Barlas' of the *Shajratul Atrak* and other histories, a well-known tribal surname in days to come.

account of their gluttony were called Big Barula,[55] Small Barula,[56] Erdintu Barula[57] and Todoyan Barula.[58] They are the founders of the tribes named after them. Khalantai's son, who quarrelled over food and disregarded the rule of seniority, was surnamed the Budaghalt (Budaant).[59] Khachiun's son, Adar(ki)tai,[60] who liked to gossip among the brothers, founded the Adargin[61] tribe. Nachin Bahadur had two sons, one was called Uruutai[62] and the other Mankhutai,[63] who founded the Uruut[64] and Mankhut tribes. Nachin Bahadur married, on his own initiative and not according to the arrangement of his parents, another woman by whom he had two other sons, Shijuutai and Doghuratai.

Kaidu had three sons called Bai Shenghor Dokhshin,[65] Charahai Lingkhu[66] and Chaochin Ortogai.[67] Bai Shenghor Dokhshin had a son called Tunbinai Sechen;[68] Charahai Lingkhu had a son called

55. Yeke Barula in Mongol.
56. Uchugin (or Otchigin) Barula in Mongol.
57. The etymology of the word *erdemtu* is certain: *Erdemtu* means 'capable'; *erdem* means 'clever'. Erdemtu Barula is generally called 'Irzamchi Barula' by the Muslim historians. He is the Irzamchi Barula in the Arabic inscription on the sarcophagus of Timur ; the 'Eroomjee' of the *Shajratul Atrak,* who is said to have been the progenitor of the tribe of Barlas; and the 'Ardam Chubarulah' of the *Jamiut Tawarikh,* father of Tudan, father of Chuchiah, father of Bulughan-kalach.
58. *To-dou-yen,* in the Chinese; 'Tudan' in the *Jamiut Tawarikh.* Blochet reads it as 'Todan'.
59. Budaghalt is Bu-da-an-th in the Chinese transcription. Blochet cannot find a term resembling this name in the *Jamiut Tawarikh.* This word, he says, is evidently related to 'budagha' or 'nourishment' and 'budaghalakhu' or 'to eat'. (Blochet: 287 note.)
60. Adar(ki)tai is derived from the name of the tribe of Adargin (or Adarkin); *ki* is apparently missing in the present text. According to Blochet's translation, the cause of Adar(ki)tai's assuming the surname of Adarkin was his misunderstanding with his parents (*à cause de sa mauvaise intelligence avec ses parents*). (*Blochet*: p. 287.) But the present Chinese text and the *Jamiut Tawarikh* mention only the gossip among the brothers (Āqā ū Aīnī), not misunderstanding with his parents.
61. In spite of the difference of the first vowel, Blochet thinks that *Adargin* is derived from the Mongol *iderkek* (insolent); the tribe of Adargin is certainly the Hīdarkīn of the *Jamiut Tawarikh.* According to the *Jamiut Tawarikh,* the son of Qāchighūn (Qāchīun or Khachiun) was named Ādār Margān.
62. Uruutai is the Auruqtai of the *Jamiut Tawarikh. Uruutai* is derived from *urugh* (or clan).
63. Mankhutai is Mankqūt in the *Jamiut Tawarikh.*
64. The Uruut is the tribe of Ūrūt in the *Jamiut Tawarikh,* who, as well as the Mankqut and the Nūqāqīn, was descended from Chāqasū, the eldest son of Toumena Khan. This tribe should not be mistaken for the tribe of Ūrīāūt (the kinsmen of the Ārulāt) or the tribe Uirat, or the tribe of Urūīūt which is the same as the Morkit. (*Blochet,* p. 288, note.)
65. Bai Shenghor Dokhshin, the fifth ancestor of Chengis Khan, is Bāi Sankqūr in the *Jamiut Tawarikh.*
66. Charahai Lingkhu is Charqah Līnkqūm in the *Jamiut Tawarikh.*
67. Chaochin Ortegai (Khortegai) is Chāūchīn Hurkuz in the *Jamiut Tawarikh. Khūrtaghā* means 'old woman' in the Turkish lexicons. (*Blochet*: p. 289, note.)
68. Tunbinai Sechen, the fourth ancestor of Chengis Khan, is Tumnah in the *Jamiut Tawarikh. Sechen* means 'wise'. The *Shajratul Atrak* says, "When Kaidoo Khan died, he was succeeded by his son, Boisughur Khan, as king of Moghools, and on his death his place was filled by his son. Toomneh Khan. This chief made some new conquests in Turkistan, and joined them to his paternal possessions. He had two wives, one of whom brought him seven

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Siangkun Bilghe.[69] Siangkun Bilghe's son was called Anbaḥai,[70] and the Taichiut[71] clan is descended from him. Charahai Lingkhu also married his eldest brother's widow by whom he had another son, called Baisutai,[72] who founded the Baisut[73] clan. Chaochin Ortegai[74] had six sons called Olonar, Khonghutan,[75] Arulat (Alurat),[76] Sunit,[77] Khabtur Khakhu and Geniges (Kenikes),[78] whose descendants formed six clans after their names.

Tunbinai Sechen[79] had two sons ; one was called Khabul Khakhan

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sons; and the other, two sons, who were twins. The latter excelled all their brethren in strength and valour: the name of one twin was Kubul and that of the other Kacholi. Kubul was the third ancestor of Chungeez Khan, and Kacholi the eighth from Ameer Timoor Goor Khan." (The *Shajratul Atrak,* Miles' translation, p. 55.)

69. Siangkun Bilghe is Sūqadū Lūchanah in the *Jamiut Tawarikh;* Surokud in the *Shajratul Atrak. Surkhodu* in Mongol is equal to Turkish *bilga* meaning 'saint'.
70. Anbahai is Hambaqai in the *Jamiut Tawarikh;* Humeka in the *Shajratul Atrak.*
71. Taichiut is *Tāichīūt* in the *Jamiut Tawarikh.*
72. Baisutai is Bisūtāi in the Persian transcription.
73. There is in the *Jamiut Tawarikh* a tribe called Yisut, the reading of which is certain; unlike the *Secret History,* the *Jamiut Tawarikh* describes this tribe descended from Chinotai (or Chanatai), the ninth son of Tumenai (*Blochet*: p. 289.) But Minhajus Siraj Jurjani in the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* speaks of "the great Amīr Bāisū, who had been the associate (in the chieftainship) with the Chingiz Khan's father." (*Raverty*: p. 953.) Referring to the great Amīr Bāisū the same author says, "Among the tribes of Mughals was another Turk of importance, a ruler and leader, and greatly venerated; and the whole of the tribes of Mughals were under the rule of these two persons (i.e. Amīr Bāisū and Chengis' father, whom he wrongly describes as 'the Tattar, Tamur-chi')." (*Raverty*: p. 936.) He adds that when Chengis brought the whole of the tribes under his own sway, 'the first command he gave was that they should slay the sons of the great Amir Baisu'. The Baisut, if we rely on Jurjani's account, seems to be a powerful and dominating tribe during the life-time of Yesugai and before the rise of Chengis to the overlordship of the steppes. Is the great Amir Baisu of the *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* the Chinotai of the *Jamiut Tawarikh* or the Baisutai of the *Secret History*? Is he so eminent a chief as Minhajus Siraj describes him? Minhaj, though our earliest Muslim authority, is writing too far from the scene of action and is often confused.
74. Chaochin Ortegai is Jarcheen in the *Shajratul Atrak* The *Shajratul Atrak* does not mention any other sons of Jarcheen besides Soojeeoot, the father of the tribe of Soojeeoot (Sūjīūt), while the *Secret History* gives the names of his six sons.
75. Khonghutan is Qūnkqatān in the Persian transcription; in the *Jamiut Tawarikh* it is the name of a man of a tribe of the same name.
76. The Arulat, according to the *Jamiut Tawarikh,* was descended from a brother of Qūnkqatān.
77. Sunit is Sunīt in the *Jamiut Tawarikh.*
78. Geniges or Kenikes, according to Blochet, is probably Kinakit in the *Jamiut Tawarikh; s* and *t* are two forms of ending for the plural.
79. Tomnah Khan (to call him by the simplified name given to him by Persian historians of later days) is important because he is supposed to be the ancestor of both Chengis Khan and Amir Timur. In Timurid histories we find repeated references to the 'Award or *Aljamgha* of Tomnah Khan', by which, with the consent of his sons, he decided that his elder son, Qabul Khan (Khabul Khan), was to ascend the throne while Qachuli Bahadur (the Khachula, one of the seven sons of Menen Tūdun, or the Sinsicher, son of Tunbinai Sechen, in the *Secret History*?) was put in charge of the army and the administration. There is no early authority for this legend. See Appendix B—The Award of Tumnah Khan.

(Kabul Khagan)[80] and the other Sinsicher.[81] Sinsicher's son was called Bultechu (Bultechi)[82] Bahadur. Khabul had seven sons called Ogin Barkhakh, Bartan Bahadur, Khutukhtu Mongur (*Mong-gu-rh*)[83] Khutula Khakhan,[84] Khulan,[85] Khadaan[86] and Todoyan Otchigin.[87] Ogin Barkhakh's son was called Khutukhtu Jurki,[88] Khutukhtu Jurki's sons were Seche (Sacha) Baiki and Taichu,[89] who founded the Jurki clan.

Bartan Bahadur had four sons called Mongedu Kiyan,[90] Nekun

80. Qabal Khan in the *Jamiut Tawarikh; Ca-bu-lu-han* in the *Yuan-shi* (i.e. the *History of the Yuan Dynasty*). He was the third ancestor of Chengis Khan. In the *Secret History* Khabul was the first of Chengis Khan's ancestors to bear the title of Khakhan, which seems to have had no greater significance than a Khan of the Da-da (Mongol) tribes. The same may have been the case with his immediate successors, Khutulu Khakhan and Anbahai Khakhan. The *Shajratul Atrak* says, "The Turks call Kubul (i.e. Khabul or Kabul) Khan 'Alchung Khan', which signifies 'the protector and cherisher of his people', and all the tribes of Moghools were subject to him." (The *Shajratul Atrak*, Miles' translation, p. 58.) The same authority tells us that Kabul Khan who had been invited by the Khan of Khatai, or the Emperor of China, went to Khatai (or China), leaving Kachli (or Qachuli) as his viceroy during his absence. On his return he was presented by Altan Khan, the Chief of Khatai (the Emperor of Kin), a crown of gold and a belt. It seems that Khabul Khan was then merely a feudatory of Altan Khan (the Emperor of Kin). But enmity between them soon became apparent. It is also pointed out in the *Shajratul Atrak* that Kabul had a wife of the tribe of Kunkoorat, named Kowa Kurak. This woman had three sons by him; the eldest was named Ooktun Turkak, the second, Kowilai Khan, and the third Boortai Bahadoor. When Kowilai Khan succeeded his father, he avenged the death of his brother Turkak, who had been put to death by Altan Khan, and defeated the army of Khatai (i.e. the Kin).

81. Sinsicher, as the only brother of Kabul, seems to be the counterpart of the Kacholi or Kachuli Bahadur of later Persian historians. Blochet thinks that the last two characters of the Chinese transliteration of Sinsicher, *'chi-lieh'* (*cher*), may be *chirik* in Mongol, meaning 'army'. In the *Secret History* Tunbinai Sechen is said to have had two sons only but according to the *Jamiut Tawarikh*, Toumena (i.e. Tunbinai) had, besides Qabul, eight sons: Chāgasū, Bārīm Shartū Qāpīchū, Qachulai, Qachaghun, Bāt-kalaki, Udur Bayan, Bozonchar and Khataghotai. (*Blochet*: p. 290, note 6.) Besides, the *Secret History* reads Qachulai and Qachaghun as Khachula and Khachiun, two of the seven sons of Menen Tudun.

82. *Bultechi* means 'lazy'.

83. Khutukhtu Mongur is Qūtūqtū Munkur in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*. 'Monghur' is read in the Chinese transcription as *Mong-gu-rh*. The first two Chinese characters, *Mong-gu*, are the Chinese name for 'Mongol', which is still current today. *Rh* or *r* seems to be the plural form of the word. This first unique appearance of the name *Mong-gu* or *Mongol* in the Chinese text of the *Secret History* is significant.

84. Kūtūlah Qa-An in the *Jamiut Tawarikh* as the fifth son of Kabul Khan.

85. *Khulan* means a 'roan horse'. The *Jamiut Tawarikh* omits *Khulan*.

86. Khadaan is given in the *Jamiut Tawarikh* as Khadan Bahadur, the fourth son of Kabul Khan.

87. Tūdān Ūtchīkin in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*.

88. Sūrqāqtū Yūrkī in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*. Surqaqtu (or *Surghakhtu*) means 'one who receives knowledge', closely akin to *khutukhtu* or 'regenerated man'.

89. Blochet suggests that 'Taichu' is the transcription of the Chinese *Tai-tsu*. This is doubtful. Could Tai-tsu, a Chinese posthumous title given in the ancestral temple to the founder of a dynasty, have been used for the founder of a clan in Mongolia?

90. Munkdu Qīān in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*.

Tai-tai,[91] Yesugai Bahadur and Daritai Otchigin.[92] Khutukhtu Mongur's son was called Buri Boko.[93] Later on, at the great feast on the Onon river, Buri Boko struck and broke the shoulder-blade of Belgutai, the younger brother of Chengis Khan (*Tai-tsu*).[94]

Khutula Khakhan had three sons called Chuchi, Girmau[95] and Altan.[96] Khulan Bahadur's son, Yeke Cheren (*Che-len*),[97] had two servants called Batai and Kishlikh. Later, in the time of Chengis Khan (*Tai-tsu*), all (the two servants?) were appointed to the office of Dalar Khan (Tarkhan).[98] Khadaan and Todoyan had no offsprings.

All the *Da-da*[99] people were under the rule of Khabul Khakhan.[100] Khabul Khakhan had seven sons, but he did not entrust the government to them but to Anbahai, the son of Siangkun Bilghe.

Between Lake Buyur and Lake Kolen there was a river called Urshiun.[101] By the side of the river lived the Tatar people. Anbahai

91. Nikūn Tāishī in the Persian transcription. Blochet says that *Taishi* is a Chinese title for 'heir-apparent'. I do not think that the nomads of those days had gone so far as to adopt a Chinese appellation for their prince. It seems that the Chinese transcription of *tai-tsi* is a corrupted form of *tai-shi*, which is found in the *Pei-kuan-chi* (*Record of Officials*) in the *Liaoshi* (*History of the Liao*) as a title for an official under the chief of a clan in a big tribe. If this be the case, the Persian transcription of the *Jamiut Tawarikh* is more accurate.

92. Dārītaī Ūtchīkin in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*. The 't' (or *teh*) is missing in the Chinese transcription of 'Otchigin' here.

93. The *Jamiut Tawarikh* says that Bori Boko had many sons but those who inherited his clan were the Chīnksūt.

94. Blochet says that *Tai-tsu*, as I have already stated, is a Chinese posthumous title given to the founder of a dynasty in China; it is specially inscribed on the ancestral tablet. The term is definitely Chinese and not Mongol. In the Chinese text of the present history the title *Tai-tsu* is used on several occasions for Chengis Khan. However, the author of the *Secret History* who wrote in or about 1228 A.D. could not have used this Chinese term which was given posthumously to Chengis Khan when Kublai Khan, *Shih-tsu*, formally gave his dynasty the name of *Yuan* or 'Original' in 1271 A.D. Hence I have restored it to 'Chengis Khan'. Besides, Chengis is popularly known to the Chinese as well as other peoples as Khan, not Khagan.

95. *Kir Maghu*, according to Blochet, means 'the bad one that acts in silence' (*'le mauvais qui agit en sourdine'*).

96. Āltān in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*.

97. Or Yeke Churum, meaning the 'big pool'. (*Blochet*, p. 292, note 98).

98. 'Tarkhān' in the Persian transcription.

99. I prefer to retain this Chinese form of transcription, which Blochet, by pronouncing as 'Ta-ta', identifies with 'Tatar'. In the *Secret History*, the Chinese transcription of 'Tatar' is clearly and consistently 'Ta-ta-rh'. We see in the following passages of the *Secret History* that the Tatars who lived in the area near and between Lake Buyur (Lake Buir or Buir Nor) and Lake Kolen (Lake Khulun or Khulun Nor, Long. 117-8, Lat. 48-50) were a distinct and different people who were hostile to the people living traditionally in the area between the Onon and the Kerulen rivers under the rule of the immediate ancestors of Chengis Khan. Such a distinction is too important to be ignored.

100. The *Secret History* refers to the 'Qabul Khan' of the *Jamiut Tawarikh*, in the first instance as 'Khabul Khakhan' (i.e. 'Khabul Khaghan' of Blochet). The Chinese text here reads Khabul 'Huang-di' in the Chinese fashion. I prefer the first appellation to the second; hence I substitute Khakhan for 'Huang-di'.

101. The modern Urson. Lake Buyur is Buyur Naghur or Buir Nor. It reads in the Chinese text as *Bu-yu-rh-hai-tsi* or the 'fishing lake'. *Bu-yu-rh*

gave his daughter[102] in marriage to a Tatar. When he was personally taking her to her future husband, he was captured and sent by the Tatars to the great Kin. Before being despatched, Anbahai sent home a man, called Barakhachi[103] of the Baisut tribe, and told him: "You say to Khutula, among the seven sons of Khabul Khakhan, and to Khadaan *Tai-tsi*,[104] among my ten sons, that I, who am the chief of all you people, have been seized by the Tatars while escorting my daughter to her marriage. Hereafter, you must not forget this unfortunate end of mine. Even if you wear out all your five finger-nails or break all your ten fingers, you should avenge us."

In those days Yesugai Bahadur, the father of Chengis, was hawking along the Onon river. Once he met there a Merkit,[105] called Yeke Chiraidu,[106] who was taking home his wife from the Olkhuna (Olkhunut)[107] tribe. Yesugai saw that the woman was a beauty. He went straight home to bring with him Nekun *Tai-tsi* and Daritai Otchigin, his elder and youngest brothers, back to the spot.

Yeke Chiraidu beheld the three brothers coming against him and was frightened. He whipped his horse and galloped over a range and a pass, but unable to find a suitable shelter, he returned to the cart in which he had left his wife. Then his wife said to him: "These three men look very dangerous and wish to take your life. I beg you to hurry off. If your life is saved by any means, you can easily find a woman like me. If you remember me, you can marry another woman and call her by my name." Then she took off her outer garment and gave it to him as a souvenir. Yeke Chiraidu took the garment while still on horse-back ; then seeing the three brothers approaching, he whipped his horse and fled up the Onon river. The three brothers chased Yeke Chiraidu over seven hills but failed to capture him. Then they turned back and seized the woman. Yesugai pulled the cart ; Nekun *Tai-tsi* guided him on the road, while Daritai rode by the side of the cart. The woman, whose name was Oyelun

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means 'fishing'; *hai-tsi* means 'lake'. Pradwin calls it 'Lake Puir Nor'. *Nor* or *naghur* means lake ; to add 'lake' to 'nor' is unnecessary. Lake Kolen reads in the Chinese text as *Ko-lien-hai-tsi*. The two above-mentioned lakes are both at Long. 117-8; they are joined together by river Urshun or Urson.

102. Curtin says that Anbahai (Anbagai) went to find a new wife at Lake Buyur, but he does not mention his authority.

103. Būlghachī or Bulghāchī in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*, meaning 'merchant'.

104. Khadaan Tai-tsi is Qadān Tāīshī in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*, whose son was called Būdā or Tūdā. The meaning of *'Tai-tsi'* has been discussed in a previous note.

105. The Markīt in the *Jamiut Tawarikh;* the Markīt tribe of the Kaiat division of Moghals, according to Raverty.

106. Chiraidu, according to Blochet, is probably *chiraitu*, derived from *chirai* (figure) meaning *qui a un visage.*

107. Olkhunu(t) or Ulkunut is Ūlqūnūt in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*, called after Olkunut, the second son of Khabai, who had another son Ikiras, the ancestor of the Ikiras tribe. Vladimirtsov says that the Ulkunut is a branch of the Khungirat tribe. (Vladimirtsov: *Chingiz Khan*, p. 11.) It may be noted that this woman, later the mother of Temuchin, and her tribe Olkhunut belonged to the Tatar race.

(Hoyelun),[108] cried and exclaimed: "Never were my husband's hair blown by the wind, nor did his stomach suffer from hunger. How hard will it be for him now that he has to leave me!" Her screams seemed to raise waves on the Onon river and to shake the trees of the forest. So Daritai Otchigin said to her: "Your husband has by now passed many ridges and crossed many streams. Your cries cannot make him turn back his head. It is vain to look for his trail. Be content and stop screaming." Thus Yesugai Bahadur took the woman to wife.

BIRTH OF TEMUCHIN

As Anbahai Khakhan had nominated Khadaan and Khutula his successors during his captivity, the Da-da Taichiut[109] people held an assembly by the Khorkhona river[110] and elected Khutula as their

108. Oyelun or Hoyelun is 'Ūlun Āīkah' in the *Jamiut Tawarikh;* 'Queen Yelun in *Yuan-sheng-wu-chin-jeng-lu* literally, the *Record of the Campaigns Personally Directed by the Sagacious and Warlike Emperor of Yuan*, referred to later in my notes as *Chinjeng-lu*); 'Yulun-Eke' (Mother Cloud) in Pradwin's *Mongol Empire;* 'Aloon Yoonke Khatoon' in the *Shajratul Atrak;* 'Ulun Ankah' in Raverty's notes in his translation of the *Tabakat-i Nasiri;* 'Ulun-Kujin' in Fanakati and Fasihi (*Raverty*: p. 898, note). *Kujin* seems to be another form of *Uchin* or 'lady'.

109. Note the use of the term 'Taichiut' to modify 'Da-da'. It is evidently used to indicate that the Taichiut was a branch of the Da-da people. Consistent with his earlier transcription of the term 'Da-da', Blochet reads here 'Tatars Taichighut'. It is related in the *Jamiut Tawarikh* that the big tribe of Taichiut was descended from the second son of Khaidu, Charakha Ling-khum, while his eldest brother was the chief of the tribe of Chinkkiz and his youngest brother, Chaochin, was the ancestor of the Ārīkīn and the Sanchīūt. This echoes another tradition according to which the Taichiut were descended from Machin Baghatur, the second son of Dutum Manen. But it was in the *Altan Depter* that the first of these traditions was recorded. Charakha Ling-khum married the widow of his brother, Bai-songhor, and he had by her two sons, Kandū Chīnah and Unkachīn Chīnah (or, according to Blochet's transcription, Guendu-tchino and Uliketchin-tchino). (*Berezine, Preface*, p. 243; *Blochet*, p. 295, note 2.) According to the *Jamiut Tawarikh*, Ambaghai (i.e. Anbahai of the *Secret History*) was the ruler of the Taichiut. The Tatars captured him and sent him to the ruler of Kin who impaled him. At the moment of his being despatched to the place where he was to be executed, he sent one of his servants to say to Altan Khan that by murdering him he would draw upon himself the enmity of Kadan Taishi, Khutulah Qa-An, Toda and the sons of Yīsūkāi Bahadur, who was then the chief of many Mongol tribes. Bulghachi returned to Mongolia and informed his compatriots of the ignominious death of Ambaghai (Anbahai). When Yīsūkāi and other chiefs learned what had happened, they elected Khutulah Qa-An as their chief and march against Khitai. They defeated the army of Altan Khan and, after having pillaged the north of the Celestial Empire, returned to their steppes loaded with booty. While Khutulah Qa-An was returning separately, the Durban (i.e. the Dörben of the *Secret History*, who were the descendants of the four sons of Dúwa Sokhor, the elder brother of Dobun Mirgan), seized the opportunity, fell upon his escort and dispersed it. Khutulah had to take to flight and, after some hazardous adventures, succeeded in reaching his *yurta*. In the meantime some people, who thought that he was dead, brought the news to the Mongols. The friends of Ambaghai and the Taichighod (Taichiut) reunited to avenge his death, and they finally chose, as their chief, Tārgūtāi Qaraltūq (i.e. Tārkhūtāi Kiriltukh of the *Secret History*), son of Adal Khan. (*Blochet*: p. 296, note 1.)

110. The Chinese text reads *Kho-rh-na-chuan*, which Blochet transcribes as *Khorkhanachun*. *Chun* or *chuan* means 'stream' or 'river'. The

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Khakhan. They held a feast under a giant tree and danced round it in ecstasy till their feet had made a deep depression in the earth. After his accession Khutula proceeded with Khadaan *Tai-tsi* to attack the Tatars in their country. They fought thirteen battles with Koduan Barakha and Jali (Chalik) Bukha[111] but they did not succeed in obtaining their revenge. During this war with the Tatars, Yesugai Bahadur captured Timuchin Uka, Khorbugha[112] and others. At that time Yesugai Bahadur's wife, Oyelun, had been expecting a baby; she gave birth there to Temuchin[113] at the foot of the

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Da-da assembled on the bank of the Khorkhona river. Some Chinese commentators think that this Khorkhona river is the Khalkha river (i.e. Khalkha-gol on map 63, the *Oxford Advanced Atlas*, pub. Bartholomew, at Long. 118-9, Lat. 47-8), south-east of the Buir Nor. But it seems unlikely that the Da-da Taichiut would hold their assembly to the south-east of the home of the Tatars (the Buir Tatars). I am inclined to locate this river near the source of the Onon, the traditional home of the Mongols. From what is related in the *Jamiut Tawarikh* about the capture of Ambaghai, the election of Khutula and the latter's campaign against Altan Khan, one feels sure that at least two peoples, the Tatars and the Durban, dwelt in the territories between Altan Khan in the south and the Da-da Taichiut in the north. Hence the Da-da would hold their election at a place quite distant from the country of the Tatars and the Kin. Now we find (on the map mentioned above) a river called Khurkhu (Long 109-12, Lat. 47-8) running parallel to the north of Dutulun mountains, very near the traditional home of the Mongols, and this is probably the river in question.

111. Koduan Barakha is the Kutan in the *Jamiut Tawarikh;* Jali Bukha is Chalik Bukha, according to Blochet, meaning 'steel bull'. The *Shajratul Atrak* says that in the campaign against the Tatars the Moghools under Yusookai 'plundered the Tatar hordes and took prisoners their chiefs Timoocheen Ooka and Kara Baka'. (The *Shajratul Atrak,* Miles' translation, p. 62.)

112. Timuchin Uka is Tamūchīn Aukah in the *Jamiut Tawarikh,* Khorbugha is Kho-ri-bu-hua in the Chinese text and Qūrbughā or Qūrbuqā in the *Jamiut Tawarikh.*

113. The date of the birth of Temuchin is given differently by our authorities. Raverty, on the authority of Muslim historians, says in his note that 'Yassūkā's Khātūn, who was named Ulūn-Ankah, of the tribe of Ūlkūnūt, who was pregnant, gave birth to a son on the 20th of Ziqaadh (the eleventh month in the Muslim calendar) 549 H. (This year commenced on the 18th of the month of March, 1154 A.D.). To commemorate his victory over the Tāttārs, by Sūghū-jijan's advice, he named that son Tamur-chī, afterwards Chingiz Khan.' (*Raverty*: p. 898, note.) The *Shajratul Atrak* says, "When Yusookai Bahadoor had successfully completed his expedition, and was on the road to return home, he was met by Chup Koonchi Dana, a messenger, who informed him that Aloon Yoonke Khatoon, his queen, had presented him with a son. It is related that this child was born on the 9th of Zil Hijh, 540 H. (1146 A.D.) in the Turkish year of Boar; and some say he was born on the 20th of Ziqaadh, in the Tungooz-eel, 549 H." (The *Shajratul Atrak,* Miles' translation, pp. 62-3.) The Mongol or Turkish tradition places the birth of Temuchin, the death of Yesugai and the death of Chengis Khan all in the year of Boar (or Hog) in the Turkish or Chinese calendar (i.e. 1155, 1167 and 1227 A.D.). Neither the *Secret History* nor the *Chin-jeng-lu* (which was probably written some years after 1271 A.D. during the reign of Kublai Khan) mention the date of Temuchin's birth; while the *Yuan-shi* holds that he lived for sixty-six years, which is also the number of years given to him by the *Chin-jeng-lu.* According to Muslim sources, Temuchin should have lived seventy-three years. The compilers of the *Yuan-shi,* who did their work with limited facilities at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.), probably relied upon the number of years given to Chengis Khan in the *Chin-jeng-lu,* which as an authority for the early history of the Mongols seems to be inferior to the *Jamiut Tawarikh,* for Rashiduddin claims to have seen the *Altan Depter.* Besides, the number of years given in the

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Deliun-Boldak[114] on the bank of the Onon. Temuchin was grasping a lump of clotted blood in his fist at the time of his birth. As he was born at the time of the capture of Temuchin Uka he was named Temuchin.[115]

Oyelun gave birth to four sons,[116] called Temuchin, Khasar

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Yuan-shi and the *Chin-jeng-lu* does not fit in with the events related in the *Secret History* and the Muslim sources. Minhajus Siraj Jurjani, who finished his work, the *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* on the 5th of the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal in the year 658 H. (about the 17th February, 1260 A.D.) and whose information was quite independent of Mongol or Turkish sources, says: "Trustworthy persons have related that the Chingiz Khan, at the time when he came into Khurasan, was sixty-five years old, a man of tall stature, of vigorous build, robust in body, the hair on his face scanty and turned white, with cat's eyes, possessed of great energy, discernment, genius, and understanding, awe-striking, a butcher, just, resolute, an overthrower of enemies, intrepid, sanguinary, and cruel." (The *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* Raverty's translation, p. 1077.) From the description given above, it seems quite clear that the 'trustworthy' informants of the author of the *Tabaka-i Nasiri* were witnesses of some of the scenes in Khurasan at the time. They could only have made an approximate estimate of his age. Sixty-five years of the Muslim or western computation may be styled by the Chinese sixty-six or sixty-seven (i.e. the sixty-sixth or sixty-seventh year or the calendar year, not the day, he was born). Now the *Shajratul Atrak* tells us that Chengis Khan 'crossed the ford of Turmuz to Balkh' 'at the expiration of the winter season, or Zil Hijh 617 H.' (The *Shajratul Atrak,* Miles' translation, pp. 148-9.) This means that Chengis Khan came to Khurasan at the beginning of 1221 A.D. and that the estimate of Minhajus Siraj's informants is approximately correct. Abul Fazl also says in the *Akbar Nama* that Ulun Anaga 'gave birth to a noble son on 20th Zilqaadh 549 H. (26th Jan., 1155 A.D.), in the cycle-year of Hog (*Tankuz*).' The last date seems to have been generally accepted by the later historians.

114. Deliun-Boldak reads Beliun Pan-tau in the *Yuan-shi* and *Chin-jeng-lu;* it is the Dilun-Yilduk of the Muslim historians. The place is said to have been found by some Russian on the bank of the Onon river bearing the same name. *Bolda* means 'high mound' or in Chinese *'Pan-tau'* (i.e. hill); *deliun* is *delbun* meaning in Mongol 'four'. Therefore, the place should have four high mounds. According to Ding it is somewhere on the old border between Russia and China.

115. Minhajus Siraj wrongly says, "The name of the father of this Chingiz Khan, the accursed, was the Tattar, Tamur-chi." (The *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* Raverty's translation, p. 935.) According to Raverty, *Tamur-chi* means 'iron-like', not 'black-smith'.

116. The *Shajratul Atrak* says differently: "Yusookai Bahadoor besides Timoochin had four sons by the same wife; their names were Joji, Koosar, Kuchghoon and Ooche; their descendants are numerous. Yusookai had by another of his wives a son named Tulkooti; this young man was inseparable from his father in the field, and in his domestic concerns; he had also several other sons, whose names are Ootogeen Noyan, Elja Noyan, Tukoot and Rookai." (The *Shajratul Atrak,* Miles' translation, pp. 63-64.) The names in Miles' translation are doubtful. Koosar is Khasar in the *Secret History;* Kuchghoon, Khachiun; Ooche, as the youngest son of Oyelun, is probably Temuga, whose name is given as Otchigin in the later passages of this work and O-chi-gin in the *Yuan-shi.* O-chi-gin is *Udjughen* in Mongol, meaning 'little' (according to Bretschneider). It is often found as a part of the name of the youngest son of a Mongol. The *Jamiut Tawarikh* reads Khasar as Qasār, who was better known as Chūchī Qasār; Khachiun as Qāchīūn and Temuga as Tamūkah Ūtchikīn. The writer of the *Shajratul Atrak* committed his first mistake by reading 'Chuchi Qasar' as the names of two persons; the second mistake is probably an error of the copyist on account of the difficult spelling of the word Otchigin. Tulkooti is evidently the Belgutai of the *Secret History,* and the importance of this brother to Chengis Khan, as we shall see in the later parts of this work, is by no means over-estimated; but Bekter, the elder brother of Belgutai in the *Secret History,* has been omitted in the *Shajratul Atrak,* possibly owing to the embarrassment at relating his death at the hands of his brothers, Temuchin and Khasar.

Khachiun and Temuga (Otchigin) and a daughter, called Temulun. When Temuchin was nine years of age, Khasar was seven, Khachiun five, and Temuga three ; the girl Temulun was still in the cradle.[117] When Temuchin was nine years old, his father, Yesugai, brought him to his maternal uncle of the Olkhuna (Olkhunut) tribe in order to find among their daughters a wife for Temuchin. On arriving at a place between Cheksar and Chikhurgu mountains, he met Dae Sechen[118] of the Ungira (Ungirat) tribe. "Where are you going, Yesugai?"[119] Dae Sechen asked. "I am going to this son's maternal uncle of the Olkhuna," Yesugai replied, "to ask for a girl to be his wife." "This son of yours has a pair of piercing eyes and a bright face," Dae Sechen remarked. "Last night I dreamt that a white falcon,[120] which was holding the sun and the moon in its talons, flew to me and perched on my hand. I said to someone that we can only see the sun and the moon (from afar) but now a white falcon has perched on my hand with the sun and the moon in its talons. This must be a good omen. To-day your presence with your son here has revealed to me the significance of my dream. It presages that good fortune will attend your son's courting. We, the Ungira family,[121] have never quarrelled with others for land or subjects. If we have any beautiful girls we would be glad to see them sit on thrones as the queens of your royal family. Generally speaking, in a contract of marriage the boy is honoured for the position of his family and the girl for her beauty. Yesugai, I have

117. Blochet's translation of the first chapter of *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* (the *Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*) ends here. This chapter has been restored into Mongol by H. Pozdneief of St. Petersburg. Blochet had only one copy which had been rendered into the Russian script specially for him. The first part of the present Chinese text goes beyond this. I am unable to say whether the original Chinese or Mongol text used by the Russians was incomplete or the Russian and French writers did not proceed further with their work.

118. Dae Sechen or Dae the Wise, was a chief of a tribe of the Jungirats (i.e. the Ungira of the *Secret History* or the Hungili of the *Yuan-shi*), who were regarded by the Chinese as 'White Tatars'. The Jungirats or the Khungirats inhabited in those days the land north-east of Lake Kolen (or Lake Khulun) on the eastern bank of the Argun and, according to the *Yuan-shi*, on the banks of the Gan river (Long. 120-122 and Lat. 50-51). According to his biography in the *Yuan-shi*, his original name was De (or Te-in); the title 'sechen' was awarded to him later for his meritorious service. Ding found on a map of the Hei-lung-kiang (the Amur river) an ancient city of Hungili to the north of the Gan river, but we do not know when this city was built. It is suggested that the two mountains, Chaksar (or Chekcher) and Chikhurgu (or Chikhurkhu) are to the north-east of Lake Khulun and on the eastern bank of the Argun. In other words, they should be somewhere between the lands of the Tatars and the Jungirats, probably north of the river Hailal (Lat. 49-50). The mountains were of great strategic importance, and in his battle against Jamukha, Chengis sent his scouts to these two mountains first.

119. Dae Sechen calls Yesugai 'Chin-jia' or 'father of the son-in-law' in the Chinese text. But he had not taken Temuchin as his son-in-law yet. Therefore this appellation, which is given to him before time in the text, has been dropped.

120. The white falcon reads in the text as *Pai-hai-chin*.

121. The Chinese designated the Jungirats as 'White Tatars' and the Mongols as 'Black Tatars'. The White Tatars seem to have had closer contact with the Chinese. Temuchin first came into contact with Chinese merchants probably during his stay at his father-in-law's place.

a daughter at home. She is still of tender age, but come and have a look at her." Then Dae Sechen conducted his guests to his house.

On entering the house, Yesugai rejoiced in his heart at the sight of the beautiful girl, who was ten years of age and only one year older than Temuchin. She was named Bortei. Father and son passed that night in the house. Next day Yesugai (formally) asked the girl for Temuchin. Dae Sechen asked, "Does a thing appear to be of higher value if it is given only after much begging, or does it become less important if it is given in reply to a few words of request? There cannot be any reason for allowing a girl to grow old in her parents' house. I give my daughter to your son but let your son stay here as my son-in-law." After an agreement had been reached between the two families, Yesugai said, "My son is afraid of dogs ; please do not let dogs frighten him." He left one spare horse there as a token of betrothal and returned alone.

DEATH OF YESUGAI, TEMUCHIN'S FATHER

On his way back Yesugai came to the Cheksar (mountain) where he saw the Tatars feasting. He was at that moment very hungry and thirsty owing to his long ride. Unaware that the Tatars had recognized him, he dismounted ; but the Tatars, who had recognized him, said to each other: "Yesugai Kiyan[122] has come." And remembering that he had captured their own people, they secretly mixed some poison in his food. Yesugai remounted and resumed his journey after taking the poisoned food. On the way he felt indisposed, and when

122. In the earlier passages of the present history, Yesugai is regularly entitled Bahadur; why the Tatars suddenly called him Yesugai Kiyan here is interesting. 'Kiyan' was, according to the *Jamiut Tawarikh*, the name of a Mongol of great antiquity. According to Rashiduddin, the Mongols were exterminated some two thousand years before his time (i.e. about 700 B.C.) by a coalition of neighbouring tribes; and so perfect was the work of slaughter that there remained of the Mongols only two men, Nikeuz and Kiyan. These two along with their wives succeeded in escaping and took refuge in a mountain tract, called Erkanah-kūn (or, Erkineghoum, according to Blochet, *Introduction*, p. 204.). Fanakati relates the same event, but he calls the two persons who escaped the slaughter, Naguz and Kaian. Although the story seems fantastic, still the name, Kiyan, is not without significance. The plural form of Kiyan is 'Kiyat', the name of a Mongol tribe. Yesugai's eldest brother was called Mongedu Kiyan; Chengis Khan is also called in the *Li-tai-ki-sse* 'Ki-yo-un' Timuchin (Timuchin Qian, in the Persian transcription). Chengis Khan's family evidently belongs to the Kiyat. When Chengis Khan's power enhanced the prestige of the tribe, it would be the desire of every Mongol to belong to it. It seems to me very probable that under these circumstances the panegyrists of the later Mongols would be inclined to manufacture an extermination story the net result of which was to give to all Mongols the same ancestor as Chengis Khan and to enlarge the Kiyat tribe so as to include all the Mongols. This suggestion will explain why later historians have attached so much importance to the extermination story, which is put at an age concerning which no historian could say anything definite about the steppes. The author of the *Secret History* writing at a time when the legend had not been manufactured naturally attaches no great importance to the term *Kiyan*.

he reached home after a journey of three days, his health became precarious.

"Who is near me?" Yesugai asked on his sick bed, "My heart is sore within me." Munlik,[123] son of Charakha, happened to be there. Yesugai called him and said: "My sons are still young. I was poisoned by the Tatars on my way home after I had Temuchin betrothed. Now my heart fails me. Go to my brothers and sisters-in-law and inform them. But first bring Temuchin back quickly." Soon after saying these words he passed away.[124]

123. Munlik is given in the *Yuan-shi* as *'Ming-li-ye-chi-ko'*.

124. It seems to be implied by the *Secret History* that Yesugai died immediately after his return from the Ungira, when Temuchin was nine years old; but it also mentions later that Temuchin and Jamukha became *anda* when the former was eleven years old. This event must have taken place in the lifetime of Yesugai; for after his death all the Da-da tribes revolted against his family and Temuchin could not have leisurely entered into this relation with Jamukha. According to the *Yuan-shi* the death of Yesugai occurred when Temuchin was thirteen years old; the *Jamiut Tawarikh* also holds that his death occurred on the cycle-year of Boar. The *Shajratul Atrak* assigns 562 H. as the date for the death of Yesugai. If Chengis was born in 549 H. and Yesugai died in 562 H., then Chengis must have been thirteen, and not nine, at the time of his father's death.

Part II

CAPTURE OF TEMUCHIN BY THE TAICHIUTS

In accordance with Yesugai's instructions, Munlik went and said to Dae Sechen, "Yesugai wants to see Temuchin very badly and has asked me to bring him back." "Since his father is grieved," Dae Sechen replied, "Do take him home. But do not forget to bring him back immediately afterwards." Thus Temuchin was brought back to Yesugai's place. In the following spring, the two widows of Anbahai Khakhan, Urbe and Sakhatai, made seasonal offerings. Oyelun, who came late, was refused her share in the feast as well as the sacrificial meat. "Yesugai is dead," she asked, "but will not my sons grow up? Why do you deny us our share of the sacrificial meat and the ready feast? Has the time come that you will not even inform us when you break camp?" "You do not have the courtesy to greet us," the two women replied, "but you will join the feast whenever you see it. Is it because Anbahai Khakhan is dead that you have begun to speak to us in this manner?"

After this retort they decided to leave Oyelun and her sons behind. When next day the tribe broke camp, Tarkhugi (Tarkhutai) Kiriltukh, Todoyan Girtei[1] and others deserted Oyelun and her sons and moved away to the summer resort. Charakha, the old man, tried to persuade them to change their mind, but Todoyan Girtei remarked: "The deep water is gone and the bright stone is broken."[2] They would not listen to the old man, and when they were starting one of them thrust a spear into Charakha's back. Old Charakha, thus wounded, went home to lie in his house. Temuchin came to see him. The old man said to him: "The people whom your father had collected together as well as those who belonged to me have been taken away by them. I was wounded when I tried to intervene." Temuchin came out with tears in his eyes. Oyelun mounted a horse, ordered her men to bring their long spears, and led them in pursuit of the deserters. She succeeded in getting back one-half of

1. The *Chin-jeng-lu* mentions two sons of Adan Ko-han, the ruler of the Taichiut tribe, namely Tarbutai and Khubadu, who started their dispute with Temuchin's family. Tarkhutai Kiriltukh is Tārghūtāi Qaraltūq, son of Ādāl Khan, in the *Jamiut Tawarikh; Kiriltukh* (*Qaraltūq*) means 'envy' or 'greed'.

2. It is also said in Part V: "The deep water could be cut in between and strong stone smashed to pieces." 'Deep water' and 'strong stone' were often referred to in current Mongolian proverbs. Here the word 'bright' seems to have been wrongly substituted for 'strong'. The implication is that Yesugai was dead and his wife and sons had no one to depend upon.

them, but even this half, though brought back, refused to stay with her. They all went to seek the protection of the Taichiuts.

Thus deserted by the Taichiuts, the able and resolute mother of Temuchin resorted to picking fruits and digging roots in order to feed her sons ; and her sons, who grew up under these hard conditions, developed princely qualities. Oyelun's sons, though reared on simple vegetable diet, proved strong enough to resist any aggressor. In their effort to provide better food for their mother, they went fishing on the bank of the Onon with fishing-hooks of needles and a hand-made net. One day when the four brothers, Temuchin, Khasar, Bektor and Belgutai, were fishing on the bank of the river, Temuchin caught a golden fish. Bektor and Belgutai, Temuchin's brothers by a different mother, snatched it away. Temuchin along with Khasar returned home and said to his mother, "I caught a fish but Bektor and Belgutai robbed me of it." "How could your brothers behave like this," their mother asked, "like one who has no companion apart from his own shadow, no whip apart from his own tail? We suffered injury at the hands of the Taichiut brothers and were unable to seek revenge. Would you like to follow the example of the five sons of the Lady Alan and remain for ever irreconciled? You should not behave like this!"

Temuchin and Khasar were still dissatisfied. "Yesterday we shot a sparrow," they complained, "and it was seized by them ; today we caught a fish and they again took it away. How can we get along together in this manner?" With these words the two brothers turned away from their mother, slammed the door-flap and departed. At that time Bektor was sitting on the top of a hill and grazing his horses. Temuchin stole up stealthily behind him while Khasar went in front. When they drew their bows to shoot Bektor, he saw them and said, "The Taichiut brothers have wronged us and we are still awaiting the opportunity for revenge. Why do you regard me as a hair in your eye and a splinter in your mouth? If you will not be reconciled to me and are determined to kill me, please do so. But you should not desert my Belgutai." He sat down with legs bent under him and waited for their shots. Temuchin and Khasar shot from both sides and he was killed instantly. When Temuchin and Khasar returned home, their mother observed the colour of their faces and immediately realized what had happened. "When you were born," she said, "your hand held a piece of black blood. Now you are like a dog that eats the sack that brings her baby, a furious beast that jumps over the cliff, a lion that cannot restrain its anger, a serpent that swallows living creatures, a falcon that dashes at its own shadow, a great fish that engulfs other creatures noiselessly, a camel that bites the heels of its own youngsters, a wolf that hunts its prey in the snow-storm, a pair of teals that eat up their baby when they cannot drive it on, a jackal in guard of its den, a tiger snatching its

prey and a mad animal rushing here and there. You have no companion except your shadow and no whip except your own tail. We suffered at the hands of the Taichiut brothers, yet we could not retaliate. How can you go on without striving for revenge, when you think of all this? And keeping this fact in your mind, how could you have behaved like this?" Further, she quoted many sayings of old folk in reprimanding her sons.

The family lived in peace for a time till Kiritukh roused the Taichiuts to take preventive measures against Temuchin's family. "We deserted Temuchin's family," he said, "Now he and his brothers are like little birds with lengthened features and like the growing offsprings of wild beasts. In time they may grow to be too strong for us." He collected his followers and came in search of Temuchin. When Oyelun and her children saw them coming, they were frightened. Belgutai felled trees in the forest to fortify the place and hid the three little ones, Khachiun, Temuga and Temulun in a cover.[3] But when Khasar and the Taichiuts were shooting at each other in a combat, the latter shouted ; "If you hand over Temuchin, your eldest brother, we will spare the rest of you." On this account Temuchin was greatly frightened and, mounting a horse, fled into the depths of the forest. When the Taichiuts saw him escape, they chased him to Mount Terguni.[4] But Temuchin hid himself in the deep forest and the Taichiuts, unable to reach him, had to encircle the mountain and keep a close watch.

Temuchin spent three nights in the deep forest and then pulled out his horse, intending to fly away. But when he was about to emerge from the forest, the saddle of his horse fell to the ground. He turned round and saw that the breast-strap and the girth were both fixed securely. "It may be possible," he said to himself, "for the saddle to fall with the girth still fastened ; but how can it fall

3. Raverty says: "In 584 H. (1187-88 A.D.) he became a captive in the hands of the Turkūtās or Turkūtāe Karīltūk, the Badshah, as he is styled, great-grandson of Hammanka of the Tanjuts." Further, he adds: "In 579 H. (1183 A.D.) the Nairuns (i.e. the descendants of Alan Goa by the Light) began to return to their allegiance and Temuchin succeeded in bringing some other tribes under his sway."

These statements call for some remarks.

Hammanka here is Humeka of the *Shajratul Atrak* or Anbahai of the *Secret History*. But he is, in both accounts, the grandson of Kaidu's second son and not, as Raverty relates, the son of Kaidu's second son. The Tanjuts of Raverty are the Taichiuts of the *Secret History*

The date, 584 H., for the capture of Chengis by the Taichiuts also cannot be accepted. In that year Temuchin was thirty-five years old, having been born in 549 H., Khachiun was thirty-one and Temuga was twenty-seven, if their relative ages given by the *Secret History* are correct. If so, Khachiun and Temuga would have been old enough to fight. The second date, 579 H., for the return of the Nairuns to Chengis Khan is also wrong, for Chengis did not command any Mongol or Da-da tribes until several years after his escape from the captivity of the Taichiuts. Chengis was probably captured by the Taichiuts in some year after he had reached his teens.

4. Mount Terguni could not be far away from the Onon river, but it remains unidentified.

when the breast-strap is holding it? Perhaps the Sky[5] (God) is preventing me." So he turned back and hid himself in the forest for another three days. When he came out again, he found a white rock, as big as a tent, blocking his way. "God wishes that I should stay here longer," Temuchin said to himself, and he returned to his hiding place for another three days. During these nine days he had to go without food. At last he reflected, "It is better to get out than to die here in this obscure way." He cut the wood besides the rock with the knife, which he used to keep for cutting arrows, and led his horse down the hill. As soon as he came out, he was captured by the Taichiuts, who had been watching outside all the time.

Having caught Temuchin, Tarkhutai Kiriltukh paraded him among the Taichiut people and ordered him to be confined for one night in every tent in rotation. Then, on the sixteenth of the fourth month, the Taichiuts had a great feast on the bank of the Onon. The party dispersed at about sunset and a youngster was put in charge of the prisoner. Temuchin, seeing that the people had dispersed, hit the youngster on the head with his *kang*[6] (yoke) and the latter fell down unconscious. Temuchin ran into a forest on the bank of the Onon and lay down (to hide himself). Then, fearing lest they might find him there, he slipped into the shallow course of the Onon and kept himself under the water with only his face above the surface. In the meantime the youngster regained his consciousness and shouted: "Has the man whom we caught run away?" The Taichiuts, who had dispersed, collected together again and in the moonlight, which was bright as the day, they searched, file by file, into the forest on the bank of the Onon. But only a man called Sorkhan Shira of the Suldus (or Suldut) tribe[7] discovered Temuchin on his way. Seeing Temuchin in the water, he said, "It is only on account of your cleverness that the Taichiut brothers hate you. Be very careful. You may remain lying here, for I will not report you." Having said this, he went away.[8]

When the Taichiuts were intending to make a more thorough search, Sorkhan Shira said, "You lost the man in daytime. How will

5. The Sky—*Tengiri* or *Il-Tengiri*—is the Mongol equivalent of God. The Mongols after their conversion to Islam often referred to God as *Tengiri-Ta'alā*, just as the Persians used the term, *Khudā-i Ta'alā* (the High God).

6. *Kang* is the *do-shākhah* (of the two branches) of the Persian writers; it is a sort of portable pillory, described as a block of wood with two branches: hence the Persian term.

7. The Suldus (or Suldut) was a tribe of the Mongols, which was later assigned to Chaghtai's contingent together with three other *Hazarah* (Thousands) of the tribes of Barlas, Karayat, and Suniat. (*Raverty*: p. 1093, note.) Sorkhan Shira is Surghan Shirah in the Persian transcription.

8. The Taichiuts, who had deserted Temuchin's family, seem to have moved to some new place. This new camping place has not been named, but it is clear from the context of this paragraph that they were camping all the time along the Onon river, within the present Russian boundary. After his escape, Temuchin shifted his tents to the source of the Senkur river because he was afraid that the Taichiut might attack him again.

you find him now in the darkness of the night? It would be better to return by the way we have come and search all places on the way more carefully. After that we may disperse for the night. Tomorrow, we should gather together and resume our search. With the *kang* on his shoulders the man cannot go far." They returned, searching all their way back. Sorkhan Shira again passed by Temuchin's hiding place and informed him: "This is the last search. After this we will go home and return to continue our search tomorrow. After we have left, you may go to find your mother and brothers, but do not tell anyone that I have seen you." Then, leaving Temuchin he went home.

After they had left, Temuchin reflected silently within himself: "During the night I passed in the custody of Sorkhan Shira, his two sons, Shenbai and Chilaun, showed pity on me and loosened my *kang* for the night. Now Sorkhan Shira has not informed the others, though he saw me twice, and passed on. If I go to him, he is sure to save me." So Temuchin walked down the Onon to seek Sorkhan Shira.

The distinguishing peculiarity of Sorkhan Shira's tent was the sound of churning mare's milk through the night till the dawn. On hearing this sound, Temuchin approached the tent and entered it. Sorkhan Shira said, "I advised you to find your mother and brothers. Why have you come here?" But his two sons, Shenbai and Chilaun, said, "When a sparrow is chased by an eagle[9] into the thick grass, the grass can shelter it and save its life. Are we not comparable to grass even in saving the life of a man who seeks our protection?" They took off the *kang* from Temuchin's shoulders and burnt it; then they hid him in a cart full of wool, which was behind their tent and asked their younger sister, Khadaan, to guard the cart and not to tell anyone.

On the third day[10] the Taichiut brothers became suspicious and said: "Some one may have hidden Temuchin. Let us search our own camp. When they came to Sorkhan Shira's tent, they searched the rooms, the carts and even underneath the beds. At last they came to the above-mentioned cart, which was loaded with wool, and began to throw off the wool from the cart. But Sorkhan Shira said calmly, "In such a hot weather, how could anyone survive under all that wool?" The searchers for this reason came down from the cart.

When the searchers had departed, Sorkhan Shira said to Temuchin, "You had nearly undone me. Had they found you, the smoke and fire of my house would have been extinguished for ever. You must now go to seek your mother and brothers." He offered Temuchin a white-nosed sorrel mare without saddle and boiled for

9. The present text reads *lung-do-rh* for eagle.

10. The text says 'third' day, while Vladimirtsov describes the search as having taken place on the following morning.

him a fat lamb, that had been reared by two she-goats, and put it for him in a leather basket. Further, he gave Temuchin a leather-bag of mare's milk and equipped him with a bow and arrows but no flint. After these preparations for the journey were over, the family bade him God-speed. Temuchin started for his old camping place and rode towards the upper course of the Onon. There was a rivulet, called Kimurkha, which flowed into the Onon from the west. He found tracks by the side of that rivulet and followed them towards the source of the Kimurkha. Near this rivulet was a mountain, called Baiter, in front of which was an isolated hill, called Ghurchuhui. Here he met his mother and brothers.

FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN TEMUCHIN AND BOGURCHI

After meeting them, Temuchin removed his camp again to the Gulyalgu mountains in front of Mount Burkhan.[11] In the Gulyalgu

11. Burkhan or Burkhan-kaldun to the precincts of which Temuchin moved his camp was traditionally the old grazing ground of the Mongol Borjigin clan.

Kara Nor or Black Lake is referred to in the text as *Chin-hai-tsi. Chin* in Chinese means 'black' and *hai-tsi* means 'lake'.

Chin-hai-tsi or Kara Nor, near which Temuchin encamped, is said to have been in the Gulyalgu mountains. Kara Nor (i.e. Chara Nor in German) is given on Map 75 of Stieler's Atlas of Modern Geography at the source of the Tola (or Tula) river, and not far to the west of the sources of the Onon and Kerulen rivers. The Kara Nor (Long. 108, Lat. 49) is surrounded by high mountains: the Kentei mountains to the north, the Altan-Ulugui to the east, and the Guntu mountains to the west. The Tola river derives its sources from these mountains and flows southward. The Kara Nor is close to the centre of the sources of the three rivers, which are generally accepted as the traditional homeland of Chengis Khan and his ancestors. It is mentioned in Part VII of the *Secret History* that Chengis Khan in a message to his cousin Altan, who was camping in his old homeland, urged him to do his best in defence of the sources of the three rivers (i.e. the Onon, the Kerulen and the Tola), if necessary. The *Chin-jeng-lu* also refers to the sources of the three rivers as the traditional homeland of Chengis Khan and his ancestors. Moreover, the area around this lake and within the three mountain ranges appears to be a natural shelter for a threatened tribe. But the Kara Nor is at a distance to the west of the Senkur and they are separated by the Altan-Ulugui mountains. When Temuchin removed his camp westward to Kara Nor, he must have covered a considerable distance; the Gulyalgu mountains and the Senkur river lay on his way thither. Had they been in the same locality, it would have been unnecessary for our author to mention all of them. The Gulyalgu, in my opinion, was the name of the mountains on both sides of the Senkur river, because it is clearly stated that the river is in the Gulyalgu mountains. Kara Jirga, though unidentified, is referred to in the text as a small hill on the bank of the Senkur river. However, the *Yu-mu-chi* states that on the eastern border of the Left Banner in the Right Wing of the Tsu-tsen Khan were the 'Kulyeh' (hills) and that these hills were just in front of Mount Burkhan, east of the Senkur river and near to Kara Nor. ('Kulyeh' here sounds similar to 'Gulyeh'.) A little south of these hills is Saali, where lived the shepherds of Temuchin. Kin Yu-tsi's *Pei-jeng-hou-lu* of the Ming Dynasty says, "*Sa-li-k'ie-rh* (i.e. *Sa-a-li*) was the place where *Tai-tsu* of the Yuan (Chengis Khan) began his career." This indicates that the place is near to the Kulyeh mountains.

Saali is referred to in the *Jamiut Tawarikh* as *Sari Kihar;* in Palladius' translation of the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* as *Saari Keher;* and in the *Yuan-shi* as the river Sali, where, according to both the *Secret History* and *Chin-jeng-lu,* Chengis died. (*Kihar* in modern Mongol means 'a plain'.) Bretschneider says, "On the ancient map of Mongolia found in the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* 'Sa-li-k'ie-rh' [P.T.O.

mountains was the Senkur river, on the bank of which was a small hill, named Kara Jirga, and also the Chin-hai-tsai (Kara Nor or Black Lake), on the side of which he pitched his camp. Here he made a living by hunting marmots and wild mice. One day eight white geldings of Temuchin's family were stolen by some thieves, and the only mount left was the sorrel mare on which Belgutai, his half-brother, had gone to hunt marmots. When in the evening it returned loaded with marmots, Temuchin said to Belgutai, "Some thieves have driven away our horses." "I will go for them," Belgutai proposed. "You don't go," interrupted Khasar, "It is I who will go." "Neither of you," Temuchin decided. "I will go myself." So mounting the sorrel mare, he followed the tracks of the eight stolen horses and rode continuously for three days and nights. Early on the fourth morning he came across a big herd of horses and among them he saw an adroit young man milking a mare. "Have you seen eight grey horses pass this way?" Temuchin asked. "Before sunrise this morning eight horses such as you describe were driven this way," the young man answered. "I can show you their trail." He then unsaddled Temuchin's horse and gave him in exchange a white horse with black stripes on its back so that he may continue his pursuit. The young man, instead of returning home, hid his leather pail and bag in the grass and said to Temuchin: "You have come here in a great difficulty such as befalls all of us, young men. I will accompany you in your pursuit. My father is called Nakhu Bayan ; I am his only son. My name is Bogurchi." They rode together after the trail of the eight horses for three nights more. On the fourth day, towards sunset, they saw the eight horses in a man's enclosure. "My comrade," said Temuchin, "You just stand here while I go and drive out these horses from the enclosure." "As I have come in your company," Bogurchi replied, "Why should I stay here?" They then gallopped their horses into the enclosure and drove out the horses, while the men (i.e. the thieves) came out and chased them. A man on a white horse, handling a lasso, came close behind Temuchin and

Continued]
is marked south of the river Wa-nan (Onon). And close to 'Sa-li-k'ie-rh', we read, 'Here was the original abode of the Yuan (Mongols), (*Mediaeval Researches,* Vol. I, p. 157-8.)

According to the *Yu-mu-chi* and the map in the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien,* the Kara Nor should be near to both the Senkur and the Onon rivers and the Kulyeh or Gulyalgu hills; from the context of the description given by the *Yu-mu-chi,* it seems probable that Kara Nor was east of the Senkur river. A name, like Kara Nor, is not singular in the geography of the steppes; it is quite possible that there was, or is, a lake bearing this name east of the Senkur river or near the source of the Onon. But on the modern maps I am unable to find any Kara Nor in that area except a lake bearing this name which is certainly closer to the Tola (Tula) river than to the Senkur or the Onon. The location of this Kara Nor needs further investigation.

The Senkur river, a tributary of the Kerulen, at Long. 100-110, Lat. 47-48, can be found in modern maps. It is full of a certain kind of water-plant, called in Mongol, *sen-ku-rh* or in Chinese *fei;* hence the name.

his comrade. "Give me your bow and quiver," Bogurchi said to Temuchin, "I will shoot him in a combat." "I am afraid that you may be wounded on my account" Temuchin replied, "I can match him in shooting." Temuchin then turned to the man on the white horse, who was shouting and preparing to hurl his lasso, and stopped him with an arrow-shot. When the rest of the thieves came up, the sun was setting and it was growing dark. They lagged behind and ultimately gave up the pursuit.[12]

Temuchin and Bogurchi then rode for three days and nights continuously on their way back to Nakhu Bayan's place. Temuchin said to Bogurchi: "I could hardly have brought back these horses without your help. So we shall divide them between us. How many of them would you like to have?" "I accompanied you and assisted you because I realized your difficulty," Bogurchi replied, "How can I accept any unforeseen gift from you? I am the only son of my father and will inherit his properties which are enough for me. I cannot take anything from you. If I did so, where would be the virtue of my accompanying and assisting you?"

On reaching home, they saw Bogurchi's father coming out of the house with tears in his eyes, for the old man had been grieved at the loss of his son. When he suddenly noticed the two young men approaching, he looked at him critically and began to blame him in his tears. Bogurchi replied, "I do not know why I so readily accompanied this nice fellow when he came to me in his difficulty. Anyhow we have come back." He then took out the hidden leather pail and bag and killed a fat lamb, which had been reared by two she-goats. He filled the leather bag with mare's milk and equipped Temuchin with the necessary baggage and food for the journey. Nakhu Bayan said, "Henceforth you two young men must always help, and never desert, each other." Temuchin took leave of them and resumed his journey, which took three days. Ultimately he reached his home on the bank of the Senkur river. His mother, Oyelun, and his brothers, Khasar and others, were overjoyed when they saw Temuchin again, for they had been much worried by his long absence.

MARRIAGE OF TEMUCHIN

When Temuchin was nine years of age, he had parted from Bortei Yechin (Uchin),[13] the daughter of Dae Sechen. He now proceeded with his brother, Belgutai, down the Kerulen river towards Dae Sechen's pastures between the two mountains, Choksar and Chikurkhu. Dae Sechen was overjoyed at seeing Temuchin and said, "When I heard of the hatred of the Taichiut brothers for you, I was much grieved and almost lost all hope of meeting you. And today I actually see you again." He gave his daughter, Bortei, to Temuchin in marriage; and he and his wife, Sotan, escorted the newly-wedded couple back towards the bridegroom's home. On reaching the border of Ulakh-chaul on the bank of the Kerulen, Dae Sechen returned home, while Sotan accompanied the couple up to Temuchin's home and returned after she had settled her daughter there.

After Sotan had settled her daughter in Temuchin's house and returned to her own home, Temuchin wanted to have Bogurchi's company and sent Belgutai to bring him. When Bogurchi came out to meet Belgutai, he again did not take leave of his father but mounted on a humpbacked sorrel horse; and carrying only a black coat with him, he accompanied Belgutai to Temuchin, from whom he never parted afterwards.

12. Vladimirtsov says that the thieves cannot be identified. (*Vladimirtsov*, p. 23.) The *Mong-gu-yuan-liu* or the *Origin of the Mongols* says that the horse-thieves were men of the *Dai-chin-goo-teh* clan of the tribe of the Taichiuts. The *Yuan-yen-fu-kuan-ping-wang-pei* says that these thieves belonged to the tribe of *Yu-rh-gin*.

Bogurchi is referred to in the *Yuan-shi* as *Bo-rh-jwu*. He is said to have been one of the four pillars of the early Mongol Empire.

13. *Uchin* or *yechin* means 'lady' or 'house-wife'. I have already pointed out that Temuchin was thirteen years old at the time of his marriage, and not nine years.

TEMUCHIN OFFERS TO WANG KHAN

(Temuchin and his company) moved from the bank of the Senkur river towards the source of the Kerulen and encamped at a riverine place called Burji.[14] Bortei Yechin (Uchin), the daughter of Sotan, had brought a sable cloak as her present for the ceremony of meeting her parents-in-law. Temuchin said, "My late father, Yesugai Bahadur, was the *anda* (sworn brother)[15] of Wang Khan of the Kerait tribe, who is now as good as a father to me. He is now camping in the Black Forests on the bank of the Tula river.[16] I will take this cloak to him." Temuchin and his two brothers took the present to Wang Khan. "In the old days you were in good accord with my father," Temuchin said to the Khan, "You are like a father to me now. My wife presented this cloak on the occasion of meeting her parents-in-law and I have brought it to you, my father." Thus

14. Ding says, Burji is on the bank of the Barkha river, the source of which is near to that of the Kerulen. The Birke range separates the two rivers to the east and west. The Tula (or Tola) river (Long. 104-108, Lat. 47-48.) appears in the *Tang-shu* (*History of the Tang*) as To-lo-ho or Tulo river. Wang Khan camped in the Black Forest on the bank of the Tula river. The Emperor Kang-hsi of the Tsin Dynasty defeated the Airut tribe at Chao-mu-do, which is identical with the place mentioned here. *Chao-mu-do* means 'big forest'.

15. It is also said that *anda* means 'companion in battle'. Wang Khan is Toghril in the later passages of the *Secret History*. 'Wang Khan' seems to be a later title conferred upon him by the Emperor of Kin. Toghril or Tughrul is described as 'a bird used in field sports, one of the falcon tribe, a jerfalcon probably'. (*Raverty*: p. 936, note 5.)

16. It reads 'Tu-u-la' here; Tu-la in Part III and Part XIII. It is evidently the Tola of the modern maps.

he presented the sable cloak to Wang Khan. The present pleased Wang Khan, who replied, "I shall collect for you your deserters and gather together your wandering people. Having met you, I will certainly remember all this."[17]

17. Raverty says on the authority of his Muslim sources: "In the year 589 H. (1193 A.D.), when in the fortieth year of his age, finding his enemies had entered into a confederacy to annihilate him, and that they were too numerous and too powerful to cope with, Tamurchi determined on taking refuge with Awang Khan, Tughrul-Tigin, and throwing himself on his protection, considering the friendship which had previously existed between his father, Yassuka, and the sovereign; and Karachar accompanied him." (*Raverty*: p. 939, note.) In other words, if we rely on Raverty's Muslim sources, Temuchin went to take refuge with Wang Khan two years after his escape from the Taichiuts. This escape, according to the same authorities, had taken place in 587 H. (1191 A.D.). Judging from the account given in the later passages of the *Secret History*, I am inclined to think that Temuchin did not stay with Wang Khan, but merely offered his allegiance to him; according to the *Secret History*, he called Wang Khan 'Father' from the time of his escape from the Taichiuts. Raverty adds: "For a period of eight years Timurchi remained with the Awang Khan during which time he did good service for him, and gained him several victories." (*Raverty*: p. 940, note.) The so-called victories and good service are said to have included the campaigns against Wang Khan's brother, Irkah Kara, who resisted Wang's authority, as well as against the Merkits, etc. In a later passage of the *Secret History* Chengis recalls the days he spent with Jamukha under the protection of Wang Khan, when jealousy first came to play in their boyish relations; but this must have happened at a time much earlier than Chengis' escape from the Taichiuts. The circumstances which Chengis related later would not have been possible after both Temuchin and Jamukha had grown up. We may, therefore, conclude that Temuchin remained loyal to Wang Khan for about eight years after his visit to the latter's camp in 589 H. (1193 A.D.); and that he had stayed on a previous occasion at Wang Khan's court for some time when he was of tender age while his father, Yesugai, was still alive

Part III

JELME JOINS TEMUCHIN

When Temuchin returned home from Wang Khan, an old man, Jarchiutai, came from the front of Mount Burkhan with a blacksmith's bellow on his back and brought with him his son, called Jelme. "When you were born at Deliun-Boldak," he said to Temuchin, "I gave you a swaddling-band lined with sable fur and presented my son, Jelme, to you, but as he was yet of a tender age, I kept him at home to bring him up. Now, I leave him to you to saddle your horse and wait at your door." With these words he left his son with Temuchin.

CAPTURE OF TEMUCHIN'S WIFE BY THE MERKITS

One morning soon afterwards, just before dawn, an old maid servant of Oyelun, who slept on the ground, suddenly woke up and called to her mistress: "O Mother! Rise quickly. I hear earth-shaking sounds. O Mother! Rise quickly." Oyelun replied, "Call up all my sons." With these words she sprang up. Soon Temuchin and all his brothers got up. Oyelun, Temuchin, Temuga, Otchigin, Belgutai, Bogurchi and Jelme each mounted a horse. Temulun, Oyelun's daughter, was carried by her mother on horse-back. Temuchin had a spare horse in readiness for himself, but Bortei got no horse to ride. Temuchin and his company rode up to Mount Burkhan. The old woman, called Ghuakhchen, in an attempt to hide the lady Bortei, made her sit in a black art[1] pulled by a pied cow. They drove towards the upper course of the small river Tengeli[2] while it was yet dark. About day-break they met on the way a group of mounted (Merkit)[3] men carrying torches with them. They asked her who she was. "I am coming from Temuchin's house," she replied, "I go round shearing sheep for rich families. Now, I am on my way home." "Is Temuchin in his *yurta* (camp)?" the mounted men asked, "How far is it from here?" "His house is not far," she replied, "but as I got out from the rear of the house and have left it, I do not know where he is."

After that party had left, Ghuakhchen, the old woman, whipped the pied cow to make her run fast. But the axle of the cart broke. They intended to run into the forest, but at that moment the (Merkit) troop of mounted men, who had already captured Belgutai's mother, put her in charge of a horseman and turned back, came up

1. i.e. *Kitbika*.
2. The small river seems to be the same river referred to elsewhere in this work as Tungeli.
3. The old maid-servant's suspicion that the Taichiut brothers had attacked was wrong. It was really a Merkit attack as the sequel makes clear. P. 26;

to them. "Is there anyone in this cart?" they asked. "There is only wool inside," answered the old woman. One of the men said to his comrades, "Brothers, let us dismount and see what is in there." They threw open the door of the cart and saw a young woman sitting inside. They pulled Bortei out of the cart, and carrying her and the old woman on horse-back, proceeded to follow Temuchin's tracks up to Mount Burkhan. They rode around Mount Burkhan three times in search of Temuchin, but though they tried here and there, they found no direct route to his hiding place except through the sticky morass and dense forest. They were, consequently, obliged to take a round-about way which made it impossible for them to reach their object. These pursuing horsemen consisted of three clans of the Merkits—Tokhtoa's men of the Uduit-Merkit, Dair Usun's men of the Uvas-Merkits, and Khaatai Darmala's men of the Khaat-Merkits. These three Merkit clans had come to seek vengeance from Temuchin because Yesugai had formerly snatched away Oyelun from (Yeke) Chiraidu. Finally, the Merkit raiders said to themselves, "By capturing Temuchin's wife, we have revenged the old insult offered to us." So content with their achievement, they descended from the hill and rode homewards.

DEFEAT OF THE MERKITS BY THE JOINT FORCES OF WANG KHAN, JAMUKHA AND TEMUCHIN

Temuchin, who did not know whether the Merkits had actually left or not, sent three men, Belgutai, Bogurchi and Jelme, from his hiding place to scout after the Merkit raiders. They rode for three nights and returned after they were satisfied that the Merkits had really gone. Temuchin descended from the mountain, struck his breast and exclaimed, "Thanks to Ghuakhchen, my old lady,[1] who possessed the ears of a skunk and the eyes of an ermine, I have had a narrow escape. Mount Burkhan has protected my insignificant life ; I will make constant sacrifices to it and so will my sons and grandsons." Then he turned towards the sun ; and hanging his girdle by his neck, taking his cap in his hand and striking (his hand upon) his breast, he knelt down nine times and made a libation of liquor distilled from mare's milk.

After this the three brothers, Temuchin, Khasar and Belgutai, left for Wang Khan's camping place in the Black Forests on the bank of the Tula river. Temuchin complained to Wang Khan: "Three clans of the Merkits have surprised us and seized my wife. O Khan, my father, will you rescue my wife?" "Last year, when you presented to me the sable cloak, I promised that I would collect

1. The Chinese text reads 'old mother.' The word 'mother,' which is used here for an old maid-servant of Oyelun, has lost its literal significance and is merely a mark of respect and gratitude on the part of Chengis Khan. Hence I have translated 'my old lady for 'old mother' in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

your scattered people," Wang Khan replied. "I have ever since remembered my promise. Now, in accordance with that promise, I will annihilate the Merkits and rescue your wife. Go and speak to Brother Jamukha,[1] who is now at Khorkhonakh Jubur. I will raise a force of twenty thousand men as the right wing here and tell Jamukha to raise the same number as the left wing. Also ask Jamukha to fix the date for the meeting of the two armies." Temuchin and his brothers returned home. Temuchin sent Khasar and Belgutai to Jamukha with an oral message from himself: "The Merkits have seized my wife. As we are kinsmen, can we not avenge this insult together?" Khasar and his brother delivered this message as well as that of Wang Khan. Jamukha replied, "When I heard that the wife of Temuchin, my *anda,* had been seized by some people, I was very sorry for him. Of the three clans of the Merkits, Tekhtoa is now at Buura-keyer,[2] Dair Usun at Talkhon Aral[3] between the Orkhon and the Selenga rivers, and Khaatai Darmala at Karaji-keyer. We shall cross the river Kilghu (Kilho)[4] on a pontoon bridge tied with 'pig's bristle-grass' and march into the territory of the Merkits directly as if we were entering their room through a ceiling-window. We shall capture all their people. Tell Temuchin and Wang Khan that my army is ready for battle. When Wang Khan, my elder brother, starts on his march, he will pass by the Burkhan-Khaldun (mountain); from there he will bring Temuchin along. Then at Botokhan Boghurji[5] our two armies will link up. I have here some people of Temuchin, my *anda,* from whom a force of ten thousand men can be raised ; I will raise another ten thousand from my own people. With these twenty thousand horse, I will march up the Onon to Botokhan Boghurji, where we will meet." Then they bade God-speed to each other.

Khasar and Belgutai first returned to Temuchin and then went to Wang Khan to tell him of what Jamukha had promised. Wang

1. Generally written as Jamuga by the English writers.

2. *Buura-keyer*: 'Keyer' seems to be *keher,* meaning 'a plain' or 'a waste field.' The three clans of the Merkits were all encamped in the area where the Orkhon and the Selenga rivers meet. There is a place called Bura Kalun, lying north of the Bura river and east of the meeting point of the Orkhon and the Selenga rivers. It is suggested that this place is Buura-keyer. The Buura river, according to Howorth, is "very likely the little river Buura falling into the Selinga south of the Chikoi," (J.R.A.S., New Series, 1889, p. 393.)

3. *Talkhon Aral*: *Aral* means a 'small flat hill.' This place is also near the meeting place of the two rivers. Dair Usun's people lived in the hilly area while Tokhtoa's people lived on the plain.

4. Howorth says that the river Kilho is "no doubt the tributary of the Selinga (i.e. Selenga), so called in the map attached to De Mailla, and otherwise known as the Khilok." (*J.R.A.S.*, New Series, 1889, p. 393.) Kilho reads Kilghu in the *Secret History.*

5. Botokhan Boghurji, as mentioned in the following passage of the *Secret History,* is near to the source of the Onon. Ding identifies Botokhan with Burkhan and Boghurji with another hill of the great Kentei Range, called the Telertsi Ridge.

Khan, on receiving this information, ordered his twenty thousand horse to start. They passed in front of Burkhan-Khaldun and proceeded towards a riverine place, called Burji, on the Kerulen river. Temuchin had been camping at Burji, but when he heard that Wang Khan was to pass by that way, he broke his camp and moved towards the upper course of the Tungelik up to the bank of the rivulet, Tana, in front of Mount Burkhan, where he pitched his camps temporarily. From here he formally started on his expedition. Wang Khan personally led ten thousand horse while his younger brother, Jakhaganbu, led another ten thousand ; this constituted an army of twenty thousand in all. They arrived and encamped at Ali Kharakhana (or Ait Karakana) on the bank of the Kimurkha, where Temuchin joined them.[1] Having joined forces here, Temuchin, Wang Khan and Jakhaganbu started for Botokhan Boghurji, the source of the Onon, where they had agreed to meet Jamukha. Jamuhka, who had arrived three days earlier, (in apprehension) ordered his twenty thousand men to stand on their guard at the approach of Wang Khan's army. Wang Khan's forces also approached them well-prepared. Ultimately, they both recognized eath other. Jamukha remarked, "It is said that when two allies promise to link up, neither wind nor rain can prevent them from meeting at the appointed time and place. Every word of us, Da-da, is as good as an oath. We will not tolerate an ally, who does not keep his word." Wang Khan apologized, "Indeed, I have arrived at this appointed

1. The marches may be interpreted as follows:

Wang Khan marched from the Tula (Tola) river in a north-easterly direction while Temuchin advanced to the south-west from his camping place on the bank of the Barkha river (the Borcha north of Churchu, or Khurkhu, Long. 110, Lat. 49, on map 75, in *Stieler's Uantatlas*) to meet Wang Khan. After Wang Khan had marched eastward along the Tula river for some distance, he probably took a small road to the east of the Tula. Moving on this road he crossed the Kerulen river at Dung Kulun (i.e. East Kulun, or, in *Oxford Advanced Atlas*, Dsunkuren, Long. 108-109, Lat. 48-49) about one hundred fifty kilometers east of Kulun or Urgu and on the western bank of the Kerulen. Then he passed a ridge and crossed the upper Senkur river in a north-easterly direction. After this crossing, he marched north-east to the Tsiljyalantu river (Chimurkha or Kumurkha) and then northwards to the southern source of the Barkha river (i.e., the Tungelik river). Then along the last river he proceeded again north-eastwards. Finally, he came to Temuchin's camping place on the Barkha river.

The Tana rivulet is probably a small branch of the Tungeli (or the Tungilik); however, this rivulet is not found either on the Chinese or the European maps. Temuchin first came to this river to wait for Wang Khan; when he heard that Wang Khan had come, he again marched southwards to Ail Kharakhana, where they joined forces. Ding suggests that Ait (Ail) Kharakhana (Karakana) is somewhere on the bank of a branch of the upper Chimurkha (or Kimurkha) river. He also suggests that *ait* or *ail* is synonymous with *ajigek* which means ' little '; Kharakhana is equivalent to Khorkhona (or Khurkhu) of Part I of the Secret History, and therefore the place means Little Khorkhona (or Little Khurkhu). Later on, as we find in Part IV of the *Secret History*, when Chengis returned westwards from Jamukha's place he stayed for some time at Ait Kharakhana and then removed to the Senkur river in the Gulyalgu mountains; he was taking the same route now. (Cf. the note on the Khorkhona (Khurkhuna) in Part I of the Secret History.).

place three days late. Brother Jamukha, you may blame me and punish me as you please."

From Botokhan Boghurji they marched to the bank of the river Kilghu (Kilho), which they crossed on a pontoon bridge, and then reached the Buura.[1] Here they captured Tokhtoa's wife and all his people. They would have captured Tokhtoa himself in his bed had his fishermen and hunters on the bank of the river not run immediately to inform him of the advance of his enemies in the darkness of the night. However, Tokhtoa and Dair Usun escaped empty-handed with a few followers down the Selenga to Barghuchin (or Barghusin).

The Merkits made a hurried retreat in the dark night along the Selenga river with the enemy close on their heels and plundering and pillaging them in the darkness. Temuchin shouted his wife's name aloud among the fugitive ranks. Bortei, who was among them, heard him and recognized his voice. She jumped down from a cart with Ghuakhchen, the old woman, and came to Temuchin and held the reins of his horse. In the moonlight (which had now appeared) they recognized each other easily. Temuchin sent his men in the night to inform Wang Khan and Jamukha that he had got the person whom he had been seeking and requested them to stop and encamp there for the rest of the night. So they pitched camp there while the fleeing Merkits did the same.

The cause of the rescue of Lady Bortei was as follows:

At first (as we have seen) Tokhtoa the Uduit, Dair Usun the Uvas, and Darmala the Khaatai led three hundred men of the three clans of the Merkits to seek revenge (from Temuchin) for the capture of (his mother) Oyelun by Yesugai (his father) from her former husband, (Yeke) Chiraidu, the younger brother of Tokhtoa. They rode around Mount Burkhan thrice but failed to find Temuchin ; they then seized Bortei and gave her to (Yeke) Chiraidu's younger brother, Chilger the Strong, to wife. At the time of the arrival of the great (allied) army, Chilger was much frightened and before taking to flight, he remarked: "I am like a black crow, whose fortune could only allow it to eat the remnants of old skin, yet it aspired to taste some wild goose and duck. By insulting Lady Bortei, I have brought a great calamity on the Merkits, which will also fall heavily on my head. To save my life, I must hurry to some dark and narrow corner and hide myself." Having said this, he slipped away.

The raiders caught Darmala, the Khaatai, and put him in a *kang* (yoke). Then they went straight towards Mount Burkhan. Some people informed Belgutai of the tent in which his mother was and he went to fetch her. He entered the door by the right side, while his mother, wearing a torn coat of goat-skin, came out of the

1. Cf. the earlier note on Buura-keyer.

tent by the left side. "I have heard my son has become a prince," she said to the people outside, "but as I am now married to a rogue, I have not the courage to meet him." She then went into the forest and disappeared. For this reason whenever Belgutai saw any Merkit, he threatened to shoot him if he did not send his mother back. The three hundred Merkits, who had taken part in the raid on Mount Burkhan and ridden round it thrice, were massacred without exception ; their wives, if fit for marriage, were taken to wife (by the conquerors); only those who could only serve as maid-servants were enslaved.[1]

Expressing his gratitude to Wang Khan and Jamukha, Temuchin said, "Wang Khan, my father, and Jamukha, my *anda,* through your assistance, God has given me the strength to seek my revenge.

1. This is the only accurate account we have of events which perplexed later Muslim historians and often gave rise to political controversies. The charge of being ' illegitimate ' was often brought against Juchi (Juji, Tushi) and his descendants of the Golden Horde. As we shall see in Part XIII, Chaghtai brought this charge against Juchi in the presence of Chengis himself, on the ground that Chilger, the Strong, had ' insulted ' the Lady Bortei and ' tasted some wild geese.' Chengis, while granting to Juchi the rights of a son, preferred to leave the theoretical question undecided for the simple reason that Mongol ideas on sex-morality had undergone a change in the interval due to Muslim and Christian influence. Judged by Muslim or Christian standards both Chengis and Juchi were illegitimate; and Chengis could not have questioned the legitimacy of Juchi without also calling his own legitimacy into question.

The original account of the *Secret History* is set in a truly Mongolian mould. It will be observed that before taking possession of Oyelun, Yesugai, with the help of his two brothers, did his best to capture her husband, Chiraidu, presumably with the object of killing him. But unable to capture him, he took possession of Oyelun; there was, of course, no ' divorce ' in our sense of the term and the wise Mongol woman completely reconciles herself to her fate. Her truly Mongolian (or rather, Tatar) conscience did not trouble her in the least. For seventeen or eighteen years (the exact time is not stated) the Merkit tribe took no notice of the fact; then it suddenly realized that a great insult had been offered to the brother of one of its chiefs and despatched a small army representing all its three clans. This army tried to seek revenge not from Yesugai, who was dead, but from his son, Temuchin, who according to our conceptions, was not an accessory to the crime of his father but the consequence of that crime. The Merkits, in their turn, unable to capture Temuchin, reflected that they had done well in capturing his wive, Bortei, and proceeded to give her as ' wife ' to Chilger, the younger brother of her mother-in-law's first husband. Bortei, like her mother-in-law, also reconciled herself to her fate, quite unaware of the great future that was awaiting her. But when rescued by her first husband, like a decent Mongol woman of those days, she was loyal to him once more—and offered him the child of Chilger for his son, her achievement during their separation. When Chengis (as Minhajus Siraj Jurjani tells us in the *Tabakat-i Nasiri*) decreed that a Mongol could take legal possession of a Muslim girl if she was unmarried, but not of a Muslim woman who was married *unless he had first killed her husband,* he was enacting an old Mongol custom into a law or was he merely driven to it by the ' legitimacy-question ' which his Muslim subjects must have been raising with reference to his own family? The Mongol Royal House was, of course, illegitimate, but would any family be ' legitimate,' according to our latter-day conceptions, if the true light of history could be thrown on the remote paternity of mankind when the conception of morality were different? The descendants of the three younger sons of Chengis, while questioning the legitimacy of Juchi, overlooked the fact that the same charge could be brought against Chengis himself. It was, probably, this fact that induced Chengis to remain silent about Juchi's legitimacy.

Now that the Merkits have been destroyed and their wives captured, we should all return home."

In their retreat the Uduit Merkits had left in their camp a five-year-old boy, called Chuchi. The boy was handsome and had a pair of bright eyes. He was dressed in a cloak made of seam pieces of martens and wore a marten cap on his head and a pair of boots made of the hide of deer-hooves. Some person picked him up and brought him as present to Oyelun.

After Temuchin, Wang Khan and Jamukha had jointly overthrown the house of the Merkit-Dada tribe[1] and seized its beautiful women, they returned by way of the Talkhon Aral, situated between the Orkhon and the Selenga rivers. Temuchin and Jamukha marched back towards the Khorkhonakh (Khorkhona) Jubur.[2] Wang Khan, going behind Mount Burkhan-Kaldun, passed across the three places, Hokortu Jubur, Khachauratu-subchit, and Khuliyatu-subchit,[3] and occupied himself with hunting on his way back to the Black Forest on the bank of the Tula river.

FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN JAMUKHA AND TEMUCHIN

Temuchin and Jamukha came to the Khorkhonakh Jubur and pitched their camps there side by side. Recalling the friendship of their boyish days and their old understanding in exchanging presents, they promised to love each other more firmly than ever. When Temuchin was eleven years of age, he and Jamukha had played the game of stones[4] on the ice of the Onon river ; so they exchanged their stones as presents and entered into the relation of *anda.* Also since in the following spring during their boyhood, Temuchin and Jamukha had shot together with their small wooden bows, they then exchanged

1. Note that the Merkits were thus considered a tribe within the nation of the Da-da.

2. Ding says that this Khorkhenakh (Khurkhunakh) Jubur is a different river from the Khorkhona river in Part I or the Khorkhona Jubur in Part IX of the *Secret History.* The Khorkhonakh Jubur is the Horhochi river, south of the present Khalikha river, on the banks of which were the grazing grounds of Jamukha. As noted earlier, the Khalikha river lies to the south-east of the Buir Nor, the home of the Tatars.

3. *The Hokortu Jubur*: *Jubur* means ' river.' The Hokortu is to be identified with the Alaketar river, which is a tributary of the Tula river. Wang Khan marched southward across the ridge of Burkhan and then turned westward to his grazing grounds in the Black Forest. This river would lie on his way. Khachauratu-subchit and Khuliyatu-subchit seem to be two tributaries of the Tula river. It is suggested that the former should be identified with the Kalatulu river and the latter with the Uliyasutai river. The meaning of the word, *subchit* or *bchit* is not yet known. Though the structure of the names of these two rivers is doubtful, their location is quite clear.

4. The exact nature of this game is not known to the present translator. It was possibly played wth stones in the shape of cards with different signs on them or with stones of different shapes. The Chinese text says that Jamukha gave a *pau-tsi pai-shih* to Temuchin and the latter gave a *tung-kuan pai-shih* in return. *Pau-tsi* is a kind of deer; *pai-shih* is some stone; but the meaning of *tung-kuan* is not clear.

the frames[1] of their bows. These were the symbols of their having become *andas* on two former occasions.

Now Temuchin proposed to Jamukha: "The old folk have said that when two persons become *andas*, they seem to have only one life between themselves ; they will never desert each other and they will guard each other's life: for the love between two *andas* must be of this kind. Now we must renew our friendship and intensify our affection." With these words Temuchin girded Jamukha with the golden belt, which he had seized from the Merkits, and presented to him a mare, which had not given birth to a calf for several years. Jamukha also gave Temuchin a golden belt and a white stallion with a horn on its head(?)[2] which he had taken from the Merkit, Dair Usun. They held a feast under a spreading tree in front of the Khuldakar cliff near the Khorkhonakh Jubur and in the night they slept together under one blanket.

For a year and a half Temuchin and Jamukha lived together and were deeply attached to each other. On the sixteenth of the fourth month in the summer they broke their camps and started for a new grazing ground. Temuchin and Jamukha rode together at the head of the carts. Jamukha said to Temuchin on the way, "If we pitch our camps in front of a mountain, those who graze their horses will have tents to live in ; if we encamp by the side of a stream, those who pasture sheep and lambs will have food for their gullets." On hearing these words Temuchin stood silent and lagged behind. When his mother, Oyelun, came up to him, he narrated to her what Jamukha had said, and added that being unable to grasp the meaning of Jamukha's words, he had given no reply. So he wished to consult her. But before his mother could reply, Bortei said, "People say that Jamukha, your *anda*, has a liking only for new things and gets tired of things old. Since he has got tired of us, what he just said may indicate some evil design against us. We should not stop but must march on speedily throughout the night, so that we may part from him in good time."

1. The exact structure of the wooden bows and arrows used by the Mongol boys of those days is not clear. The Chinese text says that Jamukha gave Temuchin a whizzing *pu-tou* (bow-frame or part of an arrow) made of calf's horn and Temuchin gave Jamukha a *pu-tou* with head of cypress-wood. It would be interesting to know exactly how these bows and arrows were made and the symbolic significance of the presents.

2. This reference to a horned horse (? unicorn) is strange. The 'horn probably referred to some protuberance or malformation on the forehead.

Part IV

THE TRIBES UNDER CHENGIS KHAN

"Bortei speaks sense," Temuchin remarked. So they did not stop but continued their march. On their way they passed the camping ground of the Taichiuts.[1] The Taichiuts hurriedly fled to Jamukha during the night, but left behind them in their camp a boy, named Kokochu, who was picked up by Temuchin's men and put under Oyelun's protection. They marched on till dawn when they saw Khachiun, Kharhai (Kharhai Tokhuraun) and Kharaltai of the Jalair[2] tribe. These Tokhuraun brothers came and joined Temuchin. And there also came: the five brothers, Khadaan Daldur Khan, etc., of the Tarkhu tribe ; Mangetu and his son, Ungur (or Wangur), of the Kiyan[3] tribe together with the people of the Chanshiut and Bayau (Bayaut)[4] tribes ; Khubilai and Khudus (Khudus Khaljan in Part VIII) from the Barula (Barlas)[5] tribe ; Jetai and Doghulkhu, the brothers, of the Mankhu (Mankhut)[6] tribe ; Bogurchi's younger brother, Ogolen (Ogolai, Ogoleh), from the Arula (Arulat)[7] tribe ; Jelme's younger brothers, Chaurkhan[8] and Subeyetai (Subutai) from

1. The original camping place of the Taichiuts was on the bank of the Onon river within the present boundary of Russia. At this time they seem to have followed Jamukha. They were obviously afraid that Temuchin might avenge himself on them, and were quite frightened by his sudden departure.

2. Jalair is Jalā-īr in Persian transcription. According to the Muslim authorities quoted by Raverty in his translation of the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* (foot-note, p. 894), the Jalā-īr of the Dūral-gīn Mughals had become a very numerous tribe during the time of Zūtūmin or Zūtūm Manīn (the father of nine sons, the ninth of whom was Kaidu) and amounted to about 70,000 families. It is said that when those Jalāīrs were camping on the banks of the river Kaluran, they were suddenly attacked and almost annihilated by the Khitais. Those Jalāīrs who escaped and took up their quarters among the *il* or tribe of Matulun or Manulun, the mother Kaidu, were responsible for slaughtering her along with all her sons except Kaidu.

3. As mentioned in a previous foot-note, the plural form of Kiyan is Kiyat, which is sometimes written by the Muslim historians as 'Kaiat.'

4. The plural form of Bayau should be 'Bayaut.' It is said that one of the four principal wives of Mangu Ka'an, the eldest brother of Khubilai and Hulagu, was Tuwāw-chīn or Tūra-chīn of the tribe of Bāyāut. (Raverty: p. 1223, note.)

5. Barula or Barla, if identical with Barulas (or Birlas), is of special importance in the history of the Timurid royal house, which is assigned to the Barlas tribe.

6. The plural form of Mankhu should be Mankhut, which is written by Muslim historians as Mankut for the Nairun Mughals. The chief of this tribe is called Kūīldār Sājān who (according to Raverty's Muslim authorities, p. 945, foot-note) played an important part in the battle against the Naimans in 600 H. (1204 A.D.). The Mankhut, in the *Secret History*, are said to have been the descendants of Mankhutai, the son of Nachin Bahadur.

7. Arula is Arulat in Part I of the *Secret History*. He was one of the six sons of Chaochin Ortegai. Arulat is Arlat in Persian transcription; and Bogurchi seems to be Nūyan Būrjī in Raverty's note. (Rayerty: p. 1095, note).

It is stated in Part II that Bogurchi was the only son of Nakhu Bayan. Ogolen (Ogolai) could be a younger cousin of Bogurchi. In Chinese a cousin is called a 'brother' indifferently.

8. Chaurkhan is Chaurhai in Part XII of the *Secret History*.

the Uriankha ; Degai and Kuchigur from the Baisu (Baisut);[1] Chilgutai Taki (Tahai) and Taichiutai of the Suldu (Suldus)[2] tribe ; Sechedomakh, Arhai Khasar and Bara of the Jalair[3] tribe with two sons (of theirs) ; Saiketu of the Khonghutan[4] tribe ; Sukekejegai[5] Khondaghur who brought with him his son, Sukegai Jeun (the 'Brave Warrior'); Niutai Chakhaan Buwa ;[6] Chinjiyatai of the Olkhuna ;[7] Sechiur of the Ghurulas (Kūrlā);[8] Machibaiduun (or Malichi) of the Dorbai ; Butu[9] of the Ikirais (or Ikiras) tribe who was son-in-law of some of Temuchin's people ; Chungshih of the Nayaki[10] tribe ; Jirghuan of the Olona ;[11] Sukhu Sechen and Kharachar (Karachar)[12] with his sons of the Barulas (Barlas) tribe ; Ghurchi of the Baarin (Barin) tribe with the old man, Usun ; and Kokochus with the whole clan of the Menen Baarin. All these people joined Temuchin.

Then Ghurchi came and said, "My celebrated ancestor, Boduanchar, captured a woman who gave him two sons, the ancestors of Jamukha and myself.[13] Had the Sky (God) not ordered me, I

1. 'Baisut' is the plural form of 'Baisu.' It is Baisūt in Persian transcription. Cf. note on Baisutai in Part I of the *Secret History*.
2. Suldu is Suldus or Suldus in Persian transcription, a name that occurs frequently. To the Suldus belonged Sorkhan Shira (Sughan Shirah), who helped Temuchin in his escape from the Taichiuts.
3. The Jalair tribe is of the Duralgin branch of the Mongols (i.e., the descendants of Naguz, according to the Muslim historians).
4. Khonghutan is Qunkqatan in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*. Khonghutan is mentioned in Part I of the *Secret History* as one of the sons of Chaochin Ortegai. Cf. note on Khonghotan in Part XIII of the *Secret History*.
5. The first five syllables or characters (Sukekejegai) seem to be superfluous. Khondaghur is Khondakhar in Part XIII of the *Secret History*.
6. Chakhaan Buwa is the Niutai Chakhaan of a later passage, who died on the battle-field.
7. Olkhuna is the Ulkhunut tribe to which belonged Oyelun, Chengis' mother.
8. The name of this tribe is transcribed in different forms into the Chinese, such as Holuras, Gorlas and Gorlos; it seems to be 'Kurlas' in Persian transcription. It was one of the tribes that elected Jamukha to the Khanship, and were, at a later period, along with the Ulkhunut (or Ulkunut), formed into the contingent or Chengis' mother, Oyelun, which numbered three thousand (Raverty: p. 1094, notes.)
9. Or Boto, Botu, etc., in Chinese transcription.
10. The Nayaki were the descendants or Nayajitai, son of Khachin.
11. The Olona were the descendants of Olonar, one of the six sons of Chaochin Ortegai, who was one of the three sons of Kaidu (Cf. Part I of the *Secret History*).
12. Sukhu Sechen (Sukhu the Wise) and Karachar (or Kharachar) of the Barulas (Barlas) tribe in the *Secret History* seem to be the Sūghū Cijan (the wise) and Qarācār Nōyān of the *Akbar Nama* and the Timurid tradition; and the Sooghoo Chichun and Karachar Noyan of the *Shajratul Atrak*. This is the only reference we have of this famous ancestor of Timur in the *Secret History*. See Appendix A—The 'Award' of Tumanah Khan.
13. Jamukha was descended from Jajiratai while Ghurchi was a descendent of Baaritai, the brother of Jajiratai. Jajiratai was the founder of the Jajirat (Jajarat or Juriat, in the Persian transcription) tribe; while Baaritai was the founder of the Baarin. These two sons of Boduanchar had the same pregnant woman from the Jarchiut Adan Khan Uriankhachin as their mother, while Barin Shiratu Khapichi, the father of Menen Tudun, was the son of Boduanchar by another wife; hence the relation between the Baarin and the Jajirat or Ghurchi and Jamukha should be closer than that of any of them with Temuchin.

would not have deserted Jamukha. But in a vision I saw a whitish milch cow coming to Jamukha and walking round his *vurta* and carts. She then dashed against his tent and carts and broke one of her horns. The cow raised much dust round Jamukha's *vurta*. She bellowed and cried, "Jamukha! return my horn to me." Then I saw a hornless bull draw the lower poles of a big tent along your (Temuchin's) way and shout, "Heaven and Earth after consultation have appointed Temuchin to be the Lord of Dominion. I am carrying this power to him." The Sky has showed me all this in a vision. Temuchin, I have told you of such an important revelation. When you become the Lord of Dominion, what happiness will you offer me?" "I will make you a chief of Ten Thousand Families, if I become the Lord," answered Temuchin. "For all the trouble I have taken to reveal to you the great truth," said Ghurchi, "you will only give me this! What happiness is there in being a chief of Ten Thousand Families? Make me such a chief and permit me to select thirty of the most beautiful girls of the country to be my wives. Besides, you must always grant me what I ask."

There also came:—Khunan and others of the Geniges (Kenikes)[1] tribe with Daritai[2] Otchigin ; Mulkhalkhu (Mutkhalkhu) of the Jadara (Jajirat) tribe and the people of the Sakhait tribe ; Sarkhatu (Khutukhtu) Jurki[3] with his sons ; and Sacha (Seche) Baiki and Taichu[4] from the Jurki clan. Nekun *Tai-tsi's* son, Khuchar Baikai, and Khutula Khakhan's son, Altan Otchigin, with all their clans left Jamukha and joined Temuchin at Ait Kharakhana on a rivulet, called Kimurkha. From there they moved to the Gulyalgu (mountains) and encamped at a lake called Koko Nor (Kara Nor?) near Kara Jurga (Jirga) hill by the Senkur river in these mountains.[5]

Altan, Khuchar, Sacha Baiki and others consulted together and informed Temuchin: "We have resolved to declare you our Khan.[6] When you are our Khan, we will be at the front in every battle against your foes ; if we capture any beautiful women and good horses, we will first present them to you ; at the hunt we will start first to encircle the game for you to shoot ; if we disobey your commands in battle or injure your interests in time of peace, you can deprive us of our families and properties and exile us to a remote

1. Geniges or Kenikes is mentioned in Part I of the *Secret History* as one of the six sons of Chaochin Ortogai. This tribe is descended from him.
2. Daritai is the Daaritai in Part VI of the *Secret History*.
3. Sarkhatu Jurki is the Khutukhtu Jurki in Part I of the *Secret History*, son of Ogin Barkhakh, son of Khabul Khakhan; hence Sarkhatu Jurki (or Khutukhtu Jurki) was one generation senior to Chengis Khan. (Cf. Part I.
4. Sacha Baiki and Taichu are also mentioned in Part I.
5. The Koko Nor is given in the Chinese text as Koko Naghur. It seems to be the same as the 'Chin-hai-tai' or 'Black Lake' of Part II; Kara Jurga, the small hill, is given as Kara Jirga in Part II. Cf. Part II, note on the Kara Nor.
6. The Chinese text says here *Nuang-di* or 'Emperor.'

country." Thus they took an oath and declared Temuchin their Khan with the title of 'Chengis'.[1]

WAR BETWEEN CHENGIS KHAN AND JAMUKHA

Chengis, now Khan of his dominions, appointed Ogolai, Bogurchi's younger brother, together with Khachiun, Jetai and Doghulkhu to bear his bow and quiver ; Wangur (Ungur), Saiketu and Khadaan Daldur Khan, three men, to take charge of his provisions ; Degai to be the master of the shepherds ; Kuchigur to supervise the manufacture of carts ; Dotai to manage the royal household ; Khubilai, Chilgutai, Kharhai Tokhuraun, three men, and Chengis' younger brother, Khasar, to bear his swords ; Belgutai, his half-brother, and Kharaltai Tokhuraun to be the masters of horse-training ; Taichiutai Khutu, Malichi and Mutkhalkhu, three men, to look after herds of horses. Then he ordered Argai Khasar, Tahai, Sukegai and Chaurkhan, four men, to be constantly ready so that he may send them off promptly (on missions) like near and distant arrows. Subeyetai (Subutai) the Valiant, said "I will be like an old mouse in snatching things, like a crow in speedy gathering, like a saddle cloth in covering things, like felt in warding off the wind ; and that is what I will do for you."

Then Chengis said to Bogurchi and Jelme, "When I was without following, you two first joined me. This I have always kept in mind. Now you are senior to the rest of the assembly." Turning to the rest of the assembly, he added, "You left Jamukha and decided to join me. If God preserves us, all of you will ultimately be my happy companions." Thus he ended his instructions.

Chengis after his accession sent Dahai (Tahai) and Sukegai to Toghril Khan (i.e. Wang Khan) of the Kerait. Toghril said, "It is very good that Temuchin has been declared Khan. How could you, the Da-da, do without a Khan? You should not undo what you have done with mutual consent." His words were reported to Chengis.

Chengis also sent Arhai (Argai) Khasar and Chaurkhan to Jamukha. Jamukha said, "Tell Altan and Khuchar, who are now with Temuchin, that as a result of their instigations my *anda*, Temuchin, and I have separated from each other. Why did you not declare Temuchin 'Khan' in former days when we were together? What is there in your mind that has caused you to declare him

1. Temuchin is here declared the ruler of the three upper rivers by his own tribe. Yesugai, though not bearing the title of ' Khan,' had, in fact, ruled the whole clan of the Taichiuts. He is also styled *Huang-di* or ' Emperor ' in the Chinese text. It seems to have been usual at that time for each tribe to have its own Khan.

This declaration is not mentioned in the *Yuan-shi*, but the omission may have been due to the little significance attached to it in comparison with Temuchin's accession to the Khanship later. The title ' Chengis ' seems to be the title which he assumed on the latter occasion and is, consequently out of place here.

Khan now? You should all remain faithful to Temuchin, my *anda*, for all time, and keep his heart at rest through your constancy."

Some time later Daichar, a younger brother of Jamukha, was camping at Olyagai Bulak[1] in front of the Jalama mountain[2] while Juchi Darmala, a follower of Chengis, was camping at Saali.[3] The former one day drove away a herd of horses belonging to the latter. Juchi Darmala chased the raider all alone. In the night he succeeded in coming up to the herd of horses. He bent over the mane of a horse and from there he shot an arrow which broke Daichar's spine. He then drove the stolen horses back to his camp.

To avenge his brother's death, Jamukha led his own people with thirteen other tribes—thirty thousand men in all—and coming to the Alaut Turkhau ridge, advanced against Chengis, who was then camping at the Gulyalgu. Mulketotakh and Boroltai, two Ikirais (Ikiras) men, came and informed Chengis. Chengis gathered thirty thousand men out of his thirteen *rinks* (units) and marched against Jamukha to Dalanbaljut, but his forces were pushed back by Jamukha's men into a narrow field at Chelaini on the Onon river, where he pitched his camp. After this Jamukha also moved backward, but on the way he ordered all the 'wolves' (traitors) from among his chieftains to be brought and cooked in seventy large cauldrons.[4] He also cut

1. *Olyagai Bulak*: *Yuan-shi-cheng-bu* reads ' Ulagai Bulak.' The *Yuan-shi* and the *Chin-jeng-lu* both call it Yulugo river The present work has Olyagai Bulakha. Bulakha is Bulak or, in the Turkish language, *Balak*, which means ' a spring.' Now within the boundaries of Tsu-tsen Khan is a place called Ulangun Bulak. Its location and name both resemble the place in question. The *Shui-dau-ti-gan* calls it Uliangun. *Ulan*, according to the *Yu-jieh*, means ' red '; *gun* mean ' deep.' Thus the whole term means ' a deep red river.'

2. Jalama mountain is the present Halamonlai mountain lying north of Tsu-tsen Khan (Ding). The *Ming-shi* records in the biography of General Li Wen-chung: " When he commanded the eastern flank of the armies to attack Ho-lin or Karakorum, he reached Halamonlai mountain."

3. *Saali*: It has been referred to in the note on the Kara Nor in Part II. The following description of the place occurs in Kin Yu-tsi's *Pei-jeng-hou-lu* (*Report after the Northern Expedition*) of the Ming Dynasty:

" On the third of the sixth month we started from Tsung-shan-wu (a gorge through which the river Senkur passes). After the noon we entered another gorge of the length of scores of *li*. In the evening we reached Swan-chuan-hai (or the Double Stream Lake), also called Sa-li-k'ie-rh, where Tai-tsu of the Yuan (Chengis Khan) started his career and where he built palaces and pavilions. He passed his summers here. The place is surrounded by mountains and streams and is scores of *li* in width. In front of it were two lakes: one saltish and the other fresh. Ten *li* to the south-west of it is a lake. (This is the place where Daichar was camping then). To the north-west there are three passes which lead to the Yung-ma-ho (or Drinking Horse River) and the Tula river. The natives often pass through them." Sa-li-k'ie-rh, as mentioned elsewhere, is the same as Sa-a-li. Both the *Yuan-shi* and the *Chin-jeng-lu* have inaccurately called it the Sali river. Saali Keyor in Part VIII of the *Secret History* is a different place.

4. In the Chinese text the latter part of this passage reads, " He ordered the chieftains to be brought from chihnas to be cooked..... " Ding suggests that the position of the words, ' chieftain ' and ' chihnas ' be reversed so that the

off the head of Niutai Chakhaan and tied his body to the tail of a running horse.

After Jamukha's return, Jurchetai of the Uruut tribe and Khuyuldar[1] (or Khuildar) of the Mankhut tribe deserted Jamukha and joined Chengis. Munlik of the Khonghutan[2] tribe brought with him his seven sons. Chengis, delighted at the arrival of these people, gave a grand feast in the forest on the bank of the Onon. He sent a jar of mare's milk first of all to Oyelun, Khasar, Sacha Baiki,[3] etc.; then he sent a jar of it to Yebaigai, the 'little lady' (mistress) of Sacha Baiki. Thereupon the two (Jurki) ladies, Ghulichin and Khuurchin, became very angry and exclaimed, "Why not offer the milk to us before these people?" They ordered Shikiur, the master of provisions, to be beaten. Shikiur cried out loudly and exclaimed, "Because Yesugai Bahadur and Nekun *Tai-tsi* are both dead now,

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sentence may have a meaning. The *Chin-jeng-lu* states that Jamukha after his defeat cooked the 'wolves' on his way. 'Wolf' in Mongol is 'chihnas'; the chieftains were the leaders of the tribes under Jamukha, such as the Khadagin, the Dorben, etc. Jamukha, who did not win the battle because the leakage of his plans deprived his attack of its surprise-effect, determined to wreak savage vengeance upon the traitors, whom he ordered to be searched out and cooked to feed their fellow tribemen. The term 'wolves' was used symbolically in his instructions, so that the traitors might not get wind of this savage decision against them and fly away.

The *Si-yu-shi* wrongly records that Chengis Khan cooled his captives in seventy large cauldrons.

There is no reason for crediting this barbarous act to Chengis Khan instead of Jamukha. Curtin has also credited this cannibalism to Chengis, but he does not mention his source (*Curtin*, p. 33).

In this battle Jamukha marched in a north-westerly direction passing the Alaut Thurkhau ridge while Chengis advanced in an easterly direction from the Gulyalgu; the battle of Dalanbaljut must have taken place between the two places.

Of the thirteen clans attached to Jamukha six are mentioned in the *Chin-jeng-lu;* they are the Taichiut, the Ikiras, the Ulu (Uru), the Uduyal, the Barulas (or Barlas), the Barin (or Baarin); the rest are not named. The *Si-yu-shi* refers to the numerical inferiority of the force of Chengis in the battle; it says that he had thirteen *gulans* (or *rinks*) each of which was sub-divided into groups of hundred and of ten. This means that Chengis had only thirteen thousand men in all.

The *Yuan-shi* and *Si-yu-shi* mention that Chengis won the battle while the *secret History* says that his forces were pushed back. It seems that Chengis got the upper hand in the battle, yet due to the numerical inferiority of his force he had to retreat a little to induce Jamukha to pursue him into the narrow tract where he intended to beat his foe. However, Jamukha did not pursue him but returned eastwards.

1. He is referred to as Khuildar in the later parts of the *Secret History* and as Uidar in the *Yuan-shi*. He is the Kūīldār Sājān of Muslim historians, the chief of the Mangkut Nairuns.

2. Konghutan, as mentioned earlier, was one of the six sons of Ogin Barkhakh, son of Khabul. Sacha Baiki was the chief of the Jurki; he and his tribe, being the descendants of the eldest son of Khabul, seem to have been quite influential among the Da-da people at that time.

3. Sacha Baiki was the son of Khutukhtu Burki, son of Ogin Barkhakh, son of Khabul. Sacha Baiki was the chief of Jurki; he and his tribe, being the descendants of the eldest son of Khabul, seem to have been quite influential among the Da-da people at that time.

I have to stand such beating."[1] As the feast was in progress, Chengis instructed Belgutai to mount his horse and keep order outside while Buri Boko was directed to settle the matter of the Jurkis.[2] Further, a man of the Khadagin tribe[3] had stolen a bridle and been caught by Belgutai. Buri Boko, in defence of this man, cut and broke Belgutai's shoulder-blade. But Belgutai did not take the matter very seriously though he was bleeding all the way. Chengis, who was under a tree, noticed everything. "Why do you let him treat you like this?" he asked Belgutai. "My wound is not very serious," the latter answered, "Cousins should not quarrel because of me." But Chengis would not listen to him. He broke a branch from the tree, seized a milk-paddle and attacked the Jurkis while his men captured the two ladies. Ultimately the rebellious people sued for peace and the ladies were given back to them.

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1. Shikiur who, as master of provisions, evidently held an important post in the nomadic administration of those days, should have been closely related to the Khan. He was probably a descendant of Bartan Bahadur and possibly a son of Nekun *Tai-tsi*: his out burst seems not only to justify this suggestion but also to indicate the tribal feeling of those days.

2. The Jurki is 'Yorgin' in the *Yuan-shi*. This tribe is descended from Khutukhtu Jurki. Khutukhtu Jurki is sūrqāqtū Yūrkī in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*. Jurki is Yurki or Yorkin in Persian transcription. It is also written by Abdul Ghazi as Partakin, Bortakin, and Bortikin.

3. Khadagin is Kataqan, Khataghan, Katghīn or Katkīn in Persian transcription. The Khadagin were descendants of Bukhu Khatagi, the oldest son of Alan Goa by the Light. The *Secret History* deals mainly with the descendants of Boduanchar (i.e. the Burjigin), the youngest son of Alan Goa by the Light. But in course of time the descendants of Bukhu Khatagi and Bukhatu Salji, progenitors of the Khadagin (Katghin etc.) and the Saljiut (Salchiut) tribes, would also multiply. But why should Buri Boko, son of Khutukhtu Mongur, son of Khabul Khan, a nearer (kinsman) of Temuchin, a Burjigin, than of the Khadagin, favour the latter instead of the former? Does it indicate that there was a hostility among the Da-da (Mongols) against the family of Bartan Bahadur, the second son of Khabul Khan and father of Yesugai? Judged from the events related here as well as elsewhere in the *Secret History* some misunderstanding seems to have existed between the descendants of Bartan Bahadur and the descendants of the other sons of Khabul Khakhan (Kabul Khan), prominent among whom were: Ogin Barkhakh, the first-born, whose descendants were styled the Jurki or Yorkin; Khutukhtu Mongur, whose name is of special importance, being the only occasion in the *Secret History* on which the term *Mong-gu,* the Chinese equivalent for *Mongol,* is found and who, as we are told in a later passage of the *Secret History* (when Buri Boko met his untimely death at the hands of Belgutai) had many 'brave' and 'warlike' sons; and, last but not the least Khutula Khakhan who was the legal successor of Anbahai and among whose sons was altan, the man who played a leading part in raising Temuchin to the Khanship and deserted him later on. Among the descendants of the three above-mentioned prominent sons of Khabul, there were naturally some active leaders who were legally and traditionally more entitled to the Khanship of the Da-da people than any member of the family of Bartan, and inevitably became more and more jealous of the rising power of the family of Bartan under its eminent leader, Temuchin. The author of the *Secret History,* who was himself a Mongol or Da-da, knew the internal politics of the Da-da tribes and has faithfully thrown light now and then on this vital struggle that went on for a considerable time before Temuchin was generally accepted as the sole leader of the Da-da people.

DEFEAT OF THE TATARS BY THE JOINT FORCES OF WANG KHAN AND CHENGIS KHAN

Later on, after an exchange of envoys, the Great Kin sent his minister, Wang King,[1] at the head of an expeditionary force against Meguchin, Saultu and other Tatars, who did not yield proper obedience to him (the Kin Emperor). This expeditionary force marched up the Ulcha river, chasing the Meguchin and Saultu before them. Intelligence of these events reached Chengis immediately. "In years past," he said, "the Tatars killed my father and uncle. Now is the opportunity for us to attack them and seek revenge." He sent a messenger to Toghril (Wang Khan): "The Kin have now sent Wang King chasing the Meguchin and other Tatars up the Ulcha.[2] These people are my great enemies and have killed my ancestors. Father! Will you help me in attacking them?" Toghril promised his assistance and, after adjusting and equipping his men and horses for three days, he came in person at the head of his army. Chengis sent his messengers to Sacha Baiki and Taichu of the Jurkis and asked for their help also. He waited for six days, but none of the Jurkis came. Thereupon, Chengis and Toghril led their (joint) forces and advanced down the river to attack the Tatars from one side, while Wang King was pursuing them from the other. The Tatars raised a fortress at Khusutushi Tuyan,[3] but Chengis and Toghril broke into this fortress and massacred Meguchin, Saultu and other Tatars.

Wang King of the Kin was very pleased when he heard of the success of Chengis and Toghril in capturing the Tatar fortress. He

1. Or Wang Jing, which literally means 'King's Capital.' This minister from the imperial capital is called Yuan-yen Siang in the *Kin-shi* (*History of the Kin*) and Yuan-yen Chen-hui in the *Sung-shi* (*History of the Sung*).

2. The Ulcha river (the lower course of the Kuidun river) derives its water from the north-east of the Dutulun mountains (Long. 110-111, Lat. 48-49) in Tsu-tsen Khan; it flows north-eastwards into Lake Tali, which was named after the Ta-ta-li, or the Tatars, who at the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty lived in that area. The Kin expeditionary forces coming from the north-east, first reached the south bank of Lake Tali and then marched up the Ulcha to the home of the Tatars. Chengis marched in a north-eastern direction. The Kin forces thus advanced up the Ulcha river while Toghril and Chengis marched down its bank. The words 'up' and 'down' are accurately used in the *Secret History*.

3. Ding identifies Khusutushi Tuyan with Chegel Tayin. The *Mong-gu-yuan-liu* (the Origin of the Mongols) says: "Chengis at the age of thirty-five led a force against Tokmok and killed Siaogulisuldeh Khan." Ding says that as this is the same event as that described above, the place Tokmok may be identified with the present Torlok Kalun, which is west of Chegel Tayin. Chegal Tayin may be the place where the Ta-ta-li built their fortress against the Kin and Torlok might have been their original grazing ground. The Tatars, who originally lived along the banks of the Ulsung (Urson) river, which links Lake Kulun and Lake Buir, were forced by the advancing Kin army to withdraw northwards to the east of the Ulcha river, where they expected to offer more effective resistance.

conferred the title of 'Chao Khuli'[1] on Temuchin and that of 'Wang' on Toghril on behalf of his Emperor.[2] "I am under such an obligation to you in defeating Meguchin and other Tatars," Wang King promised, "that when I return to the court I will report to His Majesty the Emperor of Kin and ask for you a still higher rank as a border official." He then departed, while Chengis and Toghril, having captured many Tatars, also returned to their own places. Some of Chengis' men discovered in a captured camp of the Tatars a boy with a golden ring in his nose[3] and a stomach-belt lined with golden tassels and sable. They presented the boy to Oyelun, who discerning his high birth, took him as her sixth son. The boy was named Shigi Khutukhu.[4]

RELATIONS BETWEEN CHENGIS KHAN AND THE JURKIS

Chengis had left some of his subjects in his old camp at Halil Lake.[5] The Jurkis stripped off the clothes of fifty of these men and slew ten. When this was reported to Chengis, he was furious. "Why do we suffer all this ill-treatment at the hands of the Jurkis?" he exclaimed. "On a former occasion when we had a feast on the Onon, they beat our master of provisions and broke the shoulder-blade of Belgutai. This time when we asked for their help to avenge

1. Chao Khuli seems to be an inaccurate transcription of a Chinese title for a frontier official; it probably is the 'Warden of the Marches,' which is much inferior to 'Wang' or 'Prince.'

2. It seems obvious from this that Toghril was the real name of this famous Kerait chief while 'Wang Khan,' the designation by which he is often referred to, is a Chinese title.

3. Nose-ring as an ornament is not Chinese. The Indians still use it for the virgin girls and married women, but not for boys or widows. Was the use of nose-ring prevalent in the steppes of those days? And did the Tatars use it as a sign of high birth?

4. Shigi Khutukhu is the Shīkī Kutūkū in Persian transcription, who, according to Raverty's Muslim sources, was an adopted son of Chengis and his wife, Burtah Kuchin. Raverty says, "Burtah Kuchin, at that time, had borne her husband no children, and she adopted the child, and brought him up. He subsequently rose to high rank: his correct name was Shīgī Kutūkū, commander of the Tāttār Ming or Hazārah (Thousand). He is one of the leaders who was overthrown by Sultan Jalaluddin." (*Raverty*: p. 1093.) Hazarah is derived from *hazār*, a thousand, but the so-called hazarah, according to Raverty was often a unit of more than a thousand soldiers, it might even have five thousand soldiers. According to the *Secret History*, Shigi Khutukhu was the adopted brother of Temuchin and the sixth son (adopted) of Oyelun. Oyelun, being herself a Tatar, had certainly no objection to having a Tatar for a son. Besides, we must realise that the tribal organisations of those days often transcended the racial borderland. What the tribal nomads considered essential for their life was the organization, not the blood link. We cannot fully understand tribal confederations, such as those of Jamukha and Chengis, without taking this psychological propensity of the nomads, into consideration. It will enable us to understand the absorption and obliteration of the Tatar people by the Mongols.

5. Halil Lake is given in the *Chin-jeng-lu* as Halyatu Lake. Ding identifies Halyatu Lake with Kara Nor or Koko Nor or *Chin-hai-tai*. All these names stand for the same original camping place of Chengis. He had left his old people and children here.

our ancestors, they did not come. On the contrary they went to the help of our enemy and have now become our enemy." He then led his men into a punitive campaign against the Jurkis. At Dolon Boldau on the Kerulen they captured many Jurkis. Sacha Baiki and Taichu fled empty-handed to the Delyatu Pass, where they were at last captured. "What did you promise me in days past?" Chengis asked. "We admit that we have not kept our promise," they replied. With these words they stretched forward their necks ready for execution ; and Chengis cut off their heads. After the execution of Sacha Baiki and Taichu, Chengis returned to the camps of the Jurkis and carried away all the remaining people of this tribe.

There was a man, called Telaigutu Bayan of the Jalair[1] tribe, who had three sons. He ordered his eldest son, Gunghua,[2] to bring his (Gunghua's) own two sons, Mukhali[3] and Bukha, to Chengis and said, "Let them be your slaves ; if they leave your threshold, take out the sinews of their legs and sever their hearts and livers." He then ordered his second son, Chilaun Haichi, to bring his two sons, Tunga and Khashi, to Chengis and said, "Let them be the keepers of your golden gate. If they ever leave it, deprive them of their life." Then he gave his third son, Jebke, to Khasar, the younger brother of Chengis. Jebke found in a Jurki camp a boy, called Boloul,[4] and presented him to Oyelun who had, including this boy, by now adopted four sons on different occasions. They were called Guchu (or Chuchi), Kokochu, Shigi Khutukhu and Boloul. She reared them with every care and looked after them day and night.

The origin of the Jurki tribe is as follows: At first Khabul Khan had seven sons of whom the eldest was called Ogin Burkhakh.[5] Because he was the eldest, Khabul selected from his people valiant, strong and daring archers to be his attendants. Whenever they went in battle they carried all before them and no one dared compete with them. Consequently, they were called Jurkis. Chengis made them his own subjects, after he had subjugated them.

1. The Chinese text reads *Ja-la-(chi)*-rh (Jalachir). Chi and i, the two Chinese characters, are very similar in form and, therefore, a copyist may easily write one for the other.
2. The Chinese text says *Gu-un-u-a*.
3. Mukhali is Mūkalī in Persian transcription. Nuyin (or Noyan) Mūkalī, the Jalāīr, according to Raverty's Muslim authorities, "surnamed 'The Ko-yang,' signifying in the language of Khitāe, 'the Great Khan,'" was later the chief (commander-in-chief) of the Left Wing (Jurānghār) which consisted of twenty-five Hazārahs (Thousands). In the second year of his reign (652 H., which commenced on the 20th Feb., 1254 A.D.), Mangu despatched Mukhali along with Khubilai for fresh conquests in the countries of the east.
4. Referred to as Bolokhul in Part VII of the *Secret History* and Bolkhu in the *Yuan-shi*.
5. The Chinese text reads here *O-le-ba-rh-kha*. He has already been referred to as Ogin Barkhakh in Part I of the *Secret History*. 'L' or 'le' and 'gin' or 'kin' are represented by very similar forms of Chinese characters and can be easily confused by the copyist. The earlier form of this name in the *Secret History* seems preferable. Curtin calls him Okin Barka.

One day Chengis asked Buri Boko[1] and Belgutai to have a wrestling match in his presence. Buri Boko used to throw down Belgutai and hold him still on the ground with only one hand and one leg. This time, however, Buri Boko allowed himself to be defeated by Belgutai and fell headlong to the ground. Belgutai, who held his opponent pressed under him, turned towards Chengis for instructions. Chengis bit his lower lip. Belgutai, understanding his meaning, pressed his kness on Buri Boko's spine, seized his neck with both hands and turned it forcefully backward till he broke Buri Boko's backbone. (The dying) Buri Boko exclaimed, "There was no possibility of my being defeated. I feigned defeat owing to my fear of Chengis. Now, I have to pay for it with my life."

Khabul Khan had seven sons: the eldest was called Ogin Barkhakh ; the second was Bartan Bahadur, whose son was Yesugai, whose son was Temuchin ; and the third was Khutukhtu Monglair (or Mongur), whose son was Buri Boko. Buri Boko had separated himself from the sons and grandsons of Bartan and joined the company of the daring descendants of Barkha (Barkhakh). Hence he had his backbone broken notwithstanding his insuperable strength.[2]

1. Cf. note on Buri Boko in Part I of the *Secret History* and an earlier passage in Part IV.
2. The author of the *Secret History* has explicitly pointed out here that the association of the descendants of the third son of Khabul Khan with the descendants of his (Khabul's) eldest son had greatly annoyed Chengis, at whose hint Buri Boko was killed. The fact that he did not publicly punish Buri Boko, when the latter wounded Belgutai at the feast on the bank of the Onon, shows Chengis, hesitation at challenging the influence of the descendants of the other sons of Khabul Khan, rather than his liking for his kinsmen.

Part V

CONFEDERACY OF THE MONGOL TRIBES UNDER JAMUKHA

Later, in the year of Hen (1201 A.D.),[1] the Khatagin, etc.—the

1. Two battles between Jamukha and Chengis are mentioned in the *Secret History*. The first was fought before Jamukha attained to the Khanship and the second, which was apparently more important, after he had been formally elected Khan and leader of a confederation of eleven principal tribes and perhaps, of some tribes less important. This is the first great event in the career of Temuchin as a conqueror; it is also the first definite date in the *Secret History*. It is easy to understand that the nomads of those days did not have any chronological records in the proper sense of the word; their sagas were preserved in their folklore, which seldom bothers about dates. Our author, who wrote about twenty-seven years later could, from his own memory or the memory of his contemporaries recall the year in which this first great event in the life of their leader took place, but he failed in putting down the dates of preceding events. Later Muslim historians give several important dates in the early life of Chengis Khan and often specify not only the month but the day. Such dates should not be accepted without some sort of confirmation.

Raverty, on the authority of Muslim historians, says that "in the year 589 H. (1193 A.D.), when in the fortieth year of his age, finding that his enemies had entered into a confederacy to annihilate him, and that they were too numerous and too powerful to cope with, Tamurchī determined on taking refuge with Awang Khan. . . ." (*Raverty*: p. 939, note.) It is then stated that for a period of eight years Tamurchi remained with Awang Khan, during which time he gained for him victories over Irkah Karā, the rebellious brother of Awang Khan, and the Yorkin, and the Makrit, etc. and that after these events the hostile tribes of Tānjiūt, Sāljiūt, Kunghurāt, Dūrmān, Jājarāt, Jalāīr, Uīrāt, Yorkīn, Katghīn, Markit and some of the Tattār-ī-māk, entered into a confederacy in 596 H. (*Idem*, p. 940, note.)

By adding eight to 1193 we get 1201, which is exactly the date given here in the *Secret History*. Raverty's sources also give 596 H. (seven years after 589 H.) as the date for the tribes' forming the confederacy and 597 H. (eight years after 589 H., according to Hafiz Abru) for the overthrow of the confederacy. Thus we can reasonably establish the date 1201 A.D. or 596-7 H. for both the confederacy and its defeat.

Before this great confederacy (in 1201 A.D.) there was, according to Raverty's Muslim authorities, another preliminary confederacy which threatened Temuchin and compelled him to seek protection with Wang Khan. We do not find in the *Secret History* any association of hostile tribes against Chengis apart from the big rally of the tribes which Jamukha led against Temuchin to avenge the death of his brother. The raid of the Merkits, the old enemies of Temuchin's family, and the capture of Bortei by them were normal events of steppe-life in those days; furthermore, the raid was an act of the Merkits exclusively and did not involve other tribes. I am inclined to consider the rally of tribes under Jamukha as the 'preliminary confederacy', and the year 589 H. (1193 A.D.) as the date of the first battle between Jamukha and Temuchin, of the beginning of Temuchin's formal allegiance to Wang Khan, and of their military alliance against the confederacy under Jamukha. After his first battle with Jamukha, Chengis, whose army was pushed back and compelled to withdraw, could hardly find any better protection against the menace of Jamukha and his allies than Wang Khan. Brotherly affection was not, of course, a feature of Wang's family. The alliance, according to the *Secret History*, proved a great political and military success. The defeat of the Tatars was the crowning feat. The raid of the Merkits and the capture of Bortei by them should be placed some time after Chengis' escape from the

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eleven tribes[2]—met at the Alhui Bulaa[3] and decided to elect Jamukha as the head of their coalition. They first sacrificed a horse and all those present were required to take an oath. They then advanced along the river Yarguni (Argun) up to an island on the Gan river,[4] where Jamukha was elected Khan.[5] Then they decided to attack Chengis and Wang Khan. But a man, called Kuritai of the Ghurulas[6] clan went to the Kerulen and reported the matter to Chengis. Chengis despatched a messenger to inform Wang Khan and Wang Khan collected his men and came to join Chengis.

After Wang Khan and Chengis had met each other, they advanced with their forces up the Kerulen river against Jamukha. Chengis ordered three men, including Altan,[7] to lead his vanguard ; similarly

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Taichiuts and much earlier than 589 H. (1193 A.D.); Bortei was still young and Juchi had not been born. After the capture of Bortei, as we have seen, Temuchin sought help from both Wang Khan and Jamukha; the readiness with which they came to his assistance shows that there was no sign of hostility between them and the family of Chengis. The old tie that had bound the two chiefs to the family of Yesugai made their help to Temuchin a moral obligation, which should not be regarded as the submission of the one to the other. The relation of adopted 'father' and 'son' between Wang Khan and Temuchin was older than Temuchin's offer of allegiance to Wang Khan. The question of Temuchin's entry into Wang Khan's service arose only after he was threatened by the confederacy under Jamukha. Among the steppe-tribes of those days the allegiance of one chief or tribe to another was solely a matter of expediency; well defined and lasting allegiance was almost impossible Neither would it be accurate to say that the adoption of Temuchin by Wang Khan was the direct result of his good service to the latter.

2. The eleven tribes, according to Ding, were: the Khatagin, Khungirat, Ikiras, Holuras (Churulas), Dorben, Tatar, Taichiut, Uiras, Cherjut, the Merkits under Tokhtao, and the Naimans under Buirukh. The *Shajratul Atrak* also gives the names of the eleven tribes of the confederacy: Taijioot (Taichiut), Saljoot (Saljiut or Cherjiut?), Kunkoorat (Khungirat), Bahreen (Barin or Baarin), Durman (Dorben), Makreet (Merkit), Jajerat (Jajirat), Tatar, Jyurat (Uirat?), Boorkeen and Koikeen. There are, evidently, some inaccurate transcriptions among the names given in Miles' translation of the *Shajratul Atark*.

Raverty says that the tribe of Barlas was in alliance with the enemies of Chengis but that Karachar, head of that tribe, remained faithful to him. This seems doubtful. The *Secret History* mentions neither the Barlas nor its chief in this battle.

3. The Alhui Bulaa is given in Part VII as the Ulhui river. *Bulaa* or *bulak* means 'stream'. Both references are to the same river.

4. The Gan river is given in the Chinese text as Kan Mulien. *Mulien*, *mulun* or *murun* means 'river'. The river is about three hundred *li* north of Lake Kulun (Kulun Nor). This river flows into the Argun river. At about seventy to eighty *li* east of the Argun, the Gan divides into two channels but as the two channels meet again, a big island is formed. The island lies at Long, 119 and Lat. 50, north of the big wall, built by the Kin (not the Great Wall.)

5. The Chinese text reads *Huang-di* (Emperor) which, for the reason mentioned elsewhere, may be taken to be the Chinese equivalent for either Khan or Khakhan. Jāmūkha, the chief of the Jūrīāts or Jājarāts, sept of the Nairuns, is Jamukah, the Sājān or 'the double-tongued', of Muslim historians. Abul Ghazi styles him Jajan and Jachan, which, he says, signifies 'possessed of sagacity' Raverty's Muslim authorities claim that several of the tribes, such as Angirās, Kūrlās, Kunghūrāt, Dūrmān, Katghīn, Sāljiūt, and some Tāttār tribes set up Jamukha as *Bādshāh* with the title of Gūr Khān. (*Raverty*, p. 940, note.)

6. Ghurulas or Holuras seems to be Kūrlās in Persian transcription, which together with Ūlkūnūts, later formed a contingent of 3,000 under Chengis' mother. Muslim historians mention this tribe among those, which set up Jamukah as *Badshah*. (*Raverty*: p. 940, note.)

7. Altan was the son of Khutula Khakhan.

Wang Khan also ordered three men, including Senkun,[8] to lead his vanguard. The vanguards again sent out their men to scout before them at three places, Yaniken Guelaitu,[9] Chaksalai and Chikhurkhu. When Altan and others reached Ukitya,[10] the scout returned from Chikhurkhu and reported that the enemy was approaching. Altan and others proceeded forward for more detailed information. On their way they met Jamukha's vanguard led by four men, Auchu Bahadur and others. After the belligerents had established contact, they retired for the night to their main camps, for the evening shades had began to fall and the sky was dark.

JAMUKHA DEFEATED BY CHENGIS KHAN

Next day the armies of Chengis and Jamukha met at Koidin.[11] When they were deploying for battle, Buirukh[12] and Kudukha, two men in Jamukha's army, tried with their magic to summon storm and rain to cover their own forces in their attack on Chengis' men. But quite contrary to their expectations, the storm and rain struck at the faces of their own men, and not only prevented their advance but threw many of them down into the abyss. Jamukha and his men were much perturbed ; they considered that the Sky was against

8. Sangun in Persian transcription, the son of Wang Khan.

9. *Yaniken Guelaitu*: Chengis and Wang Khan both sent their vanguards; the vanguards again sent three men ahead to scout at three places, Yaniken Guelaitu, Chaksalai (Chekcher) and Chikhurkhu. The last two places, as mentioned earlier, lie north-east of Lake Kulun. Yaniken Guelaitu lying north-west of the Lake, is now called Altu Salitu Kalun, according to Ding. ***Guelaitu*** means 'watered place'.

10. Ukitya is probably west of Lake Kulun and east of the Ulcha river.

11. *Koidin*: According to Ding, this place is south of the old Wall built by the Kin on the northern border of China. I have been able to find two walls on the map (No. 75, *Stieler's Hantatlas,* both at Lat. 50); but while one wall is at Long. 120, on the east bank of the Argun, the other is at Long. 118, on the west bank of the river, south of the Gan, at a point where it almost joins the Argun. The two walls are not far from each other. On some English maps the upper course of the Ulcha river is named Kuidun Gol (or Kol); this confirms the opinion of a Chinese commentator that the Ulcha river is also called Kuidun Kol. *Kuidun* means 'cold'. I have found several places of this name in both Mongolia and the Sin-kiang province; hence the name should not be considered unique. It seems here that the battle took place somewhere near the bank of this river, which bears the name of Kuidun.

12. Buirukh is the 'Būe-Rūk' of Muslim historians. He was the brother of Tayang Khan, ruler of the Naiman (Nāemān) tribe. As mentioned in the following passage of the *Secret History,* the Naiman tribe was among the eleven tribes who fought on the side of Jamukha; this Buirukh, a Naiman chief, was then in alliance with Jamukha.

Summarizing the accounts given by the Muslim historians, Raverty says: "After this (i.e. the overthrow of Jamukah at Sadi-Kurgan in 597 H.) Būe-rūk, brother of the Tayānak Khan, ruler of the Nāemān tribe, in concert with the Badshah of the Makrits, the Bigi Tukta, being hostile to the Awang Khan and Tamurchi, assembled a large army against them, and the hostile forces met at a place named Kazil-Tash in 596 H. (Nov. 3, 1198-99 A.D.) or in 598 H. (Oct. 1, 1201-2 A.D.) according to the *Tarikh-i Alfi.* Bue-Ruk directed a Jijan, or Sorcerer, to have recourse to his art, which they term *vadah* and *bae,* which he effected by means of the *sang-i-vadah,* the jade or rain-stone, mentioned in the account of the descent of the Turks, which on being thrown into water, forthwith brought on snow, mist, and wind. But these magical acts

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them. The allied forces under Jamukha suffered a crushing defeat.[13]

After Jamukha's defeat the eleven tribes, including the Naimans, returned to their original tribal places. Jamukha seized many of the people, who had formerly elected him, and marched back along the Yarguni (Argun). Wang Khan pursued Jamukha, while Chengis chased Auchu Bahadur. Auchu Bahadur returned to his own tribe, carried his people across the Onon and prepared to give battle to Chengis there. Chengis had several encounters with them immediately on his arrival. The battle raged till sunset and then both armies rested for the night on the battle-field. During the battle an arrow hit Chengis in the neck and the wound, after considerable bleeding, grew pale and yellow with clotted blood. Jelme,[14] his retainer, sucked out the dirty blood. Chengis, who had fainted at the time, woke up at midnight and said, "My blood has become dry by

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recoiled upon his own army, which was nearly destroyed by the cold." (*Raverty*: p. 941, note.)

It seems to me that the Muslim authorities of Raverty have mixed up two different events. The joint campaign of Temuchin and Wang Khan against Buirukh is mentioned in a later passage in Part VI of the *Secret History* as a separate enterprise. It was, according to the context, undertaken in 1202 A.D. which is exactly the year given in the *Tarikh-i Alfi.* In this campaign Buirukh, who could not face the joint forces of Chengis and Wang Khan, escaped over the Altai mountains and ultimately to Lake Kizil Bashi. Kizil Bashi seems to be the Kizil Tash of Muslim historians. In the *Secret History* the recourse to *vadah* (magic) is described as the primary cause of the defeat of Jamukha, which occurred in 1201 A.D. After this victory Chengis spent the winter of 1201 A.D. at Khubakhaya. In the spring or the summer of the next year, 1202 A.D., he and Wang Khan undertook the campaign together against Buirukh.

13. This campaign is vividly described in the *Secret History.* First, we are told, Jamukha and the allies were contemplating an attack on Chengis when they were at the Gan river (or Gan Mulien) (Long. 119-122, Lat. 50-51). But then they advanced south-east along the Argun, which is the upper course of the Amur (Long. 118-121, Lat. 49-53). Chengis was then at the Gulyalgu. He called Wang Khan to join him and together they advanced eastwards. The three places to which Chengis' men were sent were near Lake Kulun, where they expected to meet the enemy. The scouts returned to report that the enemy was by that time west of Lake Kulun. Next day they fought the battle at a spot by the Ulcha (or Kuidun) river. After his defeat Jamukha retreated along the Argun, but the Taichiuts crossed the Onon to offer battle to Chengis. It seems that Jamukha's camping place was then east of Lake Kulun (Long. 117-118, Lat. 49) and the camping place of the Taichiuts was north of the Onon.

The detailed account of these events in the *Secret History* surpasses the accounts of the *Yuan-shi* and the *Chin-jeng-lu.* The *Si-yu-shi* follows the *Chin-jeng-lu.*

After the battle had been won, Chengis chased the Taichiuts, who seemed to him to be worse than even Jamukha. But he was not so happy in his pursuit. Meanwhile Wang Khan, who had been chasing Jamukha, actually accepted the latter's surrender. This fact, however, is not recorded in the *Secret History.* The *Si-yu-shi* is wrong in saying that Jamukha surrendered to Chengis Khan, for we find him with Wang Khan later. As a result of this battle, Wang Khan's troops swelled in number; Chengis had certainly taken a wrong step in not pursuing Jamukha.

14. In the biography of Subutai in the *Yuan-shi* it is stated: "Koluhun (who, according to Ding's note, is called Jelme in the *Secret History*), the elder brother of Subutai, being a commander of one hundred under Chengis Khan,

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itself. O, how thirsty I am!" Hearing this, Jelme slipped into the enemy's camp all naked but was unable to find any mare's milk in all the carts he searched. At last he succeeded in discovering a pail of sour milk (*airan*). He was not seen by anyone on his way to the enemy's camp and back. But after returning he went once more to fetch some water. He mixed the sour milk with water and offered it to Chengis. Chengis stopped three times while drinking. At last he said, "My eyes are growing bright now and my mind is becoming clear." He sat up and soon the day dawned. He saw a lot of blood, like mud, around the place he was sitting. "How is it?" he asked, "Would it not be better to throw this at a distance." "Being in a hurry," Jelme replied, "I did not have time to carry it far. Besides, I was afraid of what might happen to you if I left you here alone. I simply swallowed some of the blood straightway and vomitted the rest on the ground here. By now a lot of it is within my stomach." "Well, I was wounded already," Chengis asked, "Why did you go into the enemy's camp all naked? Had you been caught, you would have had to tell the enemy that I was wounded." "Had I been caught," Jelme replied, "I would have said that I intended to surrender to them, that on discovering my intention you had stripped me off my clothes, and that I only succeeded in snatching myself out of your hands when about to be executed and escaped to them. They would have certainly trusted my words, given me clothes and taken me into their service. I could then have easily stolen one of their horses and ridden back." Chengis replied, "You saved me once when the Merkits made an attempt on my life. This time you have sucked the clotted blood out of my wound and again, when I felt thirsty, you risked your life in order to seek mare's milk to lessen the sourness of my heart. Three times you have rendered me invaluable able service ; I will never forget it."

Next day, when Chengis learnt that some of his enemies had dispersed during the night while those who had given up hope of escape remained in their camp, he mounted with his men and brought back the fugitives. Suddenly he saw a woman in red garment crying loudly and shouting, "Temuchin! Temuchin!" He sent a man to enquire who she was. "I am Sorkhan Shira's daughter, called Khadaan," she said, "I saw that my husband was about to be executed by your men ; so I called upon Temuchin to save him." Chengis on hearing this started to her aid, but her husband had been killed when he reached the spot. Chengis ordered his camp to be pitched there and asked her to sit by his side. Next day Sorkhan

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fought in a battle against the Naimans south of the Long Wall. He shot at the enemy and drove them into the Kochidan hills." This wall is the same as the wall mentioned in an earlier note. Kochidan and Koidin probably refer to the same place.

Shira and Jebe, who were both members of the family of Todoga of the Taichiut clan, came to Chengis. "You and your sons once loosened the *kang* which I was wearing," Chengis said to Sorkhan Shira, "I was really much obliged by your kind act. Why did you not come to me earlier?" "In my heart I have been always inclined to depend on you," the latter answered, "but had I come earlier, my family would have been ruthlessly exterminated by the Taichiuts. Therefore I did not come till today."

"Who was the man," Chengis asked Jebe, "who in the battle of Koidin broke the neck-bone of my horse by an arrow-shot?" "I shot the arrow," Jebe confessed, "If you order me to be executed, my blood will hardly cover more than a palm-breadth of the earth ; if you spare my life, I will serve you to the best of my ability. I will cross the deep water and break the hard rock." "Whenever an enemy has injured us," Chengis replied, "he has remained silent about it. But you, who have hidden nothing, are worthy of being my companion." Jebe's original name was Jirghuatai, but he was named Jebe on account of his strength in felling a horse with an arrow. He was henceforth employed by his master like a steed. Jebe was the name of a weapon.[15]

Chengis exterminated the offsprings of Auchu Bahadur and other chiefs of the Taichiuts. He captured the rest of them and went to spend that winter at Khubakhaya.[16]

Tarkhutai Kiriltukh, a chief of the Taichiuts and an old enemy of Chengis, had taken refuge in the forest. His attendants, Shirguyetu, the old man, and Shirguyetu's two sons, Alak and Nayagha, seized him with the intention of bringing him to Chengis. Tarkhutai Kiriltukh was a fat man and could not ride a horse ; so they had to put him in a cart. When Tarkhutai Kiriltukh's younger brother and son came in pursuit of them, the old man, Shirguyetu, was greatly frightened. Pressing the prisoner under him, he drew his sword and said ; "No matter whether I kill you or not, I shall die ; and I certainly prefer to kill you before I am myself dead." Tarkhutai Kiriltukh called on his brother and son to stop and said: "He will kill me, and if I am killed, you will only have my corpse. Better go home quickly. Chengis will not take my life when they place me before him, for I have indeed obliged him in his boyhood days."

15. According to the *Kuo-yu-jieh, Jebe* was the name of *mei-jen* (sharp-needle) arrow. The *Hei-lung-kiang-wai-chi* (*Records beyond the River Amur*) says that the *mei-jen* arrow was used in war while the *go-pei* arrow or 'bone' arrow was used in hunting. The *mei-jen* arrow was much sharper than the other one. Each man in the army carried thirteen such arrows with him.

16. The *Yuan-shi* and the *Chin-jeng-lu* say that Chengis was then camping on the Checher hills but they do not specify the season. However, the *Si-yu-shi* says, "In that winter Wang Khan encamped at Khubakhaya and Chengis Khan at Chahachar on the border of Kuitai." In the *Yuan-shi*, the *Chin-jeng-lu* and the *Si-yu-shi*, the campaign against the Merkits is

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Thus his brother and son turned back and went away. Shirguyetu's party, with their captive, proceeded ahead and reached Khutukhu, where Nayagha, the son, said, "I am afraid if we take our prisoner to Temuchin, he will not take us into his service. We had better release our prisoner and tell Temuchin that we had caught Tarkhutai but released him later on because of our pity for him, our old master. Thus Chengis will certainly admit us." They set the captive free, went to Chengis and repeated these words to him. "It is better that you, due to your loyalty to your own master, did not bring him hither," Chengis replied. "Otherwise I would have put you all to the sword." Chengis awarded Nayagha particularly for his faithfulness to his master.

WANG KHAN AND HIS BROTHERS

Later, when Chengis was at Tersu,[17] Jakhaganbu, the Kerait (brother of Wang Khan), came to surrender to him. The Merkits, who tried to attack Chengis, were driven back by Chengis and Jakhaganbu. Then the scattered sections of the Keraits, the Natubaichien Tunkha and other tribes, all submitted to Chengis. Wang Khan of the Keraits and Yesugai, Chengis' father, had been avowed friends. At first Wang Khan had killed the younger brothers of his father, Khurchakhus Buirukh Khan ; hence his uncle, the Gur Khan, had determined to put Wang Khan to death and chased him into the Kharaun hill,[18] where he was left with a hundred men only.

described as immediately following this winter-camping. But as the camping place of the Merkits was in the north, there seems no good reason why Chengis encamped at Khubakhaya in the south. Khubakhaya seems to be near the Chahochar (or Chachar) hills. According to Ding, Khubakhaya was in the territory of the Great Kin. According to the *Yu-mu-chi*, Chachar mountain is in the Inner Banner of the Left Wing of Tu-she-tu Khan, north-east of Lake Hurha Ulun. I am unable to find these places on the maps, but it is clear that Tu-she-tu Khan comprised the south-west dominion of Wang Khan. It may be pointed out that the Naimans were living in Kin-shan or the Altai mountains and that it would take little time to march against them from the south-west border of Wang Khan's dominions.

Ding says that Chengis encamped there in preparation for the campaign in the next spring against the Naimans, who had once attacked Wang Khan and had also assisted Jamukha; and that the events described in this paragraph should be followed immediately by an account of the campaign against the Naimans in Part VI of the *Secret History*, while the rest of Part V, the paragraphs of which begin with such adverbs as 'later', 'then', etc., should be considered interpolations, though a hasty reader will fail to observe this.

17. Tersu is referred to in the *Chin-jeng-lu* as the field of Tadola. There is a place called Takeltu Bulak, east of the Orkhon, which may possibly be the same place as Tersu or Tadola.

18. The Kharaun hills here and in Part VII are the Chorkhalkun hills. It is stated in Part VII that after Wang Khan was driven into those hills by his uncle, he went to present his daughter to the chief of the Merkits and to ask Temuchin for aid. The Merkits were then living between the Selenga and the Orkhon rivers while Temuchin was at the source of the Onon. Therefore the Kharaun hills must be somewhere near these rivers. They are to be identified with the Galaotai hills. (See Note 7, Part VII.). The Kharaun hills, where Khasar found Temuchin (Part VII) and where Chengis fixed the eastern boundary of the feudal territory of Mukhali, when the latter was made a commander of Ten Thousand Families (Part IX), were different places.

From there he went to Yesugai to solicit his aid. Yesugai came to his assistance, drove the Gur Khan back to Khashin,[19] collected the scattered subjects of Wang Khan and gave them back to him. This was the beginning of their friendship.[20]

Later, Wang Khan wished to kill his younger brother, Yarke Khara,[21] who fled to Inancha[22] of the Naimans. Inancha raised an army and drove Wang Khan to the Gur Khan of the Kara Khitai.[23]

19. Khashin is Kāshīn, otherwise Tingkūt, of Muslim historians. Khashin or Kashin is referred to as Ho-si in the *Yuan-shi* and the *Chin-jeng-lu*. It is also known as Si-hsia to the Chinese. In the 'Supplementary Biography of Kaidu' in the *Yuan-shi-cheng-bu*, it is mentioned that Kashi was born during Chengis' campaign against Si-hsia. Si-hsia was renamed Khashin (or Kāshīn) to commemorate the military success of the campaign. Ogotai Khakhan was grieved at the untimely death of Khashi; hence the Mongols stopped calling the country Khashi and called it Tangut. Si-hsia, was originally a feudal state of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), and its founder was named after the imperial family of Tang, whose surname was 'li'. He took pride in associating its origin with Tang and retained 'Tang' as a part of its name. Si-hsia was, therefore, called Kashin as well as Tangu (or Tangut).

Howorth, probably quoting d'Ohsson, says, "Tangut, the 'Hia' of the Chinese, had been previously known as Ho-si," and had been "corrupted by the Mongols into Kashin." Raverty does not believe this and holds that Kāshīn or Tingkūt was the chief place which appears to have given its name to the country. (*Raverty*: p. 841 note.) He says: "Kashīn city was the point at which the great *Karawans* of traders met from the west and south in their trade with Khitā or China. It was a very rich city, and the abode of learned men." (*Raverty*: p. 950 note.) He adds that it was evidently a city of Buddhists. But, so far as the *Secret History* is concerned, Khashin means the country that was also known as Tangut, His (Hsia), Si-hsia, or geographically, Ho-si. Kāshī was one of the five sons of Ūktāe by his Merkit wife, Tūrā Kīnah. In another note, Raverty asserts that Kāshī was so called because the territory of Kāshī or Kāshīn (subsequently called Tingkūt) was subdued at the time of his birth. Whether the boy gave his name to the place or the place gave its name to the boy is disputable.

20. The first part of this paragraph related two later events—the surrender of Jakhaganbu and the defeat and submission of Keraits and other clans. But though the paragraph thus begins with the word 'later', the second part of it is retrospective and for the first time tells us of the reason for the friendship of Wang Khan and Yesugai. Jakhaganbu, a younger brother of Wang Khan, really joined Chengis when Wang Khan fled to the Kara Khitai; but when Wang Khan returned from the Kara Khitai, Jakhaganbu went to his brother again. But he found it impossible to pull on with Wang Khan and went to the Naimans. His 'surrender' to Temuchin should, therefore, be given after the defeat of Tayang Khan. In Part X it is stated that after the Naimans and the Merkits had been defeated, Jakhaganbu saved his own people by presenting two girls to Chengis Khan. The defeat of the Merkits by Chengis and Jakhaganbu took place in the autumn of the year of Mouse (1204 A.D.), as is related in Part VIII. The submission of the Kerait and other clans also followed the defeat of Wang Khan, and it probably took place at the time of Jakhaganbu's surrender. This may have been the reason why the two events are narrated together. Ding's remark that these passages are interpolations should be kept in mind.

21. Yarke Khara is transcribed by Raverty as Irkah Kara or Ukah Kara. He says that the victory of Chengis over this 'rebellious' brother of Wang Khan was one of the good services Chengis performed for Wang Khan during the eight years which he spent together with the Khan. (This would date from 589 H. or 1193 A.D. according to *Raverty*, note on pp. 939-940.)

22. Inancha is the Balikto Inana of Muslim historians, sovereign of the Naiman tribe and father of Tayang Khan. The Naiman or Naeman was a Turkish tribe whose 'direct descent is not certain.'

23. The *Gur Khans*: The *Gur Khans* of the Kara Khitai (or Si-Liao, as the Chinese call it) were descendants of the Ki-tan, or to be specific, of Yeliu Tashi, who was a member of the royal Liao Dynasty of north-eastern China.

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But Wang Khan soon after rebelled against the Gur Khan and crossed the country of the Ui-u (Uighur) and Tang-u (Tangut).[24] He had with him only five she-goats to supply him with milk on his way to Lake Gusier[25] and he had to cut the veins of his camel and drink its blood. Chengis, because of his old friendship with Wang Khan, sent Sukegai, the Strong, to fetch Wang Khan. Soon after the departure of this messenger, he himself went up to the source of the Kerulen where he received Wang Khan. When Wang Khan came to his camp, Chengis ordered his own people to provide for Wang Khan and they passed that winter together in Khubakhaya.[26]

The younger brothers and other chiefs of Wang Khan discussed and complained: "Wang Khan possesses a bad character and is dangerous by nature. He wanted to kill all his own brothers and tyrannized over his own people. Now we must think out a way of seeking revenge. We know that he was captured at the age of seven by the Merkits, who made him crush grain, and at the age of thirteen he was again seized along with his mother by the Tatars, who made him graze their cattle. Later on, being alarmed by the attack of the

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The ruler mentioned here was the last Gur Khan of the Kara Khitai. He was not, as Surgeon-Major Bellow, the historian of an Indian Mission to Kashghar, thinks, one 'venerable Gorkhan, 95 years old' and an Uighur. Raverty says that the (first) Gūr Khān, who overran large parts of Turkistan and Mawara-un Nahr, died in 537 H. (1142-43 A.D.), soon after his victory over Itsiz, the Sultan of Khwarazm, and his exaction of a yearly tribute of 30,000 dinars, cattle, flocks etc. from the latter. According to the *Liao-shi* the first Gur Khan (Yeliu Tashi) died in the tenth year of K'ang Kuo, or 1135 A.D., having reigned for twenty years. But if we date his reign from 1124 A.D., the year in which according to the same record he was proclaimed Emperor, he only reigned eleven years. The differenc between the Muslim and the Chinese accounts of the Gur Khans of Kara Khitai or Si-Liao is too great to be bridged. (Cf. *Raverty*: p. 264, pp. 927-929, note; *Bretschneider*: Vol I, pp. 208-235.) The last Gur Khan of Si-Liao is called *Dji-lu-gu* by the *Liao-shi*. He was the second son of Jen-tsung, son of Yeliu Ta-shi and reigned for a period of thirty-four years (1169-1203 A.D.). The Gur Khan referred to in the *Secret History* is this same *Dji-lu-gu*. But the date (1203 A.D.) given in the *Liao-shi* for the overthrow of this Gur Khan by Ku-chu-lu, the prince of the Naiman, is not in accordance with the date, 1208 A.D., which is given in the *Yuan-shi* for the flight of Kuchuluk to the Ki-tan; or with the statements of the Muslim authors; or with the *Chin-jeng-lu*, which agrees with the *Jamiut Tawarikh* in placing the destruction of the kingdom of Kara Khitai in the year 1218 A.D.; or, finally, with the context of the *Secret History*.

24. Wang Khan, in his flight to the Gur Khan, may have taken the route to Kara Khitai through the southern borders of Tu-she-tu Khan, Sain Noyan and Jassaktu Khan (three tribal regions) and across the Ili and the Chu to the capital of the Gur Khan; he was also likely to take the same route on his return journey. He does not appear to have entered the capitals of the Ui-u and Tang-u, but to have merely passed by their borders.

25. Lake Gusier is given in the *Si-yu-shi* as Kusigur Chaul. It is mentioned in the original foot-note of the *Si-yu-shi* that when Wang Khan reached the Chaul on the bank of the Kerulen, Chengis was on the opposite bank of the same river. Thus Gusier must be suth of the Kerulen. The Chinese commentator is inclined to identify it with Lake Halilung or Kali Lake.

26. This paragraph also describes past events. It begins with the adverb 'later' and repeats 'passed that winter in Khubakhaya' at the end. Wang Khan seems to have stayed with the Gur Khan for about a year; when he heard that Chengis had come back to his old pasturage with increased followers,

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Naimans, he cowardly fled into the country of the Huei-huei (Muslims);[27] then he crossed the Sui (Chu) to seek the protection of the Gur Khan of the Kara Khitai and he had not remained there for more than a year before he rebelled. He returned after much hardship through the countries of Ui-u and Tang-u and received much help from Temuchin ; yet he soon forgot his obligations and harboured rebellion in his heart. How do we deal with him now?" Aldun Assukh, who was present during the discussion, went and reported it to Wang Khan. Wang Khan seized all his younger brothers and chiefs, including Yalkhutur, Khulbali, Arin *Tai-tsi* and others, who had taken part in the conspiracy. Only Jakhaganbu, one of his younger brothers, escaped to the country of the Naimans. Yalkhutur and others were put into custody in a room and Wang Khan said to them: "What had we promised each other on our way back through Ui-u and Tang-u? Although you have behaved in this shameful manner, I have no desire to follow your example." He then ordered his people to spit at their faces and set them free.[28]

Later, in the year of Dog (1202 A.D.), Chengis fought a battle against the Chaghaan Tatars and others, four tribes, at Dalan Nimurgas.[29] Before the battle, he instructed his men that if they got the upper hand in the battle, they were not to scramble in haste for the spoils, everyone seizing for himself ; the whole booty would be divided equally among them after the end of the battle. If anyone retreated to his own line in the battle-field, he was to summon up courage to charge into the enemy's line immediately ; if he failed to do so, he would be put to the sword. Thus they eventually secured victory over the Tatars. From there he proceeded to Shilugaljit on

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he returned to join him. Before that Temuchin had himself been very hard-pressed and could not have been in a position to help others. From that time onward, however, he and Wang Khan were always in contact with each other. The account before us leaves no interval or interregnum for Wang's flight to the Gur Khan and his return.

27. The region west of the Ili river had been under Muslim influence since the Tang Dynasty. The capital of Si-Liao, according to the *Liao-shi*, was Hu-si-u-li-de which is called Belasagun in the *Jamiut Tawarikh*. *Belasagun* is probably the same word as the Mongol *belgasun*, meaning 'city'. (*Bretschneider*: *Med. Researches*, Vol. 1, p. 18.) The capital was about 92 *li* south of the Chu river, which flows into the Issiq Kol at Long. 77-78, Lat. 42-43. At the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty, Uiu had its capital at Ho-chow (the present Karakhuja, south-east of Urumtsi, Long. 87-88, Lat. 43-44); Tang-u or Si-hsia had its capital at Hsin-ching (the present Ning-hsia, Long. 106-107, Lat. 38-39).

28. This paragraph again relates a past event—Jakhaganbu's flight to the Naimans.

29. According to the *Si-yu-shi* the four tribes defeated by Chengis were Alaudur of the Merkits, Khahan Taishi of the Taichiuts and two chiefs of the Tatars, Chakhur and Kair Bek. According to the *Chin-jeng-lu*, they were Alaudur, Khahan Taishi, Chakhugin and Timur. Chaghaan is the same as Chakhugin.

As to Dalan Nimurgas, *dalan* or *dala* means 'waste-field', according to the *Yu-jieh*. Nimurgas is the Dalan Namur river of the *Ming-shi* and probably the present Namurgan which forms the upper course of the Khalkha river (Long 118-120, Lat. 46-48). Dalan Nimurgas means the waste-field on the banks of the the river Nimurgas.

the river Ulhui and plundered all the four kinds of *Aulu* (tribal properties).[30] After the battle Chengis ordered Jebe and Khuilai to take charge of all spoils which Altan and others had, in spite of his previous instructions, seized at the beginning of the battle.[31]

30. The *Si-yu-shi* reads Aulus for Aulu; *Aulus* means 'tribal properties'.

31. This paragraph should have come immediately after the statement that Chengis and Wang Khan had entered into the relations of father and son. Chengis spent the winter of 1201 A.D. at Khubakhaya in preparation for an expedition against the Naimans to assist Wang Khan in securing revenge. This expedition, presumably, took place in the spring or summer of 1202 A.D. After that Chengis returned and encamped at Saali in the autumn of the same year; then he marched south-east against the Tatar tribes as mentioned in this paragraph.

Chengis and Wang Khan had so far undertaken all their expeditions jointly. But this time while Chengis was engaged with the Tatars, Wang Khan alone led a campaign against the Merkits. This may be deduced from Chengis' complaint against Wang Khan in Part VI. Later, Wang Khan again joined forces with Chengis; therefore the *Si-yu-shi* says that they camped together at Alar. Chengis remained south of the Ulhui and did not return to his old camping ground till his war with Wang Khan.

Part VI

CAMPAIGN AGAINST BUIRUKH OF THE MAIMANS

After the capture of the Tatar tribes, Chengis held a secret conference (*kurultai*) of his family and relatives[1]. "The Tatars killed my father," he proposed, "Now that we have captured their men, let us exterminate all their male members, who are as tall as the axis of the cart, and reduce the rest into slavery." This proposal was accepted by the conference. When Belgutai came out from the conference he was questioned by Yeke Cheren, a Tatar, about its decision on that day. "We have resolved," Belgutai said, "to exterminate all male Tatars who are as tall as the axis of the cart." Yeke Cheren spread this report among the Tatars, who immediately occupied a fortress on a mountain and resolved to defend it. Chengis ordered the fortress to be stormed, but his order entailed a sanguinary battle and heavy casualties. Finally, however, the gate was thrown open and all Tatars, who were as tall as the axis of the cart, were put to the sword. It should be added that when Yeke Cheren heard of the secret resolution of Chengis' conference, he told his kinsmen that everyone of them should draw out his sword and cut down the enemy whenever the enemy tried to kill him. Consequently, every Tatar kept a sword ready and Chengis' men suffered tremendous losses in slaughtering the Tatars. After this unhappy incident, Chengis declared, "Belgutai has been guilty of the leakage of an important resolution passed by the conference of our clan and this has led to numerous casualties on our side. Hereafter Belgutai is forbidden to take part in any important conference of our clan. He will be entrusted only with out-door administration-cases of dispute, riot, robbery, theft and the like. However, he and Daaritai will be permitted to enter the conference after the discussion of its agenda is over and all its members have drunk their cups."

Chengis then took to wife a Tatar girl, called Yesugan,[2] a daughter of Yeke Cheren. She at once became the favourite of

1. The *Kurultai* of the Mongols is often referred to by Persian historians. Chengis, in his later days, organized it on a definite basis and assigned to it the highest of all functions, that of electing his successor. The Ottoman Turks still use the term *Kurultai* as equivalent to 'conference', 'council', 'meeting'. Only princes and the highest government officers were admitted to the *Kurultai* of the Mongols. The subjects brought before it were delicate and important; and if some of its decisions, such as the final election of the Khan, had to be published immediately, other decisions, such as plans of the campaigns decided upon, were strictly confidential. Any person through whom a confidential decision of the Kurultai leaked out was naturally considered guilty of a heinous offence.

2. Five principal wives of Chengis have been named by Muslim historians. The *first* and most important was, of course, Būrtah Kūchin (i.e. Bortei of the *Secret History*), a Kungkurāt, who had four sons and five daughters; the husbands of these daughters were styled 'Gūrgān'. *Gurgan* means 'son-in-law' in Turkish. The *second* wife, Kūlān Khātūn, was a daughter of Tāir Asun

Chengis and said to him once, "I have an elder sister, named Yesui,[3] who is really a beauty and will be a very good companion for you. She was married recently, but I do not know where she is now." "If she is really beautiful", Chengis replied, "I shall direct that she be discovered ; but if she comes, will you give up your place in her favour?" "I am ready to vacate in her favour, if she is found," Yesugan answered. Chengis sent his men to search for Yesui and they found her hiding in the forest with her husband. On the approach of Chengis' men, her husband took to flight, and thus Yesui was brought back to her sister, who eventually made way for her.

One day when Chengis was sitting in the open with Yesui and Yesugan and drinking wine, he heard Yesui heave a deep sigh and his suspicions were aroused. He ordered Mukhali and others to direct all those who were present to stand according to their respective tribal positions ; and ultimately they found a young man, who stood all alone by himself. Chengis asked him who he was. "I am the husband of Yesui," he answered. "I fled away when she was captured, but now that the trouble is over, I have come out again from my hiding place. I expected to pass unnoticed in this big gathering." "You are an evil issue of our enemy," Chengis replied. "How dare you come here to spy on us? As we have executed all of your kindred, we have no hesitation about your individual case." The man was put to the sword.[4]

While Chengis was engaged in the battle against the Tatars in the year of Dog (1202 A.D.), Wang Khan was attacking the Merkits. Wang Khan drove Tokhtoa[5] into Barkhuchin Tukumu,[6] killed Tokhtoa's

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(Dair Usun), the chief of the Ūrhār Makrīt, who bore him a son named Kūlakān or Kūlākān, who died early. The *third*, Yassūkān, a Tātār lady, had a son named Ūjar who died in his youth. The *fourth*, Kunju Khatun, daughter of Āltān Khān of Khitāe (the Emperor of Kin) had no issue; she was still living in her own *urdu* at the time of Artūk Būkā (Arik Buka). The first word of her name, *Kanjū*, is the Chinese equivalent of 'princess', but Muslim historians mistook it for her name. The *fifth*, Yassūlūn, sister of Yassūkān, was, according to some Muslim authorities, married to Chengis after the death of her sister; but according to the *Secret History*, the marriage took place in the life-time of her sister. There were other wives or *Khatuns* of inferior status, such as Anikah Khātūn, daughter of Jakhaganbu, the brother of Wang Khan; Kor-Bāsū, the widow of Tayang Khan; and many others. Yesugan in the *Secret History* is the same as Yassukan of Muslim historians, the third wife of Chengis. (Cf. *Raverty*: pp. 1091-92, note.)

3. Yesui is Yassulun of Muslim historians.

4. The three preceding paragraphs should have come at the end of Part V, for the events mentioned here took place after the autumn of 1202 A.D.

5. Tokhtoa is Tuk Tughan of Muslim historians, the *Amir* or Chief of the Makrit (Merkit) of the Kaiat division of the Mughals.

6. Barkhuchin (or Barguchin) is mentioned in Parts I and III without the suffix 'Tukumu'. *Tukumu*, it is suggested by Hung Chiun in his *Yuan-shi-yih-wen-cheng-bu* (his account of Chengis Khan), means Tu-kiu-man or Turk. He says that *Barkhuchin Tukumu* means 'the abode of the Turks on the banks of the Barguchin river'. The suggestion is interesting but needs further examination. However, this does not necessarily imply that the Turks or Turkomans were living there at the time; the name would have survived if the Turks had lived there at any time and then deserted it.

eldest son, Togus Baiki, took for himself Tokhtoa's wife along with her two daughters, and captured two of his sons with the rest of his people. But he did not share his spoils with Chengis.[7]

Next Chengis and Wang Khan led a campaign against Guchugutun Buirukh,[8] who was then at Ulukhtakh[9] on the Soghukh river.[10] On the approach of Chengis and Wang Khan, Buirukh found himself unable to offer battle and fled across the Altai mountains. They pursued him up to Khumusengir on the Ulungu river, where they met a lieutenant of his, called Yedituplukh, whom Buirukh had sent forward for scouting. But Chengis' scouts chased the enemy's scouts up to the mountains and caught Yedituplukh, when the girth of his

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7. The events described in this paragraph took place in the autumn of 1202 A.D.

8. The *Sung-shi* says Bei-lu-ko-han instead of Buirukh.

9. Ulukhtakh is identified by a Chinese commentator with the region south of the Kobdo river (Long. 90, Lat. 49), then inhabited by the Yelut tribe, who were dependent on the Naimans. They occupied the area of the present Jakasin and New Hosit Banners (Long. 92, Lat. 46).

10. *The Soghukh river*: The *Si-yu-shi* says that Buirukh and his elder brother, Tayang Khan, divided their country and ruled separately, Buirukh's tribal place was south of the Kobdo river (the region south of Tannu Uriankhai, west of Jassaktu Khan, Long. 90-94, Lat. 47-50). The Soghukh river should also be in this region. Beyond the Altai ridge (if we start from here), we will find the Chingis river (or Chingeli river, Long. 90, Lat. 47) to the south of which is the Ulungu river (Long. 88-92, Lat. 46-47). By the side of the Ulungu river to the west is Lake Kizil Bashi (Long. 87, Lat. 47).

The places mentioned here form a connected chain. The Altais are generally known to be the largest mountain-range in Mongolia; the mountains referred to here form the southern branch of this range, stretching to the south of Kobdo. Chan Chun, who passed the Altai range, crossed this very branch and also the boundaries of the Banner of New Hosit, south-west of the Solbi river. Khumusengir is identified by a Chinese commentator with the Bula Chingis (Chingeli) river. The *Shui-dau-ti-gan* says, "The Ulungu river passes out of the south-western end of the Altai mountains and flows in a south-westerly direction in two branches, the Aliktai river and the Bulachingir river; the two branches join again after passing in front and behind the Pei-shan or the Northern Mountains." The Bula-chingir is the present Chingis river; and the Ulungu river is elsewhere referred to as the Uilungu, the Ulungu or Ulungui. Kizil Bashi is the lake into which the Ulungu river flows; it is found on modern maps as Ulungur Lake. This lake has a narrow waist, which divides it into two parts. The smaller part has a circumference of more than two hundred *li*; it lies to the south-east and is called Lake Bolto or Bulunto (Long. 87, Lat. 47). The larger part is the lake referred to in this paragraph of the text.

Howorth says, "In 1199 the two friends (Chengis and Wang Khan) made a joint expedition against the Naimans. The latter were now divided between two brothers, who had quarrelled about their father's concubine. One of them, named Buyruk, had retired with a body of people to the Kiziltash mountain."

Ding places the expedition between spring and summer of the year 1202 A.D. after Chengis had passed the winter of 1201 A.D. at Khubakhaya. Howorth places it in 1199 A.D., but does not mention his original source.

horse broke all of a sudden. They continued their pursuit of Buirukh up to Lake Kizi Bashi,[11] where Buirukh met his end.[12]

When Chengis and Wang Khan marched back, Kokseu Saprakh, an able general of the Naimans, offered them battle at a place called Baidarakh Belchir ;[13] but as the evening shades had fallen and it had become dark, the two armies encamped on the battle-field for the rest of the night. During the night Wang Khan (for deceiving his enemy

11. The Kiziltash of Howorth (as mentioned in the preceding note) and Lake Kizil Bashi of the *Secret History* seem to be very near to each other. The 'mountain' mentioned in this paragraph of the text, into which Buirukh's scout was chased, might be the same mountain which Howorth, or his authority, calls the Kiziltash mountain.

The places mentioned in the *Secret History* during the pursuit of Buirukh by Chengis and his ally were all south of the Altai mountains. This seems to indicate that Tayang Khan ruled the country north of Kobdo (Lat. 48) and Buirukh south of it. The Naiman army under Kokseu Saprakh was sent by Tayang to help his brother.

12. This paragraph along with the six succeeding paragraphs should have followed the account of the camping at Khubakhaya in the winter of 1201 A.D. The campaign against the Naimans took place between the spring and summer of 1202 A.D.

Buirukh, according to both the *Chin-jeng-lu* and Muslim authorities, was the first and immediate object of Chengis' attack after his accession and his proclamation as 'Chengis Khan' on the Onon river in 1206 A.D. The *Chin-jeng-lu* says, "(When Chengis) again sent his expeditionary force against the Naiman, Bue-lu-ko-han (Buirukh Kokhan) was on a chase (hunting) at Ulutah Mountain by the Sa-ha river. They captured him, while Kuchulu Kokhan, the son of Tayang Kokhan, and Toto (Takhtoa) escaped to the Yerdishi (Irtish) river."

Summarizing the Muslim accounts, Raverty says: "Bue-Ruk, after he had made such preparations as he was able for resistance, aided by the Makrits, was surprised by a body of Mughals whilst engaged in the chase, in the neighbourhood of Awaj Tak or Tagh (*Habib-us-Siyar* has Ulugh Tagh) at a place called Suja (Suja river?) like the quarry in the net of the fowler, and carried off to the camp of the Chingis Khan, and was forthwith put to death. Some say he was killed in the *shikar-gah*, or hunting-ground. Rashiduddin says he was 'surprised' after making a slight resistance which is improbable. His tribe on this dispersed, and Koshluk and the Bigi, Tukta, after directing their followers to disperse and rejoin them, with as many others as possible, at a certain rendezvous in Ardish (the Irtish river?), fled also to a place on the frontier of the Naeman country." (*Raverty*: p. 949, note.)

Muslim accounts give the name of the mountain, Awaj Tagh, where the chase took place; the *Secret History* does not give the mountain but mentions the lake to which Buirukh was pursued. 'Ardish' seems to be the Irtish river which is north of the Ulungu river and Lake Kizil Bashi, and would be a suitable rendezvous for the defeated Naimans. Muslim historians also agree that Būe-Rūk was the first victim of Temuchin's conquests after his being proclaimed 'Chengis Khan' by the *kurultai* in the month of Rajab, 602 H. February, 1206 A.D.). Abul Ghazi says it was the year of Hog, when Temuchin was in his 40th (?) year. Furthermore, Muslim authorities hold that when Tayanak Khan died (according to the *Habib-us-Siyar* in 600 H.—Sept. 10, 1203-4 A.D.), his son Koshluk or Kojlak fled to his uncle, Bue-Ruk. The two events related above seem to indicate that Bue-Ruk died after Tayang Khan in 602 H. (1206 A.D.).

13. Baidarakh Belchir appears in Part VII and in the *Si-yu-shi* as Baidarakh Belaichir. It lies to the south-west of the Chengis (or the Chingeli, Long. 90, Lat. 47) and the Habchak rivers. The Habchak is a tributary which joins the Chahan river from the east at Long. 90, Lat. 46. Ding says that the Habchak, also called the Khalyat, is the Karaseul river. The *Chin-jeng-lu* calls Baidarakh Belchir, *'Baidara Bienjir*, the waste-field'.

as well as his ally) left lights in his camp and withdrew his army up the Karaseul river.

Jamukha, who was then with Wang Khan, said to him "Temuchin, my *anda*, had formerly sent envoys to the Naimans and this is why he now lags behind both day and night. He does not come to us now, as he has for certain surrendered to the Naimans. O Khan! I am like a lark which is attached to the place where it lives, but Temuchin is like a bird of passage whose cries resound in the skies." "Wherefore are you attempting to instigate him against your good brother," protested Gurin Bahadur of the Upchikhtai. On the other hand Chengis, who had passed the night (on the battle-field) and found next morning that Wang Khan had departed, exclaimed: "He has deserted me and deceived me by leaving the fire burning in his kitchens." He marched across the valley of Yedir Altai[14] to the Saali-keyer where, after considering the improbability of an attack by the Naimans, he pitched his camp.

Kokseu Saprakh pursued Wang Khan and captured the wife of Senkun (son of Wang Khan) with one-half of Wang Khan's people and cattle at the Tiraigatu pass.[15] Khutu and Chilaun, the two sons of Tokhtoa, the Merkit, took advantage of this opportunity to leave Wang Khan and fled down the Selenga river to join their father.

After Wang Khan had been robbed of his women and his people by the Naimans under Kokseu Saprakh, he sent an envoy to Chengis to ask him to send his four great warriors (*Kuluk*). Chengis immediately sent his four warriors—Bogurchi, etc.—at the head of an army to help Wang Khan. But before their arrival Senkun fought a battle with the Naimans at the Khuraan Khut[16] in which his horse was shot in the leg and he himself was nearly captured. The four warriors, however, reached the battle-field in time to save him. All the women and people, whom Wang Khan had lost, were now restored to him. "In the old days," Wang Khan remarked, "the good father of Temuchin saved my people for me ; now his son has sent his four great warriors to restore them to me again. Heaven be my witness! I will repay my obligations to him."

Wang Khan also said: "Yesugai, my *anda*, once saved my lost people and now his son, Temuchin, has saved them again. For whom

14. The valley of Yedir Altai should be read as the 'Yedir gorge of the Altai'. It is a small gorge west of the ridge of the Altai mountains, lying on the way from Chengis' camping place to Saali.

15. The Tiraigatu pass should be a pass east of the river Burgan across which Wang Khan withdrew his forces. The Burgan river is at Long. 90-92, and Lat. 46-48.

16. Ding says that Khuraan Khut is on the Botehan Gol (river) more than a hundred *li* north-west of the Detelan pass, which he identifies with the Tiraigatu pass of the *Secret History*. (Cf. the preceding note on the Tiraigatu pass.) All the events narrated in this paragraph happened while both the armies of Chengis and Wang Khan were on their march.

did the father and son take all this trouble? I am an old man now. Who will rule my people after me? My younger brothers are all unworthy of the trust. Senkun is my only son, but his existence is a matter of indifference to me. Let Temuchin be the elder brother of my son. When I have two sons, there will be little for me to worry about." He met Chengis in the Black Forests on the Tula river, and by a new agreement they became father and son. On a former occasion, Temuchin had called Wang Khan 'father' on the ground of Yesugai's relations with him. On this occasion he was formally adopted by Wang Khan as his son by virtue of an agreement. "We will jointly attack and capture any numerically superior enemy," was their pledge to each other, "When there is a hunt, we will jointly form a semi-circle round the game. If anyone attempts to instigate ill-feelings between us, we will not believe him till we have met and talked over the matter personally." After this agreement Chengis and Wang Khan treated each other very affectionately.[17]

Chengis wished to strengthen his ties with Wang Khan by matrimonial alliances, and asked for the hand of Chaur Baiki, the younger sister of Senkun, for his eldest son, Juchi, and offered his own daughter, Ghuchin (Kuchin) for Senkun's son, Tusakha. But Senkun thought that they should not be related on terms of equality and said proudly: "Will our daughter enter their door to stand facing the north and their daughter come to our family to sit facing the south?" Chengis' proposals were rejected and this chilled his heart.[18]

CONSPIRACY OF JAMUKHA AND WANG KHAN AGAINST CHENGIS KHAN

Jamukha, who saw that Chengis' feelings were cooling, began to conspire with Altan and others against him in the spring of the year of Hog (1203 A.D.).[19] They came to Berkeyelai to the north of the

17. The events of this paragraph should have been followed by the accounts of Chengis' campaign against the Tatars in the autumn of 1202 A.D. Chengis' camping in Archihungor during the winter (as mentioned in the *Si-yu-shi*) and his march to Shirugeljit on the Ulkhu river should also be placed after these events.

18. Among Muslim sources, the *Tarikh-i Guzidah*, the *Habib-us-Siyar*, *Tārīkh-i Hāfiz Abrū*, and some other works state that the wrath of the Āwang Khān was raised against Chengis owing to the latter's asking for his daughter in marriage for his son Jūjī (Juchi); but other authorities say it was on account of Tamurchī (Temuchin) not giving his own daughter, Kūchīn Bīgī, to the Āwang Khān's son, Sangūn, that the negotiations broke down and hostilities arose. (*Raverty*: p. 941, note.) The proposals and the reason of their rejection are clearly stated in the *Secret History* and leave no doubt about the cause of the break-down of the negotiations.

19. This date (1203 A.D.) agrees with the year given by Muslim historians, 599 H. (Sept. 20, 1202—Sept. 10, 1203 A.D.).

Jejeyer-undur (Checher-undur) hills,[20] where they found Senkun and instigated him against Chengis. "Temuchin has exchanged messages with the Naiman Tayang through their envoys," Jamukha said to him. "He speaks like a son of your father, but his actions are such that it is not possible for you to trust him. If you do not get rid of him first, you will have to face the humiliating consequences. If you decide to take action against him, I will charge into his camp personally." Further, Altan and Khuchar promised: "We are ready to kill all the sons of Oyelun for you." "I will bind his hands and feet for you," Yebugachin Khartayat declared. "It would be best to capture his people, for what can he do without his people?" said Toghril. "Senkun, I will go with you to the top of the tall tree and down into the depths of the water in whatever you plan to do," said Khachiun Baiki.

Senkun lent a willing ear to these words of Jamukha and his fellow-conspirators, and despatched Baikhan Todiya to inform his father of the situation. "Why do you indulge in such speculations?" Wang Khan replied, "Both you and Temuchin are my sons. I have placed my confidence in Temuchin, and if he conspires against me, the Sky will withdraw His protection from him. Jamukha's fantastic words should not be relied upon." Senkun sent a second message to urge his father: "Now that these words have come from the mouths and tongues of men, one has no reason to disbelieve them." Since his father would not yield to his insistent persuasions, he went to his father and spoke to him personally: "Father! Even now, while you are still amongst us, he has no regard for me. One day, when you are no longer with us, it is unlikely that he will permit me to rule over your people, whom my grandfather gathered through great industry." "My son, how can I think of deserting any of my sons? I have placed my confidence in him and the Sky will not protect me if I think ill of him." Seeing that his persuasion had no effect on the old man, Senkun left him in anger. But Wang Khan called him back, "May the Sky not withdraw His protection from us," he said, "My son, why should you desert me? You may do whatever you think fit in order to overcome him. Certainly, you know what you are going to do."

This was sufficient encouragement for Senkun, who immediately went with this authority to consult his fellow-conspirators. "Temuchin" he said, "has asked for the hand of Chaur Baiki for his

20. Jejeyer-undur hills are referred to in Part VII as Jejeyer and in the *Yuan-shi* as Jiundu hills and in the *Chin-jeng-lu* as Checher-undur. In the Mongol language *cheche* means 'flower' and *under* means 'high: so this compound word means 'a high hill with flowers'. Berkeyelai should be north of the Cheche hills

eldest son. Now we will fix a day, invite him to the matrimonial feast and seize him if he comes here." The invitation was despatched ; Chengis accepted the invitation and started with ten men. But on the way he passed a night in old Munlik's home. "When we first asked for this girl, Senkun looked down upon us and rejected our proposal," Munlik observed, "What has changed his mind now that he has suddenly invited you to the marriage feast? Temuchin, my son, can you not see through (the trick)? Why not resort to this pretext that your horses are lean during the spring and say that we are too busy in grazing them and cannot find time to go to the feast?

Chengis saw wisdom in the old man's words ; he sent Bukhatai and Kiratai to represent him at the feast while he himself returned home. On the arrival of the company headed by Bukhatai, Senkun said to his fellow-conspirators, "They have discovered our secret. We must now proceed at once and encircle and capture them." The council finally resolved to do so. "We have decided to capture Temuchin tomorrow ; I wonder what a big reward one will obtain by taking this piece of news to Temuchin," Yeke Cheren,[21] a younger brother of Altan, said when he returned home. "Don't you be free with your tongue," his wife, Alakhyit, remarked, "If a servant hears us, who knows but that he may take it seriously." Batai,[22] a horse-herd, who had just then come to deliver mare's milk, happened to hear this conversation between husband and wife. He returned home and informed Kishlik,[23] one of his companions. "I will go there myself and find it out," Kishlik declared. When he came there he saw that Yeke Cheren's son, Narin Keyan, was sharpening his arrow and heard him saying, "We should cut off our tongue for speaking what we have just discussed. Who can shut up the mouths of the servants?" He then ordered Kishlik: "Bring me my white horse together with the chestnut horse and tie them here. Tomorrow I will go out riding on them early in the morning." Having learned all this, Kishlik returned and told Batai, "I have just learnt that what you said is true. Now we shall both go to report to Temuchin." They brought two horses and tied them near their house ; then they returned to their room where they killed and cooked a lamb ; finally both of them mounted their horses and rode out into the night. On their arrival at Temuchin's camp, they told him what Yeke Cheren and his son had said, and appealed to him not to doubt the information

21. Yeke Cheren is the name of a Tatar in an earlier passage of the *Secret History*. As pointed out here, this Yeke Cheren was a younger brother of Altan. He is referred to by Muslim historians as Jādān, 'one of Āwang Khān's chiefs'.

22. Bātāe or Bādāe of Muslim historians

23. Kashīk of Muslim historians.

they had brought. "The conspiracy," they said, "is as real as anything can be."[24]

24. There seems to be a difficulty here. The pretext given by Chengis for his absence was the thinness of his horses, and this implies a long distance between the camps of Chengis and Senkun. Nevertheless the discovery of the plot by Chengis next day could only have been possible if the distance was not great. If we examine the question carefully we will find that while Wang Khan encamped near Chengis south of the Ulhui river, Senkun stayed at their original grazing ground, which was far away from Chengis' place. After the failure of his plot, Senkun came to Wang Khan's camp from the Cheche hills. This movement of Senkun is omitted here.

Part VII

CHENGIS KHAN'S VICTORY OVER THE KERAITS

On being informed by Batai and Kishlik of the conspiracy, Chengis in his turn informed his trustworthy followers.[1] They left their belongings behind and hastened to the north towards the Mao-undur mountain.[2] Before they started on their march, Chengis ordered Jelme to take charge of the rear and to scout (the strength of the enemy). Next day, in the afternoon, they reached Kharakhaljit Yelait,[3] where they halted for rest. At that time Chijitai and other horse-herds of Alchidai came and reported that they had seen a huge column of dust raised at Khulaan Burakhat[4] by the approaching enemy from the front of the Mao-undur mountain. Chengis remounted and continued his march. Wang Khan, who had come with Jamukha

1. Later Muslim historians, who, for obvious reasons, were particularly interested in the role played by Karachar Noyan, the ancestor of Amir Timur, claim that after consulting Karachar Noyan, Chengis decided to make for the skirt of the mountain (range) of Kalachin along with their (his and Karachar's) followers and dependents and that they 'first despatched the women and children to a place of safety, called Buljunah Bulak'. (*Raverty*).

2. Mao-undur is Moyundur mountain in the *Chin-jeng-lu*. Ding says that it is marked on Chinese maps as Sain-under mountain, south-east of the source of the Alukolsin tribe. I find Alukolsin Banner at Long. 119-120, Lat. 43-45, in the present Jehol province on a Chinese map. The *San-shi-yu-jich* (*Glossaries of the Three Histories*) says that *undur* means 'high'. *Mao* in Mongol means 'bad'. As Chengis Khan was attacked and almost undone by Wang Khan here, the mountain was called 'bad'. But later people superstitiously changed *mao* or 'bad' into *sain* or 'good'. Across this mountain to the east is the bank of the Khahir river. I find the Khatsir river at Long. 119-120, Lat. 44-45, on map 63, *Oxford Advanced Atlas*, 1939; the Khatsir is probably the Khahir river. To the southwest of the Khatsir river are the Khamar mountains. Mao-undur might be one of the Khamar mountains. This Mao-undur is 'the mountain (range) of Mu-awand or Mu-awandur' of Muslim historians.

3. Kharakhaljit Yelait is referred to in the *Si-yu-shi* as Khalanchin Yelait. *Yelait*, according to the *Si-yu-shi's* original note, means 'sand-mound'. Some Chinese commentators identify this place with the Khalkha river, but Ding points out that Chengis, starting for the Mao-undur mountain, reached this place in the afternoon of the following day. Now the distance between Mao-undur and the Khalkha being more than seven hundred *li*, the question naturally arises as to how Changis could reach the proximity of these mountains overnight. The fact is that it was only *after* the battle that he marched up the Ulhui river, passed Dalan Nimu and then reached the Khalkha river. Ding identifies the Karakhaljit Yelait with the Khahir or Khatsir river. *Kara* means 'black' and *yelait* means 'sands' in the Mongol language; therefore, the place was called *yelait* instead of 'river' on account of its plentiful sand. The *Yu-mu-chi* says, "The Khatsir flows south-eastward and disappears in the sands."

4. Khulaan Burakhat is the Hoiānī Nūkāt which, according to Raverty, means a 'place where red canes or reeds grow'. (*Raverty*: p. 942, note). This place is referred to later as Khulaan Burkhat. The *Si-yu-shi* says that Wang Khan marched by the route of the Mao-undur mountain to the 'Red Willow Forest', which in Mongol would be *Ulan Burkhan*. *Ulan* means 'red'; *burkha* means 'willow'. Khulaan here stand for *Ulan* and Burakhat for *Burkha*. In short, the term Khulaan Burakhat means the 'Red Willow Forest', east of the Mao-undur mountain.

to the battle, asked him, "Who are the best warriors of Temuchin?" "The Urut and Mankhut tribes are both good fighters," Jamukha answered, "They cannot be dispersed even by close cavalry charges; they are skilful from their childhood both in the use of spears and swords, and their standards are either pied or black. Whenever you meet them, please be very cautious." "If that be the case," Wang Khan remarked, "let our Khadakhji, the Valiant, of the Jirgin charge them; then Achikh Shirun of the Tumentubegan tribe, Oman Dunkhait, the Valiant, and Ghuli Shilaiman *Tai-tsi* with a thousand guards are to reinforce them; and, finally, the main force of the centre under me will also charge them. Jamukha, my younger brother, you take care to put in order this army of mine." But Jamukha led his party away and said to his companions, "On former occasions I have often failed to match Temuchin in battle. Now Wang Khan has asked me to put his force in order. He seems to be more inexperienced than I am. I shall inform Temuchin, my *anda*." He secretly sent his messenger to acquaint Temuchin of the situation and added: "Such as he is, there cannot be any doubt about the issue of the battle. Please dispel all fear from your heart, but be cautious."

Chengis after some reflection on this news, said: "Uncle Jurchidai:[5] I wish to request you to take charge of the vanguard. What is your opinion?" Jurchidai had not yet replied, when Khuildar[6] said, "I will lead the vanguard. When I die, you will take special care of my orphaned sons." "I will be in front of the Khan,"[7] Jurchidai said, "with the Uruts and the Mankhuts as the vanguard of the battle." Then the people of the two clans were deployed in front of Chengis. Soon th Jirgin, Wang Khan's vanguard, dashed into the battle-field; the two above-mentioned clans made a counter charge against them and eventually beat them and drove them back. But during their pursuit of the enemy, they were suddenly attacked by Achikh Shirun of the Tumentubegan tribe with a reinforcement from Wang Khan. Khuildar was thrown off his mount, and the Mankhuts turned back to guard the spot where Khuildar had fallen. Then Jurchidai, at the head of the Uruts, charged at the enemy, who was beaten and took to flight with the Uruts close at his heels. In this hot pursuit Jurchidai's men successively defeated the other reinforcing columns of Wang Khan—one led by Oman Dunkhait, and

5. Jurchidai is mentioned as 'Juchitai' of the Urut clan, and a descendant of Nachin in the *Yuan-shi*. He was senior to Chengis by one generation. 'Urut' is given in the *Kin-shi Beeng-chi*, the Chapter on the Army in the *History of Kin* as 'Urugu'.

6. Referred to as Khuyuldar in Part IV.

7. The Chinese text reads *Huang-di* or 'Emperor', which evidently stands for 'Khan'.

another of one thousand guards under Shilaiman *Tai-tsi,* each of whom attempted a new charge against the pursuers. Senkun also charged into the battle without informing his father, but Jurchidal shot him in the cheek and sent him rolling down from his mount. When the keraits saw Senkun falling, they turned back to guard him. It was late in the evening when Chengis finally defeated Wang Khan. He ordered his men to stop pursuit. The wounded Khuildar was sent in the night to a place far from the battle-field.

Next morning when the roll had been called, three persons—Ogotai with Bolokhul (Boloul) and Bogurchi—were found missing. Chengis said, "Ogotai could not have left my trustworthy Bolokhul and Bogurchi ; they meant to live or die together." During the night Chengis was busy reorganizing his ranks and preparing for battle. When the day dawned, a man was seen coming up from the rear; he was Bogurchi. Chengis beat his breast and thanked God. "The enemy had shot down my horse," Bogurchi explained, "while I was hurrying on foot, I saw the Keraits turn back to guard the fallen Senkun. They had left this horse (unguarded) with an inclined load on its back. I took advantage of the opportunity, cut down the load, mounted the horse and followed the trail back."

Soon after, another man was seen approaching on horseback. When he came nearer, an extra pair of feet were also seen dangling under him. On the arrival of the horse, it was found that Ogotai and Bolokhul were sitting side by side on its back. Bolokhul's mouth was covered with blood, which had been smeared all over it when he sucked the clotted blood from the arrow-wound on Ogotai's neck. Chengis' heart was deeply moved and tears fell from his eyes. They burnt Ogotai's wound with fire and gave him something to cure his thirst. Bolokhul reported: "I have seen the enemy proceeding towards Khulaan Burkhat (Burakhat) in front of the Mao-undur mountain and raising a high column of dust behind him." Chengis then re-formed his troops and marched to Dalan Nimurgas up the river Ulhui Shilugeljit.

Khadaan Daldur Khan, who leaving his wife had come to join Chengis, said: "When the wounded Senkun was brought to Wang Khan, the latter remarked, 'You challenged the man whom you should not have provoked. What a pity it is for me (to see) that my son's cheek has been pierced by a nail; but if life is left within him, he will have another trial.' Thereupon Achikh Shirun remarked, 'O Khan! When you had no son you prayed for one, and now that you have Senkun for your successor, wherefore do you not promote his interest. We, the majority of the Da-da people, are here. The deserters from us, who went to Temuchin, each rode one horse only, and they cannot have gone far. We can find them in the forest, where they will halt for the night. If they refuse to return, we shall seize them even

as horse-dung is picked.' Wang Khan assented to this and instructed his people to tend his son with special care and to protect him from jerks. From there they marched homeward."

Chengis started from Dalan Nimurgas and marched along the river Khalkha. He counted his men: they were two thousand and six hundred in all. He himself led half of them and advanced by the western bank of the river; the other half, with the Urut and the Mankhut, went along the eastern bank. They engaged in hunting as a convenient means of finding food for the soldiers on the way. Disregarding Chengis' admonition, Khuildar, whose wound had not yet healed, took an active part in the hunt. His wound opened afresh from the exertions of the chase and he died of it. His bones were buried half way on the steep side of the mountain Orneu[8] near the river Khalkha.

Where the river Khalkha flows into the Buyur Lake[9], there lived the Terga Amil and other Ungira (Jungirats or Kungkurats). Chengis sent Jurchidai at the head of the Urut and Mankhut to say to them: "Remember your matrimonial bond with our princely dynasty and submit to us; if not, be ready for battle." At this demand all the Ungira tendered their submission and were left untouched.[10]

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8. The Orneu mountain is identified with the Ilgaitu mountain to the north of the Khalkha river, which is found on the map of Hei-lung-kiang. The Khalkha river flows into the Buir Nor from the south-east.

9. Howorth says in his essay, *Kirais and Prestor John,* J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 408: "We can easily fix the geography of this campaign. The river Khalkha (or Kalka), flowing into Lake Buyur, still bears that name. The Olkhui or Ulkui river rises in the so-called Soyolki hills, or part of Khingan, whence also flow the northern tributaries of the Khalkha. The Olkhui flows into a small lake in the eastern part of Gobi. This is again confirmed by the *Jamiut Tawarikh,* which tells us that the battle of Khalaljin Alat was fought on the frontier of the land of the Jurchis (i.e. of Manchuria), not far from the river Olkhui. In d'Anville's map, one of the mountains of Soyolki range is called Halgon, which answers in part to the form of the name as it appears in the *Yuan-shi,* namely, Khalagun Ola. *Ola,* or *Ala,* means 'mountain', and has been corrupted into Alat by the *Jamiut Tawarikh.*"

10. Raverty, on the authority of Muslim historians, treats the submission of the Kunghūrāts (Ungira) to Chengis (after his battle with Wang Khan) as an event that occurred on Chengis' way from the Bāljūnah to the river Kalār. According to the *Secret History* it is an event that took place after his battle with Wang Khan but before he reached Baljunah. Raverty says, "Tamurchi now (i.e. after the battle with Wang Khan) marched from the head of the Bāljūnah, and pitched his tents at a pleasant place on the bank of a river named the Ūr or Aor Mūrān (Un Muran?) at the foot of a mountain range on the frontier of Kalangāe Kadā, or Kad, which is the boundary of Khitāe on this side, and there he mustered his followers, and they amounted to 4,600 men. Leaving that spot after a time, he moved onwards, and reached a place where was a piece of water—the river Kalār, which Abul-Ghazi Bahadur calls the Kūlā Sūe or River Kula. (Sue is apparently a Chinese word, meaning 'water' as well as 'river'.) There being plenty of grass thereabout, he determined to make some stay. On the way thither, with his forces divided into two bodies, one with the women and followers, and moving on either bank, he fell in with an Amir, Turk-Īlī by name (i.e. Terga Amil of the Chinese

After the subjugation of the Ungira, Chengis moved to the east of the small river Tungeli, where he pitched his camp and sent two men, Arhai Khasar[11] and Shegagai Jeun[12] to Wang Khan with the message: "I am now on the eastern bank of the small Tungeli river[13]. The grass is splendid here; the horses are fat. Father! What have I done to incur your wrath which has filled me with fear. If you wished to reprimand me, you could have done it easily in a peaceful manner. Why this policy which attempts to destroy all my possessions? Presumably some people have come between us. Did we not make an agreement at Khuraanau on the Chorkhalkun

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transcription in the *Secret History*), who had a considerable following, and, on inquiry being made of him as to who he was, and his intentions and objects, he turned out to be an Angīrās, a Kunghurāt Mughal, with a considerable body of that tribe, and he agreed to submit to Tamurchī and was treated with great distinction. Whilst encamped at this spot, Tamurchī was joined by other smaller bodies of his other tribes, until, at length, his force grew formidable." (*Raverty*: p. 943, note). The Muslim authorities, whom Raverty has utilized, are evidently relating the same event. But they are wanting in geographical accuracy, for which we have to rely on our Mongol author of the *Secret History*.

11. Referred to in Part IV as a member of the Jalair tribe.

12. Referred to in Part IV as Sukegai Jeun (the Brave Warrior), son of Khondaghur (or Khondakhar, as mentioned in Part XIII).

Chengis' message to Wang Khan is placed immediately after the submission of the Ungirats (Kunghurats) both in the *Secret History* and in Raverty's account. Raverty says, "Having marched from thence (i.e. from the river Kalar, or Kallar, or the present Hailal), Tamurchī despatched from the banks of the river Kūrkān (or Qūrqān—some say from Kālā Nāwar; Abūl Ghāzī says the Kolghā Nāwar) an emissary named Urkae, or Urkae, Chun, the Bahadur, to the Āwang Khan's presence soliciting an accommodation, and several times emissaries passed to and fro between them, but terms of peace did not result therefrom; and his brother, Jūjī Kasār, who had been taken prisoner, along with his family, to the Āwang Khān's presence, now joined him having made his escape." (*Raverty*: p. 943, note). The account of Chengis' message to Wang Khan in the *Secret History* is more detailed than in Raverty's sources. Though the name of the river seems doubtful both in the *Secret History* and in Raverty's account, yet the context of both implies that it is near the Hailal or Kalair river or a tributary of it.

13. This small Tungeli river is given in the *Yuan-shi* as Tungacheh and in the *Chin-jeng-lu* as Dungocheh. It is different from the Tungeli or the Tengeli, the small river to which we have already referred in Part I and elsewhere. According to the *Si-yu-shi*, Chengis after the surrender of the Ungira, encamped at Tunga-chor Torkha Horukhan, (Horukhan seems to be the Kurkan of Raverty), a place rich in grass, with lakes and rivers. Chengis chose this as a suitable place to rest his men and horses. *Horukhan* means 'small river'; Tolkha is the present Tenoke; Tolkha Horukhan thus means the 'small Tenoke river', which is a minor tributary of the Hailal river (Long. 118-121, Lat. 49). Tunga-chor (or Tungjya-chor) is given on a map of Hei-lung-kiang as the name of two small lakes south of the river Sinik, which flows westwards to the south-east of Kulun-Buir city. Tunga-chor Tolkha Horukhan, as a whole, means the region between Tunga-chor in the south and Tenoke river in the north. Ding thinks that the author of the *Secret History* incorrectly represents the two places as one and calls it Tungeli.

Howorth says that the Tungeli is doubtless a feeder of the Onon; probably he thinks it is the same Tungeli or Tengeli which we have discussed before.

mountain[14] to the effect that if either of us was slandered by anyone, we would not believe in it till we had talked over the matter personally? Father, have we had any personal interview this time? Though young, I seem to be old enough[15]; though bad, I seem to be good at the same time. Moreover, you and I are like the two shafts of a cart; when one is broken, the ox cannot draw the cart. We are like the two wheels of a cart; when one of them is broken, the cart cannot move. May I not compare myself to a shaft or a wheel? Your father, Khurchakhus Buirukh Khan,[16] had forty sons of whom you were the eldest; so you succeeded to his throne. Later, you killed Tai Timur and Bugha Timur, your two younger brothers. Then when you wanted to put to death Yarke Khara, another younger brother of yours, he fled to the Naimans. On account of this your uncle, the Gur Khan, led a campaign against you, and you fled into the defile of the Kharaun mountain[17] with a hundred men only. Then you presented Khujaur Uchin, your daughter, to Tokhtoa of the Merkits and from there you came to my father for help. My deceased father led his men (to your assistance), drove your uncle back to the Khashin (Tangut) and restored your people to you. Thus in the Black Forest on the bank of the Tula (Tuula) river you and my father became *anda* of each other. And out of gratitude to my father you said that you would repay his kindness to his sons and grandsons. The Sky knows it. Later on when Yarke Khara, your younger brother, led a force from the Naimans to attack you, you fled into the Huei-huei (Muslim) country under the Gur Khan of the Khita (i.e. Kara Khitai). You remained there less than a year

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14. Chorkhalkun mountain is the Yarkenak mountain on the north-western border of the Central-Last Banner in Tsu-tsen Khan. Khuraanau mountain is the same as the Black Forest mentioned in Part VI. The Black Forest, the abode of Wang Khan, is identified by a Chinese commentator, Shi, with the Chao-mu-do which is on the southern bank of the Tula river while, on the northern bank, opposite to it is found the present Kulun.

15. The meaning of the first part of this sentence is not clear. It may also be read as: "Though I have but few (followers) I seem to have many (followers)"; or "though I am young, I seem (to have lived) many (years)". In spite of the fact that *dau* in Chinese means 'many' and not 'old', I prefer to read it in the way given in my translation by rendering *dau* as 'old', for this may be a Mongolian style of expression. Besides, the Chinese word *shao* may mean either 'few' or 'young' with a little change of pitch in pronunciation. Above all, in the second part of the sentence Chengis is speaking about his own person and not of his followers.

16. The Chinese text says *Huang-di* or Emperor. Here as elsewhere I have translated it as 'Khan'. 'Buirukh' was also the name of a Naiman chief, brother of Tayang Khan. I am inclined to think that 'Buirukh' is a title and not a personal name.

17. Kharaun (Karaun) mountain is the same as Black Forest (Kei-lin) mentioned in the *Secret History* and the *Yuan-shi*. It is called Karaun Kabdja by the *Jamiut Tawarikh* and explained by Rashiduddin as meaning 'black forest'. Bretschneider says, "Indeed *kara* in Mongol means 'black', and *oi* (genitive, *oin*) 'forest'; *kabdjal* is 'defile'." The so-called Black Forest might have included all the forests on hills along the bank of the Tula (Long. 104-109, Lat. 47-48).

and began to rebel. Then you passed through the countries of Ui-u (Uigur) and Ho-si (Si-hsia) when you were so hard-pressed that you lived on the milk of five she-goats, drank blood from the veins of a camel and rode a blind horse. As a mark of respect for the old relation between you and my father, I sent my men to welcome you to my camp and levied a tax in kind on my people in order to provide for you. When you captured the Merkits, I left all their cattle and their possessions to you. But later on when we pursued Buirukh to Baidarakh Belchilai (Belchir) and met Kokseu Saprakh in battle, you deceivingly left lights in your camp and withdrew your men; but after Kokseu Saprakh had attacked you, seized Senkun's wife and people, and also captured one-half of your people in the Tiraigatu (pass), you appealed to me again. I sent my four great warriors to restore Senkun's wife and people together with all your cattle. Thereupon you again expressed your gratitude. Now, whatever may be your reason for upbraiding me, please send your men to impart it."

When Wang Khan heard these words, he sighed and said: "There is good reason for me not to desert Temuchin, my son, but I have deserted him already." But he felt very uneasy in his heart. So he cut his little finger with a knife, filled a little birch-bark vessel with his blood and, before handing the blood to the envoy, he said, "If I do any harm in future to Temuchin, my son, may I be cut up in the same manner."

Chengis ordered Jamukha to be told: "Through your envy and malice for me, you have sown discord between the Khan, my father, and me. In former days it was a custom that the son who got up first used to drink mare's milk from the father's jade-cup. Because I often rose up early, you hated me. Now you may drink the whole milk from my father's jade-cup; no one will suffer any loss from your drinking." He also sent a man to Altan and Khuchar with the message: "Why did you two desert me? Khuchar! You are the son of Nekun *Tai-tsi*.[18] In former days we asked you to be our Khan but you refused. Altan! Your father was Khutula Khakhan (Emperor), who ruled the Da-da people. We asked you to ascend the throne but you also refused. Sacha and Taichu, the sons of Ogin Barkhakh,[19] were from the senior branches of the family, but

18. Nekun *Tai-tsi* was older than Yesugai; therefore his son, Khuchar, had better claim to the throne than Temuchin.

19. The Chinese text says, "the sons of Bartan". This apparently is a mistake. Ba-rh-tan (Bartan) and Ba-rh-kha-kh could easily be mistaken for each other by the copyist. Sacha Baiki and Taichu are referred to in Part I of the *Secret History* as two sons of Khutukhtu Jurki, son of Ogin Barkhakh, the eldest brother of Bartan Bahadur. Sacha Baiki and Taichu had better claim to the Khanship than Temuchin because they were grandsons of the eldest son of Khabul (Kabul), while Temuchin was a grandson of Bartan Bahadur, the second son of Khabul. This indicates the preference given to the first-born and his issue in matter of succession to Khanship among the Da-da (or Mongol) people in those days. Still the election of Chengis as well as Chengis' nomination of Ogotai, his third son, as his successor seems to prove that the right of the first-born was not absolute and could be legally set aside by a *Kurultai* or General Assembly.

they both also refused. You all made me your Khan even against my wishes, and now you have left me and joined Wang Khan. Keep him company to the end. Do not begin a thing without seeing it completed, lest people blame you and say that you are completely dependent upon Temuchin and that without him you are useless. Defend well the sources of the three rivers[20] and do not let others occupy them as their grazing ground."

Chengis then ordered Toghril to be told: "I call you my younger brother because in old days Tumbinai and Charahai Lukhu had captured a female slave, called Okhda, who gave birth to a son, called Subegai. Subegai's son was Kokochu Kirsaan; Kokochu Kirsaan's son was Yegai Khentokhar; and you are the son of Yegai Khentokhar. Now, whose people are they whom you have taken to flatter Wang Khan? They are my people. Altan and Khuchar will never let anyone rule over them. But you are my slave by descent. This is the reason why I called you my younger brother."

Next, Chengis ordered the following words to be conveyed to Senkun: "To your father I am a son born in clothes and you are a son born naked. Our father has promoted our interests equally. Being afraid that I would take precedence over you, you began to suspect me and out of envy and malice you sent me away. Now do not cause any more grief to our father's heart. Go to him by day and by night and dispel his sorrow and loneliness. If you do not get rid of your jealous spirit, you will soon try to be ruler in our father's life-time and cause him suffering. If you wish to send a

20. *The sources of the three rivers*: The *Si-yu-shi* says of the ancestors of Chengis, "Doben Bayan lived at Burkhan-Kaldun on the sources of the Onon, the Kerulen and the Tula." The *Chin-jeng-lu* also makes Chengis say: "My ancestors began their careers at the sources of the three rivers." At that time, Chengis was far away from his original grazing ground; hence Wang Khan had asked Altan and others to live there.

As quoted and translated by Howorth (*J.R.A.S.* 1889, p. 41) Palladius' translation of the later portion of this reads as follows:

"Now that you have deserted me, pray help Wang Khan diligently but don't begin a business which you cannot complete, and thus secure the people's hatred for yourselves. Trust in Temuchin, for you cannot do without him."

It seems if Palladius' text is not much different from the present text or Howorth has not changed its meaning in his translation from the Russian, the word 'blame' is substituted by 'hate' and a full stop is put after it. This break causes a change in the meaning. So far as the present text is concerned, the sentence does not end until the word 'useless'. However this is not an important difference, and similar differences will be found elsewhere.

message to me, send two persons instead of one." Arhai Khasar and Sukegai Jeun were ordered to deliver this message to Senkun. Senkun replied: "Wherefore has he called the Khan his father? Just call him an old butcher of men. Wherefore has he styled me his *anda*? Call me Old Master Tokhtoa (*Tokhtoa-shiun*) or say that my business is to plait sheep's tail.[21] I know the exact meaning of his words. They mean war. And you, Belga Baiki and Todayan, raise the grand standard and graze the horses properly so that they may in time be fat and fit for the task. There is no room for doubt now." Then Arhai Khasar returned from Wang Khan's place but Sukegai did not come back because his wife was in the hands of Toghril.[22] Arhai Khasar made a report about his mission.

Then Chengis broke his camp and removed it to Lake Baljuna,[23]

21. *Tokhtoa-shiun*: This is no doubt some proverbial phrase which was in use among the Mongols. Palladius says that the term seems to be connected with the Myerkitams, to whom was allotted the work of plaiting sheep's tails and curls. It was a term of approbrium, since sheep's tails and curls were deemed useless. (*Palladius*: notes 330, 331; *Howorth*, J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 411.)

22. Chengis sent Arhai Khasar and Sukegai Jeun to Wang Khan's camp while his envoys to Jamukha and other are not named. Wang Khan's original name was also Toghril (Tughril). The name Toghril here may refer to Wang Khan. (See *Howorth*, J.R.A.S., 412.) But, if there is no external evidence and we have to rely on the present text only, it seems unlikely that the author of the *Secret History*, who has so far been using the name of Wang Khan quite consistently, should change it abruptly to Toghril simply to confuse him with a slave of Chengis. However, it makes little difference whether the wife of Sukegai was in the hands of Toghril, the slave, or in the hands of Wang Khan; for Toghril, the slave, was himself with Wang Khan. Chengis' envoys to Toghril, his slave, were probably the same two persons whom he sent to Wang Khan.

23. Lake Baljuna is the Lake Bāljiūnah or Bāljūnah Nāwar or Bāljūnan Būlāk of Muslim historians, whither, according to Raverty, Temuchin had previously despatched the women and children. Raverty says: "This lake was salt, and contained but little water, scarcely sufficient for his people to drink.... The people of those parts, of his own Nairun tribes, who had remained faithful, and had become dispersed when he (Temuchin) took shelter with the Āwang Khān, were dwelling in the tracts adjacent to Bāljūnah Būlāgh, under his uncle Ū-tigīn, also called Ūtichkīn, and when he reached them, on this occasion, they began to gather around him, as well as many others from Āwang Khān's territory." (*Raverty*: p. 942, note.) If the lake was salt, how could the men and, according to the *Secret History*, the sheep drink of it? And if the people of these parts were under Temuchin's uncle, why should our author say that they 'surrendered' without offering battle?

Bretschneider says: "The Baljuna lake, from which the Tula river rises, lies south of Chita, (Long. 114, Lat. 52) in Transbaikalia." (*Mediaeval Researches*, p. 209). If so, it would not be saltish.

According to the *Si-yu-shi*, Chengis, after the despatch of his envoys to Wang Khan, led his people to Baljunah; and it is mentioned in the original note there that Lake Baljuna lies north of the Onon river. Some Russian traveller says that the place, which Russians pronounced as 'Balchino', has abundant forests and is a suitable place for summer resort as well as a shelter for victims of war. Chengis was camping by this lake during the summer. The Mongols also say that the place was once a shelter for Chengis Khan. On the modern map Lake Balijino is a little more than three hundred *li* from Tekte-Kalun. It is again mentioned in the *Si-yu-shi* that in the autumn of that year Chengis Khan started his expedition from Baljuna and marched against Wang Khan by way of the Onon. This indicates clearly that Baljuna must be north of the Onon. As the expedition started from Baljuna in the autumn of 1203 A.D. Chengis must have passed the summer of the year near Lake Baljuna.

where he met Sughus Chakhan and others of the Ghurulas[24] tribe. They surrendered to Chengis without offering battle. Besides, there came down the Yarguni (Argun) river a Huei-huei (Muslim)[25], called A-san (Hasan), from Ala Khush Digit Khuli of the Wangut[26], who brought with him one thousand sheep and a white camel to be exchanged for martens. He met Chengis when he led his sheep to drink in Lake Baljuna.

When Chengis encamped at Lake Baljuna, his younger brother, Khasar, left his wife and three sons, Yegu, Yesunge and Tukhu, behind at Wang Khan's place, and brought with him a few followers, all empty handed, in search of Chengis. They came to the Kharaun mountains[27] but could not find Chengis all along that range. Their provisions were exhausted and they were compelled to live on raw hide and the sinews of oxen. At last they searched Lake Baljuna and found Chengis there. Chengis was extremely pleased. They consulted together and decided to send Khaliutar of the Jaraitai tribe and Chaurkhan (Chakhurkhan) of Uriangkhatai[28] (or Uriangkut) as Khasar's envoys to Wang Khan to deliver the following message: "I have not seen the shadow of my eldest brother. I have traversed many routes but I have not seen him anywhere. I have called out to him but he has not heard me. At night I have slept on the earth and looked at the stars in the sky. O Khan, my father, my wife and children are with you. If you will send a trustworthy man to me, I will come with him to you." And then Chengis told the envoys: "I shall start immediately after your departure. When you return,

24. The Ghurulas is the Kūrlās tribe of Muslim historians. It is mentioned in Part IV of the *Secret History* that Sechiur of this tribe came to join Temuchin when the latter separated himself from Jamukha.

25. In the passage quoted from the *Secret History* by Bretschneider in his *Mediaeval Researches* (Vol. I, p. 269.) *Sartatai* (i.e. a native of the country of Sarts, a Mohammedan) is given instead of *Huei-huei*. The appearance of a Muslim merchant with a thousand sheep as his capital for fur trade at the Argun river on the eastern border of Manchuria gives some indication of the position of Muslim merchants in the trans-continent or trans-steppe trade before the Mongol conquest.

26. The Wangut tribe is mentioned in the *Liao-shi* as U-gu and in the *Kin-shi* as Tang-gu.

Ala Khush Dijit Khuli. In the *Yuan-shi* the chieftain of the Wangut is called Alaut Khuli. In the *Yu-jieh* Wangut is changed into Un-guan and Alaustiji Khuli into Agustoktaguli. It is stated in the biography of this chieftain of the Wangut in the *Yuan-shi*: "When Kin-yuan-sih (the ancestor of the Kin) made the mountains the boundary separating the south and the north, the chieftain of this tribe led a contingent to guard the important passes in the mountains on the border."

27. Howorth says that Karaun (Kharaun) is Khing-gan. This is not the mountain of the same name mentioned in Part V and an earlier passage of this part.

28. On Czaplick's map Urian Khai is placed east of Minusinck, west of Lake Baikal, north of Khua Kem and far south of the upper Tunguska, which is the southern branch of the upper course of the Yenisei river.

come to meet us at Arkhalgouji[29] on the river Kerulen." He at once sent Jurchidai and Arhai to lead the vanguard to Arkhalgouji on the Kerulen river and to pitch their camp there.

Khaliutar and Chakhurkhan went to Wang Khan to deliver the message (of Khasar). Wang Khan had just erected a golden tent[30] and was giving a grand feast in it. On hearing the message from Khaliutar, he said, "If this is the case, let Khasar come." Then he ordered the trusted Iturkin to go with Khaliutar and others. On coming to the appointed rendezvous, Iturkin discerned many shadows and figures at the camping place from a distance; he turned back at once and galloped homeward. Khaliutar, whose horse ran faster, overtook him and blocked his way, but did not venture to lay hands on him. Chakhurkhan, whose horse was a little slow in the chase, shot an arrow from behind and hit the hip of Iturkin's horse. The horse fell and Iturkin was caught and sent to Chengis who ordered him to be handed over to Khasar to be put to the sword. "Wang Khan is unprepared," Khaliutar and his companions said to Chengis, "When we saw him, he had just erected a golden tent and was feasting. We shall surprise him if we march against him day and night at full speed." Chengis accepted their suggestion and ordered Jurchidai and Arhai to lead the vanguards. They all marched day and night towards the defile of Cherkhabuchihai in the Jecheyer-undur mountain,[31] where they encircled Wang Khan's army. The battle lasted for three days. On the third day the Keraits could hold out no longer and surrendered. But Wang Khan and his son had disappeared.[32] At the end of the battle a Kerait captive, called Khadakh Bahadur,

29. A Chinese commentator identifies Arkhalgouji with a place at the foot of the Yarkenake mountain. This mountain is on the south-western bank of the Kerulen, in the north-west region of Central-Last Banner and at the south-eastern border of Right-Central-Right Banner of Tsu-tsen Khan. When Chengis led his men, marching southward from the Onon river, he was bound to pass through this place. From here he marched day and night in a south-westerly direction towards the Cheche mountains across the Gobi.

30. This tent is the *Khargah* referred to by Muslim historians. Raverty says it was obtained by Chengis after his first battle with Wang Khan, but according to the *Secret History* Chengis obtained it after his final victory over the Khan.

31. The Jecheyer-undur mountain is referred to in the *Chin-jeng-lu* as the Checher-yundu mountain and in the *Yuan-shi* as the Cheyundu mountain. Cherkhabuchihai should be at the foot of this mountain; it is the same place, called Bairkeyalai, where Senkun had formerly pitched his camp. *Kevalai* means 'a sand mound'. Howorth says that "the mountain Checher-ondur is doubtless on the Lower Kerulen". But according to the *Yu-mu-chi*, it is to the north-east of the Lake Horkha Ulun, at the Rear-Banner, the Left Wing, in Tu-she-tu Khan. I find the Left-Rear of the Tu-she-tu Khan south of the Orkhon river on a Chinese map.

32. According to Raverty's authorities: "Towards the close of the battle Kārāchār encountered the Āwang Khān, struck his horse with an arrow, and brought it head foremost to the ground. The Āwang Khān then succeeded

on being examined, said to Chengis, "I cannot harden my heart to let you take my rightful master and kill him. I have fought you for three days to give him enough time to escape. Now, if you put me to death, I embrace death; if you spare my life, I will be at your service." "He who did not wish to desert his master," Chengis replied, "but fought against me to give him the opportunity to escape is really a brave man and deserves to be my companion." He not only spared this Kerait but appointed him a commander of the one hundred men, who had been given to the widow of Kuildar as her permanent slaves and attendants. It may be recalled that Khuildar had formerly volunteered to stand first in the battle-line and had requested that frequent rewards be given to his widow and orphans.

in mounting another horse and took to flight along with his son Sangun (Senkun)." The victory over Wang Khan was the first great event in the conquering career of Chengis. The later Timurid historians must have taken 'special' care to point out the great service rendered by Karāchār Noyan to his cousin, Chengis.

PART VIII

DEATH OF WANG KHAN

After his victory over the Keraits, Chengis divided the (conquered) people among his followers. Tahai Bahadur of the Saldutai tribe, who had helped Chengis, was given a hundred tents of the Jirgin tribe. Jakhaganbu, the younger brother of Wang Khan, had two daughters[1]; the elder, Ibakha, was married to Chengis, while the younger, Sharkhakhtani, was married to Tului. Consequently Jakhaganbu's people were spared from slavery. Chengis gave to Badai and Kishlik the golden tent of Wang Khan and its golden vessels together with the persons who had been in charge of these vessels. Besides this, they received as their bodyguard the Wanghu-chin clan of the Keraits. They were also allowed to wear their bows and arrows at the feasts and to have a flagon of their own. These privileges were to be enjoyed by their sons and grandsons also, so that they may lead a happy and comfortable life. They could also retain all the spoils they obtained in battle and the game they seized at the hunts without having to share with others. Chengis extolled them, saying, "These two saved my life. Now by the grace of the everlasting Sky I have at last subjugated the Kerait people and thus secured the exalted throne. Let my descendants constantly remember my obligations to them."[2] He ordered the Keraits to be

1. Raverty's Muslim authorities say that this brother of Wang Khan had three daughters and they were wives of Temuchin and his sons, Juchi (Jūjī) and Tului (Tūlī).

2. Badai and Kishlik were made *Tarkhāns*, whose privileges are mentioned here. The descendants of these two persons were the progenitors of two tribes, styled respectively Bādāe Tarkhāns and Kishlīk Tarkhāns. They were to be found in Khurāsān as late as the nineteenth century. The Tarkhāns of the Dasht-i-Kibchāk and Khwārazm were the descendants of Bādāe, while those of Turkistān are the descendants of Kishlīk. The privileges of 'Tarkhans' are often described by Muslim historians.

3. Chengis' battles against Wang Khan took place in the year of Hog (1203 A.D.) when Chengis was forty-nine years of age. After he had defeated Wang Khan at Khaljit, Chengis came to Lake Tunga; in the summer he again moved his camps to the Baljuna; in the autumn he attacked and overthrew Wang Khan. The sequence of events can be understood from the context of the passages in the *Secret History* The date of the events also agrees with that given by Raverty's Muslim sources (599 H.—1202-1203 A.D.).

The *Shajratul Atrak* says that after Chengis had defeated Wang Khan in the first battle between them at Kookachin, he retired to a fountain named Balkhooni (the water of which was saltish) where he approved Karachar Noyan's proposal to divide his army into twelve *koors* (divisions) and to establish an *oorooni* (place of honour) for each *koor*. Then he moved to Khatai and encamped in an *ooroon* (encampment) called Naroo, on the bank of a river under a mountain on the boundary of the kingdom. "He mustered his army here, and found he had four thousand six hundred horse and foot."

distributed among his companions. During the following winter[3] he camped at Abujia-Kodiger.[4]

Wang Khan and Senkun reached empty-handed a place, called Didiksakhal,[5] on the river Nikun[6]. Wang Khan, who was extremely thirsty after a long journey, went to have a drink by the riverside; and here he was caught by a Naiman scout, called Ghurisubechi. "I am Wang Khan," he said to his captor. The scout would not believe this and put him to the sword. Senkun, who at this moment was at a distance from the place, did not enter into the conflict but rode off to Chual.[7] He arrived at that place with his companion, Kokochu, and the latter's wife. When they went together in search of water, they saw a wild horse being bitten by flees and mosquitoes. Senkun dismounted, handed over his horse to Kokochu, and crept towards the wild horse in order to get closer and shoot it. In the meantime Kokochu pulled Senkun's horse away and was about to desert

(The *Shajratul Atrak*, p. 71.) The same authority says that after having been defeated by Chengis in the first battle, Wang Khan and his son (Shunkoo, i.e. Senkun) fled to the tribe of Naiman. Wang Khan (or Oonuk Khan) was murdered by the *amirs* of Tabang Khan of the tribe of Naiman. Shunkoo, however, escaped and fled to Kashghur, where he was seized by the tyrant of that country and murdered. The tribe of Kirayut (Kerait) immediately after this battle surrendered and acknowledged Temuchin as their chief. This event occurred in the year 599 H., in the month called Tungooz-eel, and at that time Temuchin was forty-nine years of age.

The names of the places where these events happened are given differently but all authorities seem to agree that these events occurred in the year 1203 A.D. Hence 'the following winter' means the winter of 1203 A.D.

4. Abujia Kodiger is referred to in the following passage as Abjikhako-terga and in Part XIV as Kodiualaler. It is on the bank of the Kerulen, where Chengis Khan was buried and where, later on, Ogotai was enthroned. The place is named differently: in the *Chin-jeng-lu* as Tiau Alan; in the *Yuan-shi* as Kutiualali, the place of enthronement specified by the will of Chengis Khan, and as Tiau Alan, the place where the *Kurultai* was held. The *Mong-gu-yu-mu-chi* (*The Record of Mongol Pasturage*) points out that the *Yuan-shi* has wrongly regarded them as two separate places. It says: *alan* means 'mountain'; *tiau* is the name of a bird; Tiau Alan indicates a mountain having the shape of a *tiau* or bird. Kodiger or Kudiuler, or Kodiu, means the bird, *tiau; alan* is *ala*; and therefore Tiau Alan and Kutiualali are names of the same mountain on the bank of the Kerulen.

5. *Didiksakhal*: This place is referred to in the biography of Ogotai, or Tai-tsung, in the *Yuan-shi*, as Jijichakha; and in the biography of Mangu, or Hsien-tsung, as Chochuchakhan; and in the *Yu-jieh* it is transliterated as Chichike Chakhan. The place is identified by a Chinese commentator with Chakhan Ghumu. In Mongol *chichik* means 'flower'; *chakhan* means 'white'; and *ghumu* means 'lake'. So the whole name would mean 'a lake with white flowers'. It lies west of the Orkhon river and south of the Tamil river.

6. The river Nikun, Palladius suggests, was probably the boundary between the Naimans and the Keraits.

7 *Chual*: Howorth says, "I find a station Chel on the map, north-east of Barkul and south-west of Chagan Tula, which possibly answers to this Chual." (*J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 419, note.)

Further, the Nikun is identified by Ding with the Orkhon river. Chual, it is suggested, is *Sha-jih* (or desert), the ancient dwelling place of the Sha-to Turks of the Tang Dynasty. Ding says that Senkun, who went southward along the Orkhon river and then turned south-west, had to pass this desert. The Turks still call a desert *chu-sich* or *chiu-yueh*.

him. "In the old days he provided you with fine clothes and fed you with good food," his wife protested, "How can you now desert your rightful lord?" She stood defiantly and refused to be led away. "You will not go," Kokochu said in mockery, "Do you intend to marry Senkun?" "It matters not if people say that a woman's face is dog-skinned (i.e. shame-proof)," she answered. "Nevertheless, you must give him this gold cup from which he may drink." Kokochu threw the gold cup on the ground and took his wife with him to Chengis. But after Chengis had heard of the event from Kokochu's own lips, he remarked, "How could I accept the services of such a man?" Thereupon he rewarded the wife handsomely, but put her husband to death.[8]

Gur Besu,[9] mother of Tayang, the ruler of the Naimans, said:

8. *The End of Senkun*: The *Secret History* does not tell us anything about the end of Senkun. The *Chin-jeng-lu* says: "Ilekha (Senkun) went to Si-hsia, passed the Itsina city and arrived at Po-lu Tu-fan (Buri Tibet) where he engaged in robbery and plundering. The Tu-fan drove him and dispersed his company. He went to Ku-sien-chu-che-rh-go-si-man, or Chergeziman, where he was attacked and killed by the ruler of the Kharachi tribe." (The *Yuan-shi* says it was the ruler of Kuei-tsi.) Itsina is the modern Yetsina which in the *Ming-shi* is referred to as Itjinai Lu (*Lu* means a 'province'). This place is outside the border wall of Kan-chow and near Lake Chu-yen (Long. 101-102, Lat. 42-43). *Yetsina* in the Tibetan means *Sha-jih* or desert. The present Yetsina city is found in the desert. Senkun who came southward from Chuan-le (Chual) to Tu-fan (Tibet) passed this city. Tu-fan is the ancient name of Tibet; Po-lu which is on the south-west of Tsin-hai is identified with Pi-lu, one among the thirty-nine tribes in Tibet mentioned in the *Wei-chuan-tung-ji*. Ku-sien is identified with Kucha, the ancient name of which is Kuei-tsi. The ruler of the Kharachi tribe is called Khelinchukhala in the *Chin-jeng-lu*.

Howorth says, "In the *Yuan-shi* we are told he fled first to Si-hsia or Hia (i.e. Western Hia or Tangut, comprising the modern Kansuh and the northern part of Shen-si). There, being convicted of plundering, he went to the kingdom whose name is written Kuchaskiya by Hyacinthe and Kweisil by Douglas (*Kyacinthe*, p. 31; *Douglas*, p. 42). De Nailla says that having been driven away from Hia, he fled to the Kuesse by whose king he was attacked and killed." (*J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 420.)

Howorth quotes extensively from the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien*, d'Ohsson, Erdmann, *Chin-jeng-lu*, Ssanang Setzen, who fixes the date of Wang Khan's defeat in 1198, Abulfaraj, whose narrative at this period is largely based on Juwayni (*Tarikh-i Jahan Kusha*), who fixes the date of the battle between Chengis Khan and Wang Khan in 599 H. (Sept., 1202-03), and also from Rubruquis and Marco Polo.

Now as regards the dates of the two battles of Chengis against Wang Khan, Juwayni's date is in accord with the events mentioned in this history. After the first battle at Khaljit, Chengis Khan passed the summer of 1203 at Lake Baljuna; the second battle was fought in the autumn of the same year.

Raverty also says that Senkun succeeded in escaping to Kashghar via 'the territory of the Kirkiz and Tibbat', but that 'he was subsequently put to a cruel death, in the Kashghar territory, by the chief of a branch of the Khalji (the Kharachi in the *Chin-jeng-lu*) tribe, of Kulīj Kara, called Kara Ma, who sent his family as captives to Chengis'.

9. She is called Gur Besu and referred to as Tayang's wife in the *Si-yu-shi*. After Tayang's defeat, this woman was taken by Chengis to wife. This seems to imply that she was young and, therefore, the version of the *Si-yu-shi* should be preferred. But it may be pointed out that a Mongol Khan had many wives and that after his death his son could marry his step mothers. A little later in the *Secret History* Tayang's father is recorded as having said: "I am old now; this woman is still young." It is, therefore, probable that Tayang married this young step-mother of his; in that case both our authorities would be right. The old custom of a son marrying his step-mother is mentioned in the chapter on Hiung-nu (the Hun) in the Shi-chi.

"Wang Khan is a great Khan of long standing; bring his head to us. If it is really his, we will make sacrifices to it." Some people were sent to Ghurisubechi (who had killed Wang Khan) to cut off Wang Khan's head and bring it. After the head was brought and recognized as Wang Khan's, the musicians played on their instruments and made sacrifices to it. During the ceremony Wang Khan's face smiled. Tayang, who had noticed the smile on Wang Khan's face, deemed it a bad omen and crushed the skull with his foot. A man, called Kokseu Saprakh,[10], said, "You cut the head from a dead body and crushed it with your foot. Now even if the dogs bark, you will see a really bad omen. Inancha Bilga Khan[11] once said, 'I am old; this woman is still young; my son Tayang, whom I begot through prayers, has but a weak personality. I am afraid that he will not be able to safeguard the multitude of my subjects.' Now we hear the ominous voice in a dog's bark. Lady Gur Besu is strict in her measures of administration; but contrary to it, my lord Tayang is a weakling, who possesses no arts and good qualities except hunting and falconry."

Sometime later, Tayang said, "The Da-da to the east of our country had by force frightened the old Wang Khan to flee and die outside his country. Is it not that the Da-da aspire to have a Khan also? In the sky there can only be one sun or one moon; how can there be two masters on earth? This is the time to bring the Da-da to submission." His mother, Gur Besu, said, "The Da-da people are clumsy and dull and wear dark clothes. What useful purpose will it serve to bring them here? Let us keep at a distance from them. However, if there are any beautiful women and maids, bring them back. After being taught to bathe, they may serve to milk the cows and goats." "Well," said Tayang, "that is not difficult. I shall go and deprive them of their bows and arrows."

On hearing this declaration Koksen Saprakh heaved a deep sigh and said, "Don't speak so proudly, and be careful not to repeat these words." Tayang paid no heed to this advice and he sent Torbi-tashi as his envoy to Ala Khushi Dijit Khuli (Alakush, Tigin Kurin), the ruler of the Wangur (Ongkut), with the message: "The Da-da people are to the east of my country. I shall march against them to humble them and to deprive them of their bows and arrows. Will you form my right wing in this expedition?" Ala Khushi Dijit Khuli sent his reply: "I regret my inability to take charge of your right wing." Then he sent his man to Chengis with a message:

10. Kūrī Subājū of Muslim historians.

11. Balikto Inānaj of Muslim historians.

"The Naiman Tayang is coming to deprive you of your bows and arrows. I have refused his request to form his right wing. I hereby give you the warning in time ; so be ready lest your bows and arrows be taken from you." Chengis was then hunting at the Temiyen-keyer[12]; on hearing this news, he held a council at the hunting place with his followers. Many persons showed hesitation owing to the leanness of their horses. But Otchigin said, "Why do you make excuses about your lean horses? My horses are quite fat. After we have got this news, how can we sit here and wait?" Belgutai added, "What is the use of a man who lets others deprive him of his bows and arrows? The Naimans have spoken proudly, relying on the extent of their country and the number of their population. If we surprise them by an attack, we can easily deprive them of their bows and arrows. When we fall suddenly upon them, they will certainly leave behind their numerous herds of horses and abandon their houses to seek shelter in the forest on the mountains. We should mount our horses and start at once."

Chengis accepted Belgutais counsel and returned from the hunting place. He moved from Abujikha Koterge to Keltegai-kada in the Ornau[13] on the Khalkha river, where he pitched his camp. He counted his men and horses and reorganized his army, which he divided into units of ten, hundred and thousand.[14] The office of six ranks of the *cherbi*[15] was inaugurated. Besides, eighty men were

12. Temiyen-keyer is referred to in the *Yuan-shi* as the Temaigai river and in the *Chin-jeng-lu* as Temugai. It is suggested that this river is near the source of the Tula.

13. Ornau is the Ilgaitu mountain on the north of the Khalkha river. (See note on the Ornau mountain in Part VII.) Keltegai is the Yalgai mountain which lies on the south-east of Ilgaitu mountain. *Kada* means a 'mountain peak'. So the place is near or below the peak of the mountain Yalgai. Chengis who intended to lead an expedition against the Naimans marched first to the east in order to collect his newly subjugated tribes to man his army.

14. The head of the ten men is called *pai-tsi-tou* in the Chinese text. In the army section of the *Yuan-shi* it said of the tribal army or *Tang-ma-chi-chung*: "The statute provides for the conscription of all male subjects over fifteen. Ten men form a *pai* and each *pai* has a head who is called *pai-tou* or *pai-tsi-tou*." The decimal system seems to have been quite old as a method of organizing the army among all branches of the Turkish race; it may be remembered in this context that as a man has ten fingers, it would be easier for a primitive and illiterate race to work with units of ten and multiples of ten. In the army of the contemporary Sultanate of Delhi, which though organized by the Turks of Central Asia could hardly have been influenced by the Mongols, the basis of the army was a unit of ten (*deh*) commanded by a *sarkhail;* ten such units, forming a body of hundred soldiers (*sadah*), would be commanded by an *amir;* ten *amirs*, along with their soldiers, were placed under a *malik* or commander of one thousand; and finally a *Khan* commanded a *tuman* or a body of ten thousand men. In practice, however, it could not but have been felt that the system made too great jumps; and the officers mentioned would often be commanding more or less than the supposed minimum.

15. *Cherbi* means *oar* according to the *Yu-Jieh*. Here it symbolizes the function of the oars on both sides of a boat. The term may be taken to indicate the office of an adjutant. Vladimirtsov says that the *cherbi* had "to look after supplies."

made night-guards and seventy men were appointed as attendant-corps. The Khan's body-guard (*keshik*) was recruited from agile and well-shaped young men belonging to the families of the officers of Thousand and Hundred and from freemen (*tarkat*). Arhai Khasar was entrusted with the recruitment and organization of one thousand heroes, who were to stand at the front in battles and to serve as a body-guard in peace time. Ogolai *cherbi* and Khudus Khalchan were appointed to lead the seventy men of the attendant-corps.

Chengis instructed all the bearers of bows and quivers, the attendant-corps, the body-guards, the masters of provisions, the gate-keepers, etc. to attend to their duties in daytime, and to retire at sunset and to hand over their articles as well as their duties to the night-guards before they left for the night. Those in charge of horses were to keep a constant watch on the animals. The night-guards were to sleep around the tents; the gate-keepers were to stand at the gate in turns. At the time of bringing in hot water (i.e. breakfast) the next morning, all of them could come into the tents and take charge of their assigned articles and their duties. They were to be replaced every three days in rotation.

CHENGIS KHAN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST TAYANG KHAN OF THE NAIMANS

In the year of Mouse (1204 A.D.) on the sixteenth day of the fourth month, Chengis offered sacrifices to his grand standard and started his expedition against the Naimans.[16] He marched up the Kerulen river to its upper course. Jebe and Khubilai were appointed to lead the vanguard. On reaching Saali-keyer, they met the Naiman scouts at the Kankharkha mountain.[17] In the chase that ensued, the Naimans captured a man of Chengis, who rode on a white horse with a broken saddle. "Now we know the Da-da's horses are lean," they said to each other. Soon Chengis' main force arrived at Saali-

16. According to the *Shajratul Atrak*, Temuchin commenced his march against the Naiman Khan about the middle of Jamadi II, 600 H. (March, 1204 A.D.). The Naimans had as their allies, "the tribes of Awirat, Duriat, Tatar, Dukeek, Makreet, and Jamooka".

17. The Kankharkha mountain is referred to in the *Pei-jeng-hou-lu* (*Report after the Northern Expedition*) by Kin Yu-tsi, as Kankhaligai. It records: "In the twelfth year of Yung-lo (1414 A.D.) on the third of the sixth month, we arrived at Salikir (i.e. Saali) where *Tai-tsu* of the Yuan (Chengis Khan) started his career. To the north-west of this place was San-kuan-kou (a pass), which leads to the Yun-ma-ho (a river) and the Tula river. The natives often came in and out of the pass." Ding identifies this pass with Kankhaligai, which is now called Telerchi pass. The *Pei-jeng-ji-lu* (*A Brief Record of Northern Expedition*) by Yung Hua-hsing records: "When our army reached Chao-mo-do, the vanguard met the bandits at the Telerchi pass." This place is on the border between Tsu-tsen Khan and Tu-she-tu Khan. So far as we can understand from the present text, the so-called Kankharkha mountain could not have been far from Saali.

keyer and pitched its camp there. "We are inferior to our enemy in number and we have come after a long march," Dodai *cherbi* said to Chengis, "We should first graze our horses and scatter a sort of dummy force over Saali-keyer. Let every man in our forces light fire at five places in the night. Though our enemy is superior in numbers, it has only an inexperienced weakling at its head. Our device will certainly create doubt and inspire fear in them. When our horses are satiated, we can chase their scouts swiftly, dash straight at their main camp and take them unawares. Thus our victory will be assured." Chengis agreed. The Naiman scouts, who looked from the mountain-top, said to each other: "We thought the Da-da were but few and now we see fires at as many places as there are stars in the sky." So they despatched to Tayang the man and horse whom they had just captured and reported to him, "Saali-keyer is by now full of the Da-da men, who are probably reinforced every day. At night we saw their fires lighted like stars overhead."

The scouts came to Tayang who was then on the bank of the Khashir river in Kangai (Khangai).[18] Having been informed of the situation, Tayang sent a message to his son, Guchuluk: "The horses of the Da-da are lean but the fires (of their camp), multitudinous as the stars, indicate that they are numerous. People say that the Da-da are a stubborn and hardy people. They will not close their eyes when you touch their eye-balls and will not evade you when you pierce their cheeks. If we start a war with them, there will be no end to it. Since it is reported that their horses are lean, let us break our camp, move towards the Kin-shan (Altai Mountains) and induce them to pursue us up to the Kin-shan. Their horses will become leaner while ours will be fat and fit. Then we shall turn against them and defeat them." On hearing this, Guchuluk retorted, "My female-hearted Khan is already frightened. How can the Da-da be numerous? Where could they have come from since the majority are with Jamukha here? My father has reached neither the private room of the pregnant woman nor the grazing ground of cows and calves; yet he is frightened already." He sent back this reply through Tayang's messenger. Hearing that his son compared him to a woman, Tayang observed, "My strong and brave Guchuluk, pray do not lessen your valour in the battle." Ghuli Subechi,[19] one of the

18. Kangai mountain is the present Khangai (or Hang-ai-shan). The Kashir river is a southern tributary of the Tamil.

Tayang, who marched eastward from the Altai mountains, passed Uliassutai (Long. 95, Lat. 47), crossed the Khangai mountain and encamped by the river Kashir, which is referred to in the *Chin-jeng-lu* as Kajir Usun. The Kangaktae of Raverty seems to be this Kangai mountain.

19. Kūlī Subājū of Muslim historians.

ministers, said to Tayang, "Your father, Inancha Belge[20] met many a foe like this in old days, but on no occasion did he turn round and expose the backs of his men and the cruppers of his horses to the enemy. Wherefore are you so frightened now? Your father knew your mettle long ago! So he entrusted the army to your mother, Gur Besu, a woman! Now that Kokseu Saprakh is too old, the discipline of our troops has slackened. Is it not that Fortune is turning her face towards the Da-da?" Then with a deep sigh, he struck at his quiver in disgust and rode away.

Tayang was enraged by these words and said, "All of us have the same sort of life that is taken away by death and the same sort of body that has to bear hardships. Why do you insult me?" He advanced along the Tamir river,[21] crossed the Orkhon and reached Chakirmaut to the east of the Nakhu Cliff. Chengis through his intelligence anticipated the advance of the enemy. He re-formed and deployed his troops, took charge of the vanguard himself, entrusted the centre to Khasar, his younger brother, and handed over to Otchigin the care of the spare horses. When the Naiman army arrived, they withdrew a little towards the front of Hakhu Cliff[22] and kept guard round the mountain, but later on Chengis' patrols began to drive the Naiman scouts to the front of the mountain. At that time Jamukha was in the Naiman army and Tayang inquired of him, "Who are these persons who pursue our men like wolves chasing sheep into the enclosure?" "They are the four hounds of Temuchin, my *anda,* who are fed on human flesh," Jamukha replied, "They are leashed with iron chains; they have a brass forehead, steel teeth, a bodkin-like tongue and an iron heart; they use a curved sword as their horse-whip; they drink the dew and direct the wind; and in battle they devour human flesh. Now that they have been loosened from their chains, they are overjoyed ; just see the saliva that is ejected from their mouths. These four hounds are Jebe, Khubilai, Jelme and Subeyetai (Subutai)." "If it is so," Tayang observed, "let us move a little further from such low-born creatures." He drew back his main force a little and stationed it at the foot of the mountain. Once more he asked, "Who are the men behind them? They are jumping happily like ponies around their mother after they have been satiated with milk?" "They are the people of the Urut and Mankhut tribes," Jamukha replied. "They kill all their armed

20. Balikto Nnānaj of Muslim historians.

21. The Tamir (or Tamil) river has its two sources in the Khangai mountains. According to the *Shui-dau-ti-gan* (*General Survey of Waterways*) the Ho-lin city of the Yuan Dynasty stood by its southern source. The river flows into the Orkhon.

22. According to the *Shajratul Atrak,* the battle was fought at a place called Kultaki Ooktai. Nakhu Cliff is the Nakhu range of the *Si-yu-shi,* which, Ding says, is Silkhajilkhan.

foes and strip off their clothes." Tayang again observed, "Let us move back further from such low-born creatures." He ordered his troops to withdraw and station themselves higher up the mountain. Again Tayang asked, "Who is he behind them, like a greedy eagle dashing ahead?" "That is Temuchin, my *anda*," Jamukha answered. "He is armed to the teeth like a hungry hawk. Now you see him for yourself. You used to say that you would snatch the Da-da people from him like a lamb, sparing neither its hide nor its hooves. You try it now." Tayang expressed his astonishment and made no reply; but he once more ordered his troops to withdraw higher up the mountain. Then he asked again, "Who is that man leading a huge force behind them?" Jamukha answered, "He is a son of Oyelun, fed on human flesh. He has an extraordinary stature ; he can eat a complete three-year-old goat; he wears an iron armour; he sits on a cart drawn by three oxen; he will devour all the archers of his enemy without any obstruction in his throat ; a whole man will not satiate him. When he is angry he shoots the *Gonkhua* arrow over the mountain and it pierces through ten to twenty men; in the battlefield he shoots the *Keibur* arrow from a long distance and it pierces through the armour of the enemy. He can cover a distance of nine hundred steps with an arrow-shot from a full-drawn bow and of five hundred steps from a half-drawn bow. See how different he looks from ordinary human creatures ; he is like a serpent. He is called Juchi Khasar." Tayang replied, "If this is the case, we had better withdraw still higher up the mountain."

Again he enquired, "Who is yonder behind them?" "He is the youngest son of Oyelun, called Otchigin. He is lazy, an early sleeper but a late riser. However, he does not lag behind in any big movement of troops." By this time Tayang had eventually withdrawn to the top of the mountain.

GUCHULUKS'S ESCAPE OVER THE ALTAI

Jamukha deserted the Naimans and brought Tayang's words to the notice of Chengis. "Tayang," he said, "was so frightened by my presentation that he is now in a state of stupor. His men are striving to ascend higher and higher to the top of the mountain ; there is no sign of their desire for battle. I have left him already. *Anda*! Be aware (of this)." It was then about sunset and Chengis ordered his army to surround the Nakhu mountain. At night the Naimans made an effort to escape, but in the midst of the disorder they pushed many of their own men from the cliff into the abyss and also trampled a good number of them to death. Next day Tayang was captured[23] but his

23. The *Habib-us-Siyar* says that the Tayang Khan, after the battle, was conveyed to a place of safety, but he died from the effects of his wounds before the end of the year, 600 H. (Sept. 10, 1203-04 A.D.) (Cf. *Raverty*: p. 946, note).

son, Guchuluk, who was not with him, escaped with a few followers. Having covered some distance in his retreat, Guchuluk intended to pitch his camp by the river Tamir. But seeing the approach of his pursuers, he continued his flight to the rise of the Altai mountains and almost all his people were captured. The Jadalan, Khatagin and other Da-da tribes, who were allies of Jamukha, also surrendered to Chengis. Gur Besu, Tayang's mother, was taken to Chengis who asked her a pertinent question: "You said that the Da-da are dull. How is it, then, that you have come to me?" He made her his wife.

SUBJUGATION OF THE MERKITS

In the autumn of the year of Mouse (1204 A.D.) Chengis fought a battle by the Kharadai Khuja Ula[24] against Tokhtoa of the Merkits, drove him to Saali-keyer[25] and subjugated his people[26]. Tokhtoa[27] and his two sons, Khudu and Chilaun (Khalchilaun in Part IX), fled away with a few attendants.[28]

24. Kharadal Khuja Ula is referred to in the *Si-yu-shi* as the Tar river and in the *Chin-jeng-lu* as the Diru river. The Merkits lived originally at the juncture of the Selenga and the Orkhon rivers. After their defeat by the allied forces of Chengis and Wang Khan, they withdrew northwards to the Barguchin (or Barkhuchin). Later on, they returned to the Tula river but were driven away again. We are told in the *Yuan-shi* and the *Si-yu-shi* that they had assisted Tayang in the battle. After the defeat of the Naimans, the Merkits should have withdrawn to the north. In its northern course the Selenga river, here called the Delger (Telgir) river (Long. 98-101, Lat. 49-51), flows in a south-western direction. The Kharadal is the Kharatar river which joins the Selenga from the north-west; *ula* menas a 'small mountain with a flat top'. It has been suggested by Ding that the Khuja mountain was near the Ajyali river, which is a tributary of the Selenga.

25. This Saali-keyer is not the same as the old camping place of Chengis Khan on the northern bank of the Kerulen river. This battle between the Merkits and Chengis was fought at the northern source of the Selenga river; after the battle the pursuit should have taken place west of the Kharatar river. There is found on a Chinese map a place called Sibali Kalun, west of the Kharatar river, which seems similar in sound and occupies the same position as Saali-keyer. Sibali Kalun has been found by Ding on a western map as Saweir. I find Saweir at Long. 97-98, Lat. 50, to the west of the Delger (Telgir) river. The Merkits fled by this route to the Kin-shan or the Altai mountains, where they met Guchuluk.

26. The Muslim sources used by Raverty say that Temuchin returned to his own *yūrat*, despatched agents to various tribes of the Mughals (Mongols), and exhorted them to submit. "In the following year, 601 H.," they record "he moved against the Markīt (Merkit) tribe." This date coincides with the autumn of the year of Mouse (1204 A.D.) in the *Secret History;* for the year 601 H. actually began on the 29th August, 1204 A.D. The *Rauzatus Safa* mentions these events as taking place a year later.

27. Tokhtoa is styled by some Muslim historians as the *Wālī* or sovereign of the Markīts (Merkits).

28. Raverty says that Bīgī Tūktā (Tokhtoa) fled from the forces of Temuchin and took shelter with the Ūrhār Markīt tribe (i.e. the Uvas Merkits of the *Secret History*) of which Dair Usun was the chief, and that this division of the Markīts was then encamped on the Tāz Murān or River Taz. (I find to the west of the Telgir river another river called Tess which flows into the Ubsa Nor, at Long. 92-93, Lat. 50, from the east.) But Dair Usun told Tūktā that he himself had not the power to cope with Temuchin. Tūktā and his sons with a few of his people had therefore to flee to Buirukh Khan, 'while his own sept, with the rest of Markīt tribe, along with Dair Usun, retired to the banks of the river Sālingāh, near the fortress of Kurkah Kinchān (Kinshan or Altai mountains?) and took up their quarters'. (*Raverty*: p. 947, note.)

At the beginning of the subjection of the Merkits, Dair Usun of the Ghuas (Uvas in Part III) Merkits came to present his daughter, Khulan, to Chengis, but was stopped on his way by detachments of soldiers. Then he met a man of the Baarin tribe, called Naya. On being told that the daughter was to be presented to Chengis, Naya offered to accompany them on their journey in order to prevent any obstruction in the way or violence to his daughter by wandering soldiers. He kept the father and daughter with him for three days after which they came together to Chengis. When Chengis learned that she had been in the company of Naya for three days, he was very angry and ordered Naya to be tried for his offence and executed. "Naya had told us that he was one of the Khan's men," Khulan explained, "As there were wandering soldiers who obstructed our passage, he offered to keep us company. Had we not met him, I do not know what would have happened to us on the way. Torture him not ; but with the benevolent permission of my Khan, examine my innocence." Naya also appealed to Chengis, "With a devoted heart I serve you, my lord. It is the humble duty of your servant to bring to you any beautiful maidens and good horses that he comes across. Put me to death if there lurks any other intention but this in my simple heart." "Khulan speaks sense," Chengis replied. The girl was examined on the same day and proved to be innocent. Chengis was much attached to her for this reason. On dismissing Naya, he said, "This man is truthful ; he may be trusted with great missions in future."

Part IX

PURSUIT OF THE MERKITS

After the flight of the Merkits, the wife of Khudu, son of Tokhtoa, was given to Ogotai to wife.[1] One-half of the Merkits revolted and took possession of Taikhal,[2] a fortress in the mountains. Chengis ordered Shenbai, the son of Sorkhan Shira, to lead the right wing of the army in order to besiege the fortress. Chengis himself proceeded to pursue Tokhtoa and reached the Kinshan (Altai) where he passed the winter.[3] In the spring of the next year (1205 A.D.) he crossed the Altai range. At that time Guchuluk of the Naimans and Tokhtoa had joined their forces in Bukhdurma at the source of the Yerdishi (Irtish)[4] and had set their troops in order. Chengis reached the place and fought a battle with the allies. Tokhtoa was shot dead in a shower of arrows during the battle ; and his son, who could not get enough time to remove his father's body, severed the head of the corpse. More than half of the defeated forces, who tried to cross the Yerdishi river, were drowned while the rest were dispersed. Guchuluk fled to the Ui-u (Uighur) and the Kharlu[5] and proceeded further into the land of the

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1. Curtin says, "After the subjection of the Merkits, Kadu, the wife of the Tokta Bilgi, was given to Temuchin's son Ogotai." In the *Secret History*, the woman is said to be the wife of Khudu, son of Tokhtoa (Tukta) and not the wife of Tokhtoa (Tukta Bilgi).

2. Taikhal fortress is referred to in the *Yuan-shi* as the Tai-han fortress and in the *Chin-jeng-lu* as the Tai-an fortress. According to the *Si-yu-shi*, the people of Dair Usun, who had presented his daughter to Chengis, revolted later and Dair Usun fled to Holukhacha on the bank of the Selenga river, where he constructed a fortress to live in. The Taikhal fortress should, therefore, be on the bank of the Selenga. This location agrees with Raverty's account, quoted in an earlier note at the end of Part VIII, where he refers to 'the banks of the river Sālingāh, near the fortress of Kurkah Kinchān. Kinchān here is Kin-shan or the Altai mountains.

3. Chengis, the text says, pursued Tokatoa to Kin-shan (Altai) and passed the winter there. This winter camping place should be at the south-eastern foot of the Altai mountains, where we find the present Kobdo (Long. 92, Lat. 48). Here was the original camping place of Tayang.

The Alai range, it has been said, is the same as the Saroi Tarbagatai range, which lies west of Kobdo. To west of the range is Chengistai Pass, which (it is suggested) is the place where the battle took place.

4. The Yerdishi is the present Irtish river. The point where Guchuluk crossed this river should be east of Lake Zaison (Long. 83, Lat. 48), for from here lies the way to the Kharlu (Kharluk), Ui-u (Uighur) and then to Kara Khitai. The *Si-yu-shi* says that after the defeat of Tayang, his son Guchuluk fled to his uncle, Buirukh. The places just mentioned were then under the rule of Buirukh.

5. The Chinese text reads 'the Ui-u (and?) Kha-rh-lu' tribe (tribes?). By placing the two names, Ui-u and Kha-rh-lu, together the Chinese translator fails to inform us whether the tribes of these two names were then two separate units or whether one of them was under the suzerainty of the other. But the latter is apparently the Ko-rh-lu (Karluks) of Bretschneider, who says: "This appears on the ancient map north of Almalik. Evidently the *Karluks* are meant, who formed one of the sections into which, according to

Huei-huei (Muslims) on the Sui (Chu) river to join the Gur Khan of the Kara Khita. Khudu and Kalchilaun (Chilaun in Part VIII) of the Merkits fled into Kanli and Kincha (Kipcha). Chengis also returned to his old camping place. By that time Shenbai had taken the fortress (of Taikhal) and slaughtered or captured all the defenders (the Merkits). Those Merkits, who had surrendered earlier and remained since then in their original home, had also rebelled ; but they were crushed by that part of Chengis' people who had been left at home during this campaign. Chengis said: "We placed them together but they rebelled." So he ordered them to be divided.

In the year of Ox (1205 A.D.) Chengis made an iron cart (*kibitka*) for Subeyetai (Subutai) and ordered him to hunt down Tokhtoa's son, Khudu, and others. His instructions were as follows:— "They quit the battle after being defeated ; they are like a wild horse that is caught in the loop, a deer that is hit by an arrow. If they fly on wings to the sky, you shall be a falcon to snatch them ; if they hide themselves under the earth like mice, you shall be a spade to dig them out ; if they are like fish, free in the sea, you shall be a net to capture them. You are going to cross high mountains and big rivers. You must be thrifty and economical while the horses are still fat and provisions have not run short. Pray do not hunt except from necessity ; even if it be for the sake of provisions, you should be reasonable and moderate. Do not let your men use croupiers or breast-straps lest they run their horses to exhaustion. Of all those

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the Mohammedan historians, the nation of the Turks was divided. From the statements of Istakhri, who lived in the tenth century, about the *Kharlekhie*, we may conclude that they lived east of the *Guzes*, who occupied the tract between the Caspian Sea and the Sihun, and west of the Tagazgaz, who as we have seen, are identical with the *Uighurs*." (Bretschneider: *Mediaeval Researches*, Vol. II, p. 39.)

The Chinese annals mention the Karluks two or three conturies earlier. It is mentioned in the *Tang-shu* (*History of the Tang*) that the *T'ie-le*, a people inhabiting Western Mongolia and Central Asia, were divided into many tribes, one of which was the Ko-lo-lu. The Ko-lo-lu is said to be descended from the Tu-kiu (Turks). They lived in the country north-west of pei-ting (Urumtsi), on both sides of *P'u-gu-ch'en*. In the second half of the eighth century they quarrelled with the Uighurs, their eastern neighbours, and extended their dominions far to the west. They took possession of the city of Sui Ye (on the Chu river). Part of the Uighurs, after their dispersion by the Kirghis in the middle of the ninth century, fled to the Ko-lo-lu in the west. It is to be understood from the context of this passage in the *Secret History* that Kha-rh-lu was west of Ui-u, for Guchuluk, proceeding westwards to the Suei (Chu) river came first to the Ui-u and then to Kha-rh-lu. Rashiduddin, who traces the origin of the Karluks back to Oghuz Khan (Aghuz Khan, sovereign of the Mughal *Imak*, according to Raverty), the progenitor also of the Uighurs, Kankalis, Kipchaks and other Turkish tribes (*Berezine*, i, 19), says nothing about their abodes in the thirteenth century. Bretschneider says that we may conclude from a statement of the *Tarikh-i Jahan Kusha* that they dwelt not far from Kayalik (the Kopal of Colonel Yule or the Hai-ya-li of the Chinese). Kayalik is six hundred *li* to the north of the Present Ili (or Suei-din, Long. 80-81, Lat. 44).

The chief of the Kharlu (Karluk) is mentioned in the *Yuan-shi* as Aselan and in the *Jamiut Tawarikh* as Arsalan Khan.

who violate your orders, you need send me only those whom I know personally ; the rest you can execute on the spot. Have caution and fortitude. If with the aid and protection of the Sky, you capture Tokhtoa's sons, put them immediately to the sword. When I was young, three clans of the Merkits searched for me and thrice (in their search) they rode round Mount Burkhan. Such was the enmity of these people towards me then, and now they have dissiminated their hostile words widely against me. I beseech you to hunt them down even to the limits of the earth. I have made this iron cart specially for you. Though you may be far away, you will be close (to my heart). The Sky will give you His aid and protection."

END OF JAMUKHA

Jamukha had also lost his people in the capture of the Naimans and the Merkits by Chengis' men. He had only five attendants left and together they went to the Tanlu (or Tannu) mountains[6] and took to robbery. One day his companions killed a lamb and roasted it for food. While they were eating Jamukha protested, "Whose son has killed the goat for food today?" Thereupon his five companions seized him and brought him to Chengis. Jamukha sent a message to Chengis: "The black crows have snatched the duck ; the slaves have seized their master. O Khan, my *anda*, to you I send these words." "Those who have dared to seize and betray their own master shall not go unpunished," Chengis replied, "Execute them together with their sons and grandsons." He ordered them to be executed before Jamukha's eyes and sent a message to him: "I made you a shaft of my cart, yet you severed yourself from me. Now that we are reunited as good comrades, each of us must remind the other when he forgets and waken him when he falls asleep. In spite of your separation from me, you have remained my blessed *anda*. In the actual battle your heart was regretful. You revealed Wang Khan's mind to me before the battle. In this you obliged me first. When I was waging the battle against the Naimans, you shook their spirit with your speeches. By this you obliged me a second time."

When this message was delivered to Jamukha, he replied: "We have been *andas* since our boyhood. We then took food too strong to digest ; we spoke words which we can never forget. Now we have been separate owing to the instigation of others. I feel ashamed whenever I recall the words which we uttered once. I have not the courage to meet you. O, my *anda*! You may still call me your comrade, yet I am no more your comrade in reality. You have now

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6. The Tanlu mountains are the present Tannu Ola (Long. 90-100, Lat. 51). This mountain range runs from the northern course of the Selenga westward for about a thousand *li*. During the battle between Chengis and Tayang, Jamukha withdrew northward and came to these mountains.

been joined by a multitude of people and are assured of your mighty throne. Who on earth can be your comrade hereafter? If you do not kill me now, I shall be like a louse on your collar or a thorn under your neckband, causing you restlessness in daytime and spoiling your peaceful sleep at night. You have in your mother the very embodiment of wisdom and in yourself the spirit of heroism; you have gifted brothers and chivalrous comrades with seventy-three steeds. As regards myself, I lost my parents early in my childhood and have no brothers now. I have only a babbling wife and untrustworthy followers. O my *anda,* God has preferred you all the time. Let a merciful order of yours put an early end to my existence, so that peace may be restored in your heart. If you order me to be killed without the shedding of my blood, my soul will always help and protect your descendants." On hearing this reply, Chengis said, "Jamukha, my *anda,* has his own way, but his words have never actually harmed me. He is a man whose character can change easily. Though he is determined to die, I have found by divination no good reason for putting him to death. He is a popular figure whose life should not be taken without sound reason. Ah, here it is! Tell him: 'On a former occasion, because of robbing and quarrels between Darmala and Daichar, you rebelled against me, attacked me at Baljuna (Dalan Baljut), drove me into the narrow tract of Jelani[7] and frightened me terribly. I wish now to make you my comrade and you are unwilling. Though I hold your life dear, you yourself will not have it so. Therefore, in accordance with your request I grant you death without the shedding of your blood'." He commanded Jamukha to be put to death at the spot in that manner, and honoured him with a grand burial ceremony.

IMPERIAL TITLE AND REWARDS TO HIGH OFFICERS

When Chengis had subdued the various tribes and clans, he raised a grand white standard on nine legs at the source of the Onon and assumed the title of Emperor (*Huang-di*) in the year of Tiger (1206 A.D.). He rewarded his helpful followers. He accorded to Mukhali the dignity of a prince and commanded Jebe to pursue Guchuluk. He reorganized the Da-da people. Besides princes and prince-consorts,[8] he appointed ninety-five of his devoted followers commanders of One Thousand Families.[9]

7. Chelaini in Part IV. Baljuna seems to be a mistake for Dalan Baljut which is mentioned in Part IV.

8. *Fu-ma* means in Chinese 'the husband of a princess'; so I have translated it as 'prince-consorts'.

9. There is considerable difference between the above paragraph and the passage in the Russian version of the *Secret History*. It will be useful to quote it: "And so in the year of Leopard (1206 A.D.) all the people living in felt-tents assembled near the source of the Onon, and raising the White Banner on Nine Legs, they conferred on Chingis the title of 'Kagan'. Chingis Khan then took into his hands the government of the Mongol people and said, 'I shall utter words of grace, distributing the Thousands among those who worked with me in the making of the Khanates, and appointing *noyans* to command the Thousands.'" (*Vladimirtsov,* p. 63.)

The Russian version of this passage appears to have been more polished, but the Chinese translation gives the actual number of the commanders of One Thousand.

As regards the 'grand standard', the descriptions Uary also. Curtin calls it the 'great standard of nine white tails'; the *Chin-jeng-lu* calls it the 'white banner of nine-*liou*'. (*Liou* means in Chinese 'the jade hung with silk to the front of a hat'.) But the Chinese version of the *Secret History* calls it a 'grand white standard on nine legs'.

It has been pointed out earlier that when Temuchin became the Khan of his own tribes, he had assumed the title 'Chengis'. This is the reason why no mention is made here again of his assuming this title. The *Chin-jeng-lu* informs us that Chengis assumed the title Chengis 'Huang-di' (or Emperor). On both occasions the Chinese translator of the *Secret History* uses the term *Huang-di* or Emperor. The rendering of *Huang-di* into 'Kagan' by Vladimirtsov does not seem to be justified; Persian historians who describe Chengis at the height of his power do not say that he assumed any other title but that of 'Khan'. Chengis is also said to have had a hatred for hyperbolic compliments and long titles. The *Yuan-shi* and the *Si-yu-shi* do not mention the first proclamation of the title of 'Khan'.

The *Shajratul Atrak* says, "In the month of Rajab, 602 H. (February, 1206 A.D.), Timoochin ordered a *tagh* or white flag to be displayed, that a *kurultai,* or general meeting of his subjects, should be convoked; and accordingly, he sent a messenger or *evandoochee* to every tribe." (Miles: the *Shajratul Atrak,* p. 78.)

Then Chengis said, "I have appointed ninety-five commanders of One Thousand Families. Now let all those who have helped me be also rewarded." He ordered Shigi Khutukhu[10] to summon Bogurchi, Mukhali and others. But Shigi Khutukhu expostulated, "What extraordinary services have Bogurchi, Mukhali and others rendered to you that call for your further rewards? I have been in your family from my boyhood till now without leaving you on any occasion; is this not a service comparable to that of anyone else? Now what reward are you ready to offer me?" "You are my sixth younger brother," Chengis replied, "You shall have an equal share with all my younger brothers and you will not be punished for the first nine crimes. These people have been newly subjected. You shall serve as my eyes and ears, and nobody is to disregard your words. You are to judge and punish all cases of robbery, theft, forgery and cheating. All your judgments concerning disputes will be put in records which shall never be altered." "I am the youngest of your brothers," Shigi Khutukhu replied, "I dare not take an equal share with my elder brothers. I shall be satisfied if you will be pleased to give me all the people who live in the mud-city." "You may act at your own discretion," Chengis replied. Having received his own reward, Shigi Khutukhu went to call in Bogurchi, Mukhali, Munlik and others to receive theirs.

10. Shigi Khutukhu, a Tatar, adopted by Oyelun as her son. Cf. Part IV.

Chengis said to Munlik: "You have kept my company since I was very young. You have assisted and protected me many a time. Without your protection, I would have fallen into the deep water and the devouring fire when Wang Khan and his son tried to deceive me. I have always remembered this debt of gratitude to you, and my sons and grandsons will also remember it. Henceforth you will sit in that corner ; you will receive all monthly gifts ; and your descendants shall also enjoy the same privileges."

Chengis said to Bogurchi: "Once some thieves had driven away my eight grey horses and I went in pursuit of them for three continuous days and nights. When we met, you accompanied me in my pursuit forthwith. We got the horses back after three more nights. Your father, Nakhu Bayan, was well-to-do and you were his only son. He would not have let you come with me had your friendliness not led you to join me. Afterwards you again acceded to my request for your company without hesitation. When I was driven to Mount Burkhan you suffered the same hardships as I did. Once again, in the battle against the Tatars at Dalan Nimurgas when it rained at night, you wore shawl, stood by me while I slept to shelter me from the rain so that I may have rest till the dawn and you did not change your posture except once. Such have been your most heroic deeds and I need not enumerate all the rest. Furthermore, you and Mukhali together have advised me in doing all that should have been done and prevented me from doing everything that should not have been done ; and but for this I would not have attained to my present throne. Now your seat will be above others in order of precedence ; and you may commit nine crimes unpunished. I appoint you commander of Ten Thousand Families in the country extending westward from here to the Kin-shar[11] (Altai mountains)."

Chengis again said to Mukhali: "When I was living at Khorkhona Jubur near the old pine tree where Khutula Khakhan celebrated his accession, you informed me of the revelation of the Sky to you. I have also remembered the words that your father, Guun Ghua, told you. For this reason I appoint you the ruler of a khanate. You will sit on the seat of a senior. I appoint you commander of Ten Thousand Families of the Left Wing in the eastern country as far as Kharaun mountain,[12] and your descendants will inherit your dignity.

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11. i.e. of the territory from the sources of the Onon to the Altai mountains, which had Ten Thousand Families for the Right Wing of Chengis' army.

12. This Kharaun is the same mountain as where Khasar found Chengis, but it is not the Kharaun mountain mentioned elsewhere. A Chinese commentator has suggested that this mountain was east of the Onon, but this, it has been pointed out, is improbable. The country between the Onon and the Kerulen should have been under the rule of the commander of the Ten Thousand Families of the Central Army. The commander of the Ten Thousand Families of the Left Wing should have ruled the country east of Lakes Kulun and Buyur. The biography of Tutukha in the *Yuan-shi* records; "Chen-tsung (i.e. Timur, the grandson of Kublai Khan) had defeated the rebellious prince Holuhasan on the river Uluhui and returned to Kharaun. At night he crossed the river Kueilai and defeated Khadan, another rebellious prince." This indicates that Kharaun was near to both the Uluhui and Kueilai rivers. There is north of the Ulhui river a mountain, called Tergan, south-east of which is the Kueiler. Ding says that Tergan is the Kharaun mountain.

The *Si-yu-shi* differs from the *Secret History* and says that Khasar was living separately in the Kharaun Chidun Mountain when Chengis was camping together with Wang Khan.

Chengis said to Ghurchi: "You spoke words of revelation when I was young. You have also accompanied me through all hardships. You said then that if the prophecy was realized, you should be permitted to choose thirty wives. Now that it has been realized, you can select thirty beauties from among the women and girls of the subject peoples. Besides, I give you three thousand people of the Baali (Baarin or Barin) tribe[13] in addition to the Adarchi tribe (the descendants of Adargin) under the administration of Tagai and Ashikh so as to make up the Ten Thousand Families over whom you are to rule. All the land along the Yerdishi (Irtish) river will be your camping ground and the people of the forest near the river will also come under your control.[14] You will defend their country and dispense justice among them. Those who disobey you will be punished."

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13. The Baarin, or Barin, were the descendants of Baaritai, son of Boduanchar. Cf. Part I.

14. It may be pointed out that the country thus assigned to Ghurchi includes not only the land on the banks of the Irtish river but the whole Uriankhai tribe (i.e. the people in the forests) who inhabited the region from the Altai and the Tannu mountains to Lake Baikal in the east. This is proved later by the revolt of the Tumat tribe, caused by Ghurchi's demand for thirty girls from them.

Part X

CHENGIS REWARDS LOYAL OFFICERS

Chengis said to Jurchidai: "Your most important service to me was in the battle against Wang Khan at Kharakhalji Yelait at a time of great uncertainty. Though Khuildar had first proposed to take command of the battle, you were the man to whom I owed the achievement of that great victory. You pushed your way up to the marshalling ground of the enemy's centre and, finally, shot Senkun in the cheek with an arrow. I do not know what would have happened if that arrow had missed him. This was one of my chief obligations to you. Later on, during the march along the Khalkha river, I looked to you for shelter and protection as one looks to a high mountain ; then, in the expedition against Wang Khan to Lake Baljuna, you served as my vanguard. By the assistance and protection of the Sky I subjugated the important country of the Keraits and was thus in a position to defeat the Naimans and the Merkits. Jakhaganbu, who had at the defeat and dispersion of the Naimans and the Merkits sought safety for his people by presenting me his two daughters, later revolted; I owed much to your design in recapturing him and his people.[1] This was the second meritorious service you did for me." Chengis gave Lady Ibakha (his own wife) to Jurchidai to wife, and explained to her; "It is not because I dislike your character or fail to appreciate your beauty or doubt your chastity that I am not keeping you among my other wives. My desire is to give you as an extraordinary award for the meritorious services of Jurchidai, who has risked his life for me in many a battle and collected my wandering people for me again. My successors will recognize the reason that calls for such a reward. Your descendants will inherit all your dignity." He further suggested to Ibakha, "Your father, Jakhaganbu, gave me Ashi Timur, the master of provisions, along with two hundred men as your dowry. Now that you are to leave me, let half of them, including Ashi Timur, stay with me as a token of love." Then he turned to Jurchidai and said, "The four thousand men of the Uruts or Uruuts) will also be under your administration."

Chengis said to Khubilai: "You have tamed many stiff-necked and stubborn persons. You, Jelme, Jebe and Subeyetai, are my four brave hounds. Wherever I order you to go, you will smash the hard stone, break the heavy rock and cross the deep water. In the battle

1. This recapturing of Jakhaganbu has not been mentioned earlier in the *Secret History*.

I make you four my vanguard ; Bogurchi, Mukhali, Boloul and Chilaun, my four great warriors, stand beside me; Jurchidai and Ildar stand in front of me, and thus I have nothing about which to worry my heart. Henceforth, Khubilai, you shall be the senior-most man in military affairs. You complained about Beduun being obstinate, so he has not hitherto been made a commander of One Thousand Families. Now you and he shall be joint commanders of One Thousand Families and you shall consult each other before action. I shall take note how he fares in future."

Chengis then said to Bogurchi, Mukhali and others: "Khunan[2] has attended me with the vigilance of a he-wolf at night and a black crow in daytime. He has never changed his allegiance to me for the company of a bad person. You should consult both Khunan and Kokochus about all matters. Juchi is the eldest of my sons; let Khunan be the head of the Geniges (Kenikes) tribe and commander of Ten Thousand Families under Juchi." Continuing, he said: "Khunan, Kokochus, Degai and Usun Yebugan are four honest followers who tell everything they hear and see without concealing any part of it." After this he turned to Jelme; "Your father, Jarchiutai, the old man, came to me with a blacksmith's bellows on his back from Mount Burkhan. When I was born at Deliun-Boldak, he offered me a sable swaddling-band. At that time when you, his son, were a mere baby, he promised to give you to me as my slave. Now we have both grown up together and you have rendered me important services. As a blessed old companion of mine, you will be exempted from punishment for nine crimes."

Chengis said to Tolun (a son of Munlik); "For what reason have I made both you and your father commanders of One Thousand Families? Because you assisted your father in collecting my people. The title of *cherbi* has been conferred upon you. Now I give you the people you have collected and appoint you a commander of One Thousand Families to rule them in consultation with Tolu Khan (Tului Khan)."

Chengis said to the master of provisions, Wangur, son of Mongetu Kiyan: "Formerly you with the three clans of Tokhurauts, the five clans of the Tarkhuts, and the two tribes of Bishikit and Bayan(t) formed a single *rink* (unit) of mine. We have since then never missed each other in the mist, nor separated from each other in turmoil; we have suffered together the same unbearable wet and bitter cold. What reward do you want?" "If you permit," Wangur replied, "I will select my kinsman of the Bayaut tribe[3] who are now

2. He is mentioned as a man of the Ganigas (Kenikes) tribe in Part IV.
3. i.e. the descendants of Haalikh Bayautai (Part I).

scattered among the different tribes." Chengis gave his consent. "You may collect them," he said, "and be the commander of One Thousand Families." "Wangur and Boloul!" Chengis continued, "You two have distributed the provisions equitably on the left and the right so that I had not to worry. Now both of you may ride to the gatherings and distribute the provisions. When there is a feast, you two are to sit separately on the left and the right, together with Tolun, facing the north while distributing the provisions."

Chengis said to Boloul: "My mother adopted you, Shigi Khutukhu, Guchu and Kokochu—four sons picked up from the (enemy) camps—and has reared you up to your present age of maturity. She intended you and her own sons to keep good company. How far have you repaid her kindness to you? You, Boloul, have accompanied me in all perilous battles; even in rainy weather you have never allowed me to pass a night in the battle on an empty stomach. During the battle of extermination against the Tatars, there was a Tatar, called Khargil Shira, who succeeded in escaping but returned to my mother's tent on account of hunger. He claimed to be a needy man and she told him, 'Since you are a needy man, sit on that side.' He sat on the western side behind the gate. My five-year old son, Tului, came in and was about to go out when Khargil caught him, pressed him under one of his elbows and drew out his sword. Seeing this my mother shouted for help. Your wife, Altani, who was then sitting on the east side of the tent, rushed at the Tatar, seized his hair, and pulled his hand so forcibly with all her strength that she fell on the ground together with the (Tatar's) sword. On hearing Altani's screams, Jetai and Jelme, who were then slaughtering a cow north of the tent, came with their swords and axes. They killed the man instantly; and then Altani, Jetai and Jelme disputed over their comparative claims to merit. Jetai and Jelme said, 'If we had not rushed up to you quickly, what could you, a woman, have done to him? He could have killed Tului easily.' 'Had you not heard my screams,' Altani protested, 'how could you have turned up? Had I not seized his hair and pulled down his sword, Tului would have been killed before you came.' Thus Altani ultimately obtained the first claim to merit. At Khalkhaljit when I was engaged in the battle against Wang Khan, you, Boloul, saved Ogotai's life by sucking the clotted blood from the arrow-wound in his neck. You have certainly repaid my mother's kindness to you by saving the life of my two sons. You have never slackened in the determination to serve me at all difficult times. Henceforth you are exempted nine times from punishment for any crimes you may commit." Lastly, Chengis added: "Let the girls (also) be rewarded."

Chengis spoke next to Usun, the old man: "Usun, Khunan, Kokochus and Degai! You four men have not concealed anything from me and have told me of all you have seen, heard, or thought.

Now according to the tradition and regulations of the Da-da, *Baiki* (Bek) is a high rank. Usun, you are a descendant of the chief of the Baarin ; you deserve to be made a *Baiki* ; when you are a *Baiki*, you will ride a horse, wear white clothes, and have precedence above others in sitting. Some suitable date will be fixed after careful consultation for this important ceremony." Chengis then added, "Khuildar *anda*[4] volunteered (to lead) first in a former battle. For his meritorious service, posthumous rewards shall be given to his descendants."

Chengis said to Narin Toghril (Toghorin), the son of Chakhan Ghua: "Your father served me with diligence and died at the hands of Jamukha at the battle of Dalan Baljut. Now he shall be rewarded after his death in the person of yourself." Toghril replied, "My kinsmen are now scattered among different tribes; I would like to collect them together." Chengis gave him permission to do so, and ordered that his descendants were to inherit his dignity.

Chengis then said to Sorkhan Shira: "While still young, I was once captured by Tarkhutai Kiriltukh and his Taichiut brothers. You and your sons hid me, instructed the girl, named Khadaan, to serve me and finally set me free. I have kept in mind my obligations to you both day and night. But because you came to me so late from the Taichiuts, I had to wait till now in order to reward you. What reward do you want?" Sorkhan Shira and his sons replied, "We want the land of the Merkits along the Selenga river for our camping (or grazing) ground. As regards the other rewards, we leave them to the discretion of our Khan." "In accordance with your request," Chengis replied, "that land will be assigned to you as your camping ground. Your descendants will be given the privilege of wearing their bows and quivers at the feasts, and they will also be exempted from punishment for nine crimes." Then Chengis said to Chilaun and Shenbai, the sons of Sorkhan Shira: "Why have you forgotten of what you spoke formerly? Whenever you think you are in need, you can come and ask for it yourself." He also added, "Sorkhan Shira, Badai and Kishlik![5] You shall live comfortably. You can take for yourself all the spoils of the expedition and all the games of the hunt. Sorkhan Shira, you belonged formerly to the family of Todigan[6] of the Taichiut. Notwithstanding this, all of you may depend upon me for a comfortalbe existence."

Chengis said to Naya: "In days past when your father and you had captured Tarkhutai Kiriltukh, you said that one should

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4. *Anda* here seems merely to mean 'companion in battle'.
5. Kishlik was a *tarkhan; tarkhan* in Mongol means 'comfort'.
6 Todoge in Part V.

not betray one's rightful lord, and you came to me after having set him free. I said then that one who knew this great truth would be worthy of my trust in future. I have made Bogurchi commander of Ten Thousand Families of the Right Wing and Mukhali the ruler of a *khanate* and commander of Ten Thousand Families of the Left Wing. Now I appoint you commander of Ten Thousand Families of the Centre.''[7]

Then he said to Jebe and Subeyetai: ''You are appointed to be commanders of One Thousand Families over the people whom you have collected.'' Then he ordered Degai, the shepherd, to collect the unattached and unregistered people and to be a commander of One Thousand Families over them.

During the redistribution of the people it was found that Guchugur, the carpenter, had insufficient number of people under him; this deficit was made up by taking some people from the other commanders and putting them under his administration. Thus both he and Mulkhalkhu of the Jadara tribe were made commanders of One Thousand Families.

CHENGIS REORGANISES HIS BODYGUARD

Having rewarded his early followers with the offices of commanders of Ten Thousand, One Thousand, and One Hundred Families, Chengis said, ''I have up to the present had eighty men as my personal attendants. But now that the Sky has ordered all nations to be put under my rule, my Body-guard (*Keshik*) is to consist of ten thousand persons from among the people under the commanders of Ten Thousand, One Thousand and One Hundred Families, only agile and well-shaped youths being selected from among the sons of dignitaries and freemen (*tarkat*). The son of a commander of One Thousand Families may bring one younger brother and ten attendants with him; the son of a commander of One Hundred Families, one younger brother and five attendants; the son of a *nai-tsi* (commander of Ten Families) or a freeman, one younger brother and three attendants. The horses of the ten attendants of the son of a commander of One Thousand Families will be levied from his own men together with the necessary equipment, as specified by former statutes, but excluding both the properties given by his parents and his own possessions and servants. The five attendants, who come with the son of a commander of One Hundred Families or the three attendants with the son of a *nai-tsi* or freeman, will be given the required horses in accordance with the preceding statute. Any commander of One Thousand, One Hundred, and Ten Families who opposes this order will be severely punished. A night-guard who does not attend to his duty will be replaced and exiled to a far-off place. No man may prevent another from joining my guard if he so desires.''

7. Probably the region between the Onon and the Kerulen.

Part XI

ORGANISATION OF THE GUARDS

All commanders of One Thousand or One Hundred Families selected their men according to Chengis' order. The night-guard was increased from eighty men to eight hundred men; Chengis then ordered it to be raised to one thousand and appointed Yeke Hiurin its commander. Formerly there had been four hundred archers in the guard under the joint command of Jelme, Yesun Teye and Bugidai, and when the personal attendants and archers came on duty they were divided into four companies led by Yesun Teye, Bugidai, Korkhuda and Laplaha separately. Now the archers were increased to a thousand with Yesun Teye at their head.

Hitherto Ogolai *cherbi*, a cousin of Bogurchi, had been in charge of the attendant-corps. Now this corps was increased to one thousand men but remained under his command. Further, six officers—Bukha, a cousin of Mukhali; Alchidai, a cousin of Ilugai;[1] Dodai *cherbi;* Doghulkhu; Chanai, a cousin of Jurchidai; Akhutai, a cousin of Alchi —were given command of a thousand guardsmen each. An élite unit of one thousand *bahadurs* (braves) was put under the command of Arhai Khasar; they were required to serve in peace time as 'attendant-corps', and to stand in the front in the battle as *bahadurs*. Thus eight thousand guardsmen (*keshikten*), chosen from different units of Thousand Families[2] along with two thousand archers formed a body-guard of ten thousand in all. Chengis declared: "These guardsmen of mine will henceforth be called the Great Central Army."[3]

Chengis added: "My personal guard is to be divided into four companies led by four commanders, namely, Bukha, Alchidai, Dodai *cherbi* and Doghulkhu." Then he announced the order of their turns of duty and said: "The commander is to lead his men personally in the night-watch and the turn of every company will end after three nights. Anyone who absents himself from the scheduled duty without giving reasons will be punished with thirty thrashes for the first offence, and with seventy thrashes for the second; for the third offence he will be given thirty-seven thrashes and exiled to a far

1. i.e. Ilu of Part XII.

2. As we shall see later the 10,000 guards were chosen from 95 thousand units.

3. The army section (or *Beeng-ji*) of the *Yuan-shi* says, "*Ye-ko Ko-shiue* was commanded in the name of *Tai-tsu* (Chengis Khan)." *Ko-shiue* means 'personal guard'; *ye-ko* means 'great'. 'Ko-shiue' is read as *keshik* by Vladimirtsov; hence the Great Central Army is called the Great *Keshik*.

off land. The officer-in-charge of every company will have to recite this rule to his men whenever they take their turn of duty. Any neglect of this recitation on his part will lead to his punishment, and after the rule has been recited, any violation of it will be punished in accordance with the preceding order. The officers must not punish their men without my order. Let every breach of the rule on the part of the men be reported to me. Those who deserve execution will be executed and those who deserve thrashing will be thrashed ; but if the officer-in-charge beats his men with a strap or with his fist without my order, he will be beaten in the same manner as a punishment.

Chengis continued: "A personal guardsman of mine is superior to an ordinary commander of One Thousand Families, and an attendant of his is superior to an ordinary commander of Ten or One Hundred Families. If an ordinary commander of One Thousand Families attempts to dispute or fight with a guardsman of mine on equal terms, he will be punished."

Chengis next said to the officers-in-charge of the companies of his personal guard: "The archers and the masters of provisions must attend to their duties in daytime; at sunset they must hand their bows and quivers or utensils and covers to the night-guard before they go to rest for the night. Next morning when hot water is taken in, they must return to their respective duties. If the night-guard around my tent catches anyone passing by it at night, they must bring their prisoner next morning to me for interrogation. The night-guards who come for their turn of duty must show their passes before they enter. The gate-keeper may break the head or shoulder-blade of anyone who attempts to enter my tent at night. Anyone who has to see me on urgent business must first see the night-guard, and he may enter my tent with them to report to me. No outsider is to be allowed to sit in the two rooms of the night-guard. The night-guard must not allow anyone to inquire about their number or the dates of their turns of duty. Those who break this rule will be deprived of their horses, saddles and clothes."

One Yeljigidai, a trustworthy man who passed the sentinel line in the night, was caught by the night-guard and taken to Chengis in spite of his evident trustworthiness. Chengis said to his old guardsmen: "Guardsmen of the night-watch! You have kept my body and mind in peace. You have guarded round my tent on clear and stormy nights as well as on nights full of the tumults and alarms of battles. You have never caused any delay in my urgent business through your negligence ; and I owe the attainment of this seat of dignity very greatly to your diligence. Henceforth the blessed and faithful night-guard is to be called the 'Old Night-Guard', Ogolai *cherbi's* seventy attendants the 'Old Attendants', Arhai's *bahadurs* the 'Old *Bahadurs*' and Yesun Teye with other archers the 'Old

Archers'. Those men chosen from the ninety-five units of Thousand Families serve now as my bodyguard. My descendants shall always remember the services of these guardsmen. Consider them a living monument in future, treat them with honour and favour, give them no cause for resentment or complaint and regard them as your good genii."

Chengis again said: "The night-guard should know the *cherbi* and the cattle-herds of my tent ; they will take charge of the rooms, carts, banners, the raw or cooked foods, covers and utensils, etc.; if anything is missing they will be held responsible. Without the order of the guard no clothes or food shall be distributed ; if anything is distributed, the guard will be regarded as the distributors. They shall also check all who enter or leave the tent. The gate-keeper shall stand close to the gate. The two butlers inside the door and the superintendent of the camp will be selected from the guards. The guards can join in the hunt but at least half of them must remain standing in front of the cart."

Chengis again said: "If I do not take a personal part in an expedition, my guardsmen also will not go; in case of disobedience (to this order), the leader of those guardsmen who joins the expedition will be punished. I cannot permit my guardsmen to join such an expedition because they have to keep a constant watch at home, to follow me in the hunt, to take charge of the carts daily and to undertake other duties which are not easy. I do not wish to double their work. This is the reason why I do not give them permission to join such expeditions."

Chengis again said: "All the guardsmen who are summoned, the assistants of Shigi Khutukhu (Shigi Kutaku) in administering justice, the collectors or distributors of bows, arrows and weapons, the grooms of the official horses, the guardsmen and the *cherbi* who are in charge of the distribution of silks, the special servicemen who bear bows and arrows during the pitching of the camp, and the archers under Yesun Teye—these shall walk on the right side of the court-tent ; the guardsmen under Bukha and others shall walk on the left side ; Arhai's *bahadurs* shall walk in front of it ; and those who are in charge of the tent and carts may walk on all three sides. All the guardsmen, attendants and members of royal household will be under the command of Dodai *cherbi*. All must constantly attend the court."

Chengis ordered Khubilai to lead an expedition against the Kharlut people. Arslan, the ruler of the Karlut, surrendered at once. He came to pay homage to Chengis, who gave him a girl.

Chengis had commanded Subeyetai[4] to pursue Khutu and

4. i.e. Subudai.

Chilaun, the sons of Tokhtoa. Subeyetai pursued them to the Sui (Chu) river and returned after having exterminated them.

Earlier Chengis had ordered Jebe to pursue Guchuluk. Jebe pursued him to Salikhun and returned after having executed him.[5]

Idut, ruler of the Ui-u (Uighur) people, sent his envoys, Atchilak and others, to Chengis saying, "When I heard the renowned name of your Majesty, I felt as happy as if I had seen the sunlight piercing through the clouds or water melting out of ice. If you kindly permit, I will undertake to be your fifth son and serve you to the best of my capacity." Chengis replied, "If you come, I will give you a girl and make you my fifth son." Thereupon Idut brought with him many presents of gold, silver, pearls, silks, etc. and came to pay homage to Chengis who gave him a girl, called Alaldun.

5. According to the *Jamiut Tawarikh,* Guchuluk was overtaken at Sarykul; according to the *Tarikh-i Jahan Kusha,* he was killed in the valley of Wazari in Badakhshan Salikhun or Sarykul, it is suggested, is Tashkulgan, an important communication point eight hundred *li* south-west of Yarkand. It is incorrect, however, to say that this event had taken place 'earlier'. Guchuluk was killed when Chengis was marching into Muslim lands (1218 A.D.).

Part XII

SUBJUGATION OF THE TUMATS

In the year of Hare (1207 A.D.) Chengis ordered Juchi to lead the Right Wing of the Army in an expedition against the people of the forest.[1] Bukha was appointed as guide. Khudukha[2] Baiki of the tribe of Uira, which was the first to surrender to him, served as a guide to Juchi in his campaign against the Wan Uira. When the army reached Shikhshit, the Uira Tubas and other tribes all surrendered. On reaching the country of the Wan Kirghiz tribes, the Kirghiz leaders, Yedi Inal and others, also surrendered to Juchi. They brought with them falcons, white stallions and sables as presents for him. After having subjugated all the people of the forest south of the land of the Shibir and other tribes, Juchi came back to Chengis with the Kirghiz commanders of Ten Thousand Families and One Thousand Families and the people of the forest as well as the falcons, horses, sables and other commodities. As Khudukha Baiki of the Uira was the first to surrender, Chengis gave a girl, Checheyijen, to his son Inalchi; Juchi's daughter, Ghulaikhan, was given to Inalchi's elder brother; and a girl, called Alaha, to (a man of) the Wangu tribe. Chengis said to Juchi: "You are the eldest of my sons. As you have now subjugated the people of the forest in your first campaign without any serious loss to the army, I give you these people as your reward".

Next Chengis ordered Boloul to lead an expedition against the Ghuli Tumat tribe[3]. Daidutul, the ruler of the tribe, had died and

1. The people of the forest were the Uriankhai people. The *Su-fan-bei-cherng* (*Reference to the Northern Regions*) says, "The U-liang-hai was the U-liang-ha of the Ming Dynasty, who lived to the north of the Mong-gu (Mongol) tribes and were dependent upon the Mong-gu. Probably the Mong-gu whose occupation was pasturage, could not find a more suitable area to live in than the vast steppe; and the U-liang-hai, whose occupation was hunting, could not find a better region than the big mountains and dense forests." From this, in addition to the earlier reference in our history to this people, we know that the people of the forest were the Uriankhai. The Uriankhai was a large race and various sections of it adopted the name of the place where they lived. On the east there were the Uriankhai of the Hei-lung-kiang or the Amur (according to the *Ming-shi*) and the Uriankhai of the Yaksa city (as stated in an imperial order of Emperor Kang-hsi of the Tsin Dynasty); on the north there were the Uriankhai who lived on the left and right banks of Lake Baikal; on the west there were the Tannu Uriankhai and the Altai Uriankhai. The people of the forest, whom Juchi had conquered, were the Uriankhai who were settled on the left and right banks of Lake Baikal. The Uira and Wan Kirghiz were tribes of this section of the Uriankhai race. *Wan* means 'many'; it indicates the many clans or tribes of this people. The Uira may be identified with the Oirat.

2. Or Khutua.

3. The Ghuli Tumat tribe (See Part I) also belonged to the Uriankhai race. They had surrendered to Juchi in his former northern expedition.

his wife, Botohui Tarkhon, was ruling his people. On reaching that territory Boloul ordered three men to scout in front of the advancing army. Nevertheless, when his army was marching on a road through a forest after sunset, it was surprised by the enemy's patrols, who cut off their retreat; and Boloul was killed. When Chengis learned of this, he was very angry and wished to lead an expedition against the tribe in person. But he finally accepted the advice of Bogurchi and Mukhali and sent a second expedition under Dorbedokhson. Dorbedokhson kept his army under strict discipline. He feigned an attack at the spot which the enemy had formerly selected for its ambush, and then secretly marched through Khulaanbuka, a pathless tract. To enable his men to march onward through it, he sent in advance a number of men, each of whom carried ten straps on his back to beat those who stopped, along with axes, saws, chisels and other tools for cutting down the trees that stood in their way. The army at last came to the top of the mountain from which they could look down at the Tumat people as if (into a room) through a ceiling-window. The large army marched straight and all of a sudden fell upon the enemy, who was caught at the feasting table.

On an earlier occasion, two officers, Ghurchi and Khudukha Baiki, had been captured by the Tumat and detained at Botohui Tarkhon's place. Ghurchi, who had been permitted by Chengis to select thirty wives for himself, heard of the beauty of the girls of the Tumat and demanded this number from them. The Tumat started rebellion and seized Ghurchi. When Chengis heard of this, he sent against them Khudukha Baiki, who was well informed of the movement of the people of the forest, but he was also seized by the Tumat. After the rebellion had been quelled, Chengis gave to Boloul one hundred Tumat people[4] and to Ghurchi thirty Tumat girls. Botohui Tarkhon was given to Khudukha Baiki.

Chengis distributed the conquered people among his mother, younger brothers and sons. He declared that his mother had done her part in the establishment of the state, and that Juchi was the eldest of his sons and Otchigin the youngest of his brothers. To his mother

According to the *Yuan-shi* they revolted again in the twelfth year of the reign of Chengis Khan (1217 A.D.). Hence the new campaigns against them. Khulaanbuka, the pathless tract, is written as Khulaan Burka in Part VII. *Burka* means 'red willow'. Khulaanbuka may be taken to mean a pathless tract in a forest of red willows. The Tu-ma-t, it has been suggested, is the Tumet tribe in the present Inner Mongolia. It has also been suggested that this pathless tract of red willows is somewhere in the Ural mountains. But that is very doubtful.

4. This seems contradictory to the preceding paragraph, in which Boloul is said to have been killed. But, as there were several expeditions against the Tumat, Boloul might have quelled an earlier revolt of the tribe and later met his death in another campaign against it.

and Otchigin jointly he gave ten thousand people; she was dissatisfied but did not speak out her mind. Juchi was given nine thousand; Chaghtai eight thousand; Ogotai five thousand; Tului five thousand; Khasar, Chengis' younger brother, four thousand; Alchidai two thousand; and Belgutai one and a half thousand. Chengis intended to disown his uncle, Daaritai (Daritai Otchigin), who had once deserted him and joined Wang Khan. But Bogurchi and two other men said to him: "To break up one's family is to extinguish one's own fire. This uncle of yours is the only living monument of your father left to you. How can you disown him? Though he has misbehaved, you should not sever his blood relationship with you, if you wish to retain the beloved memory of your father?" Chengis' heart was touched. He agreed to their suggestion and his anger disappeared altogether.

Further, Chengis put Guchu and three other officers in charge of the ten thousand people assigned to Oyelun, his mother and Otchigin; Khunan and two other officers in charge of the people assigned to Juchi; and Karachar and two other officers in charge of the people of Chaghtai. "Chaghtai is obstinate in character" Chengis said." "let Kokechus constantly give him level-headed advice." Then he entrusted to Ilu and another officer the people of Ogotai; to Jedai and another officer, the people of Tului; to Jebke, the people of Khasar; and to Chaurhai, the people of Alchidai.

THE RISE AND FALL OF TEB-TENGRI

Munlik of the Khonghutadai tribe had seven sons of whom the fourth, called Kokochu, was a priest. Kokochu was known as the *Teb-Tengri*. The seven brothers were ambitious and notorious. One day they beat Khasar, the younger brother of Chengis. Khasar came to complain to Chengis, but Chengis who was in a bad mood owing to some other matter, remarked, "You used to boast that no one can challenge you. How, then, have you been beaten by them?" Khasar went out with tears in his eyes and did not see his brother for three days. Then the *Teb-Tengri* came to Chengis and said, "The Everlasting Sky has sent a spirit to reveal His command to me. First Temuchin will rule over the nations and then Khasar's turn will come. If you do not eliminate Khasar, your power will be uncertain." On hearing this Chengis set out to seize Khasar that very night. Guchi and others, on learning this, went to inform Oyelun, Chengis' mother. Oyelun drove out in the night in a cart pulled by a white camel. She reached Khasar's place at sunrise and saw that Chengis was interrogating him. Khasar's arms were bound and he had been deprived of his hat and belt. Chengis was considerably surprised and alarmed at seeing his mother. Oyelun stepped down from the cart, unbound Khasar, returned his hat and belt to him and squatted down in fury.

Then uncovering her breasts and putting them on her knees, she declared: "Do you see? These are the breasts both of you have sucked. What crime has Khasar committed that you wish to destroy your own bone and flesh? When you were an infant you could suck out this breast while Kachiun and Otchigin together could not suck out the other ; but Khasar alone could suck out both my breasts and release me of all my milk. Therefore, you, Temuchin, had wisdom in your heart while Khasar had strength in his arms in shooting. Whenever the people rebelled, Khasar quelled them with his bow and arrows. Now that all the enemies have been subdued, you wish to have no more of Khasar." When his mother's anger had spent itself, Chengis said to her before leaving, "Mother, you have made me afraid and ashamed." But later on, without letting his mother know of it, he deprived Khasar of some of his people and left to him one thousand and four hundred men only. Oyelun was deeply grieved on learning this and died soon after. Jebke, the officer in charge of the people under Khasar, also went to the country of Bakhuchin.[5]

Later on a great many people[6] gathered round the *Teb-Tengri ;* their number was comparable to those who remained with Chengis. One day Otchigin's men also went to join the *Teb-Tengri,* and Otchigin sent Shaghur to fetch his men back. The *Teb-Tengri* gave Shaghur a good beating and then sent him back bound to his saddle. Next day Otchigin went there himself. The seven brothers surrounded him and threatened to beat him, saying, "How dare you send your man to take away our people!" Otchigin, greatly frightened replied, "I should not have sent the man." They argued that Otchigin should be punished as he was guilty ; so they compelled him to kneel down inside their tent. Early next morning before Chengis had risen from his bed, Otchigin came, knelt before him, recited his grievance and wept. Before Chengis could speak, his wife, Bortei Yechin, stretched herself and covering her breasts with the quilt, exclaimed in tears, "Who are they? The Khonghutan have thrashed Khasar before this and now they have compelled Otchigin to kneel. What kind of order is this? If they have the daring to destroy your brothers, who are grown up and strong as cedar-trees while you are still alive, will your people, like flocks of birds or like grass bowing to the wind, submit to your weak and simple sons when you are no more with them?" She wept bitterly. Chengis said to Otchigin, "When the *Teb-Tengri* comes to me today, you may do with him what you like." Otchigin went away and chose three strong warriors for his enterprise. A little later Munlik came with his seven sons. As soon as the *Teb-Tengri* sat down on the western side ready to join the feast, Otchigin

5. i.e. Barguchin.
6. Literally, people of nine dialects.

stepped up to him, seized him by the collar and said, "Yesterday, you forced me to kneel. Now we shall have a fight." Otchigin began pulling the *Teb-Tengri* out of the tent. During the struggle the *Teb-Tengri's* hat fell down by the side of the fire-basin ; his father picked it up, smelt it and pressed it to his bosom. Chengis told the two not to measure their necks in his presence. So they pulled each other out of the gate. Then the three picked warriors (of Otchigin), who were waiting outside, came forward. They seized the *Teb-Tengri,* broke his spine and threw his body near a cart on the left side. Otchigin came back to the tent and said, "Yesterday the *Teb-Tengri* made me confess myself guilty ; today, when we had just begun the wrestling competition, he lies there and refuses to get up. So he is but an ordinary competitor." Munlik, the father of the priest, understood the situation and exclaimed in tears, "Khan! I have been a faithful companion of yours from the time when you had not ascended the throne." At this moment Munlik's six other sons rushed through the gateway and stood round the fire-basin, rolling up their sleeves. Chengis was alarmed ; he stood up and ordered them to make way for him. Surrounded by his archer-guards he came out of his tent and saw that the *Teb-Tengri* was dead. He ordered a tent to be put up to shelter the body, and then breaking his camp started for another place.

Closely watched by a guard, the *Teb-Tengri's* body was kept in a tent of which the door and the ceiling-window[7] were closed ; nevertheless, just before dawn on the third day, the ceiling-window was found open and the body had disappeared. The tent was searched but nothing could be found. Chengis declared, "The *Teb-Tengri* had beaten my brothers and slandered them inequitously ; so the Sky did not love him any more and took away his life along with his body." He turned to Munlik and blamed him, "You failed to restrain your son from the attempt to rival me, which cost him his life. Had I known beforehand that you were a man of such qualities, I would have undone you along with Jamukha, Altan, Khuchar and the rest. But, if one speaks a word in the morning and changes it in the evening, or says something in evening and withdraws it next morning, what a shame will he bring upon himself in the estimate of the public? As I have previously promised you exemption from the death-penalty, let the matter be closed." Chengis' anger cooled down. But the influence of Munlik and his sons declined after the death of the *Teb-Tengri.*

7. It would be safe to suppose that the Mongol tents like the tents of the present-day Kirghiz (known as *Ak-su*) had an aperture or opening on the top. In fair weather this aperture is left open and the smoke from the kitchen-fire escapes through it. But in rough weather the aperture can be closed with a flap. The 'ceiling-window' is obviously this opening at the top of the tent.

Part XIII

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE KIN

Later in the year of Ram (1211 A.D.) Chengis led an expedition against the Kin. He first captured Fu-chow,[1] and after passing Ye-hu-ling (or Wild Fox Ridge), took the city of Shiuan-teh-fu. Jebe and Guigunik were sent as vanguard to Tsu-yung-kuan, but the defenders made a firm stand. Jebe said, "They can be deceived by a feigned retreat." So he withdrew his troops, and when the Kin saw this, they pursued him with their whole army till they reached a pass in a mountain near Shiuan-teh-fu. Here Jebe turned back and charged at them and defeated the Kin troops which attacked him after intervals. Soon the main body of Chengis' army arrived. They won the battle against all the important contingents of the Kin, such as the Kitan, the Juchin, etc. Then they pursued the Kin up to Tsu-yung-kuan and the dead bodies of the enemy were piled up in heaps like rotting lumber. After Jebe had captured Tsu-yung-kuan, Chengis entered the strategic pass and pitched his camp at Lung-fu-tai.[2] Then he sent his troops to attack Peiping and other districts. Jebe was ordered to take Tung-chan.[3] He was at first unable to capture it and returned for six nights. Then he equipped every man with a spare horse, again marched forward day and night without resting, surprised the Kin, and captured Tung-chan. Then he returned to join Chengis.

Early during the campaign against Peiping, Wang King, minister of the Kin, suggested to the ruler of the Kin: "Have the Heaven and Earth turned the wheel of fortune and is a change of dynasty imminent? The Da-da have become so strong that they have finally

1. Fu-chow of the Kin is in the Chahar province lying one hundred *li* north of Chang-chia-kou on the bank of the Kara Usu river; Ye-hu-ling is the present Chahan Tolohai range, lying twenty *li* beyond Chang-chia-kou. Shiuan-teh-fu should be Shiuan-teh-chow; *fu* became an administrative unit in the time of Kublai Khan.

Tsu-yung-kuan was an important pass. According to the *Kin-di-ji* it had four parallel walls, each of which had a citadel of two *li* in breadth. The innermost wall was called Nankou or Hia-kuan; fifteen *li* north of it was the second wall called Chung-kuan; another ten *li* north of Chung-kuan was Shang-kuan; another fifteen *li* north of Shang-kuan was the fourth and outermost wall called Ba-da-ling. Thus in addition to the breadth of the citadel, which was two *li* on each side, the walls of Tsu-yung-kuan had a depth of 48 *li* (or 28.235 kilo-meters). This gigantic structure would have been a source of great difficulty to the Mongol invaders if the defenders had done their job properly.

2. Lun-fu-tai, according to the *Chan-ping-shan-shui-chi* (*Record of the Mountains and Rivers of Chan-ping*) is a little plateau of two *li* in width and three *li* in length. Chengis started his expedition from the Kerulen in the 'spring of 1211 A.D.'.

3. i.e. Tung-jing or the Eastern Capital, the present Liao Yang. This event, according to the *Yuan-shi* took place in the twelfth month of the seventh year after Chengis' accession—i.e. 1212 A.D.

defeated our mighty army and captured our impregnable Tsu-yung-kuan. If we persist in carrying on the war to its ultimate end, we will have to face the possibility of a defeat which may mean the complete disintegration of our army. But if for the time being we surrender to the Da-da Khan and beseech him to withdraw his forces we will have enough time after their withdrawal to decide about the measures we should take. Besides, I learn that the Da-da men and horses are suffering from the inclemencies of the weather and an epidemic. Let us send girls, gold, silver and silks as presents to the Da-da Khan and see if he will agree to a peaceful settlement." The Emperor of the Kin said, "Wang King speaks with wisdom." He decided to surrender and sent Wang King with a princess and gold, silver, silks and other presents to Chengis. When the besiegers withdrew, Wang King accompanied them in person up to the mountain passes of Mo-chow and Fu-chow and then bade them adieu and returned.[4] Using the silks for packing the gold, silver and other valuables, Chengis' men loaded their horses and cattle to their fullest capacity and moved away.

Chengis proceeded from there on an expedition to the Kashin country whose ruler, Burhan, surrendered. He presented to Chengis a girl, called Chaka, saying, "When I heard the name of your Majesty, I was overcome by fear. Now will you let me be your right wing and serve you. My people are of sedentary habits and cannot come to the muster at an urgent order. With your kind permission we will present your Majesty the products of our country such as the camel-hair, silks, falcons and hawks." He then levied a great number of camels in his country, and (all of them being heavily loaded) they moved with difficulty when being driven to the conqueror.

In this campaign Chengis had subjugated the ruler of the Kin and got from him plenty of silks. On receiving the submission of the ruler of Kashin, he obtained an enormous number of camels. When the expedition was over, Chengis returned to Saali Keyer where he pitched his camp.

Later on, Chengis sent his envoys, Jubhan and others, on a good-will mission to the Sung, but they were prevented by the Kin from proceeding thither. For this reason he once more led a campaign against the Kin in the year of Puppy (1214 A.D.). Chengis wished

4. The *Si-yu-shi* says, "The envoy of the Kin, called You-jin-ming-an, personally accompanied Chengis across the pass up to Ma-shih and returned." The *Chin-jeng-lu* also says, "Fu-hsin saw off His Majesty (Chengis Khan) up to Ye-ma-shih (literally, 'Wild Jute Lake') and returned." Ma-shih, it is suggested, is a place near Fu-chow. Mo-chow of the Kin Dynasty lay south of Peiping. It is certain that Wang King, who went northward, could not have passed Mo-chow, which is probably a mistake for Ma-shih.

to capture Tung-kuan[5] personally and sent Jebe to attack Tsu-yung-kuan. When the Emperor of the Kin heard of this, he sent three generals, Ilai and others, to defend that fortress ; at the same time, he made Khulaan Digelai's army his vanguard and despatched it to reinforce the garrison of the Kuan (i.e. Tung-kuan). Chengis met a strong army of the Kin on reaching the Kuan (i.e. Tung-kuan).[6] In the first encounter the Kin troops yielded some ground, but after the charges of Tului and Guchu, the armies of Khulaan Digelai and Ilai and others were completely routed. Their casualties were heavy. When this news reached the Emperor of the Kin, he removed his capital to Pien-liang (Kai-feng, in Honan province). The remnants of the Kin defenders (of the Kuan) were reduced to cannibalism. After he returned from the campaign, Chengis specially rewarded Tului and Guchu for their meritorious achievements.

Jebe, who had captured Tsu-yung-kuan, led his force to join Chengis when the latter arrived at Shira Keyer near Peiping.[7] Earlier than this, when the Emperor of the Kin had removed his capital, he left his officer, Kada, to defend Yen-king. Chengis now ordered Wangur and two other men to seize the treasury and to prepare a record of the gold and silks. Kada, the Kin officer, presented gold, silks and other valuables as personal gifts to Wangur and his fellow-officers. Shigi Khutukhu said, "Hitherto the gold and silks in Chung-du (Central Capital) belonged to the Emperor of the Kin ; now

5. Tung-kuan in the Eastern Shensi. Chengis' personal campaign against Tung-kuan is not mentioned by the other authorities. It is very probable that he did not actually carry out his intention.

6. A second translation of this sentence is also possible: "Chengis' army met the strong army of the Kin on reaching Kuan."

7. The *Yuan-shi* says: "In A.D. 1213 (ie. the eighth year of his reign), the Emperor (Chengis) advanced up to Huai-lai where he fought a battle against Yuan-yen Gan, Gau Ghih and other generals of the Kin and defeated them. He pursued them up to Ku-pei-kou (Long. 117, Lat. 41, north-east of Peiping). The Kin army guarded Tsu-yung-kuan. The Emperor (Chengis) entrusted Kotbosa with the seige and himself proceeded towards Jou-lu (Long. 115, Lat. 40, west of Tsu-yung-kuan). On the approach of the (Mongol) army, General Hu Sha-fu of the Kin took to flight. Then the Emperor (Chengis) passed into Ji-chin-kuan and defeated the Kin army at Wu-huei-ling. He captured Jou and Yi, two *chows* (districts). Erlubur, a Kitan, had surrendered Gu-pei-kou; thus Jebe captured Tsu-yung-kuan and linked up with the army of Kotbosa."

The expedition of the *Yuan-shi* is the same as of our *Secret History*. Wu-huei-ling is south-east of Kuan-chan Hsien and south-west of Ji-chin-kuan. We may conclude that Chengis did not actually pass through Ji-chin-kuan but entered Wu-huei-kou (or the Wu-huei Pass) which was under the administration of Ji-chin-kuan.

Shila Keyer is identified by Ding with Huang-chuang (or the Yellow Village) which is forty *li* south-west of Sung-tien-fu (i.e. the present Peiping). *Shila* in the Mongolian language means 'yellow'; *keyer* means 'plain'. Yen-king was the city of Sung-tien-fu, which in the time of the Kin was called Chung-tu-lu. Peiping was a term introduced at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty; it was not known in the period of the Kin and Yuan Dynasties; it has probably been put in by the Chinese translator of the *Secret History*, who completed his work in the fifteenth year of the reign of Hung-wu or Chu Yuan-chuang (i.e. 1382 A.D.).

they belong to Chengis. How dare I take anything for myself?" He refused the gifts, but Wangur, Arhai and Khasar accepted them. On their return Chengis inquired if the three men had received any presents. Shigi Khutukhu reported the truth to him. Chengis complained of Wangur and others but he rewarded Shigi Khutukhu, saying that he would continue to serve him as his eyes and ears.

The Emperor of the Kin, who had moved to Pien-liang (or Kai-feng), surrendered to Chengis and sent his son, Tengri, accompanied by a hundred men to attend Chengis' court. Chengis then turned homeward from Peiping by Tsu-yung-kuan. He ordered Khasar with the Right Wing of the Army to march along the sea-coast and then cross the land of the Niu-chin through Daning.[8] His instructions to Khasar were that if the people submitted to him, he was to pass by their borderland, to cross the Ula[9] and the Nawu rivers[10] and then return to the original camping place by the Tanur river[11]; if not, he was to set his soldiers free to plunder the country and capture the people. The city of Daning submitted as soon as Khasar arrived with Jurchidai and Tolun. The ruler of the Niu-chin[12] surrendered and so did all the cities of the territory. Thus Khasar crossed the Tanur river with his troops and returned to the old camping place.[13]

THE QUESTION OF SUCCESSION

Later on, Chengis started to conquer the Muslims (Huei-huei) because of their execution of his envoys, Ukhuma and others, a hundred men in all. Just before the march, Lady Yesui said, "Your Majesty is going to lead a long expedition over mountains and rivers and to conquer distant lands. If some day an unforeseen misfortune befalls you, which of your four sons is to succeed you? Will you not make an announcement to us in advance?" Chengis replied,

8. Da-ning was Da-ding-fu of the Kin Dynasty (Long. 119, Lat. 41). The prefecture was renamed Da-ning in the year 1270 A.D. in the reign of Kublai Khan. The ruins of the ancient city of Da-ning still stand south of Karasin in Jehol some four hundred eighty *li* north of Hi-feng-kou (Long. 118, Lat. 40.)

9. The Wula or Ula river is the present Sung-hua river, which joins the Amur at Long. 132, Lat. 47 and passes a place called Ula in the Kilin province; it is, therefore, also called the Ula river.

10. The Nawu river is the present Nenn river, which is also called the Noni or Nawen. It rises in the Khingan range and joins the Sung-hua river (at Long. 124, Lat. 45) and flows into the Hung-tung river (at Long. 135, Lat. 48).

11. The Tauur river is the present Taur river, which rises in the inner Khingan mountains and flows south-eastward to join the Nenn.

12. According to the *Da-kin-kuo-ji*, Niu chin was the former name of the Kin. The original name of Niu-chin was Chu-li-chin; it was later changed by mistake into Niu-chin. The original home of this people was east of the Hung-tung river at the foot of the Chang-pai mountains. Muslim historians refer to Niu-chin as 'Churche', presumably after the earlier form of the name.

13. Marching by the border of the Niu-chin, Khasar must have reached some spot on the banks of the Sung-hua river. If from here he marched back to his camping place at the Kerulen river in a north-westerly direction, the Nenn and Taur rivers would be on his way.

"Yesui's question is pertinent. My brothers, sons, Bogurchi and all the others failed to remind me and I also overlooked the matter." Chengis asked Juchi, "You are the eldest of my sons. What is your opinion?" But before Juchi could reply, Chaghtai said, "Father! You ask Juchi. Do you want to entrust (the Kingdom) to him? He was brought from the Merkit.[14] Why should I submit to his rule?" Juchi immediately jumped up, seized Chaghtai's collar and exclaimed, "How dare you say this when our father himself makes no distinction. Apart from your stubbornness, there is nothing else in you. You can compete with me in long-distance archery. If you beat me, I shall cut off my thumbs. You can compete with me in wrestling. If you win I shall never rise up from where I fall." While exchanging these hot words, the two brothers began pulling each other fiercely by the collar and Bogurchi and Mukhali rushed forward to separate them. But Chengis sat silent. Kokochus said, "Chaghtai, why can you not be more patient? His Majesty is about to name you. Before your birth the world was tumultuous ; people attacked and plundered each other and no one could live in peace. So unfortunately your gracious mother was captured. If you speak like this, you will be hurting the feelings of your own mother. In the establishment of the state and in rearing you all, your father and mother shared the same hardships. Your mother is as bright as the sun and as deep as the sea. How could you speak like this of your gracious mother?"

Then Chengis said to Chaghtai, "How could you speak to Juchi in this manner? He is the eldest of my sons. Hereafter you must never speak like this." Chaghtai smiled and replied, "Juchi's strength and skill are unquestioned. I and Juchi are the eldest of

14. This obviously seems to imply that Juchi had Merkit blood on the father's side and that he was not a son of Chengis at all. This view is confirmed by the remark of Kokochus which follows—that Oyelun had been captured in 'tumultuous times', but that both she and her husband, Chengis, had both taken part in rearing all their children and in building up the state. Chengis' silence is also significant. He could have declared Juchi to be his son but refrained from doing so though the two princes were quarrelling and had to be separated by others. In the days to come the legitimacy of Juchi and his descendants was often questioned. Muslim historians have discussed the question but they were unable to get such definite evidence as we find in the *Secret History*.

Chengis is silent because he is obviously perplexed. According to Mongol law and custom at the time of Juchi's birth, Juchi would be reckoned legitimate; his father had accepted him and brought him up as his son. But in the years that had passed, both Mongol custom and public opinion on the question of marriage and legitimacy had changed. Contact with Muslims, Christians and Chinese must have contributed to this process. Juchi himself does not deny the charge but claims that his father has by implication invested him with legitimacy: "How dare you say this when our father himself makes no distinction?" Chengis finally followed a middle path. Juchi got his share of the inheritance but the Khanship went to Ogotai. The legally minded historian can only give one opinion on the matter—If a man is legitimately born according to the law operative at the time of his birth, then he and his descendants are legitimate for ever. The 'legitimacy' of all mankind hangs on this principle.

your sons. We should place our strength at your disposal. If we are evasive in our service, you can execute us. Ogotai is gentle and kind. He will be able to carry out your instructions." Chengis again asked Juchi about his opinion. Juchi replied, "Chaghtai has already said that we two are to serve you with all our strength. Let Ogotai be your successor." Chengis said, "You two need not struggle with each other. The surface of the earth is broad enough for you both. Each of you will be given a separate principality. You both must keep your promises so that people may not laugh at you. In former days Altan and Khuchar broke their words. What was the consequence? How fare their sons and grandsons. Let them accompany you and be a warning to you." He then turned to Ogotai for his opinion. Ogotai replied, "I cannot reasonably decline my father's kind offer on ground of my inability. I will act to the best of my ability and with all possible prudence. But I am afraid that my offspring may not be worthy of the throne. This is all I have to say." Chengis having appreciated Ogotai's ideas, turned to Tului for his opinion. Tului said, "Father has told me that I should remind my elder brothers (of their duty) whenever they forget and awaken them whenever they fall asleep. When I am ordered to lead an army to battle, I shall start at once." Chengis approved Tului's remark and declared, "Each of my four younger brothers—Khasar, Alchitai, Otchigin and Belgutai—will be succeeded within their own families by one of their sons and grandsons, while one of my sons will succeed me on my throne. My words must not be disregarded. If Ogotai's sons or grandsons prove unworthy of this trust, will there not be a single person among all my sons and grandsons who is worthy of it?"[15]

Chengis sent a man to the Tangut ruler with the following message: "You said in former days that you would be my right hand. Now the Huei-huei people have killed my envoys and I must

15. This statement, if true, would finally dispose off a controversy of later days. According to the *yasas* of Chengis, as is well-known, the *Khan* or the head of the Mongol Empire was to be chosen from amongst the descendants of Chengis Khan by an Assembly or *Kurultai* of the princes of the royal blood and the high officers of the state. Nevertheless the wishes of Chengis Khan carried a great weight. Regard for the wishes of Chengis certainly decided the election of Ogotai. Later on it was claimed by the descendants of Ogotai that Chengis had not only selected Ogotai but confined the choice to Ogotai's line. The matter was keenly discussed before the election of Ogotai's son Kuyuk, and again after Kuyuk's death. But the majority of the *Kurultai*, led by Batu, preferred to ignore Ogotai's descendants and elected Mangu, the eldest son of Tului, after Kuyuk's death. The descendants of Chaghtai and Ogotai, in so far as they were free to resist, refused to accept Mangu and founded an independent Empire in Turkistan and Mawaraun Nahr. The words attributed to Chengis Khan by the *Secret History* certainly leave the *Kurultai* free to elect the Khan from *all* the descendants of Chengis. It is important to note that these words were penned by the author of the *Secret History* either towards the end of Chengis' reign or soon after the accession of Ogotai. They are definite and decisive.

go to settle the matter with them. Will you come and be my right hand?" Before Burhan could open his mouth (in reply to this message) one of his courtiers, Ashaganbu, replied: "If your strength is not adequate, you need not be Emperor." The request for troops was flatly refused. On hearing of this Chengis remarked, "How dare Ashaganbu say such a thing? What difficulty is there if I turn my forces against him? But this was not my original intention. If God protects us, we shall attack him after returning from (our campaign against) the Huei-huei."

INVASION OF THE MUSLIM LANDS

In the year of Hare (1219 A.D.) Chengis started on an expedition against the Huei-huei. He left his younger brother, Otchigin, as his deputy in his home-lands and took with him Khulan, one of his wives.[16] Jebe was appointed to the vanguard; Subeyetai was ordered to lead an army to support Jebe ; and Tokhuchar, in his turn, was to support Subeyetai. The three generals were instructed to pass outside the walls of the Huei-huei cities without disturbing the inhabitants, and to wait till the main body under Chengis' own command had arrived, so that a concerted attack might be made on the enemy on both sides. Accordingly Jebe passed by the city of Milik Wang without alarming the citizens. When the third army under Tokhuchar reached the city, his men plundered the grain on the field.[17] Milik Wang came out of the city and joined Jalaluddin, the ruler of the Huei-huei; then they advanced together to offer battle to Chengis' forces. Chengis appointed Shigi Khutukhu his

16. She was his fourth wife.

17. The conquests of Utrar, Bukhara, Samarkand, Khojend, etc. are altogether omitted in the *Secret History*. As pointed out by Barthold (*Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 423), this infringement of discipline by Tokhuchar was of such great importance in the eyes of the Mongols that it is mentioned in the *Secret History* which on the whole gives little information of the campaign on the West. But if we are to rely on the *Tarikh-i Jahan Kusha* of Juwayni, these statements of the *Secret History* are very confused. Tokhuchar was killed before Naishapur and Malik Wang, whoever he may have been, was not the governor of Naishapur. "The Sultan, Alauddin Mohammad Khwarezm Shah left Fakhrul Mulk Nizamuddin Abul Muala Katib-i Jami and Ziaul Mulk 'Ariz Zauzni with Mujirul Mulk Kafi Omar Rukkhi so that they may look after the affairs of Naishapur conjointly. . . . When Toghachar Gorkan, who was the son-in-law of Chengis, arrived with high *amirs* and 10,000 men as the advance-guard of Tului and marched to the gate of Naishapur in the middle of Ramzan, the citizens of Naishapur showed courage. As the citizens were numerous and the Mongol army was small in numbers, they marched out of the city and offered battle. As they had despaired of their lives, they wrestled with the lion, and in spite of the crocodiles they recklessly got into boats. Finally, on the third day they offered a stiff battle on the side of the Qaraqush Tower, and rained arrows from hand-bows and cross-bows (*tir charkh*). Owing to ill-fortune and as a cause of the destruction of the people, an arrow flew so as to render Toghachar lifeless" (*Juwayni*, Vol. I, pp. 145 and 148). Later on the city of Naishapur was completely destroyed by Tului.

According to both Juwayni and Jurjani, Tokhuchar was killed before Naishapur, while, as we shall see in the following passages, the *Secret History* presents a quite different account. It says that he returned to Chengis who merely removed him from the command of an army. The Persian authorities are obviously correct.

vanguard. Shigi Khutukhu fought a pitched battle against Jalal-uddin, but he was defeated and pursued almost back to the main body of Chengis' forces.[18] But at this moment Jebe with Subeyetai and Tokhuchar attacked Jalauddin from the rear and defeated him.[19] Jalaluddin then tried to enter the city of Bokhara but failed; he was ultimately pursued up to the Sin river (the Indus).[20] Numerous men and horses of Jalaluddin's army drowned themselves in the river but Jalaluddin and Milik Wang escaped up the Sin river. Chengis, who had also advanced up the river in pursuit, captured the city of Batkesih and marched down the Baluan Keyer on the Tsi-mu river, where he encamped.[21] He ordered Bala to pursue Jalaluddin and others and rewarded Jebe and Subeyetai. He intended to disown Tokhuchar on account of his disobedience, but later on only heavily punished him and relieved him of his command.[22]

After his return from the country of the Muslims, Chengis ordered his three sons, Juchi, Chaghtai and Ogotai, to lead the

18. This refers to the battle near Parwan, which according to Jurjani's statement was between Ghazna and Bamiyan. (*Tabakat-i Nasiri*, p. 1042; *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 441, foot-note 6.) This battle was the heaviest reverse experienced by the Mongol invaders in this war. Shigi Khutukhu (Shiki-Qutuqunoyon) returned to Chengis with only the insignificant remnant of his army of thirty thousand to forty-five thousand men. The author of the *Secret History* has good reason in referring to it in his account.

19. This is not correct. Jebe (Yamah in *Juwayni*) and Subeyetai had been ordered to circumvent the Caspian and Tokhuchar was dead. Jalaluddin could not have tried to take Bokhara, for his army dissolved owing to the quarrel of two of his leading officers immediately after his victory.

20. According to Nasawi, the battle on the banks of the Indus took place on November 24, 1221 A.D. (the 8th of Shawwal); in Juwayni and other sources in August-September (Rajab). (*Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 445.)

21. It is clearly mentioned here that Chengis' army marched up the Indus in pursuit of his enemy. The city of Batkesih should be a city on the bank of, or near the Indus river between Peshawar and Kabul, but it together with the Baluan Keyer and the Tsi-mu river, cannot be identified on a modern map. According to Juwayni, Chengis marched over the mountains of Bamiyan, after leaving the bank of the Indus, arrived at Baghlan, and spent his summer (of 1222 A.D.) in the pastures of this locality. This locality chosen by Chengis for his summer quarters should be near to the Hindu-Kush. (*Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 454.) Can Baluan of the *Secret History* be the Baghlan of Juwayni?

22. The *Secret History*, which has been accurate in its narrative about Mongolia, makes many mistakes in its account of the Western Expedition. A few of them deserve to be enumerated:—

(a) Muhali, or Mukali, was then engaged in the campaign against the Kin and did not take part in the Western Expedition.

(b) Jebe and Subeyetai did not return to Chengis but advanced westward.

(c) Bala crossed the Indus when Chengis spent the summer at Bamiyan.

Chengis Khan's conquest of Muslim lands, the most memorable achievement of his stormy career, is here dismissed in a few short paragraphs, which are full of inaccuracies. Either our author, who gives such graphic details about the earlier history of Chengis, did not accompany the great conqueror and merely jotted down a few items from hearsay about countries of which he had the vaguest notion in order to complete his narrative, or else this paragraph has been put in by the Chinese translator, whose knowledge of Muslim lands left much to be desired. I am inclined to the latter alternative. A Mongol author would, for certain, have possessed more knowledge of the great conqueror's achievements than shown by this paragraph.

Right Wing Army, to cross the Amie river (Amu Darya) and to march to the city of Urungechi. He also ordered Tului to march against Ilu (Herat) and other cities. Juchi, who had advanced to Urungechi and encamped there, sent a messenger to Chengis, inquiring: "Which of us three is to be the supreme commander?" Chengis replied, "Let Ogotai be in supreme command."[23]

Chengis, who had by now captured Udular (Utrar) and other cities, marched to spend the summer at the Altan Ghurwan range, which was the summer resort of the Muslim ruler. He waited there for the return of Bala and despatched a messenger to Tului: "The weather is hot; come and join me here." Tului had by that time captured Ilu and other cities and was attacking the city of Jochuk-chelen. After he had stormed that city, Tului returned to join Chengis.[24]

Juchi, Chaghtai and Ogotai, who had captured Urungechi city, divided the inhabitants among themselves and did not leave any share for Chengis. When they returned Chengis ordered them not to see him. Upon this Mukhali[25] remarked: "The resisting Muslims have been subjugated. The inhabitants who have been divided as well as the sons who divided them, all belong to the Emperor. Through the protection of God the Huei-huei have been subjugated and our people are rejoicing. O Emperor! Why are you so angry. Your sons have confessed their misdemeanour and shown fear of you. Order them to be more cautious in future and admit them to your presence." Chengis' anger had spent itself by now. Juchi and his two brothers were summoned and Chengis reprimanded them; they were so frightened that perspiration-drops were visible on their faces. Then Khonhai, Khondakhar (Khondaghur) and Chur-mahan, the three bearers of Chengis' bows and quivers, stepped forward and said, "O Emperor! Your three sons are like young

23. Urungechi is the city of Khwarezm, capital of the territory west of the Oxus, which also goes by that name. "Khwarezm is the name of the territory", the *Tarikh-i Jahan Kusha* tells us, "Its real name is Jurjania and the inhabitants refer to it (the city) by the name of Aurkanj." (Vol. I, p. 96, Gibbs' Memorial Edition). Our author is wrong about the sequence of events. The seige of Khwarezm took place not "after Chengis' return from the country of the Musalmans" but "when Chengis had decided to march in pursuit of Sultan Jalaluddin in person and to clear Khorasan of all opposition." (*Tarikh-i Jahan Kusha*, Vol. I. p. 96.)

24. Tului was sent against Herat after Changis had "crossed the River (i.e. Oxus) in pursuit of Jalaluddin". (*Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha*, Vol. I, p. 117.)

25. According to the *Yuan-shi*, Muhali was the Commander-in-Chief of the campaign in China, and he had during seven years conquered many cities and districts in the Hopeh, Shantung and Shensi provinces. His biography does not mention that he took part in the western campaign against Muslim countries.

Obviously Muhali was not at Chengis' Headquarters. The *Secret History* attributes to him remarks which were probably made by someone else; and this error seems to show that our author did not himself take part in the western campaigns.

eagles who are learning to fly. They have just returned from a campaign; yet they have been scolded in a way that would dishearten novices. Now our foes are everywhere about us. So use us like the *si-fan* (western) dogs. If, with the protection of the Sky, we defeat our foes, we will present all gold, silver and silks to the Emperor." They added, "On the west is the Kalibe (Khalifah), the king (*wang*) of the people of Bakhtat (Baghdad). May your order be given for an expedition thither." Chengis agreed and his wrath subsided. He kept Khonhai and Khondakhar (Khondaghur) with him and commanded Churmahan to lead an expedition against the Kalibe (Khalifah). Further, he appointed Dorbedoksen to command an expeditionary force against the Alu and other tribes between the Hindus and the Bakhtat races.

Then Subeyetai Bahadur was ordered to lead an expedition against the Konglin, etc., eleven tribes in the north; he crossed the Idil and Jayak rivers and reached Kivamen Kermen, and other cities.[26]

Chengis again conquered many cities of the Huei-huei and appointed his lieutenants to guard them. A Huei-huei, named Yalwachi and surnamed Khulumshih, along with his son came from Urungechi city to see Chengis. Chengis in consideration of their knowledge of the city appointed Maskhut (Mas'ud), son of Yalwachi, together with the garrison commander, to take charge of the administration of Bokhara and other cities. Yalwachi was entrusted with the administration of Peiping.[27]

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26. The Konglin or the Konglin dwelt west of the Salt Sea (Lake Aral) and north of the Caspian Sea. Czaplicka says: "The Usun power in the western part of Turan (rivers Ili and Chu) dates chiefly from the end of the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. Since they found on their arrival the Kangli (Kan-giu) Turks settled in Tian-Shan, it was with them that they struggled for predominance, and both sides called for help either to the Chinese or the Hun-nu." (*Czaplicka*, p. 63.) He points out that the Western Turks comprised the Usun, who lived to the south of Lake Balkash; the Kangli (Kan-giu), farther to the west as far as Amu Daria; the Yue-Chi, still farther to the south-west as far as the Caspian Sea; and the Yao-Chi, to the north of the Yue-Chi. Comparing with this the location of the Konglin (Kangli) as given in the *Secret History*, we see that these people seemed to have moved north-westward during the centuries, i.e. from Tian-Shan and Amu Darya to the west of Lake Aral and north of the Caspian Sea.

The eleven tribes according to Ding were—the Kangli; the Kipchak, north-west of the Caspian Sea; the Bajigit (Beltir?), east of Lake Aral; Ulosut (Russian); the Majalat; the Asut (or Asufu) north-east of Black Sea; the Salent (the Crimeans), north of Black Sea; the Serkesut (the present Khazak); the Kashmiri; the Bolar (the present Bulgarians); and Lalal (Shiraz).

27. The Mongolian original of the text says that "Chengis ordered Maskhut, a man of Shartaul to administer Bokhar (Bokhara), Samisjien (or Samarkand), Urungechi, Udan (Khotan), Kis-har (Kashghar) Uliyang (Yarkand) and other cities."

Masud, son of Yalwaj, is often referred to in the Persian histories of the period. He did what was possible to revive the culture and the material prosperity of Mawaraun Nahr after its desolation by the Mongols.

Chengis' campaign against the Muslims lasted seven years. He had commanded Bala to pursue Jalaluddin, the ruler of the Huei-huei, and Milik Wang across the Sin river into the land of the Hindus. He (Bala) searched for Jalaluddin everywhere but failed to find him. On his way back he seized all the camels and goats of the people in the Hindu frontier cities. Thus Chengis returned to the Yerdishih (Irtish) and spent the summer there. In the autumn of the year of Hen (1225 A.D.), the seventh year of his western campaign, he came back to the former camping ground in the Black Forest on the Tula river.[28]

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28. The Black Forest was the old camping ground of Wang Khan; Chengis after his return stayed there temporarily.

Part XIV

EXPEDITION AGAINST TANGUTS

After that winter Chengis made preparations for an expedition against the Tangut and readjusted and reorganized his army. In the autumn of the year of Puppy (1226 A.D.) he started on an expedition against the Tangut and Lady Yesui accompanied him. In the winter, while holding a big hunt at Arbuka,[1] his red-sand horse was frightened by a wild horse and threw him off. He was hurt by the fall and his troops pitched their camp that day at Shurkhat.[2] Next day Lady Yesui said to the princes and dignitaries: "Last night the Emperor had a high fever ; the gentlemen should hold a council to discuss the matter." The princes and dignitaries held a meeting. Tolun said, "The Tangut are a sedentary people and cannot trek away. For the present we should return home. When the Emperor is safe, we shall come again to fight them." The meeting accepted this suggestion and reported it to Chengis. But Chengis replied, "When the Tangut see us retreating, they will think that I am afraid. I shall recover here. We will first send a messenger to the Tangut and see what is their reply." So a messenger was despatched to Burhan, the ruler of the Tangut, to declare: "You had promised to be my right hand, but when I went for an expedition against the Huei-huei, you refused to follow me and insulted me. Having conquered the Muslims, I have now come to demand satisfaction from you." Burhan replied, "It was not I who spoke any insulting words." Ashaganbu said, "It was I who uttered them. If you wish to offer me battle, come to the Holan Mountain.[3] If you want gold, silver and silks, go and fetch them from Si-liang."[4] The messenger returned with this message. "They have spoken so proudly", Chengis remarked, "Is it possible for us to return? Let the Everlasting Sky be my witness! Even if I have to die here, I will bring them to book." Then his forces marched to the Holan Mountain, where they defeated Ashaganbu who retreated into his

1. Arbuka is the Arbutan mountain, which lies north-west of the Central Banner of the Right Wing of the Ordos and is about fifty *li* north-west of Lake Tengeli beyond the Huang-ho, where the tomb of Chengis Khan has been found.

2. Shurkhat is identified with Chohorvelitu on the north bank of the Huang-ho, near the Murgan range.

3. The Holan Mountain or Holan Shan, according to the *Yuan-huo-kun-hsien-ji*, is overgrown with a luxuriant forest with intermixed colours of white and green which make it appear like a pied horse. A pied horse is called *holan* by the people living in the north; hence the name of this mountain. West of it is Ala Shan. Holan mountain lies west of the capital of Ning-hsia.

4. Si-liang means Kan-chow, Liang-chow and Suchow, in the Kansu province.

mountain fortress. Chengis' troops slaughtered all the able-bodied men they came across and seized their possessions. The rest of the hostile people were given to anyone who could lay hand on them.

Chengis spent that summer on the Snow Mountain (Such Shan)[5] and sent his troops to capture the people, who had followed Ashaganbu up to his mountain. Bogurchi and Mukhali were given as a reward all the booty they could obtain for themselves. Chengis said to the two generals, "I did not give you your shares from the people of the Kin. Now you two may divide equally the Juyin clan of the Kin. You can have their smart sons to keep your falcons and their beautiful daughters to take care of the wardrobes of your wives. They have been the near attendants of the ruler of the Kin and have caused the fall of my uncle, the Khan. You are my two attendants ; let them now attend to you."

Chengis started on his march from the Snow Mountain, passed Urahai city and proceeded to attack Ling-chow city.[6] At that time Burhan, the ruler of the Tangut, brought with him a golden Buddha, gold and silver wares, men, women, horses, camels, etc., each ninety-nine in number, as presents to Chengis. Chengis commanded that Burhan should pay his homage outside the gate of his tent ; but he had neither forgotten the insults he had borne nor was pleased by Burhan's homage. On the third day he ordered Burhan to be renamed 'Shidurkhu'[7] and entrusted Tolun with the duty of executing him. "At the beginning of our expedition against the Tanguts" Chengis said to Tolun, "when I fell from my horse during the hunt, you showed great regard for my health by proposing a return march. But due to the insulting reply from our foe, we ultimately undertook

5. The *Yuan-shi* records that Chengis spent that summer in the Hung-sui mountain; the *Yu-jieh* changes it to the Hung-chu mountain. There has been found in the map a mountain, Chu-hung, north of Yu-hai and Chang-ning Lake in Ala Shan Banner. The *Yu-mu-chi* says, "North of the pass of Wei-po range in Ning-hsia is a mountain called Lu-hung which may be identified with Chu-hung; the Snow Mountain (Sueh Shan) is apparently this Chu-hung mountain. The mountain is said to be covered by snow even in summer; hence it is called the Snow Mountain (i.e. Sueh-Shan).

6. Urahai city is referred to both in the *Chin-jeng-lu* and the *Si-yu-shi* as Olahai. The *Yu-mu-chi* says in its note on the grazing land of Ala Shan that at a point between the gorge of Yu-chuan-ying mountain in the administration of Ning-hsia and the northern slope of Holan mountain, there is a pass called Burkasutai. Burka sounds like Urahai. The place lies on the northern side of Holan mountain on the way from Ala Shan to Ling-chow. According to the *Yu-jieh, Burka* means 'willow' and *sutai* means 'abundant'. The place should be abundant in willows. To the north-west of Ning-hsia city a place, named Liu-chuan-ko or Willow Stream Pass, has been found on a Chinese map. It might be the same place. Ling-chow is given in the Mongolian text of the *Secret History* as Dormigai and in the *Si-yu-shi* as Dirsuehkai. The capital of Si-hsia was Ning-hsia, south-east of which is Ling-chow (Si-ping-fu). Ling-show was then a strategic point; therefore Chengis attacked it first.

7. Shandar qu, ruler of Tangut or Qashin according to the *Rauzatus Safa* (Vol. V, p. 60, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow).

the expedition and got the upper hand in the battle owing to the protection of the Sky. Now you may have for yourself all the tents and wares which Burhan has brought hither."

Chengis having captured the Tanguts and executed their ruler, Burhan, began to exterminate the latter's parents and descendants. He ordered that he should be reminded of the extermination of the Tanguts whenever his meals were served. After this second punitive expedition against the Tanguts caused by their breaking their promise, Chengis returned and died in the year of Hog (1227 A.D.). A good part of the Tangut people were given to Yesui, his wife.

CONQUESTS UNDER OGOTAI

After Chengis' death, Chaghtai and Batu, the princes of the Right Wing, Otchigin, the prince of the Left Wing, together with Tului and others, who were settled in the home-land, and all princes, prince-consorts, commanders of Ten Thousand Families and One Thousand Families, etc. held an assembly (kurultai) in the year of Mouse (1228 A.D) at Kodiu Aral on the Kerulen river. Ogotai was enthroned in accordance with the will of Chengis, and ten thousand guardsmen and the rest of the people were put in his charge. After his accession to the throne Ogotai had a consultation with his elder brother, Chaghtai. Subsequently he ordered: "Chengis the Emperor, my late father, did not conquer the Kalibe of Bakhtat (the Khalifah of Baghdad). He sent Churmahan on an expedition against him ; now let Ugutur and Mongetu so to reinforce Churmahan. Subeyetai has been sent on an expedition against the cities of the Kangli, Kipchak, etc., eleven tribes in all[8]. As these cities could not be taken easily, let us now send Batu, Kuyuk, Mangu and all the eldest sons of the princes to reinforce Subeyetai. Batu shall head all the princes of the external regions and Kuyuk shall head those who are sent from home. The eldest sons of all the princes, prince-consorts, commanders of Ten Thousand Families, One Thousand Families and One Hundred Families shall all take part in this expedition, for my elder brother, Chaghtai, has said to me that we should have a big army and overwhelming superiority (in numbers) against our enemies, who are reported to be rather persistent in battle. It is due to the cautiousness of my elder brother, Chaghtai, that I am ordering all the eldest sons (of the Princes, etc.) to take part in this campaign."

Emperor Ogotai again had a consultation with his elder brother, Chaghtai, and said, "With what ability do I sit on this throne of supreme power which our late father, the Emperor, has obtained for

8. In the biography of Tai-tsung or Ogotai Khagan in the *Yuan-shi*, Batu's campaign is dated from the seventh year (1235 A.D.) of Ogotai's reign. Here our author commits the mistake of putting the two campaigns together.

us? The Kin are still unconquered. I wish to lead an expedition against them personally. What is your opinion?" "Yes, do", Chaghtai replied, "but some trustworthy and capable person should be appointed to take charge of the old camp. I shall send my men to assist your forces." So Uldahar, the Bearer of the bow and quiver, was given command of the old camp. In the year of Hare (1231 A.D.), Emperor Ogotai undertook an expedition against the Kin and appointed Jeb[9] to take charge of the vanguard. Having defeated the Kin army, the expeditionary force marched through Tsu-yung-kuan. Ogotai made Lung-fu-tai his headquarters and sent his generals to attack different cities. But all of a sudden Ogotai fell ill ; he dropped into a state of stupor and lost his voice. The cause of his illness was attributed by the diviner to the Spirit of mountains and rivers of the Kin, who was resolved to avenge himself on the Emperor for the ravaging of the country and the destruction of the cities by his army. In spite of the effort of the diviner, the Spirit would not be appeased by offers of men and valuables but only by the life of an important member of the royal family. Ogotai's illness became more and more critical. Then, after a lapse, he opened his eyes and asked for some water to drink. "How does all this happen to me?" he inquired. The diviner answered, "The Spirit of the mountains and rivers of the Kin has caused all this and it declines anything we offer in appeasement except the life of an important member of the royal family." "Who is with me here?" Ogotai asked. Prince Tului stepped forward and said, "Our revered father chose you from your brothers to be the Emperor and ordered me to revive your memory whenever you forgot and to wake you up whenever you fell asleep. Now if I lose you, my Emperor and my elder brother, whom will I remind or wake up? Who will rule over the Da-da people? Besides, the Kin would be happy over it. Now, I will answer for my elder brother ; I will hold myself responsible for his guilt. Physically also I am fitter to serve the Spirit. Diviner, impart my words to the Spirit!" The diviner brought some water and recited the magic words ; then Tului drank the water. After a while he felt a bit intoxicated and said to Ogotai, "O my Emperor and my elder brother, if I do not wake up again, please promote the interests of my orphan sons and widow." He went out and died soon afterwards.[10]

9. This is apparently a mistake. Chengis Khan during his campaign against the Mussalmans had sent Jebe and Subeyetai against the Kip-chak and other tribes, and they had circumvented the Caspian Sea. But it is stated in the biography of Gasmaili in the *Yuan-shi* as well as in the *Si-yu-shi* that Jebe died after his return from the Kip-chak campaign.

10. Tului's death occurred in the ninth month of the year 1232 A.D.

After the submission of the Kin, Ogotai renamed the Emperor of the Kin 'The Page'[11] and brought back with him all gold, silks, cattle and people that had been plundered and captured from the country. The posts of *tan-ma-chi* (commanders of tribal levies) were established at Bien-liang (Kai-feng), Peiping and other cities. Ogotai returned to Ling-pei (north of the Kenghai Range) and fixed his residence there.

Churmahan had by now subjugated the country of Bakhtai.[12] The country produces many valuables and for this reason Ogotai stationed Churmahan and other officers as the *tan-ma-chi* of that country for sending annual tributes in gold, silks, camels, horses, etc. Batu and others who were sent to reinforce Subeyetai had by now also subjugated the Kangli, Kipchak, etc., and three other races. They stormed the city of the Urus (the Russians) and massacred all its inhabitants. The people of Asut and other cities were either captured by the invaders or capitulated to them. The offices of the *darukachen* (*da-lu-hua-chi*, the civil administrator) and the tan-ma-chi were established in them to take charge of administration and defence before the main force marched homeward. Further, Yesudir was sent to reinforce Jalairtai, who had been despatched earlier in a campaign against the Niuchin and Gau-li (Korea). Subsequently he was made *tan-ma-chi* and entrusted with the defence of the country.[13]

Batu sent an envoy from the Kipchak to report to Ogotai: "With the mighty power of the Everlasting Sky and the blessing of the Emperor, my uncle, we have captured the people of all the eleven countries. When the main forces were departing, all the princes gathered at a farewell feast. As the eldest prince I first drank a cup or two. Buri and Kuyuk were annoyed at this ; they mounted their horses and left the party before it had ended. Buri said, 'Batu and I are equals ; why did he drink first? He is a woman with a beard. I could easily knock him down and step over him with my heels.' Kuyuk said, 'He is no more than a woman who carries a bow and quiver. He ought to be beaten with wood on the breasts.' Karkasan, the son of Yeljigitai,[14] said, 'Let us link a wooden tail behind him.' We were engaged in an expedition in foreign lands and had to discuss measures that required consideration, but as Buri and Kuyuk spoke like this, the council dispersed without coming to any decision.

11. 'Page' means 'a boy employed as personal attendant by a person of rank. The word is used here as an insulting title for a defeated ruler.

12. Not the city of Baghdad exactly but the Persian territories that had formerly been subject to the Baghdad Caliphs.

13. According to the *Yuan-shi*, Salitai was ordered in 1231 A.D. to lead an expeditionary force against the Gau-li (Koreans) who had killed the Mongol envoys. He captured more than forty cities. The Gau-li submitted. Then laws were framed and officers were appointed for the administration and defence of the country before the army turned back.

14. The trustworthy one mentioned in Part XI.

Therefore, I have to inform the Emperor, my uncle, of this." Ogotai was enraged on hearing these words from Batu's envoy. He refused to see Kuyuk and issued him an order saying: "You, mean creature! By whose counsel dared you rail at your eldest cousin? I could disown you even as a bird-egg is discarded. Now I will send you to a remote country to be *tan-ma-chi* there, so that you may be employed in assaulting cities and in hard tasks." He further said, "Karkasan! Whose example have you followed in daring to rail at a member of my family? Your crime deserves death. But if I put you to death, people will say that I have been unfair to you. So go with Kuyuk. Buri is the son of my elder brother, Chaghtai ; let Batu report to him."

Part XV

OGOTAI REPRIMANDS KUYUK

Prince Mangu, Alchitai and other dignitaries suggested to Emperor Ogotai: "Chengis has decreed that the affairs of the field should be settled on the field ; and that home affairs should be settled at home. Now Kuyuk's incident was an affair of the field, and Batu should be left to settle it himself." By now Ogotai's anger had subsided. He summoned Kuyuk, reprimanded him and said, "When you go on an expedition, you beat so many soldiers that there is no self-respect left among them. You thought that the Urus people surrendered from fear of you ; and this wrong idea incited you to show disrespect to your eldest cousin and to treat him as if he was your enemy. Chengis, the Emperor, has said, 'People always fear a numerically superior enemy, just as they are afraid of drowning in water that is deep.' In fact it was Subeyetai who always stood in front of you and protected you. You and the others could have hardly captured a few Urus people. You are like a lamb who is as yet unable to stand straight on its hooves ; nonetheless you are already picking quarrels which will not make a man of you. Because of the appeal by Mangu and others, I will not deal personally with an affair that occurred on the field. Now go with Karkasan to Batu who will settle the matter with you. As regards Buri, let Batu inform your uncle Chaghtai."

OGOTAI'S REFORMS

Emperor Ogotai said, "Chengis, the Emperor, established the state through great turmoil and difficulties. Now is the time to let all people live happily without adding to their burden." In a message to Chaghtai he said, "Let only one two-year-old lamb be taken every year (as a tax) from the sheep belonging to every family.[1] Out of one hundred (sheep) let one be taken every year for the support of the poor of the tribe. Princes and prince-consorts have hitherto often levied (a tribute) on the people for their feasts and meetings. This causes distress to the people. Henceforth a commander of One Thousand Families will provide yearly one horse with its groom, and the groom and the horse thus provided will be replaced whenever necessary. The custodians of the ware-houses of gold, silks,

1. In the biography of Ogotai in the *Yuan-shi* it is stated: "In the first year (of Ogotai's reign) it was decreed that a Mongol should present one mare out of a hundred horses, one ox out of a hundred oxen, and one lamb out of a hundred sheep."

weapons and other gifts, must be despatched from various places ; and the people must share their camping grounds with them. These custodians are to be selected by the commanders of One Thousand Families. The *chual* (waste lands), due to the lack of water, have so far been occupied by wild beasts only ; now let the people migrate and live there. Chanai and Uigurtai! You two go to explore some fit place for the encampment of the people and dig wells there. Hitherto a passing messenger has caused considerable suffering to the people and delay in urgent matters. Henceforth every commander of One Thousand Families shall provide the men and horses needed for the establishment of the jan-chi (post-station agent)[1]. Except for the most urgent matters, the station horses will be used ; a passage through the land of the people is forbidden. These measures have been suggested by Chanai Balkhadar and I think they should be put into practice. Chaghtai, my elder brother, what do you think about this?" Chaghtai in his reply agreed to all these suggestions. He said that they should be enforced and then added, "As regards the *jan-chi*, I shall establish them from my side to join yours. Let Batu establish them from his side to join mine."

Emperor Ogotai announced the new measures to the princes and prince-consorts. They all agreed. Then envoys were sent to collect the above-mentioned sheep and horses and to conscript the custodians of the ware-houses and the *jan-chi*. Arachin and Tokhuchar were ordered to organize and administer the *jan-chi*. Each station was required to keep twenty grooms and to provide accommodation for horses and food for the courtiers. Rules were framed for fixing the number of sheep and horses and oxen for the carts that were to be provided at each station. If anything was found wanting, half the belongings of those who were responsible were to be confiscated by the government. Emperor Ogotai said: "After my succession to the throne of my father, four new undertakings have succeeded—first, conquest of the Kin ; secondly, the establishment of the *jan-chi* ; thirdly, the digging of wells in places where water was scarce ; and fourthly, the inauguration of the office of the *tan-ma-chi* in the cities for their defence. My four weak points are: first, I have indulged in wine-drinking after my accession ; secondly, having lent a willing ear to a woman's words, I took girls from the people of my uncle, Otchigin ; thirdly, I have conspired and killed the loyal and just Dogulkhu out of personal hatred ; and fourthly, I have built walls for enclosing the game, which is a gift of nature, to prevent it from entering my brother's country, and have thus won his resentment."

2. According to the *Yuan-shi*, *jan-chi* means "post-station agent". *Chi*, as explained in the *Yu-jieh*, functions like the English 'er' to indicate the agent of something. *Jan* is a Chinese word meaning "station". Therefore *jan-chi* here means "the agent of the post-station".

This book was ended at the Assembly (*Kurultai*) in the seventh month of the year of Mouse (1228 A.D.)[2] at Urdus (Walking Palace) between Kodiye Aral and Doloan Boldaka (Deliun-Boldak) Shileginche on the Kerulen river.

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3. It is mentioned in a note on the poem, *Great Hunt*, by Yeliu Chu of the Yuan Dynasty that the forbidden enclosure started from Holin, running southward into the desert. The upper part of the wall was a not made of strings, which was called *ja-shih*.

4. The text says, "This book was ended at Assembly (Kurultai) in the seventh month of the year of Mouse at Urdus (Walking Palace) between Kodiye Aral and Dolean Boldaka (Deliun-Boldak) Shileginche on the Kerulen river." "The year of Mouse" here could be either 1228 A.D. or 1240 A.D. according to Chinese calculation. However, it is clearly stated by the author that he had finished writing the book "at the Assembly (Kurultai)". "The Assembly" apparently refers to the great Mongol Assembly on the Kerulen in 1223 A.D. at which Ogotai was elected to succeed Chengis Khan, who died in 1227 A.D. The western scholars who accept the year of Mouse here as 1240 A.D. might have been influenced by the presence of a short narration before the end of the book of events in the reign of Ogotai (1229-41 A.D.). But these sketchy paragraphs about Ogotai might have been inserted by the author, or more likely by the Chinese translator, even after the conclusion of the book. Otherwise, it has to be established that there was a great Assembly of the Mongols on the Kerulen in 1240 A.D., one year before the end of Ogotai's reign. Now, in the last paragraph but eight of the present text, it reads: "After Chengis' death, Chaghtai and Batu, the princes of the Right Wing, Otchigin, the prince of the Left Wing, together with Tului and others who settled in the homeland, and all princes, prince-consorts, commanders of Ten Thousand Families, and One Thousand Families, etc. held an assembly (kurultai) in the year of Mouse (1228 A.D.) at Kodiu Aral on the Kerulen river." "Kodiu Aral" is the same "Kodiye Aral". It is therefore most probable that the author refers to the same assembly (kurultai) only eight paragraphs later—assuming that he did write these eight paragraphs.

APPENDIX "A"

HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS FROM BODUANCHAR TO KAIDU

Of the history of the Mongols from Boduanchar to Kaidu, the *Secret History* hardly gives us anything beyond a list of chiefs and tribes. By reading it alone, one would be led to conclude that the Mongols played no important role in the politics of the steppes and the Chinese borderland before the time of Chengis Khan. Though compared to the part played by the Kerait tribe the role of the Mongol ancestors of Chengis Khan seems to have been a minor one, we will fail to understand the phenomenal rise of Chengis Khan if we ignore the history of the Mongolian steppes from Menen Tudun to Kaidu. There are three works that attempt to tell us something of this period.

Raverty in the notes to his translation of the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* (pp. 894-5) gives a summary of such events of the period as he could collect from Muslim writers. Mr. Curtin in his *Mongols* seems to have relied on Mongolian and Chinese sources. Lastly, the *Shajratul Atrak* gives us an account similar to that of Raverty.

The authorities utilized by Raverty give a different account of the immediate descendants of Boduanchar or Buzanjar. Raverty says that Buzanjar at his death left two sons, Buka and Tuka. Tuka had a son named Ma-chin. Buka succeeded his father in his chieftainship and, after his death, was succeeded by his son, Zūtūmin (also written as Zutum Manin and in other ways). Zūtūmin was the father of nine sons, one of whom, Kaidu, succeeded to the chieftainship. During the period of Zutumin's chieftainship hostilities broke out between the Jalair tribe (of the Dūralgīn branch of the Mongols) and the Khitais. The Jalairs had become a very populous tribe at this period and amounted to about 70,000 families. They had pitched their tents on the banks of the river Kalur-An. Sometimes during this period the Jalairs were surprised by the Khitais and almost annihilated.

Raverty continues: After the death of Zūtūmin, his *Khatun,* Matulun (or, as some write it, Manulun), who was a talented woman, with eight of her sons and numerous herds and flocks, took up her residence in a retired and possibly hilly tract of the country, referred to as Alush or Ulush Arki or Argi; but the first name is also written as Ulus and Kulush (ulus-i-Aurgah or Ūrgah —the Ourga or Kuren of modern maps on about Long. 108, Lat. 43?). Her ninth son, Kaidu, was absent at the time. He had gone to his uncle, Ma-chin, to demand in marriage the daughter of a kinsman of the clan of Dūralgīn, who had become exceedingly numerous, and who were also kinsmen of Ma-chin. During Kaidu's absence some of the Jalairs, overcome by the Khitais, came and took up their quarters among the *il* or tribe of Matulun and her sons; and in a dispute arising between them, the Jalairs slew her and her eight sons. Kaidu sought his uncle's assistance in avenging them, and a message was sent to the heads of the Jalairs demanding satisfaction for the outrage. This had such an effect upon the chief men of the tribe, who were then engaged in fighting the Khitais, that they slew seventy Jalairs, who were concerned in the slaughter of Matulun and her sons, and sent their wives and families, with many apologies to Kaidu, to do with them what he might think fit. Raverty adds that Kaidu succeeded to the chieftainship through the endeavours of Ma-chin. (Raverty, *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* pp. 894-5, note.)

Curtin says that the Jalairs were then settled on the Kerulen near the Golden Khan's border. He further adds: "The descendants of Katchi Kyuluk were all dead now except the youngest son, who was living apart from the others at Bargudiin on the eastern shore of Lake Baikal, and Kaidu, his eldest son's only offspring, a small boy who was saved by his nurse, who hid with the child under firewood."

Curtin contradicts himself here. He first tells his reader that Mainyan Todan (i.e. Menen Tudun) had a wife, Monalun, from whom seven sons were born to him, the eldest of them being Katchi Kyuluk and the youngest, Nachin. But three paragraphs later he refers to the sons of Nonalun as the

descendants of Katchi Kyuluk, who was himself the eldest son of Monalun and Mainyan Todan and who had only one son, Kaidu. It seems to me that Curtin either makes an accidental mistake by misplacing the name of Katchi Kyuluk for Nainyan Todan or he really follows two contradictory authorities—one authority being the same as Raverty's, which gives Monalun as the wife of Zūtūmin (or Mainyan Todan), and the other giving Mongalun (or, according to the present text of the *Secret History*, Namulun) as the wife of Khachi (Katchi) Kyuluk, son of Menen Tudun (or Nainyan Todan). Since Curtin is silent about the sources of his information, it is impossible to discover the real cause of his confusion. (Curtin: *The Mongols*, p. 8.)

In addition to this Curtin says: "Nachin, as the Mongol story depicts him, is one of the few man in history who were not self-seeking. He saved the boy Kaidu, and, seeking no power for himself, turned every effort to strengthening his nephew. From that nephew, Kaidu, are descended the greatest historical men of his people, men without whom the name Mongol might not have risen from obscurity to be known and renowned as it now is." (Curtin: *The Mongols*, p. 9.)

The *Shajratul Atrak* says that Kaidu and his uncle Ma-chin resided on the banks of the river Urbon. But is this river the same as Bargudjin on the eastern shore of Lake Baikal? And is Ma-chin to be identified with Nachin?

As has been already remarked the sudden rise of the Mongols under Chengis Khan would not have been possible unless the necessary preparatory steps had been taken by the people and their chiefs in the preceding generations or centuries. But in the accounts surviving it is difficult to disentangle the germ of genuine tradition from the accretion of later ages. The Mongols after their conversion to Islam must have retained much of their unrecorded tradition, and in due course this worked its way into Muslim histories. But Muslim historians, as is clear from Abul Fazl's rescension of the Alan Goa tradition, would be inclined to describe the Mongolian chiefs in the same way as the princes of Ajam, quite forgetting the conditions and environment of the steppes. Nor must their tendency to manufacture legends be underrated.

Of one thing, however, we may be certain. There is a core of truth in the legends of Alan Goa and Matulun Khatun. Under the *Yasas* or Regulations of Chengis, when the great Khan of the Mongols died, his senior widow took charge of all affairs of the state till the election of the next Khan, and the same privilege was accorded to the widows of the great princes of the royal family. It is inconceivable that with a large mass of Muslim population to govern such a political and administrative privilege could have been given to Mongol princesses except on the basis of old Mongol custom. Muslim political tradition has given no such generally accepted right to a dead king's widow and nothing like it is found in the political traditions of pagan Arabs and ancient Persians. Alan Goa and Matulun Khatun are females of the species belonging to a truly Mongolian social background. Muslim writers setting down to manufacture traditions would not have gone out of their way to produce such nation-building heroines.

It is useless to speculate on the contribution that Kaidu may have made to the development of the Mongolian people, when our information about him is so scanty. The Ma-chin of Raverty and the *Shajratul Atrak* may be identified with the Nachin of Curtin and our *Secret History*. But too much insistence must not be laid upon Ma-chin as an historical figure, for he is clearly an ancestor 'manufactured' in a manner dear to Muslim historians, who found for every country an ancestor named after that country. 'Chin' is, of course, China. *Maha* here, as has been rightly pointed out by the editor of the Tehran text of the *Tarikh-i Jahan Kusha*, is a shortened form of the Sanskrit word, *maha*, meaning 'great', so that 'Ma-chin' means 'Greater China' just as 'Maha Bharata' means 'Greater Bharata'. Persian writers of the pre-Mongol period often refer to the *Shahinshāh* or Emperor of Chin and Ma-chin—of China proper and of the people subject to it. The most important of the latter, from the Persian point of view, would be the tribes inhabiting the territory between Muslim lands and China proper.

APPENDIX "B"

THE 'AWARD' OF TUMANAH KHAN

In the numerous histories written under the Timurid princes, Karachar Noyan is put down as a descendant of Qachuli Bahadur and given a prominence for which there is no justification on the basis of historical records. His prominence is due to the fact that he is a necessary link in the legend of the 'Award of Tumanah (Tomneh) Khan'.

To understand this legend we must go to its originator—Amir Timur.

In the course of his long career Timur (1336-1405 A.D.) brought forward four theories, one after the other, to justify his conquest of power.

(1) When the Jettah or Uzbegs led by Qutlugh Timur Khan first conquered Mawaraun Nahr, Timur preferred to rebel. He tells us that he had obtained from some leading religious and secular men a document declaring him their elected ruler, after the manner of the Pious Caliphs, provided he freed them from the 'infidel' Jettah. But as this condition could not be fulfilled, the theory came to naught.

(2) During the second Jettah invasion, Timur wisely decided to join the conquerors while biding his time. It was during this period that he put forward the claim that as a descendant of Karachar Noyan he was entitled to the administrative control of the lands of the Chaghtai horde.

(3) But the 'Award of Tumanah Khan' was obviously not binding on Muslims who were not descended from the Chengisi Mongols and were living in other lands. So a third theory had to be put forward—that the government of the Musalmans by right belonged to the descendants of the Prophet, the Saiyyids, and that the Saiyyids had transferred this power to Timur. Whenever Timur conquered any territory, he extracted the necessary documents from its Saiyyid inhabitants. But when Timur came into conflict with the Egyptian Mameluks, and the honoured Saiyyids of the Arab-speaking lands repudiated the man who had brought fire and sword into Iraq and Syria, this theory had also to be given up.

(4) As a last resort Timur propounded the theory that he was God's Elect. Had there been two Gods, the Quran points out, they would have thrown the world into confusion. And just as one God maintains the *Cosmic Order*, only one ruler divinely deputed to this task can maintain the *social order*. In every generation, God chooses some one for this task and the Divine choice is proved by the chosen one's possessing the genius and capacity needed for the great enterprise. Those who resist him resist God; and the complete collapse of Timur's enemies was a clear evidence of Divine displeasure against them. This theory is propounded at length by Timur's official biographer, Sharfuddin Yazdi, in his *Zafar Nama*. Abul Fazl in his works borrows Yazdi's theory and applies it to Akbar. Power, in other words, was its own justification in supersession of all human laws and traditions.

Here we are only concerned with the second of these theories. It consists of two parts—the 'Award' of Tumanah Khan; and the claim of the descendants of Qachuli Bahadur and Karachar Noyan to administrative control of Mawaraun Nahr.

1. When Qutlugh Timur Khan invaded Mawaraun Nahr a second time, Timur first accompanied his uncle, Haji Barlas in his flight; but on second thoughts, he turned back, approached the advance-guard officers of Qutlugh Timur with presents and ingratiated himself with the invader. When Qutlugh Timur was returning to his homeland, Moghulistan, Timur (so he tells us) claimed the government of Mawaraun Nahr during his absence. But Qutlugh Timur had made up his mind to leave the province in charge of his son, Khwaja Ilyas. In order to pacify Timur, he called for the *Altamgha* or 'Award' of Tumanah Khan, which was written on steel tablets and showed it to Timur. According to the steel-document, Tumanah Khan in order to solve the friction

between his two sons, Kabul Khan and Qachuli decided that Kabul, the elder brother, was to succeed to the throne while Qachuli Bahadur, the younger brother, was to have charge of the army and civil affairs. This family arrangement was to be binding on the descendants of both brothers.

Timur is our only authority for the existence of this steel-document. All later authors quote from him directly or indirectly. The '*Altamgha* of Tumanah Khan' is referred to by every Timurid historian. But the frequent repetition of a legend does not convert it into a historical fact.

II. Timur, in due course, drove Khawaja Ilyas out of Mawaraun Nahr with the help of his brother-in-law, Amir Husain, and then formed an alliance to overthrow his brother-in-law. After the fall of Amir Husain, Timur naturally claimed the supreme power. But there was resistance among a party of the nobles; also the 'Khanship' according to the traditions of the Chaghtai as well as the Juji *Ulus* (Hordes) could only go to a descendant of Chengis Khan. Timur could lay no claim to that office, and he never did so. He was content to remain *Amir*, which his courtiers and officers interpreted as equivalent to *Badshah* or King. In the two preceding generations the 'Khan' of Mawaraun Nahr had often been reduced to a shadow, in particular by Amir Qazghan. Still Timur had to prove his claim to be Amir or supreme and absolute administrator. This could only be done by postulating the continuance of Tumanah Khan's arrangements throughout Mongol history. So it was claimed, with scant regard for recorded facts, (a) that Timur's ancestor, Karachar Noyan, was the powerful *wazir* of Chengis Khan, the power behind the throne, and (b) that when Chengis assigned Turkestan and Mawaraun Nahr to his second son, Chaghtai, he gave Karachar to Chaghtai as his minister and directed him strictly to abide by Karachar's advice. If this contention could be proved, then election of the Amir would be confined to Karachar's descendants and among them there was no alternative to Timur. The opposition nobles (so Yazdi tells us) were not convinced till Timur's friend, Syed Barkah, a shrewd Arab adventurer, warned them that the law of Islam was superior to the traditions of the Mongols, that the privilege of maintaining the ruler belonged to the descendants of the Prophet and he had selected Timur on their behalf, and that, lastly, the reality of Timur's power could not be safely ignored. So Timur was elected 'Amir' at the age of thirty with Mongol ceremonies. The office of the Khan remained and the name of the Khan was written at the top of all orders (*firmans*) before the name of Timur himself. To avoid the possibility of conflict, Timur gave the title of 'Khan' to one of his senior officers, Mahmud, who continued to obey him like the other members of the bureaucracy. Timur's descendants saw no sense in continuing the useless office.

The early Persian histories of Chengis Khan do not give to Karachar Noyan any position of importance—and certainly not that of the first officer of the realm. The *Secret History* enables us to dispose of the legend finally. Our author refers to Tumanah Khan and his descendants but is silent about his 'Award'; had this 'Award' been a part of operative Mongol tradition, he could have hardly ignored the fact. In the first paragraph of Part IV our author gives us a list of the chiefs who came to offer their allegiance to Chengis after he had defeated the Merkits and parted from Jamukha. In this list Sakhu Sechen and Karachar are mentioned as chiefs of the Barlas tribe. The story of the 'great' Karachar begins and ends there. Nothing more is told because there was nothing more to tell. The prominence of Karachar Noyan and his line begins from the reign of Chaghtai. It should not be antedated. In Part XII the *Secret History* tells us of the troops Chengis assigned to his near relations; and in conformity with the autocratic character of the regime, Chengis himself appointed the officers who were to control those troops. Chaghtai's troops were not assigned to Karachar Noyan but to Kokechus, who was to give 'level-headed advice' to the 'obstinate' Chaghtai.

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