THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz

Chapter Three*

104 They discussed the matter immediately and Temüjin, together with Qasar and Belgütei, went to To'oril, the Ong-qan of the Kereyit, who lived in the Black Forest on the Tu'ula river. He said to him: "The Three Merkit came, taking us by surprise, they seized my wife and carried her off. We have come now to ask you, o qan my father, to rescue my wife and return her to me."

To these words the Ong-qan To'oril replied: "Did I not make this clear to you last year? When you brought the sable coat, you said that as in your father's time I swore brotherhood with him, I am like a father to you. When you put *the coat* on me, I said:

'In return for this sable coat,
I will unite for you
Your scattered people;
In return for this black sable coat,
I will bring together for you
Your divided people.

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* The translation of Chapters I and II has appeared in *PFEH* 4 (September 1971).115-163.

The place of good faith must be in the heart,
That of the kidney must be in the back!'

Did I not say this? I will now fulfil that promise and

In return for the sable coat,
Even to the complete destruction of the Merkit,
I will rescue your Lady Börte.
In return for the black sable coat,
We will crush all the Merkit,
We will bring back your wife Börte!

Send a message to younger brother Jamuqa, who must now be in the Qorqonaq valley. From here I will take the field with two tümen and I will form the right wing. Brother Jamuqa should set out with two tümen to form the left wing. Let Jamuqa decide on the time and place of our meeting!" So he spoke.

105 When Temüjin, Qasar and Belgütei returned home from To'oril-qan's *camp*, Temüjin sent both Qasar and Belgütei to Jamuqa saying: "Give my sworn brother Jamuqa this message:

'The Three Merkit came,
My bed was made empty.
You and I,
Are we not from the same family?
How shall we take our revenge?
My breast is rent apart.
You and I,
Are we not of one blood?
How shall we avenge this injury?'"

He sent this message and these were the words he had them convey to his sworn brother Jamuqa. He also told them to report to Jamuqa the words spoken by To'oril-qan of the Kereyit: "Remembering the help and kindness shown to me in former days by your father Yisügei-qan, I shall stand by you, *Temüjin*. I will take the field with two

tümen and I will form the right wing. Send a message to brother Jamuqa that he should set out with two tümen. As to when and where we shall meet and join *forces*, let brother Jamuqa decide!"

After they had finished delivering this message, Jamuqa said:

"To know that my sworn brother Temüjin's
Bed has become empty,
Makes my heart ache.
To know that his breast is rent apart,
Makes my liver ache.
Taking our revenge,
Wiping out the Uduyit and Uwas-Merkit,
We will rescue Lady Börte!
Taking our revenge,
Crushing all the Qa'at Merkit,
We will bring back your wife Börte!

Now,

This Toqto'a, who takes fright
When one hits the shabrack, for
He thinks it is the sound of the drum,
He must be in the Bu'ura steppe.
Dayir-usun, who on hearing
The shaking of a covered quiver
Deserts his own companions,
He must now be at Talqun Island,
Between the Orqon and the Selengge.
Qa'atai-darmala, who when the salt-wort
Is carried by the wind
Quickly flees into a dark forest,
He must now be in the Qaraji steppe.
Now, by the shortest way

We will cross the river Kilqo -
May the sedge be in good growth!
We will bind our rafts with it,
We will enter *their land*.
As though falling on to the smoke hole
Of that coward Toqto'a's tent,
Of his tent the important frame
We'll knock down,
We will kill his wives and children
To the last one.
Of his door the sacred frame
We'll smash down;
We will destroy his people, all his people
To the last one!"

106 Furthermore, Jamuqa said: "Give my sworn brother Temüjin and elder brother To'oril-qan this message:

'As for me, I have consecrated
My banner which is seen from afar;
I have beaten my resounding drum
Covered with the hide of a black bull;
I have mounted a fast black horse;
I have put on my armour
And seized my iron-pointed spear;
I have cut my arrow's nock
Of wild peach bark.
I am ready, let us start
And tear to pieces the Qa'at-Merkit!'

Give them this message!

'My long banner, visible from afar,
I have consecrated;
I have beaten my deep-sounding drum

Covered with ox-hide;
I have mounted my fast horse,
The one with black stripes on its back;
I have put on my leather-fastened armour,
And seized my hilted sword;
I have cut my nocked arrow.
I am ready, let us fight to the death
Against the Uduyit-Merkit!'

Give them this message! After my brother To'oril-qan has set out and, coming from the southern side of Burqan-qaldun, has passed by my sworn brother Temüjin *and joined forces with him,* let us meet at Botoqan-bo'orji at the source of the Onan river. When I set out from here, as upstream along the river Onan there are my sworn brother's people, with one tümen taken from his people and one tümen from here I shall make two tümen. I will proceed along the Onan river upstream and we will join together at our meeting place in Botoqan-bo'orji.'" And he sent them off with this message.

107 Qasar and Belgütei came and reported these words of Jamuqa to Temüjin, who had them conveyed to To'oril-qan.

Upon receiving Jamuqa's message, To'oril-qan took the field with two tümen. When he set out, as he was moving in the direction of the steep bank of Bürgi of the Kelüren on the southern side of Burqan-qaldun, Temüjin, being then on the steep bank of Bürgi *and therefore* in his (*i.e.* To'oril's) path, made way for him and, moving upstream along the Tünggelik, set up camp on the Tana rivulet on the southern side of Burqan-qaldun. Then he advanced from there with his army. When To'oril-qan with one tümen and To'oril-qan's younger brother Jaqa-gambu with one tümen - two tümen *altogether* - halted at Ayil-qaraqana on the Kimurqa rivulet, he joined them and set up camp there.

108 Temüjin, To'oril-qan and Jaqa-gambu, the three of them, thus came

together and started off from there. When they arrived at Botoqan-bo'orji at the source of the Onan, Jamuqa had already reached the meeting place three days before.

Jamuqa, seeing the troops of Temüjin, To'oril, Jaqa-gambu and the others, put his two-tümen army in battle order. Temüjin, To'oril-qan, Jaqa-gambu and the rest also put their troops in battle order, but as soon as they came face to face they recognized each other. Jamuqa said:

"A snow-storm might come, but at the meeting -
And rain might come, but at the gathering
We won't be late!

Did we not agree on this? To Mongols, isn't 'yes' the same as being bound by an oath? We agreed that we would reject from our ranks those who were remiss in their 'yes.'"

To the words of Jamuqa To'oril-qan said: "As we are three days late at the meeting place, it is up to brother Jamuqa to punish and lay blame on us!" In this way they exchanged words of reproach about the meeting.

109 Starting from Botoqan-bo'orjin they arrived at the river Kilqo. They made a raft and crossed it. In the Bu'ura steppe

As though falling on to the smoke hole
Of Toqto'a-beki's tent,
Of his tent the important frame
They knocked down;
They plundered his wives and children
To the last.
On his door the sacred frame
They smashed down;
They plundered his people, all his people
Till nothing more was left.

While Toqto'a-beki was asleep, some fishermen, sable catchers and wild animal hunters who happened to be along the river Kilqo left and, travelling all through the night, brought the news that the enemy was approaching. When they received this news, Toqto'a and Dayir-usun of the Uwas-Merkit, the two of them together, went downstream along the Selengge and entered the Barqujin *territory*. Being few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies, they escaped by fleeing.

110 At night the Merkit people fled in disarray down the Selengge, but even in the night our troops were on the tracks of the fleeing Merkit. As the pillaging and plundering went on, Temüjin moved among the people that were hurriedly escaping, calling: "Börte, Börte!" It happened that Lady Börte was among these fleeing people. She heard the voice of Temüjin and, recognizing it, she got off the cart and came running towards him. Although it was still night, Lady Börte and Qo'aqchin both recognized Temüjin's bridle and halter and seized them. It was moonlight; he looked at them, recognized Lady Börte, and they fell into each other's arms. After this, that very night Temüjin sent a message to To'oril-qan and to his sworn brother Jamuqa saying: "I have found what I was looking for. Let us not go further tonight; let us camp here!" He had this message delivered to them. The Merkit people who had been fleeing in disarray also stopped and slept right there where they found themselves after having been dispersed during the night.

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

111 Formerly, Toqto'a-beki of the Uduyit-Merkit, Dayir-usun of the Uwas-Merkit and Qa'atai-darmala *of the Qa'at-Merkit*, those three Merkit with three hundred men, had set out to take vengeance because in earlier days Mother Hö'elün had been abducted by Yisügei-ba'atur from Yeke-Chiledü, the younger brother of Toqto'a-beki. It was at the time when they surrounded Temüjin, circling Burqan-qaldun three times, that they captured Lady Börte. She was entrusted to Chilger-bökö, the younger

brother of Chiledü. He, Chilger-bökö, had been looking after her ever since, and when he fled, deserting his own companions, he said:

"To feed on scraps of skin
Is the black crow's lot - yet
It was goose and crane
It aspired to eat.
I, ugly Chilger, who laid my hand
On the noble, august lady,
I have brought disaster
On all the Merkit.
Base, wicked Chilger,
My black head I shall lose.
To save my life, my only life,
I wish to creep into dark gorges.
Who will act as a shield for me?
To feed on rats and mice
Is the buzzard's, that vile bird's lot - yet
It was swan and crane
It aspired to eat.
I, shabby Chilger, who took away
The favoured and fortunate lady,
I have brought disaster upon
The whole of the Merkit.
Miserable, wicked Chilger, I shall lose
My shrivelled head.
To save my life, worth but a sheep's dropping,
I wish to creep into black, dark gorges.
Who will be a shelter for my life
Which is worth but a sheep's dropping?"

Thus he spoke, and escaped, abandoning his companions.

112 They took Qa'atai-darmala and brought him here,
They put a cangue on him made of a wooden board,
They caused him to lead them to Qaldun-burqan.

Someone informed them that Belgütei's mother was "in the camp over there." Belgütei went there to rescue his mother, but when he entered her tent by the right-hand door his mother, in a ragged sheepskin coat, went out by the left-hand door. Outside she said to someone else: "I am told that my sons have become qans, but here I have been united to a base man. How can I now look my children in the face?" So she spoke and ran off into the depths of a thick wood. They immediately looked for her, but she could not be found. Belgütei-noyan then shot horn-tipped arrows at any man of Merkit stock, saying: "Bring me my mother!"

The three hundred Merkit who had once circled the Burqan
They exterminated, down to
Their children's children:
They were blown to the winds like ashes.
The remaining women,
Those suitable as concubines
Were made concubines,
Those suitable to be let into *the tent*
Through the door *and serve as slaves*
Were let in through the door.

113 Temüjin spoke gratefully to To'oril-qan and Jamuqa, to the two of them: "O qan my father, and Jamuqa, my sworn brother, by being united in friendship with the two of you, and with my strength increased by Heaven and Earth,

Called by Mighty Heaven,
Carried through by Mother Earth,
We emptied even the breasts
Of the bold Merkit people

Who deserved punishment,
And we tore their livers to pieces.
We emptied their beds
And we exterminated their relatives;
What remained of them
We surely took captive!

Thus we ruined the Merkit people. Let us now return home!" So he spoke to them.

114 At the time when the Uduyit-Merkit were fleeing in haste, our soldiers found a fiery-eyed little boy of five who had been left behind in the camp and whose name was Küchü. He had a sable cap, boots made from *the skin of* doe's fore-legs, and a dress of water-sable skins cleared of hair and sewn together. They took him with them and gave him as a present to Mother Hö'elün.

115 After Temüjin, To'oril-qan and Jamuqa, the three of them, had come together and

Smashed the Merkit's lock-carts,
Snatched their splendid women,

they withdrew from Talqun Island, *between* the two *rivers* Orqan and Selengge. Temüjin with Jamuqa retired towards the Qorqonaq valley. On his way back, To'oril-qan passed through the Hökörtü valley on the northern side of Burqan-qaldun, then passing through Qacha'uratu-subchit and Huliyatu-subchit, where he hunted wild game, he retired towards the Black Forest on the Tu'ula.

116 Temüjin and Jamuqa set up camp together in the Qorqonaq valley. They said: "Remembering how in former days we became sworn brothers, and renewing our *oath of* brotherhood we shall now love each other!"

When, long before, they had become sworn brothers, Temüjin was eleven years old. Jamuqa had then given Temüjin a roebuck's knuckle-bone, Temüjin *in return had given him* a copper knuckle-bone, and so they had become sworn brothers. Having declared themselves brothers,

they had played together with knuckle-bones on the ice of the Onan. There they had declared each other brothers by oath *for the first time*.

After this, in the spring, as they *practised* shooting with their wooden bows, Jamuqa stuck together the two horns of a two-year-old calf, pierced holes in them, and gave this whistling arrow-head of his to Temüjin. In exchange Temüjin gave him a bone arrow with a top of juniper wood, and they made each other bond-brothers *once more*.

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

117 They said: "According to the pronouncement of the old men of former ages which says:

'Bond-brothers have *between them*
But one life;
They do not abandon one another:
This is their life's safeguard.'

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

Temüjin girded round his sworn brother Jamuqa the golden belt that he had taken as loot from Toqto'a of the Merkit, and he offered him as mount Toqto'a's yellowish white *mare* with a black tail and mane, *a mare* that had not foaled for several years. Jamuqa girded round his sworn brother Temüjin the golden belt that he had taken as loot from Dayir-usun of the Uwas-Merkit, and he offered Temüjin as mount the kid-white *horse* with a horn, also of Dayir-usun. At the Leafy Tree on the southern side of the Quldaqar cliff in the Qorqonaq valley they declared themselves sworn brothers and loved each other; they enjoyed themselves revelling and feasting, and at night they slept together, alone under one blanket.

118 Temüjin and Jamuqa loved each other one year and half of the second year. Then one day they decided to move on from their present encampment.

They broke camp and set out on the sixteenth of the first month of summer, on the day of the full moon.

Temüjin and Jamuqa went together in front of the carts, and as they proceeded Jamuqa said: "Sworn brother, sworn brother Temüjin,

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

Temüjin could not understand these words of Jamuqa and remained silent. Falling behind, he waited for the carts in the middle of the convoy; then, moving along, Temüjin said to Mother Hö'elün: "Sworn brother Jamuqa said:

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

I was unable to understand these words of his, so I did not give him any answer and decided to come and ask you, mother."

Before Mother Hö'elün could utter a sound, Lady Börte said: "Sworn brother Jamuqa, so they say, gets tired *of old friends*. Now the time has come that he is tired of us. The words brother Jamuqa has spoken just now are therefore words aimed at us. Let us not pitch camp, but while we are on the move let us separate completely from him and go further on during the night!" This, then, is what she said.

119 They *all* approved of the words of Lady Börte and without pitching camp they moved on during the night. As they proceeded on their way,

they passed the Tayichi'ut's *encampment*. The Tayichi'ut became frightened and that same night in great confusion moved to Jamuqa's side. In their camp the Tayichi'ut and the Besüt left behind a small boy by name of Kököchü. Our people brought him with them and gave him to Mother Hö'elün. Mother Hö'elün took him under her care.

120 They marched all that night. At daybreak they saw Qachi'un-Toqura'un, Qaraqai-Toqura'un and Qaraldai-Toqura'un, the three Toqura'un brothers of the Jalayir *tribe*, who had come *to join them* after having travelled all through the night together. After them came Qada'an-daldurqan of the Tarqut and his brothers - the Five Tarqut. Then came the sons of Mönggetü-Kiyan, Önggür and the others, with their Changshi'ut and Baya'ut *followers*. From the Barulas came the brothers Qubilai and Qudus. From the Mangqut came the two brothers Jetei and Doqolqu-cherbi. The younger cousin of Bo'orchu, Ögölen-cherbi, left the Arulat and came to join his elder cousin Bo'orchu. The younger brothers of Jelme, Cha'urqan and Sübe'etei-ba'atur, left the Uriangqan and came to join Jelme. From the Besüt came the two brothers Degei and Küchügür. From the Suldus came the brothers Chilgütei, Taki and Tayichi'udai. Sechedomoq of the Jalayir came with his two sons Arqai-qasar and Bala. From the Qongqotan came Söyiketü-cherbi. Sükegei-Je'ün, the son of Jegei-Qongdaqor of the Sükeken, also came. Chaqa'an-uwa of the Ne'üs came too. Also came Kinggiyadai of the Olqunu'ut, Sechi'ür from the Qorolas, and Mochi-Bedü'ün from the Dörben. Butu of the Ikires, who had been living in this area as a son-in-law, also came. From the Noyakin came Jungso, and from the Oronar came Jirqo'an. From the Barulas came Suqu-sechen with his son Qarachar. Then Qorchi, Üsün-ebügen and Kökochos of the Ba'arin came together with the Menen-Ba'arin - a whole camp.

121 When Qorchi came he said: "As we were born from the *same* woman captured by the august Bodonchar,

We are from one womb,
We shared the same caul

as Jamuqa. We would not have left him, but a heavenly sign came, appearing before my very eyes. There came a fallow cow, she went around Jamuqa and struck his tent-cart with her horns; then she butted him too, breaking one of the two horns. Being thus left with uneven horns, 'Give me my horn!' she kept bellowing at Jamuqa, pawing up the ground and raising dust. Then a hornless and fallow ox lifted the lower shaft of a great tent, harnessed it on to himself and pulled *the tent* after him. As he proceeded following Temüjin on the broad road, he kept bellowing:

'Together Heaven and Earth have agreed:
Temüjin shall be lord of the land!
Therefore, laden with the land
I bring it to him.'

These heavenly signs appeared before my eyes, they revealed the future to me. Temüjin, if you become lord of the land, how will you gratify me for this augury?"

Temüjin said: "If it is indeed given to me to rule the land as you say, I will make you commander of a tümen."

Qorchi said: "What kind of happiness is it for me, the man who foretold so many great affairs, *merely* to become the commander of a tümen? Make me commander of a tümen, *but in addition* allow me to take freely from among the most beautiful and best girls of the land, and let me have thirty as wives. And again, whatever I say, listen to me closely!"

122 Qunan, at the head of the Geniges, came with a whole camp. Then came Daritai-otchigin - also one camp. From the Jadaran came Mulqalqu. And the Ünjin and the Saqayit came - also one camp. When *Temüjin* had parted company in this way from Jamuqa and had moved further on, setting up camp at Ayil-qaraqana by the Kimurqa rivulet, *there came,* separating also from Jamuqa, the two sons of

Sorqatu-Jürki of the Jürkin, Sacha-beki and Taichu - one camp; then the son of Nekün-taishi, Quchar-beki - one camp; and the son of Qutula-qan, Altan-otchigin - one camp. These, then, left Jamuqa and moved on, and when Temüjin set up camp at Ayil-qaraqana by the Kimurqa rivulet, they joined camp with him. From there they went on, and camped at the Kökö-na'ur ("Blue Lake") of the Qara-jirügen by the Senggür rivulet in the Gürelgü *mountains*.

123 Altan, Quchar and Sacha-beki, having agreed among themselves, said to Temüjin: "We make you qan. When you are qan, Temüjin, we

As vanguard will hasten
After many foes, we will bring
Fine-looking maidens and ladies of rank,
Palatial tents, from foreign people
Ladies and maidens with beautiful cheeks;
And geldings with fine croups
At the trot we will bring them
And we will give them to you.
When in a battue we round up wild beasts,
We will drive them out and
We will give them to you.
We will press the animals of the steppe
Until their bellies touch, and
We will give them to you.
We will press the animals of the steep banks
Until their thighs touch, and
We will give them to you.
In the days of war,
If we disobey your commands,
Part us from our relatives and
Our noble wives, and cast

Our black heads on to the ground!
In the days of peace,
If we disturb your order,
Separate us from our retainers and
Our women, and cast us
Out into a land without a lord!"

Having taken this decision and sworn this oath, they named Temüjin Chinggis-qahan and made him qan.

124 After having become Chinggis-qahan, he hung a quiver on the younger cousin of Bo'orchu, Ögölei-cherbi; he hung a quiver on Qachi'un-Toqura'un, and he hung quivers on the two brothers Jetei and Doqolqu-cherbi.

Önggür, Söyiketü-cherbi and Qada'an-daldurqan, these three, spoke:

"We will not let drinks be lacking
In the morning;
We will not neglect the drinks
In the evening!"

And so they became cooks. Then Degei spoke:

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

Degei tended the sheep. His younger brother, Güchügür, then spoke:

"I will not let the linchpin slip
Off the lock-carts;
I will not let the axle-carts collapse
On the wide road.
I will manage the tent-carts!", he said. And Dödei-cherbi said: "I will take care of the domestics and servants in the tent!"

On Qubilai, Chilgütei and Qarqai-Toqura'un, these three, and Qasar with them, *Chinggis-qahan* hung swords saying:

"Cut the neck of the braggart,
Cleave the breast of the arrogant!"

Then he said: "You two, Belgütei and Qaraldai-Toqura'un,
Be in charge of the geldings,
Be equerries!"

Then he said: "The three Tayichi'ut, Qutu, Morichi and Mulqalqu shall tend the herds of horses!"

Then he said: "Arqai-qasar, Taqai, Sükegei and Cha'urqan, you four,
Be my far-flying shafts,
Be my near-flying arrows!"

Sübe'etei-ba'adur spoke:

"Becoming like a rat
I will hoard up;
Becoming like a black crow
I will gather what is outside;
Becoming like a covering felt
I will try to give shelter;
Becoming like a wind-breaking felt
I will try to protect the tent
From the wind!"

125 Thereupon Chinggis-qahan, when he became qan, said to Bo'orchu and Jelme, to these two: "You two,

When I had no other companion
But my shadow,
Became like my shadows:
You brought peace to my mind.
You shall dwell in my mind!"

So he spoke.

"When I had no other whip
But my *horse's* tail, you
Became like my *horse's* tail:
You brought peace to my heart.
You shall dwell in my breast!"

So he spoke and said to them: "You two, who stood by me from the beginning, will you not be at the head of all these here?"

Further, Chinggis-qahan said: "When Heaven and Earth increased my strength and took me into their protection, *all of* you who for my sake came to me, leaving my sworn brother Jamuqa and wishing to become my companions, are you not my oldest companions - and the fortunate ones?" He said. "I have appointed each of you to his fitting place."

126 He sent the two Daqai and Sügegei as envoys to To'oril-qan of the Kereyit with the message that Chinggis-qahan had been made qan. To'oril-qan said: "It is very right indeed that you made my son Temüjin qan. How can you Mongols live without a qan? *In future*

Do not break your agreement,
Do not dissolve your bond,
Do not tear off your collar!"

So he spoke and sent them back.

(To be continued)

COMMENTARY

(For the abbreviations used in the Commentary see *PFEH* 4 [September 1971].151-152)

104 On To'oril see above, n.96. In many works on Mongol history he is usually called Toghril, which is the Written Mongolian form of the name taken directly from Turkic (*toghrïl* "[a kind of] gerfalcon"). Jamuqa, the *anda*, or sworn brother, of Temüjin (see §116 for the retrospective account of their friendship), was a chief of the Jajirat, alias Jadaran, tribe, on the legendary origin of which see the *SH* §40. On Jamuqa and his tribe cf. Pelliot-Hambis, pp.27-29, and R. Grousset, *L'Empire mongol (1re phase)* (Paris, 1941), pp.430-434. Jamuqa is affectionately called "younger brother" by To'oril. On this usage see Pelliot-Hambis, p.30. A *tümen*, lit. "ten thousand" was a military unit *theoretically* comprising ten thousand men; in effect it was often considerably less. See Vladimirtsov, p.134 *et passim;* Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, II (Paris, 1963), pp.858-859. Here "two tümen" is an obvious literary exaggeration. To'oril's camp was on the Tula, whereas Jamuqa's camp was further west, in the Qorqonaq valley near the Onon (cf. §57). For the location of the "Three Merkit" see below, n.105.

105 "My bed was made empty," *i.e.* "they carried off my wife." Temüjin, requesting Jamuqa's assistance against the Merkit, emphasizes their blood relationship. Both Temüjin's and Jamuqa's lines originated from Bodonchar. "Of one blood," lit. "liver relatives" *(heligen-ü uruq)*. Following Mostaert, p.47, I translate *gölme* as "shabrack" (French *chabraque*); however, this is not the saddle cloth, as shabrack is usually understood, but the two pieces of leather - one on each side - hanging from the saddle, between the rider and the horse's ribs. For this and other points of detail I am indebted to the Reverend Henry Serruys, C.I.C.M. (Beallsville, Maryland). The name of the Bu'ura steppe - *bu'ura (<bughura)* means "male camel" - almost certainly comes from the Bu'ura river, the present Buuryn-gol, which flows into the Selenga south of Kyakhta. The "steppe" *(ke'er*, also meaning "river valley") of the Bu'ura was, according to Pelliot-Hambis, p.279, just east of Kyakhta, but Perlee, p.10, places it "near the towns of Altanbulag and Sukhbaatar," *i.e.* south of Kyakhta. "A covered quiver" *(dabcitu qor), i.e.* a quiver with a cover, or lid *(dabci)*. Talqun Island *(aral)* was the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Orkhon and the Selenga south-west of Kyakhta, corresponding broadly to the modern Tsagaan-aral (Pelliot-Hambis, p.280; Perlee, p.9). The Qaraji steppe has

not yet been identified, but it must have been in the same area. "When the salt-wort is carried by the wind," *i.e.* when the salt-wort tufts are uprooted and roll in the steppe carried by the wind. These, seen from afar, are taken for enemy horsemen by Qa'atai-darmala, who escapes in fright into the forest - a very graphic image. See Mostaert, p.45. The river Kilqo, according to Pelliot-Hambis, p.281, and Poppe, "On Some Geographic Names," pp.36-37, is the present Khilok, the important right-hand affluent of the Selenga. I suspect, however, that the author of the *SH* has confused the Kilqo with the Chikö (present Chikoi), which is the river flowing parallel to it further south, and discharging also into the Selenga. See below, n.109. The *SH* term here translated generically as "sedge" is *saqal bayan*, which is properly the name of a kind of sedge *(Cyperus)* rendered in the Chinese version as *chu-tsung ts'ao* 猪鬃草 "bristle-grass," and used by the Mongols to make rafts *(sal)* when crossing rivers. See Ligeti, p.149, n.105; and D. Sinor in *UAJ* XXXIII (1961).162. "In good growth," lit. "in good state." "As though falling on to the smoke hole of the tent" = "as though falling from the sky on to the roof of the tent," *i.e.* making a surprise attack. The frame of the door, like the threshold, had a sacred character for the Mongols, as on both sides of it were placed the images of the household gods *(ongghod)*. Cf. Mostaert, pp.46-47, and Yule, *The Book*, I, 385-386, n.4.

106 Jamuqa, "younger brother" of To'oril, calls the latter respectfully "elder brother." See Cleaves in *HJAS* XXIV (1963).71. The arrow used by the Mongols had a nock, or "button" *(ono)*, of wild peach bark fixed to its butt-end, which the warrior notched with his "fletcher's knife" *(sumuchi kituqa)*. The meeting place chosen by Jamuqa was Botoqan-bo'orji, an unidentified locality at the sources of the Onon, on the east side of Burqan-qaldun. To'oril, whose camp was at the Black Forest of the Tula, *i.e.* much further to the south-west, was to proceed north-eastwards, meet Temüjin (whose camp was still at Bürgi on the upper Kerulen) south of Burqan-qaldun (Kentei Qan), and from there move together with him northwards to Botoqan-bo'orji. Jamuqa, whose camp was on the Onon, had simply to follow the river upstream, *i.e.* westwards, to reach the meeting place.

107 "The southern side of," lit. "the front of." The Tana ("Big Pearl") rivulet was an affluent of the Tünggelik (see below). To'oril's younger brother Jaqa-gambu had been brought up in the Tangut kingdom of Hsi-Hsia in north-west China, and this

accounts for his Tibetan-Hsi-Hsia name. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.226-227. On Ayil-qaraqana, an unknown locality on the Kimurqa (the right-bank affluent of the Onon on which see n.88 above), see *ibid.*, p.280. The reason for Temüjin's withdrawal from Bürgi was, it seems, to avoid hindering the progress of To'oril and Jaqa-gambu and their large body of mounted warriors. Temüjin left Bürgi, on the left bank of the Kerulen, and went upstream along the Tünggelik, reaching the Tana and thence the Kimurqa. Following this description of his movements, one is led to identify the Tünggelik with the Tenüün-gol, a left-bank affluent of the upper Kerulen, and the Tana with the only left-bank affluent of the Tenüün-gol, just south-east of "Hereleng Dugang" in the 1:1,000,000 Map of the World of the US Army Map Service, Corps of Engineers (Ed. 2-AMS, First Printing, 1963), Map NM 49, Series 1301, 48°N.lat. and 109°E.long. If so, the distance covered by Temüjin from the Tana to the Kimurqa was only about twenty miles as the crow flies. However, it is difficult to reconcile this identification of the Tünggelik with §5 of the *SH*, from which one infers that the Tünggelik was a right-bank tributary of the Kerulen (Qorilartai-mergen was moving with his people *towards* Burqan-qaldun following the Tünggelik *downstream*); but this is almost certainly due to the fact that there were several streams in this region, bearing phonetically similar names, which later became confused in the transmission of the text. Cf. n.28 above, and Pelliot-Hambis, p.386. See also below, n.109.

109 The troops of To'oril-qan, Temüjin, Jaqa-gambu and Jamuqa left the upper reaches of the Onon and proceeded, in a northwesterly direction, towards the Bu'ura steppe near the present Kyakhta (see above, n.105). It is most unlikely that they would have crossed the river Khilok (the Kilqo of the *SH*) to carry out their plan of attacking the enemy by surprise from the north. This enormous detour would have forced them to cross the Khilok *twice*, as well as the river Chikoi, in order to reach the enemy camp. However, they did cross a river and from the strategic point of view this could have only been the Chikoi. I strongly suspect that this is, in fact, what they did. In my opinion, "Kilqo" is a mistake for "Chikö" (*i.e.* the Chikoi), an error probably due to the fact that these two rivers run a parallel course, both flowing into the Selenga. In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century works confusion among the rivers of Mongolia is by no means a rare phenomenon. See Poppe, "On Some Geographic Names," pp.36ff. On the Chikö see *ibid.*, p.36.

110 "They made a raft," lit. "they bound a raft." Cf. §105 and n.

111 The name of the tribe of Qa'atai-darmala, the Qa'at-Merkit, has dropped out in this paragraph; I have added it following *AT*, I, 60

(where, however, the form given is incorrect). In this paragraph there are also several words the exact meaning of which is not clear. See Mostaert, pp.52-53, and N. Poppe in *HJAS* XIII (1950).267. The epithets "favoured" *(qutuqtai)* and "fortunate" *(sutai)*, applied to Börte, refer to the favour and good fortune granted by Heaven, which has decreed an imperial destiny for her. The main point of Chilger's poetical self-criticism is that a common tribesman *(qarachu)* ought not to covet things pertaining to a noble chief, or lord. The component "black" *(qara)* in the terms *qarachu* and *qara teri'ün* ("black head" - of a commoner) indicating low birth and status, as well as bad quality, stand of course in opposition to "white" *(chaqan)*, a colour symbolizing all that is noble, aristocratic and good. Cf. n.63 above. By contrast, in China white traditionally carries with it the idea of common (vulgar), unlucky and of no value.

112 Belgütei's mother was Suchigil (or Süchigil), on whom see above, nn.60 and 72. In this paragraph Belgütei receives for the first time the epithet of *noyan* "noble," which reappears in §§190 and 191. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.185. On the expression "blown to the winds like ashes" see above, n.87. For "concubines" the text employs the expression "those suitable for fondling" *(eberitkün medüs)*. "To be let in through the door" is a euphemism for "to serve inside the tent as a slave (or serf)."

113 For the early Mongol concept of Heaven and Earth bestowing strength and protection on a man chosen as ruler, see my paper "Some Remarks on the Ideological Foundations of Chingis Khan's Empire" in the forthcoming volume of transactions of the II International Congress of Mongolists, to be published by the Academy of Sciences of the MPR. "To empty the breast and tear to pieces (lit. 'to break a piece off') the liver" can be understood both figuratively, in the sense of causing extreme affliction and irreparable damage, and literally, as referring to the ancient and well known ritual of tearing out the living heart and/or liver of war prisoners. Isolated cases of this practice are recorded in Mongolia even in this century. See C.R. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London, 1968), pp.33, 197, 320.

114 This paragraph has been discussed and translated by A. Mostaert in *CAJ* II (1956).1-11. Küchü means "power, strength." By "water-sable" *(usun-u bulugan)* the otter is probably meant.

115 I follow Ligeti, pp.37, and 150, n.115, in rendering the term *chorqan ger* as "lock-cart" (lit. "lock-tent"), *i.e.* the locked tent-cart where goods and valuables were stored. Smashing these movable treasuries to seize their contents and capturing the beautiful women were, of course, the highlights of a successful raid. *Chorqan (=chōrqan < choghurghan* "lock") is not glossed in the *YCPS* 3.24b. Orqan = Orqon. Temüjin and Jamuqa returned together to the latter's camp on the Onon (see above, n.104); To'oril returned to his camp on the Tula (see above, n.96) by way of the Hökörtü valley north of Burqan-qaldun (this valley is unidentified; by "Burqan-qaldun" must be meant here the Great Kentei range, see Perlee, p.6), and the two mountain passes (?) Qacha'uratu-subchit and Huliyatu-subchit. According to Perlee, pp.5 and 7, the former corresponds to the present-day Uliatain Am (49°N.lat. and 107°E.long.), and the latter to the Gačuuryn Am east of Ulan-Bator (47°N.lat. and 107°E.long.). Perlee, p.5, relates the term *subchit* to *sübe* "opening, narrow passage."

116 This is the first reference in the *SH* to an earlier oath of brotherhood between Temüjin and Jamuqa, at the time when the former was only eleven (= ten) years old. However, it was only after the defeat of the Merkit that the two friends became truly *andas*. I translate the term *anda* indifferently by "brother by oath," "bond-brother," and "sworn brother" to avoid the (to us) monotonous repetition of the original. The knuckle-bones from the tarsus of the roe-buck, or made of molten copper, were used for playing the popular dice game on the ice; otherwise those from a sheep's tarsus were normally used. The arrow with the pierced bone top is the well known "whistling arrow" of the Chinese and the Inner Asian nomads. See K. Urai-Köhalmi in *AOH* III (1953).45-71; Ligeti, pp.150-151, n.116.

117 "According to," lit. "listening to" *(sonoschu)*. The word *qali'un* used for Toqto'a's horse properly designates a horse with a coat varying from yellowish black, with black mane and tail, and a black stripe along the spine. See Mostaert, p.58. Dayir-usun's horse was "kid-white," *i.e.* with a coat as white as that of a kid. Its "horn" was not a real horn, of course, but a callous protuberance on its forehead or temple - a well known phenomenon on which see *ibid.*, p.56, n.49. On the Leafy (or Thick, Bushy) Tree (Saqlaqar modun) see the *SH* §57. The entire §117 has been translated and explained in detail in Mostaert, pp.53-59. Cf. also Cleaves, p.520.

118 *Alachug*, which I translate as "shelter," is a Turkic word designating a type of tent or, as is more likely the case in the present context, a light summer hut made of tree-bark or twigs. See N. Poppe

in *CAJ* I (1955).38, and M. Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*, I, 219-220, n.11. Jamuqa's utterances remind us of Bodonchar's riddle in §33. It is clear, however, that Jamuqa is offering Temüjin a choice: either to pitch camp on the wooded mountain-side, where the horse-herders would be better off as they would be able to build themselves shelters with bark and twigs, *or* to pitch camp along the river, where the shepherds would find better grazing for their animals. Jamuqa's question is not an idle one; on the contrary it must have been dictated by a practical exigency. What may have puzzled Temüjin and made him suspect an ulterior motive, was the way Jamuqa put the question and the fact that he left the choice to him, ostensibly the junior partner. It was, however, Börte who, with her sudden interposition (note that she did not even give Hö'elün the chance to express her opinion), fanned Temüjin's suspicions and was actually responsible for his decision to abandon his partner. As already suggested by Grousset, *Conqueror of the World*, p.77, this can be explained by her desire to precipitate a confrontation with the man who, she may have reasonably felt, was Temüjin's major obstacle to tribal leadership. She played an almost identical role in relation to the shaman Teb-tenggeri (§245). I am of the opinion that the story of Jamuqa's riddle and Börte's interference is nothing but the *post factum*, "official" justification for what was, in effect, Temüjin's callous betrayal of his sworn brother and ally. He used this technique throughout his career, as amply shown by the *SH*. This paragraph has caused many controversies among scholars in the past and different interpretations have been put forth. On these see Lattimore, "Chingis Khan," p.62.

119 For the legendary origins of the Besüt clan see the *SH* §47. Cf. also Pelliot-Hambis, p.156.

120 This paragraph contains a list of Temüjin's early *nököt*, recorded for posterity with the tribes and clans from which they came. Several of the clan names and tribes are already mentioned in the previous chapters. They are: The Barulas (§46), Mangqut (§46), Arulat (§47), Uriangqai (§§12, 97), Besüt (§47), Suldus (§82), Qongqotan (§47) Olqunu'ut (§54), Dörben (§11), Noyakin (§46), Oronar (§47), and Ba'arin (§41). These, and most of the other tribes, clans and personages mentioned in this section are discussed in Pelliot-Hambis, *passim*. On Qada'an-daldurqan see also §174 of the *SH*. The Changshi'ut and the Baya'ut were two subordinate tribes of the Kiyat. Chaqa'an-uwa is called "Ne'üdei" (=Negüdei) because he came

from the Ne'üs (Negüs) tribe. "Cherbi" in Doqolqu-cherbi, Ögölen-cherbi and Söyiketü-cherbi is an ancient Mongol title. On it see Doerfer, No.176. As Bo'orchu was an only son (cf. §90), Ögölen-cherbi, who is called here his "younger brother" (*de'ü*), must have actually been his younger cousin. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.348, also for other forms of his name. Qorchi, meaning "quiver-bearer," is a title, but is also used as a proper name. See Doerfer, No.301. For Qorchi's reward see the *SH* §207. Üsün-ebügen means "Üsün the Elder." "A whole camp" (*niken güre'en*): for the circular camp (*güre'en = güri'en*) see above, n.90. As pointed out by Ligeti, p.151, n.120, the circular camp may be regarded as a primitive military unit.

121 "Caul," *i.e.* the foetal membrane *(keke)*. The Ba'arin tribe, to which Qorchi belonged, claimed descent from Bodonchar and the Jarchi'ut woman whose capture is related in the *SH* §38. The Jajirat, alias Jadaran, tribe to which Jamuqa belonged also claimed descent from this couple (see *ibid.*, §§40, 41), hence Qorchi's graphic remarks about their common origin. The tent-cart *(ger tergen)* was a mobile tent or yurt, *i.e.* a tent permanently mounted on a cart. Some of them were very large and had to be drawn by up to twenty-one oxen. See William of Rubruck's description in his *Itinerary* (Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, p.94). They are often mentioned by medieval travellers. Cf. Ligeti, pp.151-152, n.121. The "great tent" is the khan's tent, and the "broad road" is, of course, the royal road or way (= Chinese *wang-tao* 王道). The khan's tent harnessed to the ox symbolizes the whole land, the future empire *(ulus)*, which Heaven and Earth have jointly decided to entrust to Temüjin. Qorchi asks as reward for his prophesy to be allowed to chose thirty beautiful women as wives, *i.e* one for each night of the month.

122 *Qunan* means "a three-year-old (animal, sometimes man)." See Cleaves in *HJAS* XII (1949).432-433. The Geniges claimed descent from Chaujin-örtegei, the third son of Qaidu (*SH* §47). Daritai (= Dāritai)-otchigin was the younger uncle of Temüjin already mentioned in §§50, 54, 56. On him see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.68-69. On the Ünjin (=Nünjin), a subtribe of the Oronar, see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.71, 73, 76. On the Saqayit see *ibid.*, p.71. On the locality Ayil-qaraqana see above, n.107. Sorqatu-Jürki (or Sorqadu-Yürki) appears in §49 under the erroneous name of "Qutuqtu-Yürki"; on this problem see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.66-67, and on the Jürkin or Yürkin, the tribe that claimed descent from Sorqatu-Jürki, see *ibid.*, pp.200-201. Sacha-beki (called "Seche-beki" in §49), the chief of this tribe and the son of Sorqatu-Jürki, was the first cousin of

Temüjin. On his brother Taichu (also mentioned in §49), see *ibid.*, pp.180-181. For Nekün-taishi, the second son of Bartan-ba'atur, see §§50, 54, 56, and Pelliot-Hambis, pp.184-185. On Quchar (~Qochar)-beki, see *ibid.*, pp.68-69. Altan-otchigin ("Uncle Altan") is the Altan of §51, third son of Qutula-qan. Cf. Pelliot-Hambis, p.125, where Pelliot's criticism of T'u Chi is, however, incorrect.

123 By *ordo ger*, translated here as "palatial tents," are meant the large and splendid tents belonging to the chiefs. "Until their bellies touch ... . Until their thighs touch," *i.e.* in such great numbers that they are squeezed one against the other. I translate *qari shiri* as "relatives"; however, this rather puzzling term, literally meaning "foreign duty (or obligation)," seems to refer in particular to the "external clans," *i.e.* to those clans that, by agreement or tradition, regularly gave their daughters in marriage to men of certain other clans. See M. Gaadamba in *Medee* IV (1970).29-33. "Land without lord," *i.e.* the wilderness. Chinggis-qahan *(read* Chinggis-qan), is almost certainly a title of Turkic origin meaning Oceanic (= all embracing) Qan, hence Universal Ruler. See Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, 296-303; cf. Doerfer, No.185.

124 For Ögölei (=Ögölen)-cherbi, Qachi'un-Toqura'un, etc. see §120. On Degei's speech cf. Cleaves, pp.520-522. In §120 Güchügür, Degei's brother, is called Küchügür, and Qarqai-Toqura'un is called Qaraqai-Toqura'un. The name "Qutu" of the *SH* is apparently a mistake for "Qodu" ("Paw"). See Pelliot-Hambis, p.285. Taqai is the Taki of §120. See *ibid.*, p.254. The full name of Sükegei *(read* Sügegei) was Sügegei-Je'ün (cf. §120). See *ibid.*, p.255. Cha'urqan and Sübe'etei-ba'adur were the two brothers of Jelme (cf. §120). "Far-flying shafts" *(qola-yin qo'ochaq)* and "near-flying arrows" *(oyira-yin odora): qo'ochaq* and *odora* are the names of two types of arrows, used here as a simile for, presumably, reliable men that could be trusted with long and short range missions. "Becoming like a rat ... Becoming like a black crow ... etc.," lit. "Becoming a rat ... Becoming a black crow ... etc.."

126 To'oril calls Temüjin "my son" because he is regarded by Temüjin as his father on account of his (To'oril's) earlier bond of brotherhood with Yisügei. See §96. "Do not tear off your collar!" *(jaqa-ban bu tamtulutqun)*, in other words: "Do not remove, or dispose of, your leader now that you have one!" For the simile of the collar see §33ff.

Note. Please insert the following in the list of Abbreviations on page 151 of *PFEH* 4 (September 1971):

Doerfer = G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1963-1967).

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz

Chapter Four*

127 *Chinggis-qahan* sent Arqai-qasar and Cha'urqan as envoys to Jamuqa. Jamuqa said: "Give this message to Altan and Quchar: 'You, Altan and Quchar, why did you cause a rift between my sworn brother Temüjin and myself,

Poking in the flanks,
Pricking the ribs

of my sworn brother *with ill feeling*? Why did you not make sworn brother Temüjin qan when we were together - when the sworn brother and I had not yet been separated? What did you have in mind now, when you made him qan? You, Altan and Quchar, keep to your words, put the

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* The translation of Chapters I and II has appeared in *PFEH* 4 (September 1971).115-163; that of Chapter III in *PFEH* 5 (March 1972).149-175. I am indebted to Prof. N. Poppe (Seattle) and the Rev. H. Serruys (Arlington) for valuable advice and criticism.

sworn brother's mind at ease, be the good companions of my sworn brother!'" So he spoke and sent them back.

128 After this, when Taichar, a young relative of Jamuqa, lived at Ölegei-bulaq ("Ölegei Spring") on the southern side of Jalama *mountain*, he went to steal the herd of horses of our Jochi-darmala, who was staying in the Sa'ari steppe.

Taichar stole Jochi-darmala's herd of horses and took them with him. That same Jochi-darmala, robbed of his herd of horses, went *alone* in pursuit, his companions lacking the courage *to go with him*.

At night he arrived at the fringe of his herd. He approached crouching over the mane of his horse, shot and killed Taichar with an arrow that broke his spine, then took his horses and came *back*.

129 Because his young relative Taichar had been killed, Jamuqa, at the head of the Jadaran, and his allies making thirteen tribes and forming *altogether* three tümen, crossed the Ala'ut-turqa'ut *mountains* and moved against Chinggis-qahan. News of their approach was brought to Chinggis-qahan, who was then staying at the Gürelgü, by Mülke-totaq and Boroldai of the Ikires.

Informed of this, Chinggis-qahan with his thirteen camps formed also three tümen and set out against Jamuqa. They fought at Dalan-baljut ("The Seventy Marshes"): Chinggis-qahan was repulsed there by Jamuqa and sought refuge in the Jerene gorge by the Onon. Jamuqa said: "We have forced him to take refuge in the Jerene by the Onon," and, as he was about to return, he had the princes of the Chinos boiled *alive* in seventy cauldrons. Having cut off the head of Chaqa'an-u'a of the Ne'üs, he went, dragging it after him *bound* to the tail of his horse.

130 Then, letting Jamuqa return home from there, Jürchedei of the Uru'ut at the head of his Uru'ut, and Quyuldar of the Mangqut at the head of his Mangqut separated from Jamuqa and came over to

Chinggis-qahan. Father Mönglik of the Qongqotan was then with Jamuqa. Father Mönglik with his seven sons *also* left Jamuqa and came to join Chinggis-qahan.

Because so many tribes were coming in from Jamuqa's *side*, Chinggis-qahan rejoiced, saying to himself that *these* people were coming over *to him*. Chinggis-qahan, Lady Hö'elün, Qasar, and Sacha-beki with Taichu and others of the Jürkin, decided to hold a feast in the forest by the Onan.

In the course of feasting, one jug *of kumis* was first poured for Chinggis-qahan, Lady Hö'elün, Qasar, Sacha-beki and others. As one jug was also poured starting with Ebegei, the concubine of Sacha-beki's father, both Qorijin-qatun and Qu'urchin-qatun said: "Why don't you pour beginning with me, but beginning with Ebegei?" And they thrashed the steward Shiki'ür. Being thrashed, the steward Shiki'ür said: "What sort of thing is it, your thrashing me like this, *just* because Yisügei-ba'adur and Nekün-taishi are dead?" So he spoke, and cried loudly.

131 That feast had been arranged on our side by Belgütei. He was standing *outside the camp* looking after Chinggis-qahan's geldings. From the Jürkin's side Büri-bökö had arranged the feast.

A man of the Qadagin tribe stole a halter strap from our horse station. *Belgütei* caught the thief, but Büri-bökö took that man under his protection. Belgütei wrestled *with Büri-bökö* for a long time. His (*i.e.* Belgütei's) right sleeve was torn off and he went on *fighting* uncovered.

Büri-bökö cut with his sword clean through his shoulder, which had been left thus exposed and bare. Although cut in this way, Belgütei, thinking nothing of it, did not bother and let the blood flow. But Chinggis-qahan, sitting in the shade, saw *what happened* from the *place of the* feast. He stepped out and said: "How can we

be treated in this way?" Belgütei said: "That's no wound! Because of me I fear we may come to bad terms with our relatives. There is nothing wrong with me, I am recovering. Elder brother, now that we have just grown friendly with our relatives, do not act, wait a little while!"

132 Although warned in this way by Belgütei, Chinggis-qahan did not comply: breaking and pulling off tree branches, pulling out and grabbing the churners of the kumis bags, they *all started* to beat each other. *Chinggis-qahan and his men* overcame the Jürkin and seized the two *ladies* Qorijin-qatun and Qu'urchin-qatun; *later, however*, they said: "We will make peace," and returned both Qorijin-qatun and Qu'urchin-qatun *to the Jürkin*.

It was when envoys were still coming and going *to negotiate the peace between us and the Jürkin*, that the Altan-qan of the Kitat people, because Megüjin-se'ültü of the Tatar and others would not enter upon an agreement with him, sent a message to Ongging-chingsang to the effect that he should prepare his troops without delay *and set out against them*. Ongging-chingsang pushed Megüjin-se'ültü and the other Tatars, together with their cattle and provisions, upstream along the Ulja, and informed *Chinggis-qahan* of his approach. Having
133 heard this news, Chinggis-qahan said: "From old days the Tatar people have been a hateful people who annihilated our ancestors and fathers. Now, taking this opportunity, let us make a joint attack!" And he sent an envoy to deliver this message to To'oril-qan: "The Altan-qan's *commander* Ongging-chingsang says that he has pushed the Tatar Megüjin-se'ültü and other Tatars upstream along the Ulja and is *now* approaching. Let us jointly attack the Tatars who have annihilated our ancestors and fathers. To'oril-qan, *my* father, should come quickly!"

When this message was delivered, To'oril-qan said: "The words

my son sends are just *indeed*! Let us jointly attack!" On the third day, To'oril-qan, having assembled his troops, set out with his army and quickly went to his assistance.

Chinggis-qan and To'oril-qan sent a message to the Jürkin Sachabeki and Taichu, and to the other Jürkin: "Now, taking this opportunity, let us attack in conjunction with *Ongging-chingsang* the Tatars who from of old have annihilated our ancestors and fathers. Together let us move against them!"

Having waited for six days from the time *the message* was brought to the Jürkin and unable *to wait any longer*, Chinggis-qahan together with To'oril-qan started out with their troops, moving downstream along the Ulja.

As they came, launching their attack in conjunction with Ongging-chingsang, the Tatar Megüjin and the other Tatars set up a stockade there, at Qusutu-shitü'en and Naratu-shitü'en by the Ulja. Chinggis-qahan and To'oril-qan captured those who had barricaded themselves in this way, *among them* Megüjin-se'ültü from the stockade. They killed Megüjin-se'ültü on the spot; Chinggis-qahan then took his silver cradle and his blanket decorated with big pearls.

134 Chinggis-qahan and To'oril-qan [went to meet Ongging-chingsang and] told him that they had killed Megüjin-se'ültü. Ongging-chingsang was very glad when he heard that Megüjin-se'ültü had been killed. He gave Chinggis-qahan the title ja'ut-quri ("Commander of Hundreds"?) and, at the same time, he gave the title of ong ("King") to To'oril of the Gereyit. The name Ong-qan thus originates from the time when it was first given as a title by Ongging-chingsang.

Ongging-chingsang said: "You did a very great service to the Altan-qan by your joint attack on Megüjin-se'ültü and by killing him. I shall inform the Altan-qan of this service of yours. Let the Altan-qan decide whether a title higher than his present one will be

further conferred on Chinggis-qahan - whether he will be given the title of jeutau ("Imperial Commissioner in Charge of Submitting and Punishing Rebels")!" And, rejoicing in this way, Ongging-chingsang went back.

After this, Chinggis-qahan and Ong-qan plundered the Tatars and shared *the booty*, each taking *his part*; then they returned to their homes and settled down *again*.

135 In the camp at Naratu-shitü'en, where the Tatars had dismounted and barricaded themselves, in *that* camp our troops found a little boy who had been abandoned at the time of the plundering. They took back the little boy, who had as nose-ring a golden loop and who wore a gold-stitched silken waistcoat lined with sable fur. Chinggis-qahan gave him as a present to Mother Hö'elün. Mother Hö'elün said: "He must be the son of a man of rank; surely he is the offspring of a man of noble origins!" And Mother brought him up as the younger brother of her five children - as her sixth child - naming him Shikiken-quduqu.

136 The base camp of Chinggis-qahan was at Hariltu-na'ur. From among those who remained at the base, the Jürkin took away the clothing of fifty men and killed ten men.

When the people who were left at our base told Chinggis-qahan that they had been treated in that way by the Jürkin, Chinggis-qahan hearing this news became very angry and said: "How could we be treated in such a manner by the Jürkin? When we held a feast in the forest by the Onan the same people thrashed the steward Shiki'ür; indeed the same people cut *also* Belgütei's shoulder. We were told we should make peace, and gave them back both Qorijin-qatun and Qu'urchin. After that, we said that we would set out and make a joint attack upon the Tatar, old foes and enemies who annihilated our ancestors and fathers; we waited for the Jürkin for six days, but

they did not come. And now, by siding with the enemy, they themselves have become our very enemies!" Having said this, Chinggis-qahan moved against the Jürkin.

When the Jürkin were staying at Dolo'an-bolda'ut in the Ködö'e-aral ("Barren Island") of the Kelüren, *Chinggis-qahan* captured their people. *Only* Sacha-beki and Taichu, being few in number and dispossessed of everything but their bodies, escaped. He pursued them and, overtaking them at the Telētü Pass, he caught Sacha-beki and Taichu.

After their capture, Chinggis-qahan said to Sacha and Taichu: "What did we agree upon in the old days?" Being addressed *in this way*, Sacha and Taichu said: "We did not keep our given words. *Now* you make us comply with our words!" And, remembering their oaths, they held out their necks to *the sword*.

Having reminded them of their oaths and made them comply with their words, he executed them and left *their bodies* on the spot.

137 Having finished with Sacha and Taichu he came back. As he was about to remove the Jürkin people, with these Jürkin stayed, at that time, the three sons of Telegetü-bayan of the Jalayir, Gü'ün-u'a, Chila'un-qayichi and Jebke. Gü'ün-u'a, with his two sons Muqali and Buqa, came to meet him and said:

"Let *these sons of mine* be the slaves
Of your threshold;
If they move away from your threshold,
Cut off their heel sinews!
Let them be the hereditary slaves
Of your door;
If they desert your door,
Cut out their liver and
Cast them away!"

He spoke and gave them to him.

Chila'un-qayichi with his two sons Tüngge and Qashi also came to meet Chinggis-qahan and spoke thus:

"Saying let them guard
Your golden threshold,
I give *these sons of mine*;
If they part from your golden threshold,
Put an end to their life and
Cast them away!
Saying let them lift for you
The wide door,
I give them to you;
If they leave your wide door,
Kick them in the pit of the stomach and
Cast them away!"

Thus he spoke. *Chinggis-qahan* gave Jebke to Qasar. Jebke, bringing with him from the Jürkin camp a little boy called Boro'ul, payed homage to Mother Hö'elün and gave him to her.

138 Mother Hö'elün reared in her tent these four: the boy called Güchü found in the Merkit camp; the boy called Kököchü found in the Besüt camp among the Tayichi'ut; the boy called Shigiken-qutuqu found in the Tatar camp; and the boy called Boro'ul found in the Jürkin camp. Mother Hö'elün reared them in her tent saying to her sons: "Whom else *but me* can you make into
Eyes, with which you see in daytime,
Ears, with which you hear at night-time?"

139 The background of the Jürkin. As for *their* becoming Jürkin, the eldest brother among the seven sons of Qabul-qan was Ökin-barqaq, whose son was Sorqatu-Jürki. <As for becoming Jürkin> *Qabul-qan*, saying that *Ökin-barqaq* was his eldest son, chose *for him* from among

his own people and, having selected them, gave him *those*
Who had gall in their liver,
Whose thumbs were skilled at shooting,
Whose lungs were filled with courage,
Whose mouths were full of anger:
All the men who were able,
Strong and full of vigour.

They had anger and gall, and were proud and inflexible; this is why they were called Jürkin.

Chinggis-qahan subjugated such a proud people and annihilated those who belonged to the Jürkin clan. Chinggis-qahan made their *subject* people his own hereditary subjects.

140 One day Chinggis-qahan said that Büri-bökö and Belgütei should wrestle with each other.

When Büri-bökö was *still* with the Jürkin, *it happened once that* Büri-bökö, seizing Belgütei with one hand and tripping him with one foot, overthrew him and pressed him down so that he could not move. Büri-bökö was the strongest man in the land.

Then *Chinggis-qahan* made Belgütei and Büri-bökö wrestle with each other. Büri-bökö, the invincible, let himself be overthrown. Belgütei, unable to hold him down, grabbed his shoulders and got on his back. Belgütei glanced backwards and, when he caught sight of Chinggis-qahan's eye, the qahan bit his lower lip. Belgütei understood. He sat on him astride and, clasping crosswise the two *ends of* his collar, he pulled them towards himself. *As he did that*, he pressed his knee against his spine and broke it.

Büri-bökö, his spine broken, said: "I would have not been defeated by Belgütei, but fearing the qahan I fell down on purpose. I was irresolute and lost my life." He spoke and died.

After Belgütei had broken his spine, he dragged him away,

cast him aside and left.

Of the seven sons of Qabul-qan, Ökin-barqaq was the eldest; the next one was Bartan-ba'atur, whose son was Yisügei-ba'atur. The next one after him (*i.e.* after Bartan-ba'atur) was Qutuqtu-möngler, whose son was Büri. Surpassing in wrestling the sons of Bartan-ba'atur, he became a companion of the proud sons of Barqaq. *As a result*, Büri-bökö, the strongest man in the land, had his spine broken by Belgütei and died.

141 After this, in the Year of the Hen (= A.D. 1201), the Qadagin and the Salji'ut united. From the Qadagin Baqu-chorogi and other Qadagin, and from the Salji'ut Chirgidai-ba'atur and others; *then* the Dörben, having made peace with the Tatar, Qaji'un-beki and others of the Dörben, and the Alchi-Tatar Jalin-buqa and other Tatars; Tüge-maqa and others of the Ikires; Dergek, Emel, Alqui and others of the Onggirat; Choyok-chaqa'an and others of the Qorolas; Buyiruq-qan of the Güchü'üt-Naiman from the Naiman; Qutu, the son of Toqto'a-beki of the Merkit; Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat; from the Tayichi'ut Tarqutai-kiriltuq, Qodun-örcheng, A'uchu-ba'atur and other Tayichi'ut - *all* these tribes gathered at Alqui-bulaq and, deciding to elect Jamuqa the Jajirat as qan, they collectively hacked a stallion and a mare across the back and swore an alliance.

From there they moved downstream along the Ergüne river, and on the large promontory of the peninsula where the Kan river flows into the Ergüne, there they elected Jamuqa as gür-qan ("Universal Ruler"). After having elected him gür-qan, they decided to set out against Chinggis-qahan and Ong-qan.

Word of this - that they had decided to attack - was sent by Qoridai of the Qorolas to Chinggis-qahan, when he (*i.e.* Chinggis-qahan) was staying at the Gürelgü.

When he received this information, Chinggis-qahan forwarded it

to Ong-qan. As soon as Ong-qan received the news, he set his army in motion and hurriedly arrived at Chinggis-qahan's *camp*.

142 After having made Ong-qan come, Chinggis-qahan and Ong-qan decided jointly to move against Jamuqa. They set out downstream along the river Kelüren. Chinggis-qahan sent Altan, Quchar and Dāritai, the three of them, as vanguard; Ong-qan *on his part* sent as vanguard the three Senggüm, Jaqa-gambu and Bilge-beki. From these advance-guards further scouts were sent forward: at Enegen-güiletü they established an observation post; beyond that, at Chekcher, they established an observation post; and, beyond that, at Chiqurqu, they established *another* observation post.

When Altan, Quchar, Senggüm and the others of our vanguard arrived at Utkiya, they decided to camp *there*. Just then, a man from the scouts placed at Chiqurqu came running and brought the news that the enemy was approaching.

When this news came, without setting up camp they went towards the enemy in order to gain information. They made contact with each other and gained the information. When they asked *the enemy patrol* who they were, *it turned out to be* Jamuqa's vanguard: A'uchu-ba'atur of the Mongols; Buyiruq-qan of the Naiman; Qutu, the son of Toqto'a-beki of the Merkit; and Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat. These four had been going *towards us* as Jamuqa's vanguard.

Our vanguard then shouted at them, and they shouted back: "It's getting late; tomorrow we'll fight!" And they went back and spent the night together with the main body of their armies.

143 Next day *the troops* were sent forward and when they met, at Köyiten, they engaged in combat. As they pressed each other downhill and uphill, and organized their forces, those very same Buyiruq-qan and Quduqa, knowing how to produce a rainstorm by magic, conjured up a storm. But the magic storm turned back and it was precisely upon

them that the storm fell. They themselves could no longer advance and tumbled into ravines. They said: "We are not loved by Heaven!", and dispersed.

144 Buyiruq-qan of the Naiman separated *from the rest* and moved towards Uluq-taq on the southern side of the Altai. Qutu, the son of Toqto'a of the Merkit, moved towards the Selengge. Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat moved towards the Shisgis, making for the forest. A'uchu-ba'atur of the Tayichi'ut moved towards the Onan. Jamuqa plundered the *very* people that had elected him qan, *then* moved homewards following the course of the Ergüne. As they were being dispersed in this way, Ong-qan pursued Jamuqa downstream along the Ergüne *while* Chinggis-qahan pursued A'uchu-ba'atur of the Tayichi'ut in the direction of the Onan.

As soon as A'uchu-ba'atur reached his own people, he had them moved along in haste. The Tayichi'ut A'uchu-ba'atur and Qodun-örcheng arrayed their troops at Hüle'üt(= Hülengüt)-turas on the other side of the Onan, and stood in battle order ready to fight.

Chinggis-qahan arrived and fought with the Tayichi'ut. They fought backwards and forwards incessantly until evening came; then, in the very place where they had been fighting, they spent the night next to each other. Also when people arrived in haste *seeking shelter*, they camped down together with their troops and spent the night right there.

145 In that fight Chinggis-qahan was wounded in the neck artery. It was not possible to stop the bleeding and he was in a great plight. They let the sun set and in the very same place pitched camp next to each other.

Jelme sucked and sucked the blood which clogged *Chinggis-qahan's wound* and his mouth was *all* smeared with blood. Still, Jelme, not trusting other people, stayed there and looked after him. Until the

middle of the night he gulped down or spat out mouthfuls of obstructing blood.

When midnight had passed, Chinggis-qahan came to himself and said: "The blood has dried up completely; I am thirsty." Then Jelme took off his cap, boots and clothes - everything - and stark naked but for his pants, he ran into the midst of the enemy who had settled next to them. He jumped on to a cart of the people who had set up a circular camp over there. He searched for kumis, but was unable *to find any* because *the people* had moved in haste and had let the mares loose without milking them.

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

Having brought the bucketful of curds, the same Jelme, all by himself, looked also for some water, brought it back, and having mixed it with the curds made the qa'an drink it.

Three times, resting *in between*, the qahan drank, then he spoke: "Inside, my eyes have cleared up." He spoke, raised himself and sat up. It was then daybreak and growing light. He looked *and saw* that, all around the place where he was sitting, the obstructing blood that Jelme had kept on sucking and had spat out had formed small pools. When he saw it, Chinggis-qahan said: "What is this here? Couldn't you spit further away?" Jelme then said: "When you were in a great plight, had I gone further away I would have been afraid of leaving you *alone*. Being in a hurry, I swallowed what I could swallow and spat out what I could spit out; I was in a fluster and quite a bit went into my stomach!"

Chinggis-qahan again spoke: "When I was in this state, lying down, why did you run naked into *their camp*? Had you been caught,

wouldn't you have revealed that I was in such a state?" Jelme said: "My thought, as I went over naked, was that if I were caught by them I would have said: 'I intended to join you, but they (*i.e.* Chinggis-qahan's people) found out and, seizing me, decided to kill me. They removed all my clothes; only my pants had not yet been removed when I barely *managed to* set myself free and came quickly to you like this.' They would have regarded me as truthful, they would have given me clothes and looked after me. Then, I would have jumped on a horse and while they were *astonished* watching me *flee*, in this interval would I not have come back? Thus thinking, and because I wished to arrive in time *to satisfy* the qa'an's craving *for drink* caused by his parching thirst, thinking this and without blinking my eyes I went there."

Chinggis-qahan said: "What can I say now? In former days, when the Three Merkit came and thrice circled Burqan-qaldun, you saved my life for the first time. Now, again, you restored me to life when, with your mouth you sucked the clotting blood *from my wound*. And, again, when I was in a plight suffering from thirst, you, disregarding your life, went amidst the enemy without blinking your eyes, you quenched my thirst and brought life into me. These three services of yours will remain in my heart!" Thus *the qahan* spoke.

146 When it was broad daylight, it turned out that the troops which were bivouacking next to them had dispersed during the night; *only* the people who had set up the circular camp had not moved from the place where they had encamped because they would not have been able to go very far.

Chinggis-qahan *also* moved from the place where he had spent the night in order to bring back the people who had fled. As he was bringing back the fugitives, Chinggis-qahan himself heard a woman in a red coat who, standing on the mountain ridge, was crying loudly and

calling "Temüjin!" He sent a man to enquire whose wife was the woman who was calling in that way. The man went and, having asked her, that woman said: "I am the daughter of Sorqan-shira and my name is Qada'an. The soldiers here caught my husband and were going to kill him. As my husband was being killed, I cried and shouted, and called Temüjin that he should save my husband." So she said, and the man came back and reported these words to Chinggis-qa'an.

Hearing these words, Chinggis-qahan rode at a trot and reached her; he dismounted near Qada'an and they embraced each other, but her husband had already been killed by our troops.

After Chinggis-qahan had brought back those people, he camped down right there for the night with his great army. He invited Qada'an to come to him and had her sit by his side.

Next morning Sorqan-shira and Jebe, who had been retainers of Tödöge of the Tayichi'ut, also arrived - the two of them. Chinggis-qahan said about Sorqan-shira: "It was indeed a good service of you, father and sons,

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

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

Sorqan-shira said: "Within myself I already felt confidence in you, but how could I hurry? Had I hurried and come to you earlier, my Tayichi'ut lords would have blown to the winds, like hearth-ashes, my wife and children, and the cattle and provisions I left behind. Because of this I did not hurry, but now *that the Tayichi'ut have been defeated* we came in haste to join our qahan." When he had finished speaking, *Chinggis-qahan* said: "*You did* right".

147 Again Chinggis-qahan spoke: "When we were engaged in combat at

Köyiten and, pressing each other, were organizing our forces, from the top of those mountain ridges an arrow came. Who, from the top of the mountain, shot an arrow in such a way as to break the first vertebra of my tawny battle horse with the white mouth?"

To these words Jebe said: "I shot the arrow from the top of the mountain. If now I am put to death by the qa'an, I will be left behind to rot on *a piece* of earth the size of the palm *of a hand*, but if I obtain mercy, for the qa'an I will charge ahead

In such a way as to rend deep waters,
In such a way as to crumble shining stones.
If he says: 'Reach there!',
In that place the blue stones
I will destroy.
If he says: 'Attack!',
I will crush the black stones -

for him I will charge ahead."

Chinggis-qahan said: "A man who was once an enemy, when it comes to his *former* killings and hostile actions 'conceals his person and hides his tongue' - he is afraid. As for this one, however, he does not hide his killings and hostile actions; on the contrary, he makes them known. He is a man to befriend. He is named Jirqo'adai, but because he shot an arrow at the first vertebra of my tawny battle horse with the white mouth, I shall call him Jebe and I will use him as my jebe-arrow. As you are *now* named Jebe, you will keep by my side!" So he ordered.

This is the way in which Jebe came from the Tayichi'ut and became a companion *of Chinggis-qahan*.

COMMENTARY

(For the abbreviations used in the Commentary see *PFEH* 4 [September 1971].151-152, and 5 [March 1972].175)

127 For Arqai-qasar and Cha'urqan see above, §124. For Altan and Quchar who, with Sacha-beki, had played a major role in the election of Chinggis-qan, see §123. Here "flanks" (*sübe'e*) and "ribs" (*qabirqa*) indicate the region of the heart (of Temüjin) which Altan and Quchar had "needled," rousing his animosity against Jamuqa. "Be the good companions," lit. "be companions in a good manner."

128 In this and the following paragraph Taichar is called the *de'ü* of Jamuqa. In view of Jamuqa's explicit statement in §201 that he had no younger brothers, I have translated this term as "younger relative." Cf. Pelliot-Hambis, pp.29-31. For the name Jalama see *ibid.*, pp.142-143. This mountain has not been identified. As mount Jalama and its Ölegei Spring (Ölegei means "baby's cradle") were near the Sa'ari steppe, they must also be situated between the rivers Tula and Kerulen. See *ibid.*, p.31. The Sa'ari ("Rump[-like]") steppe or valley (*ke'er*; see above, n.105) is one of the important localities of the *SH*, and Pelliot has discussed it at length in *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.319-325. According to the French scholar, it was a valley in the basin of the upper Kerulen, between this river and the Tula. It has been further located by him in the area of the two lakes Qala'utu-nōr and Gün-nōr west of the great bend of the Kerulen. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.26-27. Moreover, the name "Sa'ari-ke'er" was applied, apparently, *sensu lato* also "à toute la région occidentale du Kerulen depuis sa source jusqu'au moment où il fait un grand coude pour prendre la direction de l'Est." (*Ibid.*, p.389.) Cf. also Schubert, *Ritt*, p.102. On the other hand, according to Perlee, p.9, Sa'ari-ke'er corresponds to the present-day Khongorjil or Khongorjiin tal (49° N. lat. and 101° E.long.), in the region between the Selenga and Khanui rivers. Jochi-darmala, alias Chöji-darmala (cf. §201), was a Jalayir subject of Chinggis-qan. On him and the story of the horse theft see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.25-26. Cf. also Ligeti, p.152, n.128. "Crouching over the mane of his horse," lit. "lying with his liver (= belly) over the mane of his horse" (*morin-u'an del de'ere helige-ber-iyen kebtejü*).

129 "Thirteen tribes" (*harban qurban qarin*), lit. "thirteen nations." See Pelliot-Hambis, p.53. Cf. also L. Hambis, *Gengis-khan*, Collection "Que sais-je?" (Paris, 1973), p.44. The Ala'ut-turqa'ut ("Mottled Sentinels") mountains apparently were two contiguous mountains or hills separated by a narrow pass. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.41-42, 52. Their situation is not certain. According to Perlee, p.4, they correspond to the present Erkheg Tarkhaq in the Tuva A.S.S.R., but this identification would place them too far to the west. As suggested by Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p.42, they must be in the Gürelgü region. On the Gürelgü see above, n.89. For Mülke-totaq and Boroldai see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.51-52; for the Ikires, a sub-tribe of the Qonggirat, see *ibid.*, pp.31-32. The thirteen army corps drawn from Chinggis' thirteen "camps" (*güre'et*) are listed in the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*. See *ibid.*, pp.35-37, and Ligeti, p.153, n.129. The location of Dalan-baljut has been discussed by Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p.42 (cf. Perlee, p.9), who is of the opinion that it was in the basin of the Kerulen, near the sources of the Senggür river. The Jerene gorge, or defile (*qabchiqai*) has not yet been identified, but it appears from the context that it was near the Onon. It is not clear, though, why Chinggis-qan should have withdrawn towards the upper Onon in the north, whence Jamuqa's attack came, instead of fleeing towards the Kerulen in the south. The gruesome episode of the boiling of the Chinos princes (*kö'üt*) by Jamuqa is probably fictitious. The Chinos (= Chinōs "Wolves") were also called Ne'üs (Negüs), a name that has not been explained satisfactorily. On this tribe see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.70, 131-135; on its chief Chaqa'an-u'a (= Chaqa'an-uwa) see *ibid.*, pp.137-139, and above, n.120. It should be mentioned that other sources (Rashīd al-Dīn and the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*) make Chinggis win the battle of Dalan-baljut and Jamuqa withdraw across the Ala'ut-turqa'ut. This version of the story is not the authentic one. See Grousset, *L'Empire mongol*, pp.81-82; Pelliot-Hambis, pp.135-137.

130 The Uru'ut (Urūt) and the Mangqut are already mentioned in §46 of the *SH*. On these tribes see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.32-33, 167-169. Father Mönglik, son of "old" Charaqa, had last appeared in §69. It transpires from this passage that at the time when Temüjin left Jamuqa, Mönglik and his family had followed the latter. Qasar is, of course, Jochi-Qasar, the younger brother of Chinggis-qan. On Sacha-beki and Taichu see above, n.122. Ebegei was the (favourite?) concubine of Sacha-beki's father

Sorqatu-Jürki and in our text she is called Sacha-beki's "little mother" (*üchü'ügen eke*), a term misunderstood by previous investigators and explained by Mostaert, pp.60-61. Qorijin-qatun and Qu'urchin-qatun were the two principal wives of Sorqatu-Jürki, the former being Sacha-beki's own mother. In serving food and drinks custom required that one should follow the order of rank and seniority; an infringement of this rule was regarded as a serious offence. See Ligeti, p.153, n.130. It appears that the steward, or cook (*bawurchi*), Shiki'ür had unwittingly caused the trouble. Nekün-taishi was a brother of Yisügei, hence an uncle of Chinggis-qan. See above, n.122.

131 The two men in charge of the joint celebration were Belgütei - Chinggis-qan's half brother - and the Jürkin chief Büri-bökö (Büri "the Wrestler"), already mentioned in §50 and on whom see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.189-190. The "horse station" (*kirü'e*, from the verb *kirü-/kerü-* "to bind [the feet] crosswise" - N.P.) where the thief was caught was the place outside the area of the chiefs' tent where the horses were stationed and where the saddles and other valuable equipment and articles were kept in custody. This place is mentioned by John of Pian di Carpine in his *Ystoria Mongalorum*; see Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, pp.61-62. Later, hereditary officers were placed in charge of it. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.187-188. On the Qadagin tribe see *ibid.*, pp.393-397. As suggested by Grousset, *Conqueror of the World*, p.86, the Qadagin thief must have come from the Jürkin party, hence Büri-bökö's action. The chief of the Jürkin, Sacha-beki, was the grandson of Ökin-barqaq, eldest brother of Bartan-ba'atur (Chinggis-qan's grandfather) and was therefore a first cousin of Chinggis-qan. This is why in our text Belgütei calls the Jürkin "brothers" (*aqa-de'ü*), here rendered as "relatives" (cf. above, n.26). "Wait a little while!", lit. "stay *some* moments!" (*qorumut bayi*). On this paragraph of the *SH* see Cleaves, pp.125-126.

132 The *AT*, I, 78-80, contains an epic account of the fight with the Jürkin involving Qasar and Belgütei, but this is almost certainly a later interpolation. For a translation of this text see Lubsan Danzan, *Altan tobchi* ("*Zolotoe skazanie*"), tr. by N.P. Shastina (Moscow, 1973) (hereafter cited as Shastina), pp.105-106. For the Altan-qan of the Kitat (= Jurchen) see above, n.53. Ongging-chingsang was the contemporary Mongolian pronunciation of Wan-yen *cheng-hsiang* 完顏丞相 "Prime Minister Wan-yen," *i.e.* the Prime Minister of the Right Wan-yen Hsiang

完顏襄 , whom the Chin court had put in charge of the expedition against the Tatars at the end of 1195. The Tatars' retreat on the Ulja - the present Uldza river between the Onon and the Kerulen - took place probably in May-June 1196. On the chronology of these events and the role of the Tatar chief Megüjin-se'ültü see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.192-200; Grousset, *Conqueror of the World*, pp.89-91; Hambis, *Gengis-khan*, pp.49-50.

133 "To attack jointly, in conjunction with" renders Mongolian *qamsa-*. The exact meaning of this verb is "to join with an ally attacking the enemy from another side." See A. Mostaert and F.W. Cleaves, *Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Arγun et Öl̆γeitü à Philippe le Bel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p.28. Prof. Poppe (personal communication) is strongly in favour of rendering *qanalqa-tur* "in the blood letting," *i.e.* in the fight, the meaning "opportunity" being unattested for this word in Mongolian (except in the *Secret History* where it is glossed as such), whereas *qanalgha* is a well known term meaning "the letting of blood, bleeding" (from *qana-* "to bleed a horse or somebody"). My only reason for retaining "opportunity" is that this is the way the term is glossed in *both* the interlinear Chinese translation and the free summary (*YCPS* 4, 12a, 13a, 14b). "Quickly went to his assistance" renders *öterlen iktünejü*. *Öterlen* means "speeding"; the verb *iktüne-* is not glossed in the Chinese interlinear version, but in the free summary the whole expression is rendered "came in person" (*YCPS* 4, 14b), I do not know on what basis. To my knowledge *iktüne-* is not attested elsewhere in Mongolian. I think it is a borrowing from Turkish *iktülä-* "to support, feed, attend to." See *Drevnetyurkskiĭ slovar'*, izd. Nauka (Leningrad, 1965), p.207a; A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1950), p.310a,b. I take it, therefore, to mean here "to go to someone's assistance"; however, my translation is tentative. The two place-names Qusutu-shitü'en ("Birch Rampart") and Naratu-shitü'en ("Pine Rampart") clearly indicate a wooden area near the Ulja, one which would offer the Tatars the opportunity to set up a palisade. On these names see Pelliot-Hambis, p.202. On the silver - not "golden" as in E. Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1948), p.39 - cradle and the precious blanket of Megüjin-se'ültü see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.202-203.

134 The words in square brackets, missing in the *YCPS* text, have been supplied following the *AT*, I, 82. Cf. Shastina, p.108.

The title *ja'ut-quri* conferred by Wang-yen Hsiang on Chinggis-qan seems to be of Khitan origin, but it has not yet been clearly explained. On this see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.291-295; Pelliot-Hambis, pp.203-207; Doerfer, no.152. Cf. also H. Serruys, *The Mongols in China During the Hung-wu Period (1368-1398)* (Bruxelles, 1959), p.104, n.131. *Ong* is the medieval Mongol pronunciation of Chinese *wang* 王 "king, prince." When conferred on a barbarian chieftain this title was apparently not a very exalted one; and the title *ja'ut-quri* was certainly a minor one. On these questions see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.211-213. Gereyit = Kereyit (Kereit). *Jeutau* = Ch. *chao-t'ao(-shih)* 招討 (使), the designation of a high-ranking official in the Chin and earlier dynasties. See Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.293.

135 Shikiken-quduqu, called Shigiken-qutuqu in §138, *i.e.* Shigi-qutuqu (Shigiken is a diminutive form of the name Shigi) is one of the leading Mongol figures. On him see P. Poucha, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal* (Prag, 1956), pp.188-191; and the important contribution of P. Ratchnevsky, "Šigi-qutuqu, ein mongolischer Gefolgsmann im 12.-13. Jahrhundert," *CAJ* X (1965).87-120. He may have taken part in the compilation and/or recording of the *Secret History*.

136 "Base camp, base" is the somewhat inadequate translation of Mongolian *a'uruq*. The term *a'uruq* (Mo. *aghurugh*) is a technical term designating the camp where old people, womenfolk, children, servants and the baggage are left when the men go to fight, and where they return after the fight. Cf. Poppe in *MS* XXVI (1967). 509-510 (no.3). Ligeti, pp.46, 154, renders it as "törzstábor," *i.e.* "tribecamp." The Hariltu lake (*na'ur*) has not been identified, but according to Naka and to Pelliot, it was probably in the area south of the great bend of the Kerulen. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.215. However, according to Perlee, p.10, it was probably near the Gürelgü mountains. The incident involving Shiki'ür and Belgütei to which Chinggis refers is, of course, that related in §§130 and 131 of the *SH*. Dolo'an-bolda'ut ("Seven Lonely Hills") was the name of several distinct sites in Mongolia, hence our text is careful to specify that the one in question was that near (lit. "of") Ködö'e-aral. Ködö'e (or Köde'e)-aral, lit. "Barren Island," was not an island in the Kerulen, as has long been believed, but a place 60 km west, as the crow flies, from the confluence of the two rivers and within sight of the Kerulen, directly SSW of Delger Haan Sumon

(Schubert, *Ritt*, p.110; cf. Damdinsüren, *Mongolyn Nuuc Tovčoo* [1957], pp.21-22). The seven hills which have given the name to the place have also been identified by Perlee and Schubert west of Ködö'e-aral and their present name is still Dolood, *i.e.* "The Seven." The former religious establishment "Dolood Jisa" marked on the 1:1,000,000 Map of the World of the U.S. Army Map Service at 47°05' N.lat. and 108°52' E.long. must be situated very close to these hills. Ködö'e-aral later became the site of one of the great *ordos*, or main camps, of Chinggis-qan and one of the sacred places of the Mongol imperial family. It covered an area of 900x200 metres which still bears traces of the original rampart. See J. Schubert, "Identifizierung historischer Plätze der alten mongolischen Geschichte," *RO* XXX (1966).53-58; Perlee, p.7. On the Telētü Pass (*amasar*) west, or north-west, of the Tula river, but not yet identified, see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.262-263. The name Telētü appears again, in the uncontracted form Telegetü, in §§162, 177. Perlee, p.11, thinks that the Telētü of §136 is a different locality from the other two, but this does not seem to be the case. "Oaths," lit. "words." With regard to Sacha-beki's and Taichu's oaths see above, §123. As pointed out by Ligeti, pp.154-155, n.136, the execution of Sacha-beki and his brother Taichu (the first cousins of Chinggis-qan) meant, of course, the removal of two possible, and rightful, pretenders to the leadership of the Mongol tribes. The campaign against the Tatars was carried out in the summer of 1196; that against the Jürkin and the liquidation of Sacha-beki and Taichu took place in the winter 1196-1197. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.223 *in fine*.

137 On Telegetü-bayan and his descendants, in particular his famous grandson Muqali (d.1223), see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.360-372. On the important tribe to which they belonged, the Jalayir, see *ibid.*, pp.65-66. "Slaves of your threshold...slaves of your door," *i.e.* attached to the tent of Chinggis-qan. "Hereditary," lit. "personal" (*emchü*); cf. Mostaert, p.246, n.232. "Cut off their heel sinews (= Achilles tendons)!", *i.e.* to cripple them, as through ham-stringing. "Golden threshold" (*altan bosoqa*), *i.e.* the khan's tent. Cf. above, n.21. "Wide door" (*örgen e'üten*) has the same meaning. Cf. the expressions "great tent" and "broad road" in §121. The door of a yurt is often just a heavy felt curtain, hence the expression "to lift the door." "Kick them in the pit of the stomach," lit. "kicking their heart" (*öre inu miderijü*), another well attested way of punishing people accused of disloyalty. As we learn from John of Pian di Carpine's account, Michael, Duke of Chernigov suffered this fate in 1246 for refusing to pay homage to the image of Chinggis-qan. See Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, p.10. Boro'ul (= Boroghul, from *boro* "grey") belonged to the Hüshin tribe. He later became one of Chinggis-qan's leading officers (d. 1217). On him see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.372-378.

138 For Güchü (= Küchü) see above, §114; for Kököchü see §119; for Shigiken-qutuqu see §135. The story of Hö'elün's "adoptions" is of doubtful historicity. As pointed out by Pelliot, it represents an epic theme in the saga of Chinggis-qan. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.375.

139 "The background of the Jürkin," lit. "The rule (or manner, kind: *yosun*) of those Jürkin." The words within angle brackets are found in the text, but they are almost certainly a duplication, due to a copyist's error, of the same words appearing earlier in the passage. They are, in fact, not found in the corresponding passage of *AT*, I, 86. On Sorqatu-Jürki (∿ Sorqadu-Yürki) see n.122 above. "Who had gall in their liver," *i.e.* who were daring. "Filled with courage," lit. "filled with heart." "Full of anger," lit. "full of steam." As for the word translated here as "inflexible," the *YCPS* 4, 26a, has *jörkimes*, a word unknown in Mongolian and left untranslated in the interlinear Chinese text. Haenisch, Pelliot (see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.200-201), Ligeti and others have rendered it as "irresistible" on the basis of the paraphrase of this passage in the shorter Chinese version (*YCPS* 4, 26b) and, in the case of Pelliot, of a hypothetical Turkish form **yürkimäs*. According to Prof. Poppe (personal communication), *jörkimes* is the negative verbal noun in *-mas/-mäs* of Turkic *yörgä-* "to wrap up *or* around" (see Sir G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* [Oxford, 1972], p.965b). Cf. Yakut *sörö-* (Yak. *s-* < **j-*) "to entangle, to wrap around, to involve a person" (see E.K. Pekarskii, *Slovar' yakutskogo yazyka* [St. Petersburg-Leningrad, 1907-1930] II, p.2307). However, in view of the difficulty of reconciling the meaning of Tu. *yörgä-* with the context of our passage, I wonder whether *jörkimes* may not be a mistake for *yorgimagh*, which is the form we find in the corresponding passage of *AT* (I, 86). Shastina, p.334, n.36, following S.A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoe skazanie* (Moskow-Leningrad, 1941), p.357, §139, has read this word as *jorkimagh*, but whereas Kozin, relating it to Kalm. *jörmög*, has rendered it as "invincible" (*ibid.*, p.541, §139), Shastina, p.111, makes it derive from the verb *jorkilagha-* (read *jorgilgha-*) "to raise one's voice." For my part, I think that the word in *AT* is to be read *yorgimagh* and

that this is probably a noun formed on *yorgi-*, Kh. *yorgix* "to be wilful, to boast" (see S. Shaghja, *Mongghol üsüg-ün dürim-ün toli bichig* [Ulanbator, 1937], p.551b; A. Luvsandendev, *Mongol Oros toli* [Moscow, 1957], p.174b), which would fit our context admirably. I have, therefore, translated it as "inflexible," but not without reservations in view of the fact that *yorgimagh* as a noun seems to be unattested in Mongol lexicography. The explanation given in the *SH* for the clan name Jürki(n) is, of course, due to popular etymology and, as already pointed out by Ligeti, p.155, n.139, this name must have also been traditionally associated with the word *jürüge(n)* "heart, courage." In the passage "Chinggis-qahan subjugated such a proud people...," the *AT* (I, 86) after "Chinggis-qahan" adds the words "born the bravest of men" (*ere-yin ere töröjü*), which may well have been in the original recension of the *SH*. Cf. Damdinsüren, *Mongolyn Nuuc Tovčoo*, p.85; Shastina, p.111.

140 The story of Büri-bökö's defeat and death provides an excellent illustration of Chinggis-qan's shrewdness, and of his ability to dispose of men he disliked. What the text clearly implies in the final section of this paragraph is that Büri-bökö, because of physical superiority, was too proud to consort with the descendants of Bartan-ba'atur, *i.e.* the line of Yisügei and Chinggis-qan, giving his allegiance instead to the descendants of Ökin-barqaq, *i.e.* to Sorqatu-Jürki and his sons Sacha-beki and Taichu, who belonged to the senior line. Thus, by joining the rival camp of the Jürkin, Büri-bökö's fate had in fact been sealed. Cf. the free Chinese version in *YCPS* 4, 29b.

141 The Year of the Hen (*taqiya jil*) is the tenth in the Twelve-Animal Cycle used by the Mongols for chronological reckoning, corresponding here to A.D. 1201. Cf. K. Grønbech and J.R. Krueger, *An Introduction to Classical (Literary) Mongolian* (Wiesbaden, 1955), pp.102-106. This is the first date given in the *SH*. This section lists the tribes, with their respective chiefs, which formed a coalition to oppose that formed by the tribes supporting Chinggis-qan. On the Qadagin and their chief Baqu-chorogi see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.393-397; on the Salji'ut and Chirgidai-ba'atur see *ibid.*, pp.397-400. The Dörben is first mentioned in §11 of the *SH*. On it see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.400-402. Some of the Dörben chiefs had joined Chinggis-qan, see §120. Jalin-buqa of the Alchi-Tatar clan is, of course, a different person from the Jali-buqa of §58. Some of the Ikires had also joined Chinggis-qan, see §120. Dergek and Emel, instead of two individuals, are perhaps the two elements of a

man's double name, *i.e.* Dergek-Emel. This is the opinion of Pelliot (Pelliot-Hambis, pp.407-409) and of Ligeti, p.155, n.141. Cf., however, Mostaert, p.344 and n.89. See also *SH* §176. On the meaning of Alqui see below. On Choyok-chaqa'an see Ligeti in *Collectanea Mongolica. Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Rintchen zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp.131-133. On Buyiruq-qan see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.297-298; on Qutu see above, §124 and n.; Tarqutai-kiriltuq appears for the first time in the *SH* in §79. On Qodun-örcheng see Pelliot-Hambis, p.147; on A'uchu-ba'atur see *ibid.*, pp.158-162. These chiefs elected as their leader Jamuqa, conferring on him a title that would match the one assumed by his rival, and with the same meaning (see above, §123 and n.). On the alliance of these tribes and the election of Jamuqa cf. the corresponding passage in the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* and Pelliot's commentary in Pelliot-Hambis, pp. 393ff. On the title *gür-qan* see *ibid.*, pp.248-249; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.225-226. In our text *qan* and *gür-qan* applied to Jamuqa are actually written *qa* and *gür-qa*, *i.e.* with the final *n* of *qan* silent. As pointed out by the Rev. H. Serruys (personal communication), it cannot be without reason that we find *qa* for Jamuqa, and then *qan* for others. This interesting problem deserves further study. The place where the confederates met, Alqui-bulaq ("Sarsaparilla Spring"), has not been identified, but it must have been near, or on, the Ergüne-müren, *i.e.* the river Argun, upstream from the point where it meets its eastern tributary, the Kan-müren, which is the present river Gan (Gan-gol). Following Pelliot, *Histoire secrète des mongols* (Paris, 1949), p.166, I take the word *a'unu'u* to mean "large promontory" (from *a'u* "large" and *nu'u* "tip of land, headland"). The Mongol word here variously translated as "word, information, news" is *kele*, lit. "tongue." Its usual meaning is "oral and secret information, intelligence," and this connotation is probably retained also in the present context. Cf. also the expression *kele ab-* in the next paragraph. In the last sentence the second "Ong-qan" of the Mongol text has been rendered in the translation by "he."

142 For Altan, Quchar and Daritai (= Dāritai) see §122 above. Senggüm is the same personage called Nilqa (= Ilqa)-Senggüm, the son of Ong-qan, on whom see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.331-335. As pointed out by Pelliot, Senggüm is originally a Chinese title (*hsiang-kung* 相公 "minister") passed into Khitan, and thence into Mongolian, as a proper name. Jaqa-gambu, Ong-qan's younger brother, had already appeared in §§107, 108. Bilge-beki, a Kereit chief, reappears in §181. Enegen-güiletü ("Having a

Single Apricot [Tree]"?) is an unknown locality, but judging from the context it must have been a hill or mountain in the general area of the two mountains Chekcher and Chiqurqu near the river Khalkha in E. Mongolia, as must also have been the locality called Utkiya. "To gain information" is the regular rendering of Mongolian *kele ab-*. See Lessing, p.447a: "To receive or gather information." Cf. also Mostaert, p.80. However, as pointed out by Ligeti, p.156, n.142, this is a technical term meaning "to catch an enemy who voluntarily or under coercion gives information about his own camp." Thus *kele*, as a military term, means both a prisoner who could supply information under interrogation, and the information itself. A similar usage is found in Russian, *yazyk* meaning "tongue, language" and "military information." The men forming the vanguard of Jamuqa's army had already been mentioned in §141. "And spent the night together with (lit. "joining") the main body of their armies (*qol*)"; on the term *qol* (= *ghol*) see N. Poppe in *MS* XXVI (1967).513-514, no.7. On this campaign against Jamuqa see Hambis, *Genghis-khan*, p.68ff.

143 According to Perlee, p.8, the locality called Köyiten ("Cold") in the *SH* corresponds to present-day Khüiten Shuus between the Onon and the Kerulen at 48° N.lat. and 111° E.long. This, however, cannot be reconciled with Pelliot's localization of the nearby mountains Chekcher and Chiqurqu in the region of the river Khalkha (see above), further to the south-east. On the situation of mount Chekcher cf. also the important remarks of Wada Sei 和田清 in *Tōashi kenkyū* 東亜史研究 (*Mōko-hen* 蒙古篇) [*Studies in the History of Far East (Mongolia)*] (Tokyo, 1954), pp.34, 35, 138. Wada is of the opinion that this mountain was just south-west of lake Khulun (Dalai). Cf. Grousset, *Conqueror of the World*, pp.101-102; also for the dating of these events (1201-1202). The ancient Inner Asiatic method of conjuring up rain and blizzards required the use of a rain-stone which was put into water. This magic stone, usually a bezoar, is called *yat*, *yada* in Turkish and *jada* in Mongolian. See Pelliot in *TP* XIII (1912).436-438, n.1; and his *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris, 1949), pp.8-9, n.3; B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919; rep. Taipei, 1967), pp.525-528; Doerfer, no.157; Ligeti, p.156, n.143; and J.A. Boyle in *Folklore* LXXXIII (1972).184ff. for other examples of this practice. In our text *jada* is rendered in the Chinese interlinear version as "the operation (lit. 'affair') that can bring about wind and rain" and "wind and rain" (*YCPS* 4, 35b); no reference is made to the magic stone.

144 The Uluq-taq (= Ulugh-tagh, Turkish for "Great Mountain") on the southern side of the Altai has been identified by Perlee, p.5, with the Bulag-uul, or Bulak Ula, near the Sinkiang border at 47° N.lat. and 90° E.long. Always according to Perlee, p.10, the Shisgis is the same as the Shiqshit of §239 of the *SH* and corresponds to the present Shishgid(Shishhid)-gol at 51° N.lat. and 98° E.long. According to Pelliot, *TP* XXVII (1930).200-202, and Pelliot-Hambis, p.392, the words "hüle'üt turastan" of our text must be amended to "Ülengüt-Turas-tur," *i.e.* "at Ülengüt-Turas." In my translation, however, following the example of Ligeti, pp.50 and 156, n.144, I have retained the reading "Hüle'üt," but I have given also the amended form in parentheses. Apparently this locality was a plain in the steppe but has not yet been identified. See the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* (Pelliot, *op. cit.*; and Pelliot-Hambis, pp.390, 392). On this passage cf. also L. Ligeti in *AO* XXVI (1972).9, n.16. "Ready to fight," lit. "saying: 'let us fight!'" (*qatqulduya ke'en*). The verb *shitüldü-* means "to be (stand, hold a position) against (= in close proximity to) each other" - so close, in fact, that they were touching each other (H.S.). Cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.142.

145 "The bleeding," lit. "the blood" (*chisun*); "but for his pants," lit. "possessing only pants" (*qaqcha doto'ajitu*); "couldn't you spit further away?", lit. "how was it if you spat far?" (*qolo asqa'asu yambar aju'u*), *i.e.* "wouldn't it have been better if you had spat further away?"; "I swallowed what I could swallow and spat out what I could spit out," lit. "I swallowed the swallowing (= what is swallowed) and spat out the spitting out (= what is spat out)" (*jalkiqu-yi jalki'at asqaqu-yi asqa'at*). This phrase can also be rendered: "some I swallowed, some I spat out." The passage "Then, I would have jumped on a horse... I went there." has been translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.61-63. For Jelme's role at the time of the Three Merkit's pursuit of Temüjin see the *SH* §103. In this paragraph, and in subsequent ones, we find the form *qahan* alternating with *qa'an*. The two forms render, however, the same sound since in the Chinese transcription the *h* of *qahan* represents only the intervocalic hiatus (-'-) of medieval (spoken) Mongolian which, in Mongol script, was represented by the letter *gh* (γ). Hence the word written *qaghan* was pronounced *qa'an* and was transcribed in Chinese indifferently as *qa'an* and *qahan*.

146 On Sorqan-shira of the Süldüs, a retainer of the Tayichi'ut, see the *SH* §82 and n. His daughter Qada'an had already been

mentioned in §85. Her husband was a Tayichi'ut. Chinggis-qan invited Qada'an "and had her sit by his side" (*dergechen sa'ūlba*), meaning probably, but not necessarily, that he took her as a secondary wife. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.153. "Great army" (*yeke cherik*): "great" here is either an epithet for the qan's army (cf. above, §121) or, as suggested by Prof. Poppe (personal communication), it indicates the main body of the army. *Jebe* is the name of a particular type of arrow; in the following paragraph (147) the *SH* explains why Chinggis-qan gave this name to Jirqo'adai, the man who had rallied to him with Sorqan-shira. Jebe, a Besüt, later became one of his most distinguished generals. On him see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.154-156. On Tödöge and his ancestry see *ibid.*, p.157. "The cangue wood," *i.e.* the wood that constituted the cangue. See Mostaert, pp.63-64. On the rallying of Sorqan-shira and Jebe see the important remarks in Lattimore, "Chingis Khan and the Mongol Conquests," pp.59-60 and 64.

147 For the battle of Köyiten see above, §143. For a discussion of the term *aman niri'u* "the first cervical vertebra," see Mostaert, pp.65-66; for the exact connotations of a *qula* "tawny horse" see *ibid.*, pp.66-67 and n.63; cf. also above, n.87. For the expressions "to rend deep waters...to crumble shining stones" cf. the words of Tödö'en-girte in §72. "I will destroy ...I will crush...," lit. "In such a way as to destroy...In such a way as to crush...." Jebe means, of course, that he will do his utmost to carry out the orders of his new leader if he is spared. The different colours and characteristics of the stones (blue, black, shining) have, I believe, no symbolic value in these old sayings, but are there for purely stylistic reasons, such as contrast and parallelism. "Conceals his person and hides his tongue" - obviously a Mongol idiom for "to keep out of the way and avoid talking." Cf. the English colloquialism "to lie low." According to Ligeti, p.156, n.147, Jirqo'adai does not mean "the Sixth," as stated by Pelliot (Pelliot-Hambis, p.155), but "man of the Jirqo'an clan." *Jebe* was the name of a particular type of arrow which has not yet been clearly identified and which, as we can infer from the context, was the one Jirqo'adai had used to kill Chinggis-qan's horse. On this arrow see Doerfer, no.156. "As you are named Jebe, you will keep by my side!", *i.e.* like the *jebe*-arrows that one carried on one's side in the quiver.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz

Chapter Six*

170 When he received this information, Chinggis-qahan, believing the words of Badai and Kishiliq, *that* very night gave the news to the trusted men who were at his side and, leaving behind his baggage to lighten *his train*, set out and fled in the night.

Proceeding by way of the northern side of Mau-ündür ("The Evil Heights"), he left behind Jelme-qo'a of the Uriangqat - whom he trusted - as the rear guard on the northern side of Mau-ündür. He posted scouts and moved on. Continuing to advance, at noon of the following day he reached the Qalaqaljit Sands, where he halted to rest and eat, waiting for the sun to set.

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* The translation of Chapters I and II appeared in *PFEH* 4 (September 1971).115-163; Chapter III in *PFEH* 5 (March 1972).149-175; Chapter IV in *PFEH* 10 (September 1974).55-82, and Chapter V in *PFEH* 13 (March 1976).41-75. I am very grateful to Prof. N. Poppe (Seattle) for his help with textual problems.

While they were resting and eating, Chigidei and Yadir, the horse-herds of Alchidai, led their geldings to pasture in groups on the fresh grass. As they moved they saw the dust *raised* by the enemy coming in pursuit, passing by Hula'an-burqat on the southern side of Mau-ündür. Saying, "The enemy has arrived," they came *back* driving the horses before them.

When *Chinggis-qahan* was told that the enemy had arrived, he looked out and said, "That is Ong-qan who is raising the dust and who is coming after us passing by Hula'an-burqat on the southern side of Mau-ündür." Having seen the dust, he then had his horses brought in and after packing up rode off *with his followers*. If on that occasion *the two herdsmen* had not noticed *the approach of the enemy*, they would have been *caught* unprepared.

While this was going on, Jamuqa was advancing together with Ong-qan. As they progressed, Ong-qan asked Jamuqa, "Who are those with my son Temüjin who are likely to fight?" To his question Jamuqa said, "There are *with him* the people called Uru'ut and Mangqut; these people do indeed *know how to* fight:

> Everytime they encircle *the enemy*
> Their battle array holds;
> Everytime they wheel round
> Their ranks hold.

These people are used to swords and spears from childhood. They have black and multi-coloured standards - they are people we must watch for!"

On these words Ong-qan said, "If this is so, Qadaq, our brave Jirgin, shall meet them, and we will send our brave Jirgin to the attack. We will have Achiq-shirun of the Tümen-Tübegen attack *next* in support of the Jirgin. The brave Olon-Dongqayit we will send to the attack in support of the *Tümen*-Tübegen. Qori-Shilemün-taishi in

support of the *Olon*-Dongqayit will attack at the head of *my* - the Ong-qan's - thousand bodyguards. In support of the thousand bodyguards we, the main body of the army, will move to the attack." Ong-qan also said, "Younger brother Jamuqa, you set our troops in battle array!"

On these words Jamuqa withdrew apart and said to his companions, "Ong-qan tells me to set these troops of his in battle array, but I have never been able to fight against *my* sworn brother. For Ong-qan to say that I should set these troops in battle array *means that* he is less capable than I am. Not much of a companion is he! Let us send word to *my* sworn brother to be on his guard."

So Jamuqa secretly sent a message to Chinggis-qahan which said: "Ong-qan asked me, 'Who are those with my son Temüjin who are likely to fight?' To his question I said, ' I rate first the Uru'ut and the Mangqut.' At these words of mine the very Jirgin were ordered to the forefront as vanguard. Achiq-shirun of the Tümen-Tübegen was appointed in support of the Jirgin. <The Olon-Dongqayit were appointed in support of the *Tümen*-Tübegen.> Qori-Shilemün-taishi in support of the *Olon*-Dongqayit was appointed as commander of the thousand bodyguards of Ong-qan. To support him (i.e. Qori-Shilemün-taishi), they decided that the main body of Ong-qan's own army should stand *in readiness*. Ong-qan spoke to me and saying, 'Younger brother Jamuqa, you set these troops *of mine* in battle array!', he relied on me. From this I realized that he is not much of a companion. How can I set his troops in battle array for him? I have never been able to fight against *my* sworn brother and Ong-qan is less capable than I am. Sworn brother, do not be afraid, but be on your guard!" He sent this message.

171 When Chinggis-qahan received this news he said, "Uncle Jürchedei of the Uru'ut, let's have you as vanguard, what do you say?" Before Jürchedei could open his mouth, Quyildar-sechen of the Mangqut said,

"I will fight in front of *my* sworn brother! As to taking care later of my orphaned children, the sworn brother will decide." Jürchedei *then* said, "Let us, Uru'ut and Mangqut, fight as vanguard in front of Chinggis-qa'an!"

Having spoken thus, Jürchedei and Quyildar arranged themselves in battle array in front of Chinggis-qa'an with their Uru'ut and Mangqut *troops*. As they stood *in readiness* the enemy arrived with the Jirgin in the vanguard. When they came, the Uru'ut and the Mangqut rushed to meet them and crushed the Jirgin. When they pressed on after having routed them, Achiq-shirun of the Tümen-Tübegen rushed forward. During the attack Achiq-shirun pierced Quyildar and threw him to the ground. The Mangqut turned back and stayed around Quyildar *to protect him*.

Jürchedei *then* went to the attack with his Uru'ut *troops* and routed the Tümen-Tübegen. As he advanced after having defeated them, the Olon-Dongqayit rushed against him, but Jürchedei also routed the *Olon*-Dongqayit. Having routed them, as he pressed forward, Qori-Shilemün-taishi attacked him with the thousand bodyguards. When Jürchedei had also repulsed and defeated Qori-Shilemün-taishi and was pressing on, Senggüm, without permission from Ong-qan, rushed against him, but was shot in his red cheek. Senggüm fell there and then *from his horse*. When Senggüm fell all the Kereyit turned back and stood around him.

Our *men* defeated them and when the setting sun touched the top of the hill they withdrew, taking back with them Quyildar who had fallen *from his horse* wounded.

Chinggis-qahan moved away from the place where our *men* had fought against Ong-qan; he set out in the evening and halted for the night in a more distant place.

172 *Our men* spent the night standing fast *in battle order*. At daybreak, when they held a roll-call, Öködei, Boroqul and Bo'orchu, these

three were not there. Chinggis-qahan said, "Bo'orchu and Boroqul as true friends have stayed behind with Öködei: whether alive or dead they will not leave one another."

When night came, our *men*, having brought back their geldings *from the grazing ground*, spent the night *in readiness for any event*. Chinggis-qahan said, "If *the enemy* comes after us we will fight," and so they stood fast in battle order.

When the day grew light, they saw a man coming towards them from the rear. As he came closer he turned out to be Bo'orchu. When he arrived Chinggis-qahan said, "Let Eternal Heaven known *my gratitude!*", and he beat his breast.

Bo'orchu said, "When we went to the attack my horse was shot and fell *under me*. I ran on foot and just as I was going *like this*, the Kereyit, having turned back, stood around Senggüm *to protect him;* in the pause of the fight *I noticed* a pack-horse standing *there* whose pack had slipped on its side. I cut off its pack, got on the pack-saddle and came away. I found and followed the tracks left by our *soldiers* when they withdrew *from the battlefield*. In this way I came *here*."

173 Then, a moment later, another man approached. As he was approaching it looked as though *someone else's* legs were dangling under him; still it seemed that there was only one person *riding*. When he finally came, it was Boroqul riding behind Öködei with blood trickling from the corners of his mouth: *that's how* they arrived.

Öködei had been hit by an arrow at the neck artery; as the blood was clotting, Boroqul had sucked the obstructing blood with his mouth and had let it trickle from the corners of the mouth: *that's how* they came.

When Chinggis-qahan saw this, he let tears fall from his eyes and his heart was pained. He speedily had fire prepared, had the

wound cauterized and ordered that drink be sought for Öködei and given to him. "If the enemy comes, we shall fight him!", he said.

Boroqul said, "The dust *raised* by the enemy *has moved* in the opposite direction towards Hula'an-burqat on the southern side of Mau-ündür - rising in a long trail, the dust has moved away in the opposite direction."

To these words *of* Boroqul, *Chinggis-qahan* said: "If *the enemy* comes we will fight him; if the enemy puts us to flight, we will reorganize our troops and we will fight him *again*!" He *then* moved on and, advancing further, marched upstream along the Ulqui-Shilügeljit and reached Dalan-nemürges.

174 After this, Qada'an-daldurqan came, leaving his wife and children. When Qada'an-daldurqan came, he reported Ong-qan's words saying, "When Ong-qan's son Senggüm was hit in his red cheek by an 'uchumaq' arrow and fell *from his horse*, and *the Kereyit* turned back and stood around him, there and then *Ong-qan* said:

'When it would have been better
Not to stir him up,
We did stir him up;
When it would have been better
Not to provoke him,
We did provoke him - and so, alas,
We have been the cause of their driving
A nail into my son's cheek.

We have arrived in time *to save my* son's life, let us *now* rush to the attack again!' Thus he spoke and Achiq-shirun said to him, 'Qan, qan, desist! Begging for a son who was still to come, we made magic strips and uttered *the prayer* "abui babui" - we prayed, begging for him. So at last the son Senggüm was born, let us take care of him! The

majority of the Mongols are on our side, with Jamuqa, with Altan and Quchar. As for the Mongols who have rebelled *against us* and who left with Temüjin, where can they go?

They have but a horse as a mount,
They have but a tree as a shelter.

If they do not come to us *of their own accord*, we shall go, wrap them up like dry horse-dung in one's skirt, and we shall bring them back, those ones!' To these words of Achiq-shirun, Ong-qan said, 'True, if this is so, I fear my son may be worn out. Do not disturb *my* son and take care of him!' Having said this he returned from the battle-field." So spoke *Qada'an-daldurqan*.

175 Then Chinggis-qahan departed from Dalan-nemürges following the course of the river Qalqa downstream, and counted his forces. When the count was made there were two thousand six hundred *men*. With one thousand three hundred *men* Chinggis-qahan moved along the western bank of the Qalqa *while* the Uru'ut and Mangqut moved with one thousand three hundred *men* along the eastern bank of the Qalqa.

They were moving in this way, hunting for provisions as they went, when Quyildar, whose wounds had not yet healed, without paying heed to Chinggis-qahan's warning rushed after the game. He had a relapse and passed away. Chinggis-qahan then buried him on the "Jagged Cliff" of Or-nu'u on the Qalqa.

176 *Chinggis-qahan*, knowing that right in the place where the Qalqa flows into Lake Buyur there stayed the Onggirat *chiefs* Terge, Emel and others, sent to them Jürchedei with the Uru'ut *troops*. When he sent him off he said, "If they say that the Onggirat, from old days,

Live thanks to the good looks
Of their grand-daughters
And the beauty of their daughters,

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

Because he had been sent with this message, *the Onggirat* submitted to Jürchedei. As they had submitted *peacefully,* Chinggis-qahan did not touch anything of theirs.

177 Then, after having obtained the submission of the Onggirat, they left. When they set up camp east of the Tüngge brook, Chinggis-qahan gave Arqai-qasar and Sügegei-Je'ün this verbal message *for Ong-qan*: "We have set up camp east of the Tüngge brook: the grass is good and our horses are gaining strength. Tell this to the qan my father," and *Chinggis-qahan further* said, "O qan my father, for what grievance did you frighten me? If you must frighten me, why don't you frighten in such a way as to let *at least* your poor sons and poor daughters-in-law sleep their fill?

Lowering the couch on which they sat
According to their rank,
Dispersing the smoke *of their tents*
That rose upwards,

why have you frightened them so? O qan my father,

Have you been stirred up
By someone standing at your side?
Have you been roused
By someone coming across?

O qan my father, what did we agree upon, the two of us? At Hula'a-nu'ut Bolda'ut ('Red Hills') of Jorqal-qun did we not say to each other that if

A snake with *venomous* teeth incites us
Against one another, to his
Incitements let us not fall.

Only by explaining eye to eye
We shall believe *each other*!

Did we not agree on this? And now, O qan my father, when you parted from me, did we have an explanation eye to eye? If

A snake with *venomous* fangs
Spreads slander about us, his
Slander let us not accept.
Only by explaining face to face
We shall believe *each other*!

Did we not agree on this? And now, O qan my father, when you separated from me, did we have an explanation face to face? O qan my father, although I am insignificant, I did not give you cause to look for *someone* greater *than I*; although I am bad, I did not give you cause to look for *someone* better *than I*. If a cart with two shafts breaks the second shaft, the ox cannot pull it. And so, was I not also your second shaft? If a cart with two wheels breaks the second wheel, it cannot move. And so, was I not also your second wheel? If one is to speak of former days, after your father Qurchaqus-buyiruq-qan you, being the eldest of forty sons, became qan. When you became qan you killed your two younger brothers Tai-Temür-taishi and Buqa-Temür; your younger brother Erke-qara was going to be killed *too*, but he fled saving his life and went to join Inancha-bilge-qan of the Naiman. Because you had become the killer of your younger brothers, your paternal uncle Gür-qan moved against you. When he came you saved your life by fleeing with a hundred men: you escaped following the Selengge downstream and sneaked through the Qara'un gorge. Then, when you came out of there, you gave your daughter Huja'ur-üjin *in marriage* to Toqto'a of the Merkit to seek prestige. When you got out from the Qara'un gorge you came to my father Yisügei-qan and there and then

said to him, 'Rescue my people from my uncle Gür-qan and restore them to me.' My father Yisügei-qan, being approached by you in that manner, took with him Qunan and Baqaji from the Tayichi'ut and saying, 'I shall rescue and return to you your people,' he marshalled his troops and set out. He pursued Gür-qan, who was at Qurban-telesüt, and twenty or thirty of his men towards Qashin; he rescued and restored your people to you. From there you came to the Black Forest on the Tu'ula *river* and you, O qan my father, became bond-brother of Yisügei-qan. Then, Ong-qan my father, you gratefully said, 'As for the favour of this good action of yours, I will repay your favour *even* to the children of your children - let *only* the protection of Heaven Above and Earth decide *how, and in what measure*!' So you spoke and were grateful.

"After that Erke-qara requested troops from Inancha-bilge-qan of the Naiman and moved against you. When he came you saved your life abandoning your own people and, fleeing with a few men, you went to the gür-qan of the Qara-Kidat on the Chui river, in the country of the Mohammedans. A year had not yet elapsed before you rebelled against the gür-qan and departed once more. Reduced to straits as you went through the country of Ui'ur (=Uiqur) and Tang'ut (=Tangqut), you seized five goats and fed yourself by milking them, and fed yourself by bleeding your camels. You came possessing only a blind yellowish-white horse with a black tail and mane. When I learned that you, O qan my father, had come in such straits, remembering that formerly you and my father Yisügei-qan had declared yourselves sworn brothers, I sent as envoys Taqai and Sükegei to meet you; furthermore, from the steep bank of Bürgi on the Kelüren I in person went to receive you, and we met at Lake Güse'ür. Because you had arrived in *such* straits, I levied contributions and gave them to you. By reason of your former declaration of sworn brotherhood with my father, you and I declared ourselves father and son at the Black Forest on the

Tu'ula. Was it not so?

"That winter I took you into *my* camp and looked after you. When the winter was over and the summer had passed, in the autumn I set out against Toqto'a-beki of the Merkit tribe. I fought with him at Mürüche-se'ül by the Qadiqliq (=Qadingliq) ridge. I chased Toqto'a-beki towards the Barqujin lowland. I plundered the Merkit tribe: I seized many herds, tents and provisions of theirs and gave them all to you, O qan *my* father. Your hunger I did not let last until noon, your leanness I did not let last until the middle of the month.

"Then we made Buyiruq-qan the Güchügür cross the Altai from Soqoq-usun at the Ulaq-taq (mountain); pursuing him we went along the Ürünggü *river* downstream, we caught up with him at Kichil(=Kishil)-bash and destroyed him.

"As we were coming back from there, Kökse'ü-sabraq of the Naiman had arranged his troops at Bayidaraq-belchir and was ready for battle. But, as evening fell, we said, 'We shall fight early tomorrow!', and spent the night in *military* order. *Then* you, O qan my father, had fires lit in the place where you were stationed and during the night moved upstream along the Qara-se'ül. Early next morning, when I looked, you were no longer in your position: you had moved away. I said, 'They certainly treat us like food burned at the sacrifice for the dead,' and I too moved away. Crossing *the river at* the Eder-Altai confluence, I went and set up camp in the Sa'ari steppe.

"Then Kökse'ü-sabraq pursued you and seized the wife and people of Senggüm - everything *of his*. He captured *also* half your people, O qan *my* father, who were staying at Telegetü Pass, with your cattle and provisions. Qudu and Chila'un, the sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit, and their people were with you, but at the time of this engagement they fell away and, leaving you, moved into the Barqujin *lowland* to join their father. Then you, O qan my father, you sent a message

saying, 'I have been robbed of my people by Kökse'ü-sabraq of the Naiman; my son, send me your four champions.' Not thinking like you, I there and then sent you Bo'orchu, Muqali, Boroqul and Chila'un-ba'atur, these four champions, and put the army in combat order. Before my four champions *arrived,* Senggüm had joined battle with Kökse'ü-sabraq at Hula'an-qut; his horse had been hit in the thigh by an arrow and he *himself* was on the point of being captured. At that moment my four champions arrived and saved Senggüm, and they rescued *also your* wife together with *your* people and restored them all *to you.* On that you, O qan my father, gratefully said, 'My son Temüjin, by sending his four champions, has rescued and restored to me my lost people.'

"Now, O qan my father, for what grievance do you reprimand me? For *an explanation of* the nature of your grievance send me *your* messengers. When you send them, send Qulbari-quri and Idürgen. If you do not send both *of them,* send me *at least* the latter."

178 On *hearing* these words, Ong-qan said, "Oh, sinful *that I am:*

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

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

179 Chinggis-qahan also sent the following verbal message to *his* sworn brother Jamuqa: "Because you could not bear the sight of me, you caused a rift between the qan my father and me. *In the past* the one *of us* who got up earlier could drink of the blue cup of the qan

our father. As I got up earlier and drank of it you were jealous. Now you can consume as much as *you like* from the blue cup of the qan my father and drain it!"

Chinggis-qahan also sent the following verbal message to Altan and Quchar: "When you rejected me, you two, did you say that you would leave me openly, or did you say that you would leave me after you had consulted among yourselves? Quchar, when I said that from among us you, as the son of Nekün-taishi, should become qan, you declined. When I said that you, Altan, should then become qan and govern us like your father Qutula-qan had been governing us, you too declined. And, when I said, 'You, Sacha and Taichu, become the qans,' because they were the sons of Bartan-ba'atur (read: Barqaq) from the senior line, I was unable *to obtain their consent.* As my urging you to become qan had no effect, when I was told by you to be the qan I took up the government. Had you become qan, when as vanguard I would have been sent galloping after many foes, *then,* with Heaven's protection, at the time of plundering the enemy people,

Maidens and ladies with beautiful cheeks,
And geldings with fine croups,
I would have brought and
I would have given them to you.
When ordered to drive out
Wild beasts in a battue,
Pressing the animals of the cliffs
Until their forelegs touch,
I would have given them to you.
Pressing the animals of the steep banks
Until their thighs touch,
I would have given them to you.
Pressing the animals of the steppe

Until their bellies touch,
I would have given them to you.

Now, be the good companions of the qan my father, for I fear *people* might say that you get easily tired *of your friends*. Don't let it be said that *your achievements* were *due to* the support of *me*, the cha'ut-quri. And do not let anyone settle at the source of the Three Rivers!" He sent this message.

180 Chinggis-qahan also sent the following verbal message to the younger brother To'oril: "The reason for calling you 'younger brother' is this: *once* Tumbinai and Charaqai-lingqu took with them as captive Oqda-bo'ol. The son of Oqda-bo'ol was Sübegei-bo'ol. The son of Sübegei-bo'ol was Kököchü-kirsa'an. The son of Kököchü-kirsa'an was Yegei-qongtaqar. You, To'oril, are the son of Yegei-qongtaqar. You keep on flattering *Ong-qan* saying, 'I will give you people' - whose *people?* Altan and Quchar are certainly not going to let anybody *else* govern my people! The reason for my calling you 'younger brother' *is that you are*

The threshold slave
Of my great-great-grandfather,
The hereditary door slave
Of my great-grandfather.

This is my message for you."

181 Chinggis-qahan also sent the following verbal message to *his* sworn brother Senggüm: "*Although* I was a son born clothed and you were a son born naked, the qan our father looked after both of us equally, but you, sworn brother Senggüm, drove me out because you were jealous that I might interpose myself between *you and our father*. Now do not cause pain to the heart of the qan our father. In the morning and in the evening, coming in and going out, be of constant

comfort to him. Do not distress and rend the heart of the qan our father - saying, without giving up your earlier intentions and while the qan our father is still alive, that you will become qan. This said, sworn brother Senggüm, send me *your* messengers. When you send them, send me Bilge-beki and Tödö'en. [If you do not send both *of them,*] send *at least* the latter." He send this message. *He also said,* "When they send me messengers, the qan my father should send me two messengers; sworn brother Senggüm should also send two messengers; sworn brother Jamuqa should also send two messengers; Altan should also send two messengers; Quchar should also send two messengers; Achiq-shirun should also send two messengers; Qachi'un should also send two messengers." So he spoke and had these messages conveyed by word of mouth through Arqai-qasar and Sügegei-Je'ün.

When the messages were delivered in this way, Senggüm said, "When would he ever call him 'qan the father'? Wouldn't he rather say 'old murderer'? When would he ever call me 'sworn brother'? Wouldn't he rather say *that I am like* 'Toqto'a the Shaman with the tail of a Sartaq sheep'? I can understand the scheme behind these words *of his:* they are words as a prelude to war. You Bilge-beki and Tödö'en raise the war banner and fatten the horses, there is no *time for* hesitation!"

And so Arqai-qasar returned from Ong-qan, but as the wife and children of Sügegei-Je'ün were there with To'oril, Sügegei-Je'ün did not have the courage to go with Arqai and stayed behind. When Arqai arrived he reported these words *of Senggüm* to Chinggis-qahan.

182 Chinggis-qahan immediately left and set up camp at Lake Baljuna. When he was about to encamp, he met right there the Qorulas of Cho'os-chaqān. These Qorulas surrendered without fighting.

From Alaqush-digit-quri of the Önggüt came the Muslim Asan (=Ḥasan). He was riding a white camel and was driving a thousand wethers along the Ergüne river downstream in order to buy *pelts of*

sables and squirrels. As he drew in to water *his wethers* at Baljuna he met *Chinggis-qahan.*

183 Chinggis-qahan was also watering *his animals* at Baljuna when Qasar, leaving with Ong-qan his wife and his three sons Yegü, Yisüngge and Tuqu, fled with his companions - a few *men* dispossessed of all but their bodies. Saying, "*I will join* my elder brother," he looked for Chinggis-qa'an. He climbed the ridges of Qara'un-jidun, but he could not find him *there;* being in straits he ate hides and sinews and went on, joining Chinggis-qahan at Baljuna.

Chinggis-qahan took Qasar in and rejoiced. They agreed to send messengers to Ong-qan. Through Qali'udar of the Jewüret and Chaqurqan of the Uriangqan he sent a message. He said *to Qali'udar and Chaqurqan,* "Tell the qan *my* father that these are the words of Qasar," and he said:

"I watched for my elder brother
But I lost sight of him;
I looked for him
But could not find his traces;
I called him and my voice
He did not hear.
I am *now* lying, gazing at the stars and
I have a lump of earth as my pillow.

My wife and sons are with *you,* O qan my father. If, hopefully, I get *from you someone I can* trust, I will come *back* to the qan *my* father. Tell him that he (Qasar) sent this message!" He also said *to them,* "We shall move immediately after you and we shall meet at Arqal-geügi on the Kelüren. Don't fail to come!"

Having thus agreed on the time and place of the meeting, Chinggis-qahan sent Qali'udar and Chaqurqan *on their mission.* He

sent Jürchedei and Arqai ahead as scouts, and immediately after he set out from Lake Baljuna together with *the army.* They rode and arrived at Arqal-geügi on the Kelüren.

184 Qali'udar and Chaqurqan reached Ong-qan and gave him the message sent from here (i.e. from Lake Baljuna) *by Chinggis-qahan* saying, "These are Qasar's words." Ong-qan had set up his golden tent and was feasting not suspecting anything. Upon the words of Qali'udar and Chaqurqan, Ong-qan said, "If it is so, let Qasar come!" He *then* said: "I shall send the trusted Itürgen." And he sent him with them.

And so they came, and as they were reaching the appointed place at Arqal-geügi, the envoy Itürgen seeing the presence of a multitude in the distance, turned back and fled. Qali'udar's horse was fast and he caught up *with Itürgen,* but he did not dare to seize him; *instead* going now in front of him, now behind him, he barred his path. Chaqurqan's horse was slow; *coming* behind, from the furthest point an arrow could reach, he hit Itürgen's black gelding with the golden saddle on the tip of its rump, so that it sat *on its haunches.* Qali'udar and Chaqurqan then captured Itürgen and brought him to Chinggis-qahan. Without speaking to Itürgen, *Chinggis-qahan* said, "Take him to Qasar; let Qasar decide!" They took him to Qasar who, without saying a word to Itürgen, cut him down on the spot and left him there.

185 Qali'udar and Chaqurqan said to Chinggis-qahan, "Ong-qan is off his guard: he has set up his golden tent and is feasting. Let us quickly move from here and, travelling through the night, let us strike at him by surprise and surround him!"

Chinggis-qahan approved their words and sent Jürchedei and Arqai ahead as scouts. They travelled through the night and having reached *Ong-qan's camp,* which was at the Jer-qabchiqai Pass of the Jeje'er Heights, they surrounded it.

They fought three nights and three days, but as *the Kereyit* were surrounded, on the third day they could not *hold out any longer* and surrendered. Ong-qan and Senggüm escaped during the night - how *they did it* was not known. One who fought *bravely* was Qadaq-ba'atur of the Jirgin. When he came out to surrender, Qadaq-ba'atur said, "We fought three nights and three days. When I looked at my rightful master I said to myself, 'How can I let him be seized and killed?', and, unable to cause his death, I led the struggle and fought so that he could save his life and go far away. Now, if I am killed, I will die, but if Chinggis-qahan shows mercy on me, I will serve him."

Chinggis-qahan approved Qadaq-ba'atur's words and said: "He who is unable to make away with his rightful master and fights so that *his master* can save his life and go far away, is he not a brave man? He is a man to have as one's companion." And granting him mercy he did not have him killed. "Because Quyildar *lost* his life, Qadaq-ba'atur and one hundred Jirgin must serve Quyildar's wife and children. If boys are born to them, they must in the same way serve Quyildar's *descendants* to the offspring of his offspring. If girls are born to them, their parents must not betroth them according to their own wishes, for *their daughters* must be servants and attend to Quyildar's wife and children." He gave this order and granted him mercy.

As Quyildar had been the first to speak, Chinggis-qahan favoured him by giving the following order: "Because of Quyildar's services, Quyildar's *descendants* to the offspring of his offspring will receive the bounty granted to orphans." So he decreed.

(To be continued)

COMMENTARY*

(For the abbreviations used in the Commentary see *PFEH* 4 [September 1971].151-152, and 5 [March 1972].175)

170 "When he received this information," lit. "Being so told (=informed)." "His baggage," lit. "all his things (=effects, possessions)" (*ya'u ke-ben*). Mau(=Ma'u)-ündür, an as yet unidentified mountain near the river Khalkha in eastern Mongolia; according to Perlee, p.11, it is situated near this river and the river Nömrög (=Nömörge), i.e. the Numurgin Gol of our maps (47° N. lat. and 119° E. long.). Jelme-qo'a must not be confused with Jelme, the son of Jarchi'udai, who was also an Uriangqan (see §97). On this, otherwise unknown, Jelme-qo'a and his name, see Pelliot-Hambis, p.138. The Qalaqaljit Sands (*elet*) must have been a sandy plain somewhere further to the south of the Khalkha river. Qalaqaljit is perhaps an error for Qalaljit or Qalaljin. See *ibid.*, p.46, and Ligeti, p.160, n.170. Perlee, p.10, reads this name as Qara Qaljid and suggests that it must refer to a place south of the confluence of the Nömrög and Khalkha rivers, where there are to this day various sandy areas such as Khuučdyn Els, Kuran Els, Udaart Els and Moïlt Els. Professor Poppe deals with this locality in his article "On Some Geographical Names," p.41 (no.11). His conclusion is that "it must be somewhere near the Khalkha and Ulkhui rivers which are on the frontier of Outer Mongolia and Manchuria." Alchidai, a nephew of Chinggis-qan, was the son of his younger brother Qachi'un. For a discussion of the variant readings of the names of the two horseherds see Ligeti, p.160, n.170; Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*, II, p.134, n.6. *Jüyil-e jüyil-e* has been variously translated as "par groupes" (Pelliot), "jeder seines Weges" (Haenisch), "from place to place" (Kozin), "chacun de son côté" (Mostaert), "one after the other" (Ligeti), "while on the way" (Naka), "each one" (Murakami). Pelliot's translation, which agrees also with the Chinese gloss (*i-lu i-lu* 一路一路, where *lu* means "group"; cf. Mongolian *jüyil* [>*jüil*], idem) is

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*Please note that henceforth the following transcription will be used for Khalkha Mongolian: *a,b,v,g,d,ye,yo,ž,z,i,ï,k,l,m,n,o,ö,p,r,s,t, u,ü,f,kh,c,č,š,šč,y,',e,yu,ya*.

in my view the correct one. "On the fresh grass," lit. "in the green(ery)" (*noqo'an-tur*). "In pursuit," lit. "after *them*" (*qoyinacha*). Hula'an-burqat (-buruqat in the text) means "Red Willows"; for a discussion of this name see Ligeti, p.160, n.170. As stated in the text, it was the name of a place on the south side of the Ma'u-ündür mountain. The whole passage from the beginning of §170 to *genet büle'ei* is translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.82-90. On the Uru'ut (Urūt) and the Mangqut see above, n.130, and Ligeti, *loc. cit.* "Their battle array holds," *lit.* "their battle array (*toyi*) is suitable (=holds)." The term *toyi*, which I render as "battle array" following the Chinese gloss (陳勢), corresponds to Turkish *toy* "camp." (*Drevnetyurkskiĭ slovar'*, p.572a; *Etymological Dictionary*, p.566b; cf. Pelliot in *TP* XXXVII [1943].65, n.1). In view of this, Professor N. Poppe (personal communication) understands the Mongol sentence as follows: "Each time they surround (circumvene), [their] camp holds." He points out also that *AT* (I, 130, line 5) renders *toyi* with *töb*(*tüb*) "center", which could be the same as "camp, headquarters." In the next sentence "Every time they wheel round," the expression "wheel round" (*derelgü*) refers to the well-known technique of the Mongol army to feign retreat and then return to the attack from the sides. See, e.g.,Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, p.36. "Their ranks hold" - here, again, I follow the Chinese gloss which translates *dem* as "ranks" (次序); however, *dem* in Classical Mongolian means "aid, help, assistance." Professor Poppe, therefore, renders this sentence as follows: "Each time they retreat (?), help (i.e. reinforcement) holds." The Jirgin (or Chirkin) tribe to which Qadaq belonged was a subtribe of the Kereit; see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.56, 398. Later, at the time of John of Pian di Carpine's visit to Güyüg (1246), there was at the Mongol court a (Kereit?) chancellor by the same name who was a Nestorian Christian like his colleague, the famous Kereit Chingqai. See Pelliot in *TP* XV (1914).628. "In support" (*gejige*), i.e. in the rearguard, as reserve. On the Tümen-Tübegen and the Olon-Dongqayit see n.150. On the name Qori-Shilemün see Pelliot-Hambis, p.62; for the title *taishi* see *ibid.*, p.150. "Less capable," lit. "on the other side of (*or* beyond) me" (*naḏacha chinaru*), i.e. "he cannot reach me." "Not much of a companion is he!" renders *chaq-tu nökör buyu*, lit. "He is a one time (=occasional *or* temporary, i.e. fickle, unreliable) companion;" *chaq-tu* is glossed in Chinese as "middling" (*cho-chung* 酌中), i.e. nothing remarkable. Cf. *SH* §245 (*YCPS* 10, 41b) where the same term is rendered as "common, mediocre" (*p'ing-teng* 平等) in the free

sectional summary. Cf. also T. Kobayashi's remarks in *Tōyō Gakuhō* XXXII, 4 (April 1950).88. "To be on his guard," lit. "saying that the sworn brother must be on his guard." The passage within angle brackets <> is missing in the *SH*, but is preserved in *AT*, I, 131. See Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des Mongols, Texte en écriture ouigoure incorporé dans la chronique Altan tobči de Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin, Mon. linguae mong. collecta* VI (Budapest, 1974; hereafter *SHA*), p.130; cf. Shastina, p.144. "From this I realized," lit. "When (*or* if) one thinks, *one realizes* from this" (*e'über uqa'asu*).

171 Jürchedei, the chief of the Uru'ut, and his tribesmen had separated earlier from Jamuqa and had joined Chinggis-qan. See §130. According to §46, the Uru'ut and Mangqut clans descended from Uru'udai and Mangqutai, sons of Nachin-ba'atur. Nachin-ba'atur was the brother of Qachi-külük, lineal ancestor of Chinggis-qan. Thus Menen-tüdün, father of Nachin-ba'atur and Qachi-külük, was the common ancestor of Chinggis-qan and Jürchedei. It is no doubt on account of the latter's age and seniority that Chinggis calls him "uncle" (*ebin*). "Could open his mouth," lit. "made a sound." Quyildar, the leader of the Mangqut, had also separated from Jamuqa at the same time as Jürchedei (see §130, where he is called Quyuldar). Part of the Mangqut tribesmen had joined Chinggis-qan even earlier. See §120. Quyildar had been given the appellation of Sechen, "the Wise," by Chinggis and the two had become *anda*, i.e. sworn brothers. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.167-169; Ligeti, p.160, n.170; Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*, II, pp.139-140, n.18; and below, n.175. "Turned back and stayed around Quyildar *to protect him*": the expression *de'ere eke'er-*, lit. "to return over *someone*," is apparently a military expression meaning for soldiers to turn back and gather around a wounded comrade to protect him. The Chinese free summary paraphrases as follows: "The Mangqut troops turned back and stood where Quyildar had fallen from the horse" (*YCPS* 6, 10b). "Turned back and stood around him," lit. "turned back and stood over Senggüm;" "touched the top of the hill," lit. "hit (*tashin*) the top of the hill;" "in a more distant place," lit. "separating" (*qaqachan*).

172 Öködei (=Ögödei), mentioned here for the first time, was Chinggis' third son (the reading with *-k-* occurs only in §§172 and 173; elsewhere it is Ögödei). He was born in 1186, was elected emperor (*qaghan*) on 11 or 13 September 1229 and died on 11 December 1241 of alcoholism. On him see Pelliot-Hambis, p.10 *et passim*. Therefore, when the events related in this section took place (1203),

Ögödei was only seventeen years old. Boroqul and Bo'orchu were two of the "four champions" (*dörben külü'üt*). See §163. "They will not leave one another," lit. "how will they separate?" "Let Eternal Heaven know *my gratitude!*": *tenggeri medetügei*, lit. "let Heaven know *or* decide!" = "let Heaven take care of this!", was the usual phrase used by the medieval Mongols when they wanted to thank Heaven, or take Heaven as witness of an oath, a promise, a threat. See Mostaert and Cleaves, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Arγun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel*, pp.47-48. As noted by Ligeti, p.161, n.172, these words were accompanied by a ritual beating of the breast with the fist to establish communication with the supernatural powers. On particular and solemn occasions other acts of submission to, and reverence for, Heaven were performed. See §103 and note. "The Kereyit, having turned back, stood around Senggüm": for this expression see above, n.171.

173 In this paragraph we have a description of the Mongols' treatment of arrow wounds, which included cauterization. To suck the blood and let the wound bleed freely so as to become clean was the first therapeutic act, as seen already in §145. "The dust *raised* by the enemy... in the opposite direction": for this sentence see Mostaert, p.90, n.86. For Ulqui-Shilügeljit and Dalan-nemürges see my note to §153 (where, however, "117° E. long." is a misprint for "119° E. long.").

174 Qada'an-daldurqan has already been mentioned in §120 among those who had joined Chinggis when he first parted company with Jamuqa. It seems that he had subsequently joined Ong-qan. "Wife and children," *or* "wife and child" (*ene kö'ün*); see below, n.185. The *uchumaq* (see also §208) was a type of arrow, almost certainly the "long arrow with three points" (*san-chien p'i-tzu* 三尖鈚子. During the Ch'ing dynasty the *p'i* 鈚 designated an arrow with a long shaft [99.2 cm.] and with a thin and broad iron arrow-head 9.6 cm. long. See Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai kanwa jiten*, No.40234, with illustration. However, I think that here *p'i-tzu* designates only a long-shaft arrow) listed in the *Chih-yüan i-yü* 至元譯語 (Jap. ed. of 1699 based on the Yüan ed. of 1325), 56a (this page should logically follow p.54b), the Mongol equivalent of which is given as *o-ts'ao-ma* 遏曹馬 **ó-tsau-ma*. The term *uchumaq* probably derives from Old Turkish *uchmaq* "to fly." The poetical passage beginning "When it would have been better," is translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.90-92; cf. Ligeti, p.161, n.174. "We have arrived in time (*erüsün*) *to save*": for this use of the verb *erüs-* see the passage in §145 discussed in Mostaert, p.62 and n.56. "A son who was still to come," lit.

"a son who was 'at the back' (*echine*, i.e. out of sight, absent)," in other words "not yet born." "We made magic strips" (*elbesün jalama kijü*): the words *elbesün jalama* are not glossed in the Chinese interlinear text (*YCPS* 6, 16b). However, as pointed out by Murakami (*Mongoru hishi*, II, p.151, n.11), *elbesün* is undoubtedly Written Mongolian *ilbi* (Ordos *ilbe, elbe*) "magic" + the denominal noun suffix *-sun/-sün*. See Lessing, p.402b; Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, p.381b. As for *jalama*, they were coloured ribbons attached to tree branches and consecrated animals, and placed on tombs and sacred places as part of the shamanistic ritual for the worship and invocation of spirits. See Lessing, p.1030a; Mostaert, *op.cit.*, p.182a. The expression *abui babui* is also not glossed in the text. Ligeti, p.161, n.174, referring to the Nestorianism of the Kereits, is of the opinion that these words are "the distorted initial words of some Syriac prayer". I think Ligeti is right regarding the prayer and I wonder whether *abui babui* may not be a corruption of the words *aba baba*: *aba* meaning "father" in Syriac and *baba* meaning "father" in Turkish (as well as in Arabic and Persian - the word has passed also into Modern Syriac as *bàbâ*, see J. Dauvillier in P.Pelliot, *Recherches sur les chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient* [Paris, 1973; actual year of publication: 1976], p.101). This could then be an invocation to God the Father in both Syriac and Turkish - quite plausible in view of the Nestorian-Turkish cultural background of the Kereits - identical to that which we find in *Romans* 8, 15: "The Spirit you have received is not a spirit of slavery leading you back into a life of fear, but a Spirit that makes us sons, enabling us to cry 'Abba! Father!'" As other scholars have already pointed out, it is evident from the *SH* that the Nestorian-Christian faith of the Kereit ruling family was very much imbued with shamanistic elements. The same faith as practiced later at the Mongol court in Qara-Qorum was regarded as a debased form of Christianity by William of Rubruck. On this question see J. Dauvillier in *L'Orient syrien* II (1957).223-242, and Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p.136 ff. "On our side," lit. "with us." "Like dry horse-dung": the reference is, of course, to the dry dung collected for use as fuel (argol, argal). For the word *junda'ul* (=Preclassical Mongolian *jundaghul*, as in *AT*, I, 136 *ju[n]daghul*), cf. Written Mongolian *jungghagh* "dirt; excrement of a baby or young animal" (Lessing,p.1079b). This word is related to Old Turkish *yundaq* "horse dung," on which see Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p.947a.

175 With regard to Chinggis-qan's forces after Dalan-nemürges which,

according to the *SH* amounted to only 2,600 men, Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, p.185, says that they were 4,600. The discrepancy is discussed by Ligeti, p.161, n.175, who thinks Rashīd's figure is exaggerated. As he points out, Chinggis' army must have been scanty and poorly equipped since it had to provide its food supply by hunting while on the march. For Quyildar see above, n.171; on his burial see the interesting article by Akira Harayama 原山煌 "Kuirudaru no sōsō クイルダルの葬送" ("Kuyildar's Burial") in *Shirin* LVII (1974).384-403. "Jagged Cliff" is the literal translation of "Keltegei Qada"; Or-nu'u was probably the name of a place (*nu'u* is the "nook," or dry ground, in the winding of a river; cf. Lessing, p.594b, s.v. *nuγu*) in a bend of the river Khalkha (Qalqa). The place has not been identified. On the Khalkha, mentioned for the first time in the *SH* in this paragraph, see Hambis, "Survivance de toponymes," pp.29-30.

176 On Lake Buyur, the modern Buir-nor, in the Mongol and Chinese sources, see Pelliot in *TP* XXXVII (1943).53, n.3; Hambis, *op. cit.*, pp.28-29. The Onggirat was the well-known tribe of eastern Mongolia to which Chinggis' father-in-law belonged (see §61). For this tribe, besides Pelliot-Hambis, p.402 ff., see also Ligeti, p.162, n.176. The chiefs "Terge, Amel," the latter to be read almost certainly "Emel," may actually be one chief called Terge-Amel (Emel). See Mostaert, p.94, n.89; cf. Ligeti in *Collectanea Mongolica. Festschrift für Professor Dr. Rintchen zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1966), p.135, n.18. Jürchedei was the chief of the Uru'ut, not of the Mangqut as is stated in F.W. Cleaves, "The Historicity of the Balǰuna Convenant," *HJAS* XVIII (1955).389. For the poetical passage in this section cf. §64. "Because he had been sent with this message": my rendering of this passage is somewhat free in order to make it more readable in English. For a literal translation and discussion of the whole §176 see Mostaert, pp.92-95.

177 The Tüngge brook (*goroqan,* a little further on *qor[o]qan*) - an unidentified stream near the Onggirat camp close to the Buir-nor and the river Khalkha. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.386. "Gave... this verbal message," lit. "caused to take (=gave) voice (i.e. verbal information, message)" (*dawu bari'ulurun*). Arqai-qasar and Sükegei-Je'ün had been sent earlier by Chinggis-qan as envoys to Jamuqa and to Ong-qan (see §§127, 151); their role as trusted envoys is specifically referred to in §124, where Chinggis is made to say to Arqai-qasar, Taqai, Sükegei and Cha'urqan: "Be my far-flying shafts, Be my near-flying arrows!" - the arrow

being, as is known, not only a simile for a courier or envoy (*elchi*), but the actual credential of the bearer. See the important article by H. Serruys, "A Note on Arrows and Oaths Among the Mongols," *JAOS* LXXVIII (1958).279-294. The passage beginning with the words "O qan my father" and ending with "coming across" is translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.95-98. I render Mongolian *ma'u* (Written Mongolian *maghu*) with "poor". See Ligeti, p.162, n.177. The "sons" and "daughters-in-law" are, of course, Chinggis-qan's close relatives - his brothers and sisters-in-law - who are also related to Ong-qan through the bond of brotherhood between him and Yisügei. What Chinggis-qan means is that if Ong-qan has a grievance against him, he should "frighten," i.e. reprimand or punish, only him and leave the other members of Chinggis' family in peace. "The couch on which they sat according to their rank" renders Mongolian *ding sa'ugui iseri*. The word *ding* is not clear. Albeit with strong reservations I take it to be a borrowing from Chinese *teng* 等 "grade, rank, kind," this word being in fact transcribed as *ding* in Preclassical Mongol documents. See, for example, *HJAS* XII (1949).108, n.71. Thus, *ding sa'u-* would mean "to sit according to one's rank or dignity." For other interpretations of *ding* see Mostaert, p.97, n.92 ("au même niveau"); Ligeti, p.162, n.177 ("highly"); Haenisch, *Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen,* p.65 ("immer"); Pelliot, *Histoire secrète des Mongols,* p.188 ("bas"). The Mongolian term for "smoke" is a word I have read as *hüni,* as in Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p.58 (cf. also *JA* CCVI [1925].238, No.69), and Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des Mongols,* p.131, instead of *huni*, as in Mostaert, p.95, on the strength of the reading *üni* of *AT*, II, 27, l.3, and the "*kini*" in l.2, an obvious clerical error for *üni*, not *uni*. However, I am no longer certain that the reading *hüni* is correct. In a personal communication Professor Poppe has pointed out to me that "smoke, fog" is *uniŋ* in Buriat and that Written Mongolian has *uniyar* "fog, mist"; moreover, the *AT* text is frequently unreliable. According to Professor Poppe the word in question is back-vocalic. The reading *huni* is, therefore, preferable. To return to our passage, as correctly pointed out by Ligeti, *loc. cit.*, the meaning of these two lines is: you want to destroy the respect they command (figuratively, the elevated couch on which they sit), as well as their homes (the smoke of their tents). "Have you been stirred up (lit. pricked)... Have you been roused...," i.e. did someone cause discord between you and me? The idea of pricking is associated in Mongolian with the manoeuvres of a man who sows discord between two friends. See Mostaert, p.98, n.93. Cf. the beginning

of §127 where the same idea is expressed. The "Hula'an-nu'ut Bolda'ut of Jorqal-qun," or "Red Hills of the Deer(?) Cliff," is the same place called "Hula'an-qut," or "Red Cliffs," in §163. This locality has not been identified (see my note to §163). For the earlier agreement between Ong-qan and Chinggis-qan see §164; the wording in §177 is slightly different. "Although I am insignificant...": I translate *chö'en*, lit. "few, not numerous," as "insignificant," and *olon*, lit. "many, numerous," as "greater." For a literal translation of this passage see Mostaert, p.100. For the events relating to Ong-qan's earlier life which Chinggis-qan is recollecting cf. §§150-152. "You gave...to seek prestige" renders *ni'urqan ökchü*. The verb *ni'urqa-* (from *ni'ur* "face" + denom. verbal suffix *-rqa-*) is apparently not attested elsewhere. The Chinese interlinear translation is *t'ung mien-pi* 通面皮, which I take to mean "to have (or establish) 'face' relations," i.e. to do a favour (lit. "face") to someone in return for a (future) favour from him. The sectional summary (*YCPS* 6, 32b) says only "offered to, presented to" (獻與), leaving *ni'urqan* untranslated, and on the basis of this version Haenisch translated *ni'urqan* as "as a present" (cf. his *Wörterbuch*, p.118 "als Geschenk?"). Pelliot did not know what to make of this word and left a blank in his translation. Kozin takes it to be the same as Written Mongolian *nighurchilan* "ingratiating himself," and he was followed by Damdinsüren who rendered it as *bildauchilan* "flattering." Ligeti takes *ni'urqan* to mean "as a pleasure girl" (örömlánynak),i.e. a concubine, I am not sure on what grounds - *ni'ur* "face, appearance" = "sexual pleasure"? Professor Poppe writes (personal communication): "The verbs in *-rqa-* (with loss of final stem-consonant) usually mean 'to have too much of something,' e.g. *omorqa-* 'to be boastful,' from *omogh* 'arrogance, pride'; *iderke-* 'to be energetic, to have too much energy,' from *ide* 'energy'; etc. *Ni'urqa-* must mean 'to have too much of a face,' and this may mean two things: 1) 'to take care of one's face (in order not to lose it); to be concerned about one's prestige,' and 2) 'to have too much of a face, i.e. to pretend to be something; to be subservient, servile, to flatter.' I think that Damdinsüren and Kozin are right: he gave his daughter in order to please the other man, i.e. he gave her for ulterior reasons, in order to obtain favours, etc. At the present time *nighurqa-* is unknown." Recently, however, I learned from the Reverend H. Serruys that in Fr. Mostaert's copy of Pelliot's *Histoire secrète des Mongols* there is a handwritten note: *ni'urqa-* "to seek face, prestige," with a reference to *SH* §188: *usurqa-* "to seek water." In rendering *ni'urqan* I have

followed Fr. Mostaert's suggestion, although for the reasons stated above there is a strong possibility that *ni'urqa-* may have also meant "to curry favour" - perhaps both these concepts are implied in this verb. The Qunan mentioned in this section is apparently a Tayichi'ut and is, therefore, a different person from the Qunan of the Geniges tribe first mentioned in §122. Neither he nor Baqaji are known. According to Perlee, p.8, Qurban-telesüt corresponds to present-day Gurvan Teel on the Orkhon at 47° N. lat. and 101° E. long. Pelliot unfortunately has not discussed the name and location of this place, which is also mentioned in the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 39b (as the "Talasu Wilderness [*or* Steppe]"), and in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.127 (as "Qurban-telesüt [*or* -talasut]"). Cf. Pelliot-Hambis, pp.225-226 and 265. Perlee's identification is only due, I think, to a phonetic similarity between Qurban-telesüt and Gurvan Teel; however, in view of Yisügei's pursuit of Gür-qan in the direction of Qashin (the "Qashīn" on p.61 of *PFEH* XIII [1976] is a typing error for "Qashin"), which corresponds to the Tangut state of Hsi-Hsia in north China (see §150, n.), one must look for Qurban-telesüt further to the south. This locality should not be confused with the Tersüt=Dersüt at the beginning of §150. "Let *only* the protection of Heaven Above ...": for this formula cf. §163 *in fine*. On Erke-qara and Inancha-bilge-qan see §151 and note; on the Qara-Kidat (=Qara-Kitat), the Sarda'ul (=Sarta-'ul) or Mohammedans, etc. see §152 and note. On Taqai and Sükegei (i.e. Sükegei-Je'ün) see §§120, 124 and note. On the "steep bank of Bürgi" (Bürgi-ergi) see note 96; it is evident from §§151 and 177 that this place was situated at the sources of the Kerulen river. The campaign against Toqto'a of the Merkit at the conclusion of which Ong-qan failed to share the plunder with Chinggis-qan, is mentioned in §157 *s.a.* 1202, but only Ong-qan figures in it, as Chinggis was then fighting against the Tatars. This campaign was, however, preceded by a joint campaign, in which also Jamuqa participated, against Toqto'a to rescue Börte, Chinggis-qan's wife, who had been captured by the Merkits, but this took place before Ong-qan's flight from Erke-qara and Chinggis' break-away from Jamuqa. The chronology of these events is confused and, as already pointed out by Pelliot, there may have been other campaigns against the Merkits that have been conflated into the two mentioned in the *SH*. See my note to §157. As for the locality of the encounter Mürüche-se'ül (?Murucha-se'ül, ?Muruchaq-se'ül) near the Qadiqliq (=Qadingqliq) ridge or mountain (*niru'un*), it must have been situated towards the Selenga and "il peut s'agir d'une steppe touchant aux montagnes à l'Est de Kiakhta" (Pelliot-

Hambis, p.273). According to Perlee, p.10, this as yet unidentified place was south of the confluence of the Selenga and the Khilok, on the left bank of the Selenga. Cf. Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*, II, p.171, n.10. "Provisions," lit. "grain, crops" (*tariyat*). For the campaign against Buyiruq-qan "the Güchügür" (Güchügürtei), i.e. of the Güchügüt clan of the Naiman, see §158 and note. For the events at Bayidaraq-belchir and Ong-qan's troop withdrawal under cover of night, see §§159-161. For Kökse'ü-sabraq'a attack on Senggüm and Chinggis-qan's dispatch of the "four champions" see §§162-163. For the Telegetü Pass (*amasar*) see my note to §136. However, I should have pointed out that *amasar* is literally an "opening *or* passage," and that this term can, therefore, be equally applied to an embouchure or mouth of a valley. The two envoys requested by Chinggis were Qulbari-quri and Idürgen. Qulbari (*quri* is a title, see §134 and n.) has already appeared in §152 among the nobles and brothers of Ong-qan who had conspired against him. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.419-420. Idürgen (=Itürgen) reappears again and for the last time - he is executed by Qasar - in §184. On him see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.379-380. The parallel versions of Chinggis' reproaches addressed to Ong-qan in the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 38a-43a, and in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp. 127-129 (cf. D'Ohsson, I, pp.73-77) are at variance with the *SH*. See L. Hambis, "Un épisode mal connu de l'histoire de Gengis-khan," *Journal des Savants* (Jan.-Mars 1975).38-39, n.59; Ligeti, pp.162-163, n.177.

178 "Oh, sinful *that I am*" renders Mongolian *ai soyiluq*. These two words are not glossed in the interlinear translation, but the sectional summary (*YCPS* 6,34a) translates this passage as "Ong-qan, having heard these words, sighed and said..." *Ai* is, of course, an interjection expressing fear, sorrow, etc., but *soyiluq* poses a problem, as this word is not attested elsewhere that I know in Mongolian and clearly was a puzzle also for the Ming translators. Murakami (*Mongoru hishi*, II, p.173, n.13) relates it to Written Mongolian *sülе-* "to be short of breath; to sniff, sniffle" (Lessing, p.742a) which is, however, a front-vocalic word. I think that *soyiluq* corresponds to Old Turkish *suylugh~tsuylugh* "sinful" (<Ch. *tsui* 罪 "sin, crime" + suff. *-lugh*). In view of the Nestorian-Turkish background of the Kereit chief, the use of such a borrowed term is perfectly plausible. On the Turkish term see *Drevnetyurkskiĭ slovar'*, pp.513b, 583b; Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p.556a. "By abandoning my son...": a literal translation of the poetical passage would be, "To abandon my son?/*So I did, and thereby* I abandoned the norm./

To part from him?/*So I did, and thereby* I parted from my duty." See Mostaert, p.101; cf. A. Waley in *BSOAS* XXIII (1960).527. On the symbolic ceremony of pricking one's finger when making a solemn oath see Serruys, *op. cit.*, p.288ff.

179 "Chinggis-qahan also sent the following verbal message to his sworn brother Jamuqa," lit. "Chinggis-qahan, saying 'Tell sworn brother Jamuqa,' said: ... he sent saying." "You could not bear the sight of me," a literal rendering of *üjen yadaju*, means of course "you hated me"; cf. Russian *nenavidet'*, lit. "not to look willingly at" = "to hate." The "blue cup," in Mongolian *kökö chung* (probably from Chinese *chung* 鐘 "cup, goblet"; see Doerfer, No.186) was, according to the sectional summary (*YCPS* 6, 37b), the cup used by Ong-qan to drink mare's milk, i.e. kumys. Cf. *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 45a; Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.130; Murakami, *op. cit.*, p.181, n.1. Blue ware of Chinese manufacture was used by the Mongols, as evident from archaeological finds at Qara-Qorum. See E.D. Phillips, *The Mongols* (London, 1969), p.99. Large blue chinaware is still used today in Mongolia for kumys ready to be served. On Altan and Quchar see my note to §166. The passage "When you rejected me...after you had consulted among yourselves?" is translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.101-102. With regard to Chinggis' claim that he had urged Altan and Quchar to assume the leadership of the Mongols, we must remember that Nekün-taishi was an elder brother of Chinggis' father Yisügei and that Quchar was, therefore, a senior cousin of Chinggis-qan. Altan was the son of Qutula-qan and was thus a cousin of Yisügei; that is why Chinggis calls him also "uncle Altan." See §122 and note. When these reproaches were made Sacha and Taichu had already been dead for some time. "The sons of Bartan-ba'atur" is a mistake for "the sons of Barqaq(-ba'atur?)." The same error occurs in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.130 - a fact that may have its significance, but which I cannot discuss at present. Barqaq is Ökin-barqaq, the eldest son of Qabul-qan. Sacha and Taichu were actually the grandsons of Ökin-barqaq (Bartan-ba'atur was their grand-uncle), but the term "sons" here means simply "offspring." They belonged, therefore, to the senior line of descent from Qabul-qan. See §136 and note. "*Then* with Heaven's protection," lit. "if Heaven had protected me." The poetical passage in this section repeats in the first person the ideas expressed by Altan, Quchar and Sacha-beki at the time of the election of Temüjin as reported in §123. "Now be the good companions...": cf. the same words addressed to Altan and Quchar in §127. "You get easily tired" (*uyidangga*): cf. §118, where the same expression is used with reference to Jamuqa - in both cases the meaning is that the

loyalty of the persons in question cannot be relied upon. In the next sentence Chinggis-qan refers to himself as the "cha'ut-quri," a variant, and probably incorrect, reading of "ja'ut-quri," the title that he had been given by Wan-yen Hsiang of Chin. See §134 and note. My interpretation of this passage, which reads literally "don't let it be said that you were *only* the support (*turuq*) of the ch'aut-quri",is based on the paraphrase in the Chinese sectional summary (*YCPS* 6, 38a; cf. Waley, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, p.269) and on the parallel passage in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.130. What Chinggis-qan means is that Altan and Quchar must not, through their behaviour, confirm the rumour that their past achievements were due to the help of Chinggis, on whom they entirely depended, and that without him they are worthless fellows. For the term *turuq* "support" see my note to §167. "Do not let anyone settle at the source of the Three Rivers," i.e. in the ancestral territory of the Mongols - a reminder to Altan and Quchar that although they now sided with Ong-qan of the Kereit, they were still Mongol tribesmen of royal lineage, duty-bound to protect and preserve the ancestral land in the region where the "three rivers" (Onon, Tula and Kerulen) take their source, namely the Khentei region. Cf. the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 44a, and *YS* 1, 12a.

180 The To'oril to whom Chinggis-qan addresses his reproaches is To'oril of the Söge'en tribe (Söge'etei To'oril) of §166. He was a descendant of domestic slaves of Chinggis' family. Being born in the family, To'oril had received the affectionate title of "younger brother." On Tumbinai and Charaqai-lingqu see §§47 and 48. Tumbinai-sechen was the father of Qabul-qan and therefore the great-grandfather of Chinggis. As for Charaqai-lingqu, he was the second son of Qaidu and father of Ambaqai-qan. Chinggis must refer to a raid or campaign in Mongolia carried out by his great-grandfather and Charaqai-lingqu in which Oqda, the ancestor of To'oril, was taken prisoner and whose descendants then became hereditary slaves of Qabul-qan's descendants. Cf. Hambis, "Un épisode," p.39, n.61. Oqda-bo'ol, lit. Oqda the Slave. "Threshold slave...hereditary door slave": see §137 and note. Cf. also Ligeti, p.163, n.180.

181 "A son born clothed... a son born naked," i.e. an adopted son and a natural son. Bilge-beki has already been mentioned in §142; Tödö'en's identity is uncertain and he does not seem to be related to any of the known personages by the same name. The Mongol text literally reads: "send me the companions of the two Bilge-beki and Tödö'en" (*Bilge-beki Tödö'en qoyar-un nököd-i ilē*), which is

odd. Pelliot renders this passage as "Ceci dit, *anda* Sänggüm, [envoie-moi] les deux, Bilgä-bäki et Tödö'än; [si tu n'envoies pas les deux], envoie [du moins] le second." (*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p.193). Note 1 on the same page reads: "Faire note sur correction." Pelliot's emendation has no doubt been prompted by the parallel text of Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.131, and the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, p.46a. The ms. of the *SH* used by the Ming translators was almost certainly corrupted at this point and the word *nököji* "the second one" was misread by them as *nököd-i*; cf. the identical phrase at the end of §177. I have, therefore, also amended the passage in question in my translation. In this paragraph Altan and Quchar are mentioned for the last time as being alive. Concerning their fate, the *SH* §246 makes Chinggis-qan say to Mönglik that if he had known that his (Mönglik's) nature was like that, i.e. that he wanted to compete with Chinggis-qan, he would have dealt with him as he had dealt with "Jamuqa, Altan, Quchar and the like of them" - implying, of course, that he would have killed him. Cf. also §255. That Chinggis eventually killed "uncle" Altan is also confirmed by Rashīd al-Dīn, who states that he was executed together with Dāritai and Quchar after the defeat of Tayang of the Naiman in 1204. See Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, p.135; I/2, pp.47, 48. Cf. Pelliot-Hambis, p.68. However, the *SH* piously avoids any direct mention of Chinggis' murder of his uncles and in §242 says that Dāritai was actually pardoned. Cf. Hambis, "Un épisode," pp.16, nn.26, 27; 19, n.34. Achiq-shirun has already been mentioned in §170 as the leader of the Tümen-Tübegen. Qachi'un is probably the Qachi'un-beki of §141 and 166, a chief of the Dörben. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.402. "Had these messages conveyed by word of mouth," lit. "sent such words, making them deliver by voice"; "when the messages," lit. "when those words." "Toqto'a the Shaman with the tail of a Sartaq sheep," lit. "Toqto'a the Shaman goes attaching the tail of a Sartaq sheep": this must be a proverb or popular saying the meaning of which was no longer understood at the end of the 14th century, at least by the Ming translators of the *SH*, as evident from the sectional summary which does not provide an explanation. The parallel passage in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.131, is also of no help. Another reference in the *SH* to a tail being attached to a human being is found in §275, where we read that Harqasun, the son of Eljigidei, speaking contemptuously of Batu said: *modun se'ül jübchiya (=jübchiye) teden-i* "let us attach a wooden tail to him," i.e. in mockery (Büri had earlier referred to Batu as "a bearded old woman"). I think that the idea expressed by Senggüm is probably along the same lines - something deserving to be laughed at, something ridiculous like a shaman

wearing a sheep's tail, Toqto'a the Shaman being probably a character in a story. My interpretation is only speculative and other interpretations are indeed possible. See, e.g., Murakami, *op. cit.*, pp.180, 192-193, where the author provides an ingenious explanation of these insulting words by relating them to the Uriangqai custom described in Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, p.123. It is interesting to note that the corresponding passage in one of the mss. of the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* (quoted by Wang Kuo-wei on p.47a of his edition) reads: "he (i.e. Chinggis-qan) regarded me merely as a toy (玩物)," i.e. as something amusing, not serious. As for the "Sartaq sheep" (*sartaqchin qonin*), it must be a reference to a particular breed of sheep from Central or Western Asia which had perhaps a tail different from that of Mongol sheep. This problem deserves further investigation. For *sartaq* = Muslim, or native of Central and Western Asia, see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.151, 253. Cf. also Cleaves in *HJAS* XII (1949).101, n.33. It is not clear which To'oril is the one with whom Sügegei's family was staying at the time, To'oril Ong-qan or To'oril the former domestic slave of Chinggis-qan (see §180), who was now with Ong-qan. "Did not have the courage to go with Arqai and stayed behind," lit. "did not have the courage to go and stayed behind Arqai."

182 The situation of Lake Baljuna (the Baljuna is called a river in the *YS* and the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*) has been the object of much investigation owing to the famous "covenant" which, however, is not mentioned in the *SH*. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.37-49 (esp. 42-49); Poppe, "On Some Geographical Names," pp.39-41; Perlee, p.6. Cf. also Murakami, *op. cit.*, pp.200-202. Pelliot does not give a definite identification and says it was located "vers le cours inférieur du Kerulen" (*op. cit.*, p.47). For Poppe Lake Baljuna corresponds to the present Lake Belezino (51° N. lat. and 113°-114° E. long.) from which originates the Tura river in the Buriat SSR, thus agreeing with earlier investigators (cf. Pelliot-Hambis, pp.45-46). For Perlee, p.6, it is Balž Bulag ("Balž Spring") which empties into the Mogoit, an affluent of the Khalkha, at 48° N. lat. and 119° E. long. According to Perlee, Balž Bulag was formerly known as Baltun Naur. In the light of the reconstruction of events by Cleaves in his important article "The Historicity of the Baljuna Covenant" in *HJAS* XVIII (1955).357-421 (esp. 391-392), the Baljuna - stream or lake - must have been very near the Qalaqaljit Sands south of the Khalkha river (see above, n.170), which fact makes Perlee's identification geographically the most plausible. Regarding the sequence of events, I agree with Kao Pao-ch'üan and Cleaves

(*loc. cit.*) that Chinggis' stay at Baljuna must be placed during his flight after the timely warning of Badai and Kishiliq. The Qorulas were related to the Qonggirat and the Ikires, see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.59-60. For their chief "Cho'os-chaqān," see Ligeti's remarks in *Collectanea Mongolica*, pp.131-136, and his Préface to *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p.12. Cho'os-chaqān is the same person appearing in §141 as "Choyoq-chaqa'an." The true original form was probably Cho'oq-chaqa'an (>chaqān). Digit-quri = *tigit* (plural of Old Turkish *tigin* "prince")-*quri* (a title of unknown origin on which see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.205-206; cf. above, n.134) - a hybrid title borne by Alaqush (Old Turkish Ala-qush "Mottle Bird"), the leader of the Önggüt. On Alaqush see Pelliot, "Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient," *TP* (1914).631; Pelliot-Hambis, pp.378-379; L. Hambis, *Le chapitre cviii du Yuan che* (Leiden, 1954), p.25, n.8; Pelliot, *Recherches sur les chrétiens*, pp.261-263. The Önggüt, who are mentioned here for the first time, occupied a vast territory, in and beyond the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, along the present Great Wall line and as far as Kalgan, and even further east. (With regard to the extension of their territory, the Rev. H. Serruys informs me that a Nestorian cemetery was discovered in 1890 at Shih-chu-tzu-liang 石柱子梁 , some 100 *li* north of Kalgan. Rough brown stone "columns" with lotuses and crosses roughly hewn, many also without crosses, were found there. The cemetery, which was never excavated, was undoubtedly from the Önggüt. See P.Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 2nd ed. [Tokyo, 1951], pp.426-427 and Pl.XV.) They were a Turkish tribe that had been settled near the great bend of the Yellow River by the T'ang court in the 9th century. They had been converted to the Nestorian faith, but in the 13th century they were already very much sinicized. In 1204 Alaqush pledged his support to Chinggis-qan and sealed the alliance by giving his younger son Po-yao-ho 孛要合 (*Boyoqa) in marriage to Chinggis' daughter Alaqai-begi. This marriage alliance between the Mongol and Önggüt courts continued under subsequent reigns, the Önggüt ruler being thus regularly called "imperial son-in-law" (*fu-ma* 駙馬 ; in Mongolian *güregen*). See *YS* 118, 10a-b; Pelliot, "Chrétiens," p.629 ff.; *Recherches sur les chrétiens*, pp.261-267; J. Dauvillier, "Les Provinces Chaldéennes 'de l'Extérieur' au Moyen Age" in *Mélanges F. Cavallera* (Toulouse, 1948), pp.303-305; A.C. Moule, *Christians in China Before the Year 1550* (London, 1930), p.93 *et passim;* Saeki, *op. cit.*, pp.423-427; Ch'en Yüan, *Western and Central Asians in China: Their Transformation into Chinese*, tr. by Ch'ien Hsing-hai and L.C. Goodrich, *Mon. Serica Monograph* XV (Los Angeles, 1966), p.319. The merchant Asan (Ḥasan) was one of the many Central and Western Asian Muslims that engaged in

trade along the ancient caravan routes of Inner Asia. Cf. Hambis, "Un épisode," pp.7, n.11; 18, n.31. On the term *sartaqtai* for "Muslim" see Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p.368, n.31. "He was riding a white camel," lit. "Having a white camel." The Ergüne river is the Arghun. On the name of this river in Mongolian and Chinese sources see Hambis, "Survivance de toponymes," pp.30-31. For other translations of §182 see Cleaves, *op. cit.*, pp.367-368; Pelliot-Hambis, pp.46-47. Cf. also Cleaves, pp.527-528. Asan is probably to be identified with the trader Ḥasan Ḥājjī mentioned by Juwaīni, who became a trusted friend and follower of Chinggis-qan. He was slain by the inhabitants of Suqnaq or Sīqnaq near Otrar (6-7 miles north of Tumen-Aryk in Kazakhstan). See W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (3rd ed., London, 1968), p.414; Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.86-87 and nn.2, 3.

183 My reason for reading Yisüngge rather than the usually accepted form Yesüngge is not only because this name is formed on the word *yisün* "nine" like Yisügei and Yisüi, but also because Yisüngge is the reading found in the text in Uighur-Mongol script of the famous stele in his honour, the so-called "Stone of Chinggis." See I. de Rachewiltz, "Some Remarks on the Stele of Yisüngge," *Tractata Altaica.Denis Sinor, sexagenario optime de rebus altaicis merito dedicata* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp.489, 500 n.24. Qara'un-jidun is the reading of the Mongol text glossed in the interlinear Chinese translation as "name of mountain(s)." The Chinese sectional summary calls it "the Qara'un mountain(s)" (*YCPS* 6, 45a, 47a). The former reading is confirmed by Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.132, and the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 48b. This name reappears in §206 of the *SH*, where it is stated that Muqali was appointed by Chinggis-qan as leader of ten thousand of the Left Hand (=East Wing) of the Mongol army "reaching eastwards as far as (lit. 'using as a pillow') Qara'un-jidun." Here again this name is glossed in the interlinear translation as "name of mountain(s)" and the summary refers to it as "the Qara'un mountain(s)." See *YCPS* 6, 40a, 40b. Rashīd, discussing Muqali's appointment, also refers to Qara'un-jidun and says that this place is on the border with Khitai, i.e. with North China (Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.270; cf. I/1, p.93). Moreover, Qara'un-jidun is mentioned several times in his work as: a place near Ulqui-Shilüjüljit (=Ulqui-Shilügeljit); as the area where the Ikires and Qorulas tribes lived; as a place near the Hünegen-daba'an; and finally as the place where Qubilai had his own ordos (*ibid.*, I/2, p.121; I/1, p.160; I/2, p.166; *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, pp.247, 255). The Ulkhui-Shilügeljit

is either the Ulkhui or the Seljin-gol south of the Khalkha river (see n.153); the Ikires and Qorulas were related, being both subtribes of the Qonggirat. The Qonggirat (Onggirat) of the Buir-nor had earlier submitted to Chinggis-qan (§176), and the Qorulas who camped in the Baljuna area had also submitted to him as we have already seen in §182. The Hünegen-daba'an ("Fox Pass") was the Mongol name of Yeh-hu-ling 野狐嶺 northeast of Wan-ch'üan 萬全 (Kalgan) in Chahar (see the *SH* §247). As for Rashīd's statement that Qubilai had his own ordos in Qara'un-jidun in Mongolia, I cannot find any other reference to it. We know that Qubilai had four ordos, one for each of his principal wives, and Yanai Watari has suggested long ago that they were at Ta-tu (Peking), Shang-tu (Dolon-nor, ab. 225 miles northeast of Peking), Chaghan-nor (?=[Pain] Chagan-nor, ab. 23 miles northeast of Anguli-nor in south Chahar), and Liu-lin 柳林 (15 miles south of T'ung-hsien 通縣 near Peking). However, as already pointed out by Pelliot (*Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.568), these identifications are hypothetical. Whatever is meant by "Qubilai's own ordos," it is evident that Rashīd took Qara'un-jidun to be a locality, not a mountain, in the eastern part of Mongolia which in the narrow sense comprised the Buir-nor-Khalkha-Ulkhui area, and in its wider sense the territory from this area in the north to the Yeh-hu-ling in the south, reaching in fact the border of North China. This, I think, is probably a somewhat loose extension of the geographical name on the part of Rashīd or of his informers. There is no doubt, however, that in the early 13th century Qara'un-jidun designated a mountainous area at the easternmost limit of Mongolia, to be identified with the western ridges of the southern Great Khingan range. To start with, the name Qara'un-jidun means "Dark (*or* Black) Ridge." The term *qara'un* is discussed in Pelliot-Hambis, p.259; as for *jidun* (not *jidün* as in my *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*), this term has been preserved in Buriat *zudaŋ* "a low ridge covered with forest" (K.M. Cheremisov, *Buryatsko-russkiĭ slovar'* [Moscow, 1973], p.261a), and in Manchu. See the *Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wen-chien* 五体清文鑑 (repr. Peking, 1957), I, pp.173 and 174, where the forms *jidun* and *judun* are found with their Chinese equivalent *shan-chi* 山脊 "mountain ridge," the Mongolian equivalent being *sina, sinagha*. See also E. Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache* (Tokyo, 1952), *s.v. jidun* and *judun*. Then there is the statement in the *SH* §205 to the effect that Bo'orchu was appointed as leader of ten thousand of the West Wing, reaching westwards as far as the Altai, at the same time as Muqali was made leader of the East Wing reaching eastwards as far as Qara'un-jidun (see above) - the two mountain ranges being likened in the *SH* phraseology to

two pillows on which to rest the head. Our text says that Qasar in his search for Chinggis climbed "the ridges" (*niru'ut*) of Qara'un-jidun, a pleonasm similar to our "crossing the Gobi desert." We do not know which of the many ridges of the Khingan system east of the Buir-nor these were, and I think we should not take the reference too literally, as the author is dramatizing in this passage Qasar's anxious search for his brother. In fact, according to Rashīd, Qasar had been living separately from Chinggis-qan at Qara'un-jidun when Ong-qan carried out a raid there and seized his wife and children. Only then Qasar left Qara'un-jidun and went in search of his brother (Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.132). The problem of Qasar's movements and his uneasy relationship with Chinggis-qan is a very complex one and it is glossed over in the *SH*. See L. Hambis, "Un épisode," p.8 ff. and esp. nn.13, 15, pp.27-28, n.46; Pelliot-Hambis, pp.172-173; Š. Nacagdorž, *Čingis Khasar khoyoryn zörčil* (Ulaanbaatar, 1958). In view of the preceding considerations, however, we must discard the suggestions made by other investigators that Qara'un-jidun was further west, as far as the Onon and Khentei region. Chinese scholars have already pointed out that the Qara'un mountain is mentioned in a passage of the biography of Tutqaq in *YS* 128, 16b, from which it is clear that it was in the proximity of the Ulkhui and Kuei-lieh 貴烈 rivers. The Kuei-lieh corresponds to the present-day Kuei-liu 歸流, an affluent of the T'ao-erh 洮爾 (Thor or Toro), itself a right-hand affluent of the Nonni. The Kuei-liu originates from Mt. Soyolji (So-yo-erh-chi shan 索岳爾濟山 at 47° N. lat. and 120° E. long.). Now the Ulkhui also originates from Mt. Soyolji, as does the river Khalkha. Thus it seems likely that during the later Yüan the name Qara'un was applied in particular to the most conspicuous and important mountain of this region, namely the Soyolji. It is possible, then, that the "ridges of Qara'un-jidun" of our text are the western slopes of Mt. Soyolji in the easternmost corner of present-day Mongolia and the northeastern end of Chahar. See Chang Yü-wen 張 郁文, *Yüan-shih ti-li t'ung-shih* 元史地理通釋 (1925) 4, 6a, 16a; Ting Ch'ien 丁謙, *Yüan pi-shih ti-li k'ao-cheng* 元秘史地理考證, (*Che-chiang t'u-shu-kuan ts'ung-shu* 浙江圖書館叢書 ed.) 9, 6a-b; cf. Kei Kwei Sun, *The Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*, pp.144-145, n.12. On Mt. Soyolji see also P. Popov, *Men-gu-yu-mu-czi. Zapiski o mongol'skikh kočev'yakh* (S. Peterburg, 1895), pp.172-174. A Ho-lao-wen 合老溫 (*Qalawun) mountain near the Liao 遼 river in the south is also mentioned in the *YS* (118, 6a), and a Qara'un gorge (*qabchal*) north of

Kyakhta is mentioned in the *SH* (see n.150). On Qali'udar and his clan, the Jewüret (=Jeüret; cf. §44), see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.142, 147. Chaqurqan (same form in §§184, 185) is the Cha'urqan of §§120, 124, 127 (cf. also the form Cha'urqai of §§202, 243), the younger brother of Jelme. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.164. "I watched for my elder brother...": in this passage, which is mostly in alliterative prose and so easier for the messenger to commit to memory, the cunning Chinggis-qan makes Qasar speak as if the latter, having failed to trace and join him (Chinggis-qan), has now decided to return to Ong-qan's camp provided Ong-qan sends a trusted messenger to him to guarantee that no harm would be done to him (Qasar) and his family. "I lost sight of him," lit. "sight of his (=him) was lost." "A lump of earth" (*urbang*) = Written Mongolian *orbon* "hillock, knoll," Buriat *orbo*ŋ "the root of a fallen tree." "If, hopefully, I get *from you someone I can* trust" renders *itegemji ere'en olu'asu*, lit. "If I find trust and hope"; the Chinese sectional summary correctly paraphrases "if you send someone trustworthy to me" (*YCPS* 6, 47b). Arqal-geügi (=Arghal-geügi), or "Arqal (=dry dung) Hook," on the river Kerulen corresponds, according to Perlee, p.7, to the present-day Aaruult Doloon Khükht at 49° N. lat. and 109° E. long. Now, from §185 of the *SH* we learn that at that time Ong-qan's encampment was at Jer-qabchiqai Pass in the Jeje'er-ündür, i.e. in the Jeje'er Heights, which Perlee has, I think correctly, identified with the southern Bayan Ula (see above, n.165). As Chinggis' forces were obviously in the same region and not far from the Kerulen (where the meeting with Qali'udar and Chaqurqan had been fixed), Perlee's identification of Arqal-geügi with a place on the upper reaches of the Kerulen in the northwestern Bayan Ula would be plausible; however, as Perlee refers to the "northwestern tip" of the Bayan Ula, the locality in question must be closer to 48° than to 49° N. lat. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Baljuna episode and the events described in the preceding sections took place in the region of the Buir-nor and the lower course of the Kerulen in eastern Mongolia - a long way from the Bayan Ula. Since the Jeje'er Heights were in the Bayan Ula region, what is stated at the end of §183 about Chinggis setting out from Lake Baljuna and reaching Arqal-geügi cannot be implicity accepted. There must have been a time lag between the events at the Baljuna and Chinggis' return to his camping grounds further west which is not accounted for in the *SH*. In fact, the entire sequence is not clear. In Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.132, we read: "In the autumn of this year (1203), moving from there (i.e. the Baljuna), he (i.e. Chinggis-qan) gathered his followers and subjects at the sources of the

river Onon and set out on a campaign against Ong-qan." The *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 50b, says: "In the autumn there was a great assembly at the sources of the river Onan and *His Majesty* (=Chinggis-qan) set out to attack Ong-qahan." This is repeated in *YS* 1, 12b: "The emperor moved his army to the sources of the river Onan and made plans to attack Ong-qan." Cf. D'Ohsson, I, pp.80-81. Thus, according to these sources, prior to his attack on the Kereit camp Chinggis was on the Onon. According to the *SH* he was near the Kerulen. This confusion is understandable since it was in this very region between the two great rivers - the "Onankerule" of William of Rubruck, the "Onan-Kerulen" of Juwaīni and Rashīd al-Dīn - that Chinggis had his main camp. See Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.330; Pelliot-Hambis, p.269; Hambis, "Un épisode," p.29, n.47. Evidently, Chinggis-qan had returned to his ordos where he held a council of war to work out the best plan to crush once and for all Ong-qan and the Kereit people. His decision to carry out this expedition may have been prompted not only by the rallying of his estranged brother Jochi-Qasar and the latter's cunning scheme to deceive Ong-qan, but also by the fact that a number of other chiefs had deserted Ong-qan at about the same time and had joined Chinggis-qan. This fact is not mentioned in the *SH*, but it is recorded in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.132 (cf. D'Ohsson, I, pp.79-80). I think that from the Baljuna Chinggis and his followers had gradually moved westwards, following at least for part of the way the course of the Kerulen upstream. Ong-qan had independently also moved westwards, presumably on his way back to his ordos in the Black Forest on the Tula. Having gained the Bayan Ula and Khentei region, and the relative safety of his own territory, Chinggis decided to attack the Kereits who had, in the meantime, encamped in one of the valleys on the southern fringe of the Bayan Ula (see §186). The decision to use a ruse and fall on the enemy by surprise shows that, in spite of the increase in his forces, Chinggis was not yet strong enough for another open confrontation. Cf. Cleaves, *op. cit.*, pp.389-391, and Yüan Kuo-fan 袁國藩 in *Ta-lu tsa-chih* XIX (1959).358-361. "Don't fail to come!," lit. "You come there!" On §183 see also Mostaert, p.41, and Cleaves, *op. cit.*, pp.368-369.

184 "Golden tent" (*altan terme*): for golden=royal see my note to §21; for the term *terme* see Pelliot-Hambis, p.181, and A. Róna-Tas in D. Sinor, ed., *Aspects of Altaic Civilization* (Bloomington, 1963), pp.49-50. On the golden fixtures of the royal tents in the 13th century see the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* 黑韃事略 (Wang Kuo-

wei ed., 1940), 4a; John of Pian di Carpine in C. Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, p.63; cf. also *The Book of Dede Korkut*, pp.11, 39. "And he caught up," lit. "Qali'udar caught up." "*Coming* behind," lit. "from behind." "So that it sat *on its haunches*," lit. "until it sat." This is how the Chinese sectional summary understands this phrase; however, Professor Poppe (personal communication) understands as follows: "he hit Itürgen's black gelding with the golden saddle so that *the arrow* sat in the tip of the rump." "And left him there": the usual expression indicating that the body was not given a proper burial, but was treated like rubbish.

185 "Let us quickly move from here" renders *ötörlen igülgüjü*. The word *igülgüjü* is not glossed in the text and is also not translated in the sectional summary. I think that Pelliot is right in suggesting that this word, which is otherwise unattested in Mongolian, should be corrected into *ne'ülgejü*, conv. imp. of *ne'ülge-* "to cause to move, to transmigrate" (Written Mongolian *negülge-*). See *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p.63, n.1. As a matter of fact, the expression *öterlen ne'ü-* "to move fast," lit. "to move hastening," is already found in §101 of the *SH*. It seems, then, that the ms. of the *SH* used by the Ming translators had a corrupted form which they read as *igülgüjü*, and which they left untranslated because they did not know what to make of it. (In the Uighur-Mongol script a badly written word like *negülgejü* can be easily read as *igülgüjü*.) "Approved their words," lit. "approved this speech." The Jer-qabchiqai Pass (*amasar*) of the Jeje'er Heights (*ündür*) has been identified by Perlee, p.8, with the present-day Khavčil Am (=Amsar). This is, apparently, the only pass leading into an area rich in camping grounds in the southern Bayan Ula region. On the connotations of the term *amasar* see above, n.177. Qadaq-ba'atur was the leader of the "brave Jirgin," the main crack unit of Ong-qan's army. See §170. The Jirgin was a subtribe of the Kereit. "My rightful master," lit. "my rightful qan." "Unable to cause his death," lit. "unable to abandon him": the verb *tebchi-* means "to abandon, reject, desert" and, by extension, "to let s. die, to make away with s." "I will serve him," lit. "I will give him my strength." "Because Quyildar *lost* his life," lit. "Because of Quyildar's *loss of* life." "Quyildar's wife and children": the expression *eme kö'ün*, lit. "wife-child (*or* -children)," is ambiguous, since like Chinese *ch'i-tzu* 妻子 it can mean "wife and children," or simply "wife." Cf. Mostaert, p.42. "Must be servants and attend to," lit. "let them be servants in front and behind." "As Quyildar had been the first to speak," lit. "to open his mouth": this refers to the episode related at the beginning of §171.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz

Chapter Seven*

186 So *Chinggis-qahan* crushed and took away the Kereyit people, and distributed them on all sides. He gave Taqai-ba'atur of the Suldus one hundred Jirgin *in reward* for his services. Further, Chinggis-qahan gave the following order. Ong-qan's younger brother Jaqa-gambu had two daughters. The elder one, Ibaqa-beki, Chinggis-qahan took for himself. The younger one, Sorqaqtani-beki, he gave to Tolui. Because of this, he ordered with reference to Jaqa-gambu that the hereditary subjects belonging to him should be kept together and be *regarded like* the second shaft *of a cart*, and, showing favour *to Jaqa-gambu*, he did not take them away from him.

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* The translation of Chapters I and II appeared in *PFEH* 4 (September 1971).115-163; Chapter III in *PFEH* 5 (March 1972).149-175; Chapter IV in *PFEH* 10 (September 1974).55-82; Chapter V in *PFEH* 13 (March 1976).41-75, and Chapter VI in *PFEH* 16 (September 1977). As ever I am greatly indebted to Prof. N. Poppe (Seattle) for his help with textual problems.

187 Chinggis-qahan also ordered: "Because of Badai's and Kishiliq's services, let them have Ong-qan's golden tent, *just* as it was when *Ong-qan* had it, with his golden bowls and vessels, together with those who looked after them, and the Ongqojit Kereyit as their body-guards. You, *Badai and Kishiliq*, shall carry quivers and drink the ceremonial wine, and enjoy *the privilege of* being 'darqan' ('freedmen') to the offspring of your offspring!

When hastening after many foes,
If you find booty,
What you have found
You *can* take.
When in a battue
You kill wild beasts,
What you have killed
You *can* take."

So he decreed.

He further ordered: "Because of the services that Badai and Kishiliq have given me during my life, and since I enjoyed the protection of Eternal Heaven, I subdued the Kereyit people and, indeed, gained the high throne. In future my descendants who, one after the other, will occupy *this* throne, must remember those who performed such services!" So he decreed.

When *the Mongols* subjugated the Kereyit people, they distributed them among themselves so that nobody went short of them. They distributed the Tümen-Tübe'en and *they all* took as many as they wished. They enslaved the Olon-Dongqayit before a full day was over. As for the brave Jirgin who *used* to take the blood-stained clothing *of the enemy*, they separated and divided them, but could not give some to everybody. Having in this way disposed of the Kereyit people, *Chinggis-qahan* spent that winter at Abji'a-ködeger.

188 Ong-qan and Senggüm escaped with their bare lives and got away abandoning *their people*. Ong-qan, who was suffering from thirst, was going to *drink at* the Nekün Water of Didik-saqal when he came upon the Naiman scout Qori-sübechi. Qori-sübechi seized Ong-qan and although *the latter* said, "I am Ong-qan," he did not recognise him and, not believing him, he slew him there and then.

Senggüm did not go to the Nekün Water of Didik-saqal, but bypassed it and entered the Chöl (= the Gobi). While he was searching for water *some* wild asses were standing *there*, plagued by flies. Senggüm dismounted and crept up stealthily towards them. With Senggüm were his comrade the equerry Kököchü and *Kököchü's* wife - they were three altogether. Senggüm gave his horse to his equerry Kököchü to hold. The equerry Kököchü led the horse away and started trotting back. His wife said:

"When you wore gold-embroidered clothes,
When you ate tasty dishes,

he called you 'my Kököchü.' How can you *now* forsake and abandon in this way your master Senggüm?" And, saying this, his wife stopped there and stayed behind.

Kököchü said: "Surely you have said to yourself, 'I want to take Senggüm as my man!'" To these words his wife said: "You apply to me the saying 'women have dog's faces' (i.e., they are shameless bitches); *all the same* give him at least his golden cup, so that he can draw water and drink!" On that the equerry Kököchü threw back the golden cup saying, "Take it!", and trotted off.

And so he went away, and when he came to Chinggis-qahan the equerry Kököchü said: "This is how I have come, leaving Senggüm in the Chöl," and he related from beginning to end everything that had been said between *himself and his wife*. Chinggis-qahan *then* ordered: "To his wife I will show favour. As for the equerry Kököchü himself,

who comes here having in this manner abandoned his rightful master, who would now trust such a man and take him for a comrade?" He felled him down and left *his body on the spot*.

189 Gürbesü, the mother of Tayang-qan of the Naiman, said: "Ong-qan was the great old qan of former days. Bring his head and if it is really him we will sacrifice to it!" She sent a messenger to Qori-sübechi and had him cut off and bring back his (Ong-qan's) head. She recognized it *as the Ong-qan's* and placed it on a large white felt rug. She had her daughters-in-law perform the ritual of the daughters-in-law, ordered ceremonial wine drinking and violin playing, and, holding the cup, made an offering.

The head, on receiving the offering in this way, laughed. "It laughed," said Tayang-qan; he stamped on it and crushed it to pieces. Thereupon Kökse'ü-sabraq said: "You have the head of the dead qan cut off and brought here, and the next thing you *do is to* crush it to pieces. This is not something one should do. The barking of our dogs sounds ominous. Inancha-bilge-qan once said:

> 'My wife is *still* young
> But I, the husband, am *already* old;
> This *son of mine* Tayang
> I got conceived *only* through magic.
> Ah, *this* son of mine, born a weakling *(torluq)*,
> Has been brought into existence:
> Will he be able to look after and govern
> My numerous, lowly and unruly people?'

So he said. Now the dogs are barking and their barking sounds as if *misfortune* is approaching. The rule of our queen Gürbesü is harsh, and you my qan Torluq Tayang are soft. You have no thought or skill except for falconry and hunting." Thus was *Tayang-qan* addressed.

Tayang-qan then said, "I am told that yonder east are a few Mongols. These people with their quivers frightened the great old

Ong-qan of former days, caused him to abandon his companions and made him perish. Do they now want to be rulers themselves? Even if there are two shining lights, the sun and the moon, in the sky above - both sun and moon are indeed there - yet how can there be two rulers on earth? Let us go and bring here those few Mongols!"

His mother Gürbesü said to him, "What could we do with them? Those Mongol people have a bad smell and their clothes are grimy. They live in another place, a long way from here. Let them stay *there*. But we might perhaps bring here their fine daughters and daughters-in-law and, having made them wash their hands, we may let them milk our cows and sheep."

On this Tayang-qan said, "If this is so, where is *the difficulty*? Why don't we go against those Mongols and get their quivers?"

190 To these words Kökse'ü-sabraq said, "How boastfully you speak! O Torluq-qan, is this proper? You had better hide away!" Despite Kökse'ü-sabraq's warning, *Tayang-qan* sent an envoy called Torbi-tash to Alaqush-digit-quri of the Önggüt with this message: "They say that yonder east there are a few Mongols. You be the right wing. I will join you from here and we will take away the quivers of those few Mongols!"

Alaqush-digit-quri replied to these words saying, "I cannot be the right wing," and having sent this message, he had the following communication conveyed to Chinggis-qahan through his envoy called Yuqunan: "Tayang-qan of the Naiman is coming to take away your quivers. He approached me saying that I should be the right wing, but I refused. Now I am sending you this information, for I fear that if he comes you may be robbed of your quivers."

Just at that time Chinggis-qahan was engaged in a battue in the Teme'en ("Camel") Steppe; he was encircling Tülkin-che'üd when Yuqunan, the envoy sent by Alaqush-digit-quri, arrived to deliver his verbal message.

With this news and whilst still at the hunt they discussed what to do. The majority of the men said, "Our geldings are lean, there is nothing we can do now." To *these* words Otchigin-noyan said, "How can you make the excuse that the geldings are lean? My geldings are fat! How can we stay put when we hear such news *as this*?" Then Belgütei-noyan spoke: "If, when one is *still* alive, one lets an enemy take away one's quiver, what is the use of being alive? Isn't it right for any man born, that when he dies his bones should lie along with his quiver and bow? The Naiman people are given to boasting because they possess a great country and a large population. If *now*, grasping the chance their boasts *afford us*, we set out on a campaign and take away their quivers, will it be *so* difficult? If we go, won't their numerous herds of horses come to a halt and stay behind? Burdened with their palatial tents, won't they leave them behind? Won't their many people go and seek shelter in high places? How can we stay put and allow them to carry out such boasting as this? Let us ride against them at once!"

191 Chinggis-qahan approved these words of Belgütei-noyan and, having come back from the battue, moved from Abjiqa-köteger and set up camp at the "Jagged Cliff" on Or-nu'u on the *river* Qalqa. He counted his troops and, there and then, formed units of one thousand men, and he appointed the leaders of a thousand, the leaders of a hundred and the leaders of ten. On that occasion he appointed also the "cherbi" (= chamberlains): Dödei-cherbi, Doqolqu-cherbi, Ögele-cherbi, Tolun-cherbi, Bucharan-cherbi and Söyiketü-cherbi. He appointed these six cherbi; then, having formed units of a thousand, a hundred, and ten men, he chose and recruited eighty men to serve on roster as night-guards and seventy men to serve as day-guards. He recruited them from the sons and younger brothers of the leaders of a thousand and of a hundred, as well as from the sons and younger brothers of just ordinary people, choosing and conscripting those who were able and of good appearance.

Then, showing favour to Arqai-qasar, he ordered as follows: "Let him pick himself his valiant men and form a thousand-man unit to fight before me in time of battle; in the many other days *of peace* they should serve as my day-guards." He *also* said: "Ögöle-cherbi should be the leader of the seventy day-guards, sharing the command with Qudus-qalchan."

192 Chinggis-qahan further ordered: "The quiver-bearers, the guards on day duty, the stewards, the doorkeepers and the grooms are to go on roster duty in daytime. Before the sun sets they must retire *so as to be replaced* by the night-guards; they are to go out to the geldings and spend the night *there*. At night the night-guards must settle down those whose duty it is to lie around the tent, and they must post on roster those whose duty it is to guard the door. The quiver-bearers and the day-guards are to report to the night-guards the following morning when We eat soup, and the quiver-bearers, day-guards, stewards and doorkeepers must *all* act in accordance with their respective duties and take their *appointed* place. When they have done their days of service three days and three nights - and have passed the three nights exactly in the above-mentioned manner - there will be a change of guards. *However*, the night *following the change of guards* they must *still* be on duty as night-guards and must spend the night lying around *the tent*."

In this way Chinggis-qahan, having formed the thousand-man units, appointed the cherbi, recruited eighty men to serve on roster as night-guards and seventy men to serve as day-guards, selected the valiant men for Arqai-qasar, and set out against the Naiman people from the "Jagged Cliff" of Or-nu'u on the Qalqa.

193 In the Year of the Rat, on the sixteenth of the first month of summer (= 17 May 1204), on the day of the full moon, he consecrated the banner and set out. He went upstream along the Kelüren and sent Jebe and Qubilai ahead to reconnoitre. When they reached the Sa'ari

Steppe, the Naiman scouts were *already* there, on the heights of Qangqarqan. Our scouts and theirs chased one another and the Naiman patrol seized a white horse with a bad saddle from our patrol. When the Naiman patrol caught that horse they held a consultation and came to the conclusion that the Mongols' geldings were lean.

When our *troops* reached the Sa'ari Steppe they halted there and discussed what to do. Then Dödei-cherbi made this proposition to Chinggis-qahan: "We are few *in number* and, on top of being few, we arrived *here* exhausted. So, let us halt and set up camp spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe here until our geldings are fat. Every single one *of us* should each light fires in five different places so as to frighten *the enemy* with *all these camp* fires. They say the Naiman people are numerous, but they *also* say that their ruler is a weakling who has not yet left his tent. While we keep them in doubt with the fires, our geldings will get fat. When we have fattened our geldings we will beat and chase away the Naiman scouts, and force them to rejoin the main army. Could we *not* engage them in combat in that confusion?"

Chinggis-qahan approved his proposition: he ordered that the fires be lit precisely that way and had the order transmitted to the soldiers. And so they set up camp spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe and everyone was made to light fires in five different places.

At night the Naiman scouts, seeing *so* many night-fires from the heights of Qangqarqan, said, "Weren't the Mongols only few in number? Their *camp* fires are more numerous than the stars!" They had already sent to Tayang-qan the little white horse with the bad saddle. *Now* they sent him this message: "The Mongol troops have set up camp so as to fully cover the Sa'ari Steppe; they seem to increase every day, their fires are more numerous than the stars."

194 When this news from the scouts reached him, Tayang-qan was at Qachir-usun in the Qangqai *mountains*. Upon receiving the information

he sent this message to his son Güchülük-qan: "The geldings of the Mongols are lean, but *our scouts* say that their *camp* fires are more numerous than the stars. The Mongols are, *therefore*, many.

If we now fight to the end,
To disengage ourselves will be difficult.
If we fight to the end,
They won't blink their black eyes.
Is it advisable for us
To fight these tough Mongols
Who do not flinch even if their cheeks are pierced
And their black blood gushes forth?

We are told that the geldings of the Mongols are lean. Let us move, withdrawing our people across the Altai. We will reorganize our troops and lure them (i.e., the Mongols) after us as we go. We will march until we reach the southern slopes of the Altai, fighting a dog's fight. Our geldings are fat: when we have made their bellies leaner and have exhausted the geldings of the Mongols we shall *turn back and* smash into their faces."

To these words Güchülük-qan said, "Again that woman Tayang! He speaks such words because he has lost heart. Where does this vast number of Mongols come from? The majority of the Mongols together with Jamuqa are with us. That woman Tayang,

Who does not *dare* to go as far as
A pregnant woman goes to urinate;
Who does not *even* go as far
As a round calf goes to its feed,

has lost heart and has sent me this message."

Güchülük-qan through the envoy sent *this* injurious and offensive message to his own father. *Hearing* these words, whereby Tayang-qan was spoken of in the way old women are spoken of, Tayang-qan said, "May the strong and proud Güchülük not lose this pride of his on the

day of battle when we slay one another! When we meet *on the battlefield* and fight to the end it will surely be difficult to disengage ourselves!"

Upon these words Qori-sübechi, a high official who held command under Tayang-qan, said, "Your father Inancha-bilge-qan never showed the back of a man or the rump of a gelding to an enemy of equal rank. How can you lose heart, now when it is *still* early in the morning? Had we known that you would have lost heart in this manner, shouldn't we have brought your mother Gürbesü, even though she is only a woman, and given her command of the army? What a pity that Kökse'ü-sabraq has grown old: how lax has the discipline in our army become! The turn in favour of the Mongols has been decreed *by Heaven* - we have lost. Ah, weakling Tayang, it looks as if you are powerless." So he spoke and having struck his quiver he trotted off in the opposite direction.

195 Upon this Tayang-qan became angry and said, "A life *destined* to die, a body *destined* to suffer - it is the same for all *men*. If this is so, let us fight!" Moving from Qachir-usun he went downstream along the Tamir and crossed the Orqon. Passing along the eastern fringe of the Naqu Cliff he reached Chakirma'ut, where Chinggis-qahan's scouts saw him as he was approaching. They sent a verbal message *to Chinggis-qahan* saying, "The Naiman have arrived and are drawing near."

When this news reached him, Chinggis-qahan said, "The more numerous *an enemy* is, the greater the damage; the less numerous he is, the lesser the damage." He rode against them and, having chased away their scouts, he drew up his troops and together *with the army leaders* decided to advance in "caragana marching-order," to stand in "lake battle-formation" and fight in "chisel combat."

Having thus given the order, Chinggis-qahan in person led the vanguard, putting Qasar in charge of the main body of the army and Otchigin-noyan in charge of the reserve horses. The Naiman withdrew

from Chakirma'ut and took up position south of Naqu Cliff, along the mountain fringes. Then our scouts arrived chasing the Naiman scouts and pursuing them until they joined their large main army south of Naqu Cliff.

Tayang-qan saw them arriving thus in *hot* pursuit. At that time Jamuqa had *also* set out with his troops and had come with the Naiman. Being there, Tayang-qan asked Jamuqa: "What *sort of people are* those, who are like wolves that come chasing a flock of sheep as far as the sheep-pen? Who are these people approaching in such *hot* pursuit?"

Jamuqa said, "My sworn brother Temüjin has four hounds that are fed on human flesh and kept on chains. They are the ones drawing near in pursuit of our scouts. These four hounds:

Their foreheads are of cast copper,
They have chisels for snouts,
They have awls for tongues,
Their hearts are of iron,
They have swords for whips.
They advance eating dew
And riding the wind:
In the day of killing
They eat human flesh;
In the day of battles
They take with them human flesh
As provisions for the road.

Freed from their chains and no longer restrained they are now full of joy and are approaching thus, slavering *at the mouth*," he said, "And who are those four hounds? They are Jebe and Qubilai, Jelme and Sübe'etei. Those are the four."

Tayang-qan said, "Let us then stay away from these loathsome *beings*!" He moved in haste and took up position astride the mountain.

When he saw those *coming* behind *the four hounds* drawing near and encircling them (i.e., Tayang-qan and Jamuqa), leaping in delight, Tayang-qan again asked Jamuqa: "What *sort of people are* those, who are like foals let loose in the morning after sucking their mother's milk, like foals that are always gamboling around their mother? Why are they approaching, encircling us in this manner?"

Jamuqa said, "They are called the Uru'ut and the Mangqut:

They rush after men *armed* with spears
And strip them of their blood-stained clothing;
They chase after men *armed* with swords,
They fell them and kill them,
And take their valuables and clothing.

Are they not happy now that they approach us, leaping thus in delight?" Thereupon Tayang-qan said, "If that is so, let us stay away from these loathsome *beings*!" He took up position retreating further up the mountain.

Tayang-qan *again* asked Jamuqa: "Who is approaching after them, coming forward at the head *of the army* and drawing near like a greedy, slavering falcon?"

Jamuqa said, "The one approaching us is my sworn brother Temüjin. Over his whole body

There is not a *single* chink
Where a cast-copper awl can drive in its point;
There is not a *single* chink
Where a wrought-iron sewing needle
Can insert its sharp point.

My sworn brother Temüjin is drawing near like a greedy falcon and slavering like that - have you seen him? *You* Naiman friends used *to say that* if you saw the Mongols, you would not leave them even the skin of a kid's hoof. Look *at them now*!"

On these words Tayang-qan said, "This is frightening. Let us take up position *further* up the mountain!" They climbed the mountain *further* and took up position.

Again Tayang-qan asked Jamuqa: "Who is the one who is approaching next in a compact mass?" Jamuqa said, "Mother Hö'elün has raised one of her sons on human flesh:

He is three fathoms in stature,
He has a three-year old domestic animal for fare,
He wears a three-layer armour,
He is dragged along by three bulls.
If he swallows a man complete with quiver,
It does not get stuck in his throat.
If he gulps down a whole man,
It does not assuage his stomach.
When he is angry and draws *his bow*
And releases an 'angqu'a' arrow,
He shoots and hits ten, twenty men
Who are behind a mountain;
In a fight with the enemy, he draws *his bow*
And releases a 'keyibür' arrow,
He shoots and hits them across the steppe
Stringing them *like pearls*.
When he shoots, drawing *his bow* to the full,
He shoots a distance of nine hundred fathoms;
When he shoots, drawing *his bow only* a little,
He shoots a distance of five hundred fathoms.
He is different from all *other* men:
He was born a coiling dragon.

He is called Jochi-Qasar. That is he!" Tayang-qan then said, "If this is so, let us strive for the mountain heights and climb further up!" They climbed *further up* the mountain and took up position.

Again Tayang-qan asked Jamuqa: "Who is approaching after him?" Jamuqa said, "He is the youngest son of Mother Hö'elün. He is called Otchigin, the Easy-going. He is an early sleeper and a late riser, but

When the army is in full array he does not lag behind,
When the army is in position he does not lag behind."

Tayang-qan said, "If this is so, let us go up to the top of the mountain!"

196 After speaking words such as these to Tayang-qan, Jamuqa left the Naiman: he separated from them and went off. He sent *an envoy* to deliver a verbal message to Chinggis-qahan saying, "Tell *this* to the sworn brother," and he said:

"At my words Tayang-qan has lost his head
And in fright he has scrambled to the heights.
Frightened to death by my words
He has climbed up the mountain.
Sworn brother, be careful!
They went up the mountain,
They don't look as if they are going to resist.
As for me, I have left the Naiman."

Late in the day Chinggis-qahan surrounded Naqu Cliff; he took up position *with his troops* and spent the night *there*.

That night the Naiman moved *from their position* and tried to escape. Tumbling down from the height of Naqu, they piled up on top of each other; they fell breaking their bones and died crushing each other till they were like a heap of broken logs.

The following morning *Chinggis-qahan* drove Tayang-qan to extremities and captured him. Güchülük, who had been staying apart *from the rest* moved *from there* with a few men, abandoning his companions. When *the Mongol troops* caught up with him, he set up a

fortified camp at the Tamir *river*, but unable to hold the camp he *again* set out and fled further away.

The people of the Naiman tribe were utterly defeated and annexed *by Chinggis-qahan* on the southern slopes of the Altai. The Jadaran, Qatagin, Salji'ut, Dörben, Tayichi'ut, Onggirat and other *people* who had been with Jamuqa also submitted on that occasion.

After Chinggis-qahan had captured Tayang's mother Gürbesü he said to her, "You used to say that the Mongols have a bad smell, didn't you? Why, *then*, did you come now?" And Chinggis-qahan took her *as his wife*.

197 In that same Year of the Rat (1204), in the autumn, Chinggis-qahan fought with Toqto'a-beki of the Merkit at the Qaradal Source. He forced him back and took away from him his tribe and subjects. Toqto'a, with his sons Qudu and Chila'un and a few people, escaped with their bare lives.

When the Merkit people were thus being subdued, Dayir-usun of the Ho'as-Merkit took his daughter Qulan-qatun with him and came to offer her to Chinggis-qahan. On the way he was held up by *some* soldiers and met Nayā-noyan of the Ba'arin clan. Dayir-usun said to him, "I am on my way to offer this daughter of mine to Chinggis-qahan." To that Nayā-noyan said, "Let us go together to offer your daughter," and he prevented him from going on *alone*. Holding him up he said, "Dayir-usun, if in these confused times you go by yourself, the soldiers on the road will certainly not leave you alive, and your daughter too will be in trouble." And he did not allow him to proceed for three days and three nights.

After that Nayā-noyan took Qulan-qatun and Dayir-usun, and brought them together to Chinggis-qahan. Chinggis-qahan then said, "Nayā, why did you hold them up?" He got very angry and ordered that *Nayā* be thoroughly and severely questioned.

While they were questioning him, Qulan-qadun said: "Naya'a said *to Dayir-usun*, 'I am a high officer of Chinggis-qahan. Let us *go* together to offer your daughter to Chinggis-qahan. The soldiers on the road will be troublesome.' So he warned us. Now, had we met with other troops but Naya'a's, we would have been intercepted and got into trouble. Probably it was good for us to meet this Naya'a. Now that Naya'a is being questioned, the qahan may condescend to examine *my* body, which my father and mother bore by Heaven's will." She had this messaged conveyed *to Chinggis-qahan*.

When Naya'a was questioned he said, "My face does not turn away from the qahan:

> If daughters with beautiful cheeks and ladies
> Of foreign people I come across,
> And geldings with fine croups,
> I *always* say, 'They will be the qahan's!'

Should I *ever* think differently from this let me die!"

Chinggis-qahan approved Qulan-qatun's testimony: that very day he had her examined in the way described and *things* turned out to be just as Qulan-qatun had stated.

Chinggis-qahan *then* showed favour to Qulan-qatun and loved her. As Naya'a's words had been confirmed, he approved of him. He showed favour to him *too*, saying, "He is a truthful *man*, I shall entrust him with important affairs!"

(To be continued)

COMMENTARY

(For the abbreviations used in this commentary see *PFEH* 4 [September 1971]. 151-152, and 5 [March 1972].175).

186 A transcription in Mongol vertical script of the entire Chapter VII is found in Če. Damdinsürüng, *Mongγol uran ǰokiyal-un degeǰi ǰaγun bilig orusibai* (Ulan-Bator, 1959), pp.15-19. It is followed by Professor Damdinsüren's translation of this chapter into modern literary Mongolian, also in the old script, taken from his 1947 edition of the *SH* (pp.159-180). On Taqai-ba'atur see §151 and n., and Cleaves in *HJAS* XVIII (1955).400, n.261; on the Jirgin, a subtribe of the Kereit, see my n.170. "Chinggis-qahan gave the following order" (*Chinggis-qahan jarliq bolurun*), lit. "Chinggis-qahan said," I translate *jarliq bol-* sometimes with "to order (*or* give an order), to decree," sometimes with "to say" according to the context. Further below "he ordered with reference to" is, literally, "he said." On Ibaqa-beki (*read* -begi) see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.236, 243; Chinggis-qan later gave Ibaqa-begi as wife to Jürchedei, the chief of the Urūt. As for Sorqaqtani-beki (= Sorghaqtani-begi), ?-1252, there is a vast literature on her, as she was the Christian (Nestorian) wife of Tolui and the mother of Möngke, Qubilai, Hülegü and Ariq-böge. See Pelliot in *TP* XV (1914).628; *Recherches sur les chrétiens*, pp.66-67 (with reference also to her sister Ibaqa-begi); Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, pp.168-171 *et passim*; cf. also P. Ratchnevsky in *Tractata Altaica* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp.510-511, 521-522. Tolui, the fourth son of Chinggis-qan, is mentioned here for the first time. He was born between 1186 and 1190 and died in 1231 or 1232. He briefly held the regency of the empire between Chinggis' death in 1227 and the enthronement of Ögödei in 1229. On him see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.375-376; Hambis, *Le chapitre cvii du Yuan che*, pp.88-89. Cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* XI (1948).318, n.18. "The hereditary subjects... *of a cart*," lit. "the hereditary subjects (*emchü irge*) depending from him be a 'whole' and *like* the other shaft *of a cart*," i.e., they should be kept united as a group and, together with Jaqa-gambu as their chief, they should assist Chinggis-qan. For the expression "to be the second shaft of a cart" meaning "to assist," see §177. *Tumda'a* is glossed in the Chinese interlinear version as *yüan-ch'üan* 圓全 "whole, complete"; cf. the form *tumdaqa* in §198, which is glossed as *ch'üan* 全 *idem*. The written form must have been **tumdagha*, a word apparently unattested elsewhere in Mongolian. I think it is the *nomen imperfecti* in *-gha* of **tumda-* "to unite under one head," a verb probably derived from Chinese *t'ung* 統 "whole, all, entirely; gather into one, unite" + the denom. verbal suffix *-da-*.

**Tumdagha* > *tumda'a* would then mean "that which has been and still is united under one head." It should be noted that the concept of *t'ung* implies continuity and that the *nomen imperfecti* in Mongolian expresses also the idea of uninterrupted continuity. My etymology is, of course, hypothetical.

187 "*Just* as it was when *Ong-qan* had it," lit. "as he had been living *in it*" (*sa'uqsa'ar*), i.e. with all its contents. The Chinese interlinear version glosses *sa'uqsa'ar* (*conv. abtemp.* of *sa'u-* "to sit, dwell, be") as *ch'üan-chü* 全具 (=俱) "all complete." "The golden bowls and vessels" (*altan gürü'e ayaqa saba*): the Chinese gloss renders *gürü'e* as *chiu-chü* 酒扈, the usual meaning of which is "wine shop or depot." The Mongol term *gürü'e* (< *gürüge*) occurs only once in the *SH*. In Writ. Mong. *gürüge* is an alternate form of *gürege* "arteries of the neck" (Kowalewski, p.2644a); there is also a word transcribed in Lessing, p.392b, as *gürüge* meaning "wickerwork" (a *nomen imperfecti* of *gürü-* "to braid, plait"; cf. Kowalewski, p.2645b, *idem*); however, strictly speaking, these words should be read as *göröge* (and *görö-*), see N. Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha* (Wiesbaden, 1967) p.48: F38v, 13 (*görögsen*). In any case, neither of these two terms fits the context. As pointed out by Professor Poppe (personal communication), *gürü'e* corresponds to Turkish *körägä* "a container for wine" (Chagatai); "cup, bowl" (Crimean); see Radloff, *Versuch*, II, p.1251a. In view of this I think that the Chinese gloss must be understood here in the meaning of "wine service;" i.e. all the objects (cups, bowls, etc.) pertaining to the serving and drinking of wine. "Together with those", lit. "together with the people (= personnel)." "Ongqojit Kereyit" is explained by Pelliot as Ongqojit = *Ongqajit, plural of *Ongqajin, ethnic of Ong-qan, hence "the Kereit of Ong-qan" (Pelliot-Hambis, p.128). These Ongqojit Kereyit would then be Ong-qan's clansmen. *Keshikten* (= *keshigten*) "bodyguards" is a possessive noun formed on *keshik* (= *keshig*) "the bodyguard"; on the exact meaning and etymology of this word see Mostaert, pp.374-382 and notes. To carry quivers and participate in formal drinking were privileges not enjoyed by household serfs and grooms like Badai and Kishiliq, but they became entitled to them by becoming *darqat* or freedmen. See the interesting remarks on this question in Ligeti, p.164, n.187. Cf. §§51, 169. On the short alliterative passage cf. the words spoken by Altan, Quchar and Sacha-beki in §123. "My descendants," lit. "to the offspring of the offspring." "One after the other" (*ulam ulam*) actually refers to the remembering or thinking (*uqatuqai*); however, I have transposed it for purely stylistic reasons. "Took as many as they wished," lit. "mutually took (= helped each other) until they had distributed them," i.e. until they had enough, as the gloss says. The brave Jirgin were the crack troops of Ong-qan (see §170); after a battle they had the right to take as trophies the blood-stained

possessions and clothing (*chisutu tonoq*, lit. "bloody clothing") of the fallen enemies. According to a later source, the victor hung these gory trophies on the right side of his saddle, while at the same time leading the dead enemy's horse from the left side. This symbolized the victory also over the honour of the horse. See C. Šardarsüren in *Khel zokhiol sudlal* VIII, 1-12 (1970).315-320. As for *tonoq* cf. Turkish *ton* (< Skr. *thauna*) "clothing"; however, this term seems to include other personal possessions carried by a warrior on his person. The interlinear gloss renders it as "stripping off (personal effects)" (剝脫); cf. also the verb *tono-* "to strip off, to rob." *Tonoq* now means "weapons, tools, utensils", see Lessing, p.825a. The ethnic origin of the Jirgin is not clear and it is possible that they were related to the Jürkin (Yürkin), which is certainly suggested by their names, although the former were apparently a subtribe of the Kereit, whereas the latter were Mongols proper. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.56-57, 398. An instance of Jürkin plundering clothes is related in *SH* §136, but this was obviously a mere raid. "They separated and divided them, but could not give some to everybody," i.e. they were unable to separate and divide them so as to give everybody some. Abji'a-ködeger (Abjiqa[= Abjigha]-köteger in §191: "? Shrunk Height [*or* Elevation]), where Chinggis-qan spent the winter of 1203 after the destruction of the Kereit tribe, was a hilly place situated somewhere near the sources of the river Khalkha, E.S.E. of the Buir-nor. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.409; Perlee, p.4 ("S.E. of Choibalsan"); *Mongoru hishi*, II, pp.224-225, n.7. As pointed out by Pelliot, it was here too that the Qonggirat had their winter camp; cf. J.A. Boyle in *CAJ* XVII (1973).109.

188 The "Nekün Water of (= in) Didik-saqal" has not been identified. Nekün-usun ("Slave Water") was almost certainly the name of a spring. The first element of Didik-saqal is Turkish *titiq* "mud"; the second is Turkish and Mongolian *saqal* "beard," hence "Mud Beard" - an unusual name for a locality. I suspect that *saqal* may have been used also as a topographical term the meaning of which is now lost. However, one cannot exclude the possibility, suggested long ago by Pelliot (*JA* XV [1920].177-178), that Didik-saqal is the name of the (Naiman?) chief in whose territory Nekün-usun was situated, but I think this is unlikely because Nekün-usun occurs twice in this section, both times preceded by the qualifying "of Didik-saqal." There is no doubt, in any case, that this locality was on the fringe of the Naiman territory in Western Mongolia and just north of the Gobi (which, in the subsequent passage concerning Senggüm's flight, is called Chöl). Thus both father and son, after leaving the Bayan Ula region, had made their way to the southwest; Ong-qan was waylaid further west in search of water and fell victim to the Naiman chief Qori-sübechi (on whom see also §194), who was then patrolling the area. As for Senggüm, he

bypassed (lit. "went outside") that area and, continuing his southward journey, crossed the Gobi. On Chöl ("Desert") = the Gobi, see Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp.178-179; both Pelliot and Ligeti, p.165, n.188, have pointed out that in the *SH* this word is always glossed as "place name" (*YCPS* 7, 5b; S.II, 48b). I may add that it is mentioned also in the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389 (IIb, 13a) as a locality; however, in the present context Chöl almost certainly means the desert region between the Naiman territory and the Tangut country. On the term *chöl* "desert" see also Cleaves in *HJAS* XII (1949).113, n.105. "Your master Senggüm," lit. "your qan Senggüm." For a translation and discussion of the passage beginning "His wife said" and ending "so that he can draw water and drink!," see Mostaert, pp.104-109. As noted by Mostaert, p.106, the *aqtachi* Kököchü was not a simple groom, in which case his condition would have merely been that of a serf, but he was a "comrade" (*nökör*) of Senggüm, which explains why he was given costly clothes and tasty dishes by his master. Hence "equerry" is here a better rendering of *aqtachi* than "groom". *Jantawu*, the word for "cup" in this passage, seems to be of Chinese origin, like the term *chung* "cup" in §179. The first element of the word (*jan*) is probably Chinese *chan* 盞 "cup"; the second element is not clear. As noted by Khomonov (*Trudy Bur. Inst. Obshch. Nauk BF SO AN SSR* XIII [1970].31), there is a Buriat word *zamtuu* meaning "iron pot"; see K.M. Cheremisov, *Buryatsko-russkiĭ slovar'* (Moscow, 1973), p.250: *zantuu* "iron bucket, tin teapot." We are undoubtedly dealing with the same word, although this has undergone a semantic shift in Buriat from "(metal) cup" to "iron pot (kettle), bucket." According to Khomonov, *loc. cit.*, Buriat is the only Mongol language that has preserved this term. "He threw back" - in the text *qoyinaqsi oru'at*; for *oru'at* read *ŏru'at* (< *o'oru'at*), *conv. perfecti* of *ŏru-* (< *o'oru-*) "to throw" (my *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*, pp.97, line 6511, and p.282a, is to be amended accordingly). The sectional summary adds that Kököchü, after leaving Senggüm, went to Chinggis-qan together with his wife, which fact is not stated in the Mongol text; however, in view of Chinggis' remarks this must have been the case. Senggüm's subsequent movements are not related in the *SH*, but we know them from Rashīd al-Dīn, the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* and the *YS*. He crossed the Gobi, reaching the region of the Etsin-gol in the Hsi-Hsia kingdom of northwest China. There he lived for a while as a marauder. Driven away by the local people he fled to northeastern Tibet, probably to Hsi-ning or Tsaidam, then to the region of Kucha in Uighur territory, always engaging in banditry. He was eventually killed by a local emir. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp.180-185. As pointed out by Pelliot, the *SH* account is somewhat legendary and there is no doubt that Senggüm was not alone when he left Mongolia, but must have had with him a band of followers. "And so he went away," lit. "And so he came." "And take him for a comrade," lit. "when (*or* if) he becomes (*or* joins as) a comrade" (*nököche'esü*). "He felled him down": this is a more literal translation of *chabchiju* than the usual ones of "he had him beheaded (*or* executed)"; from the text it appears that it was Chinggis-qan who personally carried out the execution.

189 Tayang-qan, the ruler of the Naiman tribe, was briefly mentioned in §166. He was the son of Ïnanch-bilge-bügü-qan (called Inancha-qan in §151; Inancha-bilge-qan in §§177 and 189) and, according to the *SH*, of Gürbesü who in this section (189) is called Tayang's "mother" (*eke*). However, there seems to be some confusion on this point, as Gürbesü, according to other sources, was actually Tayang's wife. See the discussion in Pelliot-Hambis, pp.308-309. "Who placed it on a large white felt rug": this is the first reference in the *SH* to the white felt rug (*toloq*; Writ. Mong. *tologh*), which plays such an important part in Mongol enthronement, marriage and, as here, funeral ceremonies, since the remotest times. See Ligeti, p.165, n.189, and my "Sino-Mongol Culture Contacts in the XIII c. - A Study on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai" (Ph.D. dissertation, A.N.U., Canberra, 1960), pp.247-252, n.116; cf. also L. Olschki, *The Myth of Felt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), p.21ff. On the term *toloq* see Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, p.666b. The ritual of the daughter-in-law is not known; for details of other domestic rituals involving the daughter-in-law see *Mongoru hishi*, II, pp.240-241, n.5. "Ceremonial wine drinking," i.e. the formal "toasting" or *ötök*, on which see my note to §154. "Violin playing" - the violin being, of course, the Mongolian fiddle or *qu'ur* (Writ. Mong. *qughur*), the ancestor of our violin. "It laughed" is the literal meaning of *inējü'ü* (= *inegejügü*); however, the author perhaps meant that it grinned, as has been understood by other translators. On the Naiman chief Kökse'ü-sabraq see §159 and note. "This is not something one should do," lit. "Is it something proper?" (*ya'un jokiqui*). "Ominous," lit. "bad, nasty" (*mawui*), but what is implied is that the dogs' barking bodes ill after Tayang's sacrilegious act. For other historical references to dogs' barking as a sign of ill omen see Ligeti, *loc. cit.* "I got conceived *only* through magic," lit. "I caused him to be born by means of magic (*elbesü'er*)," i.e. by means of prayers, incantations and other shamanistic practices. On *elbesün* see my note to §174. "Born a weakling" renders *torluq töreksen; torluq*, not glossed in the text, corresponds to Turkish *turlaq* "lean, emaciated," see *Drevnetyurkskiĭ slovar'*, p.587b; Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p.546b. This is confirmed by the sectional summary which says, "*My* son Tayang is still soft and weak" (*YCPS* 7, 12b). *Torlugh* still survives in Mongolian, usually in combination with *modun* "tree", with the meaning of "twig, switch," and as a name of a plant. See Lessing, p.826b; cf. *Dictionnaire ordos*, p.671a; *Meng Han tz'u-tien* 蒙漢詞典 (Huhehot, 1975), p.690c.

The puzzling word *törülmish* is also not glossed in the text. The Chinese transcription may represent either *torulmish(i)* or *törülmish(i)*, but, according to Pelliot *(Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p.65, n.2) only the former is the correct form. Unfortunately Pelliot does not discuss this term, which some scholars have ignored, while some others, such as Haenisch, have taken for an appellation of Tayang. Haenisch says that it is a Turkish word meaning "who has cleansed himself" (der sich gereinigt hat), see his *Mangḫol un niuca tobca'an* (Wiesbaden, rep. 1962), p.115, n.189.6. Cf. A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, p.344b: *turul-* "gereinigt werden." According to P. Poucha, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal* (Prag, 1956), p.59, *torulmïsh* is a Turkish verbal noun in *-mïsh* from *tor-* (= *tur-*) "to grow thin" + the reflexive or passive suffix *-ul-*. *Torulmïsh* would then mean "who has grown thin." Poucha also takes this to be an appellation of Tayang-qan. There is no doubt that the word *torluq* is used as an epithet or appellation later in this section, where Tayang is called "Torluq Tayang," i.e. "Weakling Tayang," and in §190, where he is called "Torluq-qan" or "Weakling qan." But I think that the word read as *torulmish* by Haenisch and others should be actually read *törülmish*, meaning in Turkish "*he* has been brought into existence" (from *törü-* "to come into existence, to be born"). Cf. S. Murayama, "Sind die Naiman Türken oder Mongolen?", *CAJ* IV (1958/59).196: "Das Wort *törülmiši* ist ein türkisches Wort *törül-miš* 'geboren wurde'." Ligeti also reads *törülmiši*, but translates differently, see his *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p.147, and Ligeti, p.77. "Now the dogs bark and their barking sounds as if *misfortune* is approaching" is a rather free rendering of *edö'e noqan-u dawun idüreküi quchal quchamui*. The word *idüreküi* is a *nomen futuri* of *idüre-*, a verb which appears in the *SH* with the meaning of "to catch up, to approach," see Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.80. This verb is not Mongolian but, like other words in this section, of Turkish origin: *yitür-* (*yetür-*) "to cause to arrive," see *Etymological Dictionary*, p.893a. However, the general meaning here, as the paraphrase in the sectional summary indicates, is "(to foretell) an approaching calamity" - much as we would say "something is going to happen." "With their quivers": what are meant, of course, are the arrows contained in the quivers. "Even if there are (lit. 'let there be') two shining lights... but how can there be two rulers on earth?," cf. the ancient Chinese saying "There are not two suns in the sky, nor two rulers on the land" (天無二日，土無二王). See Morohashi, *Dai kanwa jiten*, III, No.5833.1641. It is probably with this saying in mind that the author of the sectional summary renders the Mongolian text as follows: "In the sky there is only one sun and one moon; how can there be two masters on earth?" (*YCPS* 7, 13a). This rendering, however, does not correspond to the original. "Their clothes are grimy," lit. "they have dark

clothes." "We might perhaps... our cows and sheep," for a discussion and translation of this passage, see Mostaert, pp.109-110. To take away somebody's quiver, i.e. arrows, and bow (see also §190) obviously meant to carry out a successful raid.

190 "Despite Kökse'ü-sabraq's warning," lit. "He had been warned by Kökse'ü-sabraq, but..." On Alaqush-digit-quri and the Önggüt see §182 and n. Tayang sought an alliance with the Önggüt probably on the strength of former marriage links between the two people (see Pelliot-Hambis, p.319) and the fact that both these people were of Turkish extraction and Nestorian faith. On the "Turkishness" of the Naiman see the interesting article by Murayama cited earlier (n.189 above). "The right wing" (*bara'un qar*), lit. "the right hand." As the Naiman would proceed to the northeast against the Mongols, the Önggüt who lived in North China and, therefore, southeast of the Naiman, were "to the right" in relation to the latter; hence, they would form the right wing of the joint army. "I will join you from here" (*bi endeche qamsaju*): on *qamsa-* "to join with an ally attacking the enemy from another side," see note to §133. Yuqunan is the Turkish-Mongolian form of Syriac Yôḥannàn, i.e. Johannes, John, a very common name among the Nestorian Christians. The *SH* account on the identity of the two envoys Torbi-tash and Yuqunan is at variance with the accounts in the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, Rashid-ad-Din and in other Chinese sources. See Pelliot, *Recherches sur les chrétiens*, pp.275-276, n.4. "Was engaged in a battue" renders *abalaju*. The verb *abala-* means "to hunt by making a circular battue" (< *aba* "a circular battue"), see N.Ts. Münküyev in *Tractata Altaica*, p.428, n.5, and the important contribution of A. Harayama on Mongol hunting in *Tōyōshi kenkyū* XXXI (1972).1-28, esp. pp.1-3. The area where Chinggis was hunting at the time is called Teme'en-ke'er, i.e. the Camel Steppe, and corresponds to the Temegei Valley (忙) of the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 52a and 53b, and to the Temeen-kehere and Temege of Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.135 and 146. This is the place to which, according to the two above-mentioned sources, Chinggis-qan had gone in the winter of 1203 after the defeat of the Kereit. However, according to the *SH* §187, he had spent that winter of Abji'a-ködeger at the sources of the Khalkha. These two localities - Abji'a-ködeger and the Camel Steppe - were near each other, as is confirmed in §191 (see below). Perlee, p.11, says that the latter was undoubtedly northwest of the Khalkha. The location of the Camel Steppe has been discussed by various scholars. Some, like Ting Ch'ien, have placed it in the region of the Tula, which is excluded since Chinggis-qan was in eastern Mongolia at the time. Others, like Wang Kuo-wei (see his commentary in the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 52b), claim that it was near the Ta-li po or Ta-erh hu, i.e. the Dar-nor or Dalai-nor (also called Ta-erh nao-erh, Yü-erh po, etc.; for this lake see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.355). Yanai Watari (*Mōkoshi*

kenkyū, pp.598-601) for the same reasons as Wang Kuo-wei places it just northeast of Ta-li po, in the area of the Silingol (Hsi-lin ho) river, at about 44° N. lat. and 117° E. long. (see the map in *Mōkoshi kenkyū*). The argument put forth by these two scholars, which is summarized by Murakami in *Mongoru hishi*, II, p.246, n.15, is sound, as it is based on an investigation of other references to the Camel Steppe in the *YS*. However, the Camel Steppe of the *SH* was beyond doubt near the Khalkha river. Does that mean, then, that there were two areas called by the same name? I do not think so. I think that it is quite possible that the whole region extending for about 500 km. southwestwards from the Buir-nor and Khalkha river to the Ta-li po was loosely known in Chinggis-qan's time as the Camel Steppe. Thus, the place where he was hunting in the spring of 1204 would have been the northern end of the Camel Steppe, whereas the "Temēn-kēr" (= Teme'en-ke'er) of the *YS* 118, 5b, where he was encamped some time in the year 1214, must have been the southern end of it. The term *ke'er* "steppe" could, in fact, apply to a wide area, as was the case with the other famous steppe, the Sa'ari-ke'er, west of the Kerulen. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.389. Tülkin-che'üd ("The Tülkin[?] Hills") was obviously a group of two or more hills in the same area. On this name see Mostaert, p.260. "There is nothing we can do now," lit. "what can we do now?" Otchigin-noyan is Temüge-otchigin, the younger brother of Chinggis, already mentioned in §§60 and 79 (as Temüge) and 99 (as Temüge-otchigin). Temüge was his personal name; "otchigin" was the designation of the youngest son who, by tradition, was the "lord of the hearth" (*otchigin* < Turk. *ot* "fire" + *chigin* [= *tigin, tegin*] "prince"), i.e. the inheritor and keeper of the native domain or territory. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.175-179. Belgütei-noyan is, of course, Chinggis' half brother (see §§76-77). The brothers' names are followed by the title of *noyan* "noble". For a translation and discussion of Belgütei's words up to "difficult" see Mostaert, pp.111-113. "Burdened with their palatial tents, won't they leave them behind?," lit. "Carrying their palatial tents on their backs, won't they (i.e. the palatial tents) stay behind?" (*ordo ger inu e'ürejü ülü-'ü qochoru'ujai*). The word *e'ürejü* (*conv. imperfecti* of *e'üre-*) is not glossed in the text, and the sectional summary (*YCPS* 7, 17b) paraphrases the whole sentence as "*their* homes (= tents) will be *left* empty." Murakami (*Mongoru hishi*, II, p.247, n.18) suggests that *e'üre-* may correspond to Writ. Mong. *egürle-* "to stay always in the same place," see Lessing, p.302b; *Dictionnaire ordos*, p.762b. However, in principle *e'üre-* should rather correspond to *egür-* "to carry on one's back." Damdinsüren in fact translates: "They cannot carry their palatial tents on their backs; surely they will abandon them and flee!" (*Mongolyn nuuc tovčoo* [Ulan-Bator, 1976 ed.], p.140). I follow Damdinsüren's interpretation and take *e'üre-* to mean "to carry a burden, to be burdened with," but with some reservations in view of

the fact that in the *SH* the verb "to carry on one's back, to carry off" (Writ. Mong. *egür-, ügür-*) appears in the forms *ü'ür-, ūr-*. See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, pp.165, 167. Moreover, it appears that the Ming translators also had some difficulty in understanding the word *e'ürejü* since they left it untranslated. This problem deserves further investigation. What Belgütei means is that, should the Mongols attack the Naiman by surprise, the Naiman would flee leaving behind all their possessions - horses, the chiefs' tents, etc. "In high places," i.e. on mountain forests. "Allow them to carry out," lit. "let them say."

191 On the "Jagged Cliff" (Keltegei Qada) of Or-nu'u on the Khalkha see §175 and note; see also above, n.187. Before the dramatic confrontation with the Naiman in 1204, Chinggis begins the reorganization of the army which will be continued and completed in the Year of the Tiger 1206 (see §202ff.) He starts by counting his forces and dividing them into units of a thousand (*minqan = mingqan*), a hundred (*ja'un*) and ten men (*harban*), appointing a *noyan* "noble = chief, leader" in charge of each unit. This system of decimal classification of military forces among the nomadic tribes of Inner Asia is very old and already existed in the Hsiung-nu empire before our era. See Ligeti, p.166, n.191. On Chinggis' introduction of this system see Vladimirtsov, p.131 ff. and Honda Minobu in *Rekishi kyōiku* IX, 7 (1961).11. Further references will be given in my note to §224. The expressions *minqan* (*ja'un, harban*) *minqala-* (*ja'ula-, harbala-*) are technical expressions meaning "to form units of a thousand (a hundred, ten) men each." On the expressions *minqan-u* (*ja'un-u, harban-u*) *noyan*, see Cleaves in *HJAS* XVI (1953).46, n.7. At the same time Chinggis appointed cherbi and organized his personal bodyguard, which will also be enlarged and reconstructed in 1206. The cherbi (already met in §120), or chamberlains, were important officials entrusted with the management of the qan's household and property (ordo), including the serving of food and control of the domestic staff, and with the safety of the qan. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.348; Doerfer, No.176; *Mongoru hishi*, I, pp.261-262, n.1; cf. also §§124 and 234 for the cherbi's duties. Dödei-cherbi was mentioned earlier in §124 (on his name see below, n.193 *in fine*); Ögele(Ögölei, Ögöle, Ögölen)-cherbi was mentioned in §§120 and 124; Doqolqu-cherbi and Söyiketü-cherbi were mentioned in §120. On these last three cherbi see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.348-349, 352-353, 256. On Tolun-cherbi and Bucharan-cherbi see *Mongoru hishi*, II, pp.252-253, nn.4 and 5. "Having formed," lit. "having finished forming." The qan's bodyguard (*keshik*), divided into day-guards (*turqa'ut*) and night-guards (*kebte'ül*), was the most important institution. On these terms see Mostaert, pp.244-257; Haenisch in *Zeitschr. d. Deutchen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft* CXI (1961).144-149; Pelliot in *TP* XXVII (1930).27-31; Cleaves in *HJAS* XIV (1951).517, n.66; and, especially, Doerfer,

Nos.322, 331, 333, 334, 882. On the organization of the guard see the important study by Yanai in *Mōkoshi kenkyū*, pp.211-262. The expression *keshikten ilqaju oro'ul-* means "to choose and recruit men who serve on roster (i.e. the guards)." See Mostaert, p.247. For the recruitment of bodyguards from the sons of military leaders and of ordinary people cf. *SH* §224, where these instructions are repeated and expanded. The relevant passage in §244 has been translated and discussed by Mostaert, pp.250-257, where expressions like *düri* (*dürü*)-*yin gü'ün* "ordinary people, commoners," *erdemüt*[*t*]*en* "who have talents, who are able," and *shil sayit* (= *beye shil sayitan* of §191) "of good appearance (i.e. well-built)" are discussed. The word *ütü* before *dürü-yin gü'ün* is glossed as "only that way, only as far as that" (只那般); cf.the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1368, IIa, 22b: "only" (只). It is a rare word which appears but seldom in Preclassical texts and is not found in Written Mongolian. Cf. N. Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha*, p.30: F15r, 4, and p.41: F30r, 13. The sense of the expression is clear: people who are only ordinary, just ordinary people, commoners. On Chinggis' trusted envoy Arqai-qasar see my note to §177. On the term *ba'atut* "valiant men, braves" see Vladimirtsov, p.93 *et passim*. "To fight before me in time of battle," lit. "The day of the battle let them fight standing before me." *Olon üdür* literally means "many (*or* most) days;" however, the sectional summary renders this expression as "in peace time" (平時), no doubt because, as Professor Poppe notes (personal communication), "most days" are not spent at war. "Sharing command," lit. "consulting each other *on the command*" (*eyetüldüjü*): the verb *eyetüldü-* is employed here as a technical military term "to share command, to command jointly."

192 For a translation of the whole passage dealing with Chinggis-qan's order concerning the duties of the guards, etc., see Cleaves in *HJAS* XIV (1951).520-521. For further translations and commentaries on passages in this section see Mostaert, pp.77, 139-141, 248. "And take their *appointed* place," lit. "let them sit upon their seats." "Having formed," lit. "having finished forming." For a detailed description of service regulations for the quiver-bearers, stewards, guards, etc., as set out in 1206, see the *SH* §§224-229. For the further development of these institutions in Ögödei's time see §278. There is an apparent contradiction between §§191 and 192. In §191 Chinggis-qan orders Arqai-qasar to choose the *ba'atut* himself and appoints him their leader. In §192, on the other hand, we read that Chinggis-qan "selected the valiant men for Arqai-qasar" (*Arqai-qasar-a ba'atut ilqaju*). I think that the former statement is correct and that the phrase in §192 should be understood as "he caused the valiant men to be selected by Arqai-qasar."

193 The sacrifice to the standard at the outset of a campaign is a well-known custom which has survived among the Mongols until recent times. See *Mongoru hishi*, II, pp.264-265, n.2; Cleaves in *HJAS* XIX (1956). 268 and n.726. Cf. Ligeti, p.145, n.73. The sacrifice, or ritual of consecration, consisted essentially of a drink offering (of kumys), known as *sachuli*, to the spirit of the banner. Jebe and Qubilai had been sent out together on previous missions, see, e.g., §153. For the Sa'ari Steppe see my note to §128. I think that Qangqarqan is probably to be read Qangqar-qan, *qan* "lord" being often used as an honorific designation of a mountain. It has been suggested that Qangqar is another name of the Qangqai, i.e. the Khangai range (see Ligeti, p.166, n.193); in my view this is unlikely since the Qangqai is mentioned at the very beginning of §194 in its regular form. According to Professor Poppe (personal communication), Qangqarqan could also be a diminutive form in *-qan* of *qanggar* "large, wide" (= Writ. Mong. *qanggaghar*), i.e. "rather large." The Qangqarqan has been identified by Perlee, p.7, with a mountain in the eastern Khangai called Khankhar Uul at 47° N. lat. and 101° E. long. This mountain is not marked on the maps available to me, but from its situation as given by Perlee it seems to be close to the river Tanui and the place where Tayang-qan was encamping at the time (see below); this is too far west, as the Qangqarqan was a mountain near enough to the Sa'ari Steppe to permit the Naiman scouts to watch the Mongol encampment there. It would be tempting to identify this mountain with the Qanggharqai mentioned in the *Pei-cheng hou lu* 北征後錄 of Chin Yu-tzu (see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.324), called in Chinese San-hsia k'ou 三夾口 or "Three Defile Entrance" - probably identical with San-kuan k'ou 三關口 - which was situated in the mountains to the northwest of the Sa'ari Steppe and which, I think, corresponds to the present-day Dasaiin Ama south of Ulan-Bator, but this is evidently too far to the northeast. The Sa'ari Steppe embraced a vast area (about 400 km) from the Kerulen in the west to the steppe south and southwest of the Tula, probably as far as Högshinii Tala at 47° and 103°, the "classical" portion being, as is known, between the southern bend of the Tula and the southern bend of the Kerulen. I think that in 1204 Chinggis-qan's army was deployed in the western portion of the Steppe, at an area somewhere between the Tula and the Doloon Uul. It must have been in the region between the Doloon Uul and the Orkhon that the encounter with Tayang-qan took place (see §195 and note). Qangqarqan was probably in the northern part of Doloon Uul. "Until our geldings are fat," lit. "until our geldings have eaten their fill." "Every single one *of us*," lit. "every living person," i.e. all tribesmen, including women and children. "Each," lit. "per man (= per head)." "Everyone," lit. "every living person". "They seem to increase every day," lit. "are

they increasing daily?" For criticism of Haenisch's translation of §193 see Cleaves, pp.528-529; Ligeti, p.166, n.193. Cleaves, p.528, reads the name Dödei-cherbi as "Dodai Čerbi." The Chinese transcription permits both readings; however, my reason for adopting the form Dödei in preference to Dodai is that the former is the reading found in the *AT*, I, 72.

194 According to Perlee, p.7, Qachir-usun ("?Cheek Water[s]") corresponds to the present-day Khoromogo brook in the Khangai at 47° N. lat. and 102° E. long. (Perlee's "112°" is an obvious misprint for "102°"). This stream is not found in our maps, but the position given by Perlee seems to be correct. We know (§195) that when Tayang-qan left his camp at Qachir-usun he went downstream along the Tamir river, i.e. the Urd Tamir Gol, or Urida Tamiriin Gol of our maps, and crossed the Orkhon. Therefore, his camp must have been in one of the valleys crossed by tributary streams of the Tamir just south of Tsetserlig, and Qachir-usun was almost certainly one of them. I doubt, however, whether one can be so precise in identifying Qachir-usun with a particular stream as Perlee has done. I should mention that in the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 54b, the place in question is given as "the river Qajir-usun of the Khangai mountains." In his commentary to this passage, Wang Kuo-wei (*loc. cit.*) says that this is the present-day Ha-jui 哈瑞 river, i.e. the Hanuyn Gol (Khanuï Gol) between the Hoito Tamiriin Gol (Hoït Tamir Gol) and the Chuluutayin Gol (Čolutu Gol), an identification proposed also by T'u Chi (*Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 2, 28a). This identification is based on wrong phonetic grounds, i.e. the similarity in sound between Ha-jui and Ha-chih-erh (Qajir); in my view it is also unacceptable because it would place the Naiman camp too far west. The parallel account in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.147, says that Tayang was "in the river valley of the Altai (*rūdkhāna Altā'i*) at the boundary of the territory of Khangai" (for the Persian text see I.N. Berezin, *Trudy V.O.I.R.A.O.* XV, 1888, p.4, l.4). The name "Altai" is puzzling. This passage seems to be corrupt: the original text of Rashīd al-Dīn or the source he used probably said that Tayang "had come from the Altai" and was then "in a river valley in the Khangai." Cf. D'Ohsson, I, p.86, and Grousset's remarks in *L'empire mongol*, p.160 and n.2. Professor Poppe informs me (personal communication) that the term "Altai" does not always mean the Altai Mountains, but simply "snow-covered mountains" (German *Hochgebirge*); thus, it could refer to any mountain range. Güchülük is a Turkish word: *küchlüg* "strong" (see Doerfer, No.1676) used here as a name, or rather title, of the Naiman prince. On this title borne by members of the Naiman royal family see Pelliot-Hambis, p.305. Güchülük, or Küchlüg, had an adventurous life. After the defeat of his people by Chinggis in 1204 he fled

to Central Asia and sought asylum in the Qara-Khitai capital Balasaghun (near Toqmaq in Kazakhstan). In 1211 he succeeded in deposing the gür-qan of the Qara-Khitai and seized the throne for himself. However, he ruled badly and alienated his subjects. In 1218, just before setting out on his campaign against Muḥammad of Khwārazm, Chinggis sent Jebe to crush him and the Naiman prince was eventually killed by Mongol horsemen on the Pamir. On Güchülük see K.A. Wittfogel and F.C. Sheng, *History of Chinese Society. Liao (907-1125)*, (Philadelphia, 1949), p.710c s.v. "Ch'ü-ch'u-lu." "To disengage ourselves will be difficult," lit. "will it *not* be difficult to separate from one another?" "Is it advisable for us...," lit. "If we fight the tough Mongols who... will *that* do?" For the passage beginning *Monggol-un aqtas* and ending *qamtudu'asu bolquyu* see Mostaert, pp.113-115. "The southern slopes of the Altai (*Altai-yin ölkes*): *ölkes* is glossed as *shan-hsia* 山下 "the foot of a mountain," and in §196 (*YCPS* 7, 43b) as *shan-ch'ien* 山前 "the front (side) of a mountain," i.e. the southern side. Cf. Writ. Mong. *ölke* "sunny side of a mountain" (Lessing, p.633b). "Fighting a dog's fight" (*noqai kerel kerejü*) is a technical expression for a well-known military strategy consisting of withdrawing one's soldiers, inducing the enemy to pursue them, then suddenly turn back and attack the, by now, exhausted pursuers - hence the image of fighting, i.e. biting back, like a dog. See Ligeti, p.167, n.194; cf. M. Gaadamba in *Medee* IV (1970).25-27. "When we have made their bellies leaner," lit. "making their bellies stretch up," i.e. reducing the volume of their bellies and, therefore, making them fitter for combat. "We shall *turn back and* smash into their faces," lit. "We shall pour out over their faces." See Mostaert, pp.115-116. Jamuqa was last mentioned in §181 when he was still with Ong-qan of the Kereit; after Ong-qan's defeat he escaped and joined Tayang-qan and the Naiman in their fight against Chinggis-qan. It is quite clear from Küchlüg's remarks that a considerable number of Mongols were still on his side. "To go as far as," lit. "to go the distance (*qajar-a*)." Küchlüg's insolent words to his father are expressed in the form of an alliterative saying, probably of ancient origin, containing the graphic images of the pregnant woman and the fat calf. In the text the calf is called "a wheel's calf" (*gürdün-ü tuqul*), an expression which is not very clear and which has been variously understood by other scholars as meaning a calf as tall as a wheel (Haenisch), as round as a wheel (Ligeti), or tied to a (cart) wheel (Murakami). I am in favour of Ligeti's interpretation because of the parallelism between the pregnant woman and the round (= fat) calf. For examples of Writ. Mong. *kürdün* meaning "round" see Kowalewski, p.2649b; cf. Buriat *khürdeger* "clumsy" (Cheremisov [1973], p.626a). "Sent *this* injurious and offensive message to his own father," lit. "he sent word until it hurt and wounded his own

father." "On the day of battle when we slay one another!," lit. "on the day one meets *on the battlefield* and slays one another!" The high official (*yeke noyan*) Qori-sübechi had already appeared in §188. "Never showed the back of a man or the rump of a gelding to an enemy of equal rank" - probably an idiomatic phrase. "Even though she is only a woman," lit. "even though she is a lady," or "lady that she is" (*qadun ber gü'ün bö'esü*). On Kökse'ü-sabraq, an army leader of Tayang-qan, see §159 and my note. "The discipline in our army" (*cherig-ün bidan-u jasal*): for *jasal* "(military) order, discipline," cf. Turkish *yasal* "army order," *Mukaddimat al-Adab*, p.408b. "The turn in favour of the Mongols has been decreed *by Heaven*," lit. "the time (*chaq*, i.e. 'the hour') of the Mongols is decreed." I render the expression *ese bolbi* somewhat freely with "we have lost." The interlinear gloss is *pu chung liao* 不中了 "it is of no avail, it cannot be done, it's no good," i.e. "we are not going to succeed." Cf. Damdinsüren's rendering *Bid diildekh bolno* "we shall be defeated" (*Mongolyn nuuc tovčoo*, 1975 ed., p.145). "Having struck his quiver," no doubt to emphasize his decision to leave and abandon Tayang-qan to his fate - much as a Chinese would say "having shaken his sleeve" (拂袖). Waley, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, p.277: "after giving his horse a tap with his quiver," has, I believe, misunderstood the text of the sectional summary (*YCPS* 7, 31a). "In the opposite direction" (*buru'u*), i.e. away from Tayang-qan.

195 According to Grousset, *Conqueror of the World*, p.151, "Mount Naqu... apparently corresponds to the Mount Namogo of our maps, or rather one of the neighbouring escarpments, north of Qara-qorum and Kosho-tsaydam," adding in a note "Probably opposite the junction of the Tamir and the Orkhon. Cf. the map in Bouillane de Lacoste, *Au pays sacré des anciens Turcs*, p.54." For Perlee, p.5, "Naku Gün" is the mountain now called Lakhu Bayan (Uul) at 47° N. lat. and 104° E. long. in the Dašinčilen Sum of Bulgan Aïmag. In the 1:1,000,000 World Map of the U.S. Army Map Service (Sheet NL48, Series 1301), Dashinchiling Suma is marked at 47°51' and 104°03', but Lakhu Bayan is not located. Both the identifications of Grousset and Perlee are based on phonetic grounds. However, Grousset's "Namogo" is not related to Naqu, but to *nomoqan* "peaceful," one of the commonest names in Mongolian topography. Although Perlee's identification is probably correct, one would be inclined to identify the Naqu with the first mountainous area that Tayang-qan was likely to meet on his way from the Orkhon to the Sa'ari Steppe, i.e. the mountains southeast of the Ügey Nuur and northwest of the Doloon Uul at 47°42' and 103°07', among which rises the Yihe Berke Uula (Ikh Berkh Uul) - the "Great Steep Mountain." If so, the site of Chakirma'ut should be looked for east or southeast of these mountains, possibly in the valley of

the Gashunii Gol and Taranaiin Gol, just north of Doloon Uul. Perlee, p.9, identifies Chakirma'ut with present-day Tsakirmöörs at 47° N. lat. and 104° E. long. As for the name Chakirma'ut, according to Professor Poppe (personal communication) it is a plural of **chakirmagh*, a word corresponding to Kirghiz *chaghïrmaq* "a 3-year old deer," see K.K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkiĭ slovar'* (Moscow, 1940), p.833a. "The more numerous *an enemy* is, the greater the damage; the less numerous he is, the lesser the damage," lit. "from many, more; from few, less is the damage" (*olon-nacha olon chö'en-neche chö'en qor bolumui-je*), i.e. the more numerous the enemy, the greater his losses, etc. The "caragana marching-order" (*qaraqana yorchil*), "lake battle-formation" (*na'ur bayi[l]du*), and "chisel combat" (*shi'üchi qatquldu'a*) seem to be all Mongol technical expressions for military tactics, the exact meanings of which are not known. *Qaraqana*, Writ. Mong. *qaraghana*, is the Siberian pea-tree (*Caragana arborescens*) which is found throughout northern Mongolia; *shi'üchi* "chisel" corresponds to the Writ. Mong. *chüche*, idem. On these expressions see M. Gaadamba in *Medee* IV (1970).27-29. However, Professor Poppe (personal communication) suggests that there may have never been such battle-formations, and that the text could be understood as follows: "Moving (going, marching) through a caragana growth, fighting at the lake signpost (*bayi-du*, i.e. *bayi* [= Writ. Mong. *bai*] 'signpost, milepost' + dat.-loc. suffix *-du*), let us fight with spears (*verbatim* let us sting, prick) a chisel-like spearfight." "Who are like wolves that come chasing a flock of sheep as far as the sheep-pen?", lit. "who are like wolves chasing many sheep and that come and chase after them as far as the sheep-pen." For the poetical passage on the "four hounds" see Mostaert, pp.11-12, 194-195. Shiremün in the old Mongolian language meant "cast (raw) copper," as indicated by the glosses of the *SH* and by the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389 (I, 13b). In Writ. Mong. and the modern dialects it means "cast (pig) iron." This word occurs also as a proper name, borne mainly by Nestorian Christians, in which case it renders the Biblical name Solomon. See Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* (rep. in one volume), pp.223-224, n.4. "In the day of killing... In the day of battles," lit. "The day when one slays one another... The day one meets *on the battlefield*." In §163 of the *SH* we made the acquaintance of the "four steeds" (*dörben külü'üt*), i.e. the four champions of Chinggis-qan: Bo'orchu, Muqali, Boroqul and Chila'un; in §195 we meet the "four hounds" (*dörben noqais*): Jebe, Qubilai (of the Barulas, see §§120, 153), Jelme and Sübe'etei - four other legendary figures in the Mongol epic. See §209, where the "four hounds" are named before the "four steeds". Cf. Pelliot-Hambis, pp.340-341, for the fusion of the two groups in the later development of the legend. "Took up position astride (lit. 'straddling') the mountain" (*a'ula asan bayiba*), i.e. with part of

his troops on the plain and part on the mountain-side, as already noted by Waley, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, p.278. The Chinese interlinear version renders the words *eke-yü'en horchin torolun güyigü unuqat metü* as "like foals that run without restraint (疾驚) turning round their mother." The word *torolun* is the iterative or frequentative in *-l-* of *toru-*, a verb meaning in the modern dialects "to run or bump into, to knock against, to stumble" (Khalkha, Buriat), "to stick, to cling; to fall into, or against, something" (Kalmuck). In Writ. Mong. we find only *tor-* "to get stuck" (Lessing, p.825b) - corresponding to Ordos *t'or-* "to be stopped, to become tangled up in something" - which also occurs in the *SH* (further on in the same §195) with the meaning of "to get stuck." Clearly, Medieval Mongolian had two distinct verbs, viz. *toro-* "to move or act in a free, unrestrained way," and *tor-* "to get stuck," which in some modern dialects have coalesced into *toro-*, whereas in others and in Writ. Mong. it is only *tor-* that has survived. For the poetical passage about the Uru'ut and the Mangqut see Cleaves in *HJAS* XVIII (1955).37, and Poppe in *CYYY* XXXIX, 2 (1969).274. "From these loathsome *beings*," lit. "from these lowly (*or* abject) *beings*" (*tede doromji-acha*). On the poetical passage about Temüjin see Mostaert, pp.117-121. "Up the mountain," lit. "climbing (*abarin*) the mountain." "Approaching next," lit. "approaching from behind (*goyinacha*)," i.e. after Temüjin. However, M. Gaadamba, in his article "The Problem of Interrelation between the 'Secret History of the Mongols' and Mongolian Folklore" in Vol. I of *The Second International Congress of Mongolists* (Ulan-Bator, 1972), p.97, renders *qoyinacha* as "from the north," probably because Tayang-qan and his troops were now south of Naqu Cliff. "In a compact mass" translates *juja'an-a*, which the Chinese sectional summary (*YCPS* 7, 41a) renders as "with a multitude of warriors." Cf. Waley, *op. cit.*, p.278. *Juja'an* means both "thick; a compact, dense mass" and "numerous" and I think that in the present context it refers to the physical appearance of Jochi-Qasar which is described in the poetical passage. Damdinsüren, *op. cit.*, p.147, renders it with *nüser am'tan* "clumsy creature." Cf. Kozin's translation (p.148): "And who is the one moving so heavily (*gruzno*) behind him?" "He is three fathoms in stature," lit. "he has a three-fathom body." "A three-year-old domestic animal" - by domestic animal (*bodo* = Writ. Mong. *boda*) is meant any large beasts, i.e. horses, oxen, camels, as opposed to small beasts (sheep and goats). "He is dragged along by three bulls," lit. "he approaches causing three bulls to drag *him*." The interpretation of this phrase in my article "Some Remarks on the Stele of Yisüngge" in *Tractata Altaica*, p.503, n.36, must be amended accordingly. The text probably implies that Qasar is on a cart pulled by three bulls. With regard to the *angqu'a* and *keyibür* arrows, Ligeti (p.167, n.195) has pointed out that they must have been

long-distance arrows of great strength. Ligeti, *loc. cit.*, has noted also that the term *keyibür* survives in Manchu *keifu*, which is the name of a presumably similar type of "boring" arrow (see E. Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache* [Tokyo, 1952], p.579), and that in Written Mongolian *anggha* (*sumu*) is the name of a two-pointed arrow (see Lessing, p.43b). The *anggha* may indeed be related to the *angqu'a* of the *SH*. However, some additional information on the *keyibür* arrows can be gleaned from the Mongol glosses to the *Mukaddimat al-Adab* recently published by A.K. Borovkov in *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1964, No.1, from which we learn (p.145, No.9) that they were "arrows with a long and broad head." "Drawing *his bow* to the full... *only* a little," lit. "drawing very much (*yeke-de*)... restraining (*or* lessening: *tatan* = German *nachlassend*)." In this poetical passage Qasar is described as a superhuman, monstrous being, by a skilful use of a hyperbole in which the qualities of the hero are trebled in magnitude. I have discussed this passage in "Some Remarks on the Stele of Yisüngge," pp.490-491, and 503, n.36. The Mongol "fathom" (*alda*) corresponded to 1.55-1.60m. - like the term "fathom" in Old English usage (*brasse* in French), the *alda* is the distance between the fingertips of two outstretched arms. "He was born a coiling dragon": the expression *gürölgü mangqus* has been the subject of the important paper by Gaadamba mentioned above (*The Second International Congress of Mongolists*, I, pp.95-100). Gaadamba suggests that the word *gürölgü* is related to Writ. Mong. *gürbel* "lizard," and that the idea of a *gürölgü mangqus*, i.e. of a lizard-like monster, may come from the discovery of dinosaur remains by the ancient Mongols. This new interpretation, although of course speculative, is to some extent supported by folklore themes in Mongolian oral literature and cannot be dismissed lightly. Gaadamba's argument can also stand on phonetic grounds: Writ. Mong. *gürbel* is *gürgül* (*Gwrgwl*) in Ordos, and a derivation *gürgül* <*güregül* <*gürelgü* (~*gürölgü*) is certainly possible. In the interlinear version of the *SH* (*YCPS* 7, 38b) *gürölgü* is glossed as *mang ming* 蟒名 "name of a large snake (*or* serpent)," but this interpretation may simply be due to the fact that *gürölgü* immediately precedes, and therefore qualifies, the word *mangqus* which is glossed, here as in §78, as *mang* (see below). On the other hand, Murakami (*Mongoru hishi*, II, pp.279 and 294, n.21) is of the opinion that *gürölgü* is the same word which appears elsewhere in the *SH* (§§89, 94, 122, 129, 141) as Gürelgü, i.e. the name of the mountains separating the Kerulen and Senggür rivers from the affluents of the Upper Onon (see my note to §89). In the Chinese transcriptions of the XIVc., ö~e in the unaccented second syllable is very common; see, e.g., *töre-* (*SH* §1 *et passim*), *törö-* (§281); *ömere-* (§244), *ömöre-* (§245). Gürölgü *mangqus* would then mean "the *mangqus* of the Gürölgü *mountains*." While not rejecting outright either of these interpretations, I am inclined to follow Professor

Poppe's suggestion (personal communication) that *gürölgü* means "coiling" (like a snake), cf. Ordos *GwrelDži-* "se mouvoir en faisant des replis (serpent)", Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.278a. As for *manggus*, this term has been variously rendered as "snake," "serpent," "great (or giant) serpent (or snake)," "boa," "huge boa constrictor," "python," "dragon-snake," "demon," etc. In the *SH* it is glossed with the term *mang* 蟒 "a large snake or serpent," used also for "boa constrictor, python." It is very likely that the Mongol word derives, in fact, from Chinese *mang*. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.50, 169. However, as Professor J.A. Boyle has correctly pointed out to me (personal communication), the rendering "boa", which I also used in my translation of *SH* §78, is unsuitable as this is an American snake, and "python" will also not do, this being found only in tropical Asia. In a further communication (1 October 1974), Professor Boyle writes: "Provided there was a z in Medieval Mongolian (and Rashīd al-Dīn's transliterations appear to affirm this) I have found this word with the specific meaning of'dragon.' In J. Stephenson (ed. and transl.), *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī* (London, 1928), you will [read] on p.36: *'Ihu'bān*, the Dragon, is called by the Arabs *tinnīn*, by the Turks *lū*, and by the Mongols *moghūr*.' Pelliot in his article on this work in *BSOS* [VI (1930-1932).567, No.40] is puzzled by مونغور *moγur* and suggests a possible corruption of some form of *moghai*. I would suggest a slighter corruption of an original منغوز **manγuz = *mangγuz*, an older form of *mangγus*." I think Professor Boyle's suggestion is extremely plausible. We know that in the XIVc. the Mongols frequently used the term *lu* (*luu*) - from Chinese *lung* 龍 - for "dragon," but this was mainly for the Dragon in the animal cycle. For the mythical beast, which is of course closely related to the snake, they had *manggus* (= *manghuz* or *mangghus*). The transcribers and translators of the *SH* preferred to render this term with Chinese *mang*, which denotes a super-snake or, more loosely, a monster. Significantly, in Chinese the combination *mang-lung* (*mang*-serpent + dragon) = "dragon, monster". They did it, in my view, because they wanted to reserve the word *lung* "dragon" for Mongolian *lu*, as is evident, for instance, in the *Hua-i i-yü* documents edited in 1389 by the same bureau that shortly after edited the *SH*. In these documents the word *lu* is regularly rendered in Chinese with *lung*. The fact that the *manggus*, or Mongol "dragon," was of a particularly cruel and vicious kind, and really more akin to an ogre-snake like a Chinese *mang* than to a traditionally beneficial *lung* dragon, probably also played a part in the choice of the word. Finally, an important consideration in translating *manggus* into Chinese must have been the similarity of sound, on which see Pelliot's remarks in Pelliot-Hambis, p.50. Consequently, I have rendered *gürölgü manggus* as "coiling dragon." I should

mention that R. Grousset, *Le Conquérant du monde* (Paris, 1944), p.197, translates *gürölgü manggus* as "grand python," but D. Sinor and M. MacKellar in their translation of Grousset's work (*Conqueror of the World*, p.153) have rendered it as "dragon." Ligeti renders it (p.83) as "dragon-snake." For an important study of the *mangghus* in Mongolian folk-literature see L. Lörincz's article in L. Ligeti (ed.), *Mongolian Studies*, pp.309-340. "Otchigin the Easy-going" (*Otchigin heligetü*) - a reference to Temüge-otchigin's pleasant disposition which, as noted by Pelliot, made him get along well with his elder brother Chinggis-qan. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.178. The term *heligetü*, lit. "having liver," is not obvious. Other translators have variously translated it as "phlegmatic" (Haenisch), "courageous" (Kozin), "lazy" (Ligeti), "spoilt child" (*amaen-bō*, Murakami). The Chinese sectional summary (*YCPS* 7, 41b), says: "His name is Otchigin, he is by nature indolent (*or* lazy = *lan* 懶)." I think that *lan* must be understood here as meaning someone who takes life in a leisurely and carefree way; cf. Khalkha *elegtei* "good natured" (Ya. Cevel, *Mongol khelniï tovč tailbar tol'* [Ulan-Bator, 1966], p.875b), and Writ. Mong. *eligeseg* "amiable," both also deriving from (*h*)*elige*(*n*) "liver." "*When the army* is in full array...," lit. "He does not lag behind the full array (*baru'an*)/ He does not lag behind the position (*bayidal*)." The term *baru'an* (= Writ. Mong. *baraghan*) properly refers to the "appearance" of the army in full battle array. Cf. the Ordos expression *barā öG-* "se laisser voir de loin en grand nombre pour faire peur à l'ennemi" (*Dictionnaire ordos*, p.50b); in the interlinear version *baru'an* is glossed as *to* 多 "multitude."

196 "And he said," lit. "he sent saying." For a translation and discussion of Jamuqa's message to Chinggis see Mostaert, pp.121-124. "Late in the day," lit. "(Chinggis-qahan) undergoing the sun becoming late"; cf. Poppe, "The Passive Constructions," p.377. "Tried to escape," lit. "wanted to escape." "They piled up on top of each other"renders *de'ere de'ere-'en qutaqlalduju*. The word *qutaqlalduju* is not glossed in the text. The verb *qutaqla-* occurs only once in the *SH* and does not seem to appear in this form elsewhere in Mongolian. I think with Kozin (*Sokrovennoe skazanie*, p.555) that it corresponds to Writ. Mong. *qutaghala-* "to pile up, heap up." Cf. Kowalewski, p.911a. The sectional summary (*YCPS* 7, 47b) says: "those who died pressing (i.e. crushing) each other were many." *Qutaqla-* cannot correspond to Writ. Mong. *qudqula-* "to mix, mingle" as suggested by some scholars, because this verb occurs in the *SH* as *qutqula-*. See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.73. "Bones," lit. "bone-hair"(*yasu hüsü*); see Mostaert, p.43. "Drove Tayang-qan to extremities and captured him" (*Tayang-qan-i muqutqaju abuba*): *muqutqa-* means "to bring to an end, drive to extremities" and,

therefore, "to utterly defeat, to conquer." The end of Tayang is described much more fully in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.148. Cf. D'Ohsson, I, pp.87-88; Grousset, *Conqueror of the World*, p.41. The *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 55b, simply says that Chinggis-qan "captured and killed Tayang-qahan." "A fortified camp" - in the text *güre'en* (= Writ. Mong. *küriyen*), i.e. the circular nomadic camp, or "enclosure," on which see Vladimirtsov, p.44. On the Tamir see above, n.194. "The people of the Naiman tribe... on the southern slopes (*ölke-de*) of the Altai": the sectional summary (*YCPS* 7, 44b) says, "He (Chinggis) attacked as far as the southern side of the Altai mountains. The situation became more and more desperate, and all his people were captured." From the context the object of Chinggis' attack seems to be Güchülük (Küchlüg), and "his people" the latter's people. This is, in fact, how the passage has been understood by Palladius, Waley and Kei Kwei Sun. However, we know that Güchülük was virtually alone when he fled, and the summary is at variance with the Mongol text, which refers to "the people of the Naiman tribe" (*Naiman irgen-ü ulus*). It would thus appear that Chinggis-qan pursued the defeated Naiman to their territory south of the Altai, then in the autumn fought with Toqto'a-beki at the Qaradal Source (§197). After defeating Toqto'a-beki, he pursued him, Qudu and Chila'un and, again, crossed the Altai (§198). I doubt that Chinggis crossed the Altai twice and wonder whether the text in §196 is corrupted (the differing version in the sectional summary seems to indicate this) and, if so, whether the author means that the Naiman who inhabited the south Altai region, together with their subjects and allies, were defeated and conquered by Chinggis-qan. This is to distinguish them from the Naiman who inhabited the region north of the Altai, the Naiman tribe being distributed over both sides of the great mountain range. As Pelliot has pointed out (Pelliot-Hambis, pp.304-308), the Naiman south of the Altai reached as far as the Urungu; those north of the Altai (northwest of Kobdo) reached as far as the western limit of the basin of the Kobdo river and into the basin of the Irtysh (the Erdish of the *SH*; cf. §198) along its affluent the Bukhtarma river (the Buqdurma of the *SH*; cf. §198). However, we cannot exclude the possibility that, as stated earlier (n.194), the word "Altai" in the present context may not refer to the well-known mountain range, but to any snow-covered range. "Took her *as his wife*": the text simply says that Chinggis "took her" (*abula'a*); however, although she is not listed among his wives in the table of *YS* 106, we know from Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.72, that she was the eldest of his wives and that he loved her very much. According to the Persian historian, Gürbesü had been the wife, not the mother, of Tayang-qan. See above, n.189.

197 The identification of the Qaradal Source (*huja'ur*) poses serious problems. In the parallel passage of the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* (56a), this locality is called "the Tieh-erh-e 迭兒惡 river source Pu-la-na-ai-hu 不剌納矮胡 ;" in Rashid-ad-Din (I/2, p.149), it is called "the sources of the river called Ter-müren." Obviously the Tieh-erh-e (*Dere) and the Ter are one and the same river, and this may perhaps correspond to the second element of Qaradal, i.e. Dal, in which case the name Qaradal should be actually read Qara Dal and taken to refer to a river called Qara ("Black") Dal, or to two rivers called respectively Qara and Dal. Perlee, p.7, claims that the river in question is the Khar Tal (= Kara Tal), an affluent of the Selenga, at 49° N. lat. and 101° E. long. He quotes as his authority Radlov, *Sibirskie drevnosti*, Vol.1, ch.3, p.80. This can only be W. Radloff's *Aus Sibirien. Lose Blätter aus meinem Tagebuche*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1884; 2nd ed., 1893). I cannot find the reference to the Kara Tal on p.80 of Vol.1, but the river is mentioned in Vol.1, pp.9 and 116 as the Karatal. However, this is the well-known Kara-Tal in East Kazakhstan which has its sources in the Dzungarian Ala-Tau mountains and empties into Lake Balkhash - too far to the southwest for our account. I cannot find any other river of the same name along the Selenga and I think that Perlee's statement is incorrect. Moreover, I find it difficult to reconcile Dal (or Tal) with *Dere and Ter, but I have no solution to offer at present. For the earlier engagement between Ong-qan, then an ally of Chinggis-qan, and Toqto'a-beki see §§157, 162. The "two" sons of Toqto'a, i.e. Qudu and Chila'un, had already appeared in §177. A third son, whose name is uncertain (Qal?), is mentioned in §198. According to Pelliot, the form Qodu is preferable to Qudu. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.285. Dayir-usun "of the Ho'as-Merkit" is first mentioned in the *SH* in §102. The correct spelling is Uwas (see §§ 105, 109, 111, 117), and the aberrant form "Ho'as" is difficult to explain. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.137, 275; cf. Ligeti, p.167, n.197. "To offer her," lit. "to show her." For the episode of Dayir-usun's offer of his daughter Qulan to Chinggis-qan see also Pelliot-Hambis, p.275. (*Qulan* is, of course, the name of the wild ass of the Asiatic steppe, *Equus hemionus*). She is called qatun in view of her future rank as one of the principal wives of Chinggis-qan (the word *qatun* is transcribed in Chinese sometimes as *qatun* and sometimes as *qadun* - I have used *qatun* throughout). She is listed in the *YS* 106, 1b, as the first wife of the first rank of those belonging to the second *ordo* or "palace." She bore Chinggis a son, Kölgen, who died in Russia. Naya'a-noyan of the Ba'arin clan (Ba'aridai) has his name variously transcribed in this section as Naya'a and Nayā. Chinggis-qan was angry with him because he thought that Naya'a had sexually used Qulan during the three days he delayed her - a most serious

crime according to Mongol customary law, for Qulan was the qan's property and should have been conveyed immediately to him. Cf. G. Vernadsky in *HJAS* III (1938).350-351. "Thoroughly questioned" renders *mara'an asaqju*. The Chinese interlinear version glosses *mara'an* as "carefully, in detail" (*tzu-hsi* 仔細). It appears that *mara'an* is an adverbial form, i.e. a modal converb, of a verb **mara'a-* (= **maragha-*) "to do something carefully or thoroughly," which is not found in Writ. Mong. and has not survived in the dialects. For Murakami (*Mongoru hishi*, II, pp.298 and 302, n.4) and Poppe (personal communication) *mara'an* is related to Writ. Mong. *marghughan* "argument, quarrel" and *marghu-* "to argue." Poppe regards it as the causative of *marghu-*, i.e. *marghu-gha-n asagh-* "to interrogate arguing *with him*." He writes: "It is an obscure word. Cf. Ordos *margu Dž̌argu* or *Dž̌argu margu* 'procès' (= Writ. Mong. *jarghu marghu*). [See Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, pp.187b, 455b, I.R.]." A third possibility which, although remote, is I think worth mentioning, is that *mara'an* (*mara'a*) may be the same word as *mariyan* (*mariya*) "flesh, body"; cf. for example, *mariyan* further on in §195 and *mara'a* in §265. The expression *mara'an asaq-* (with the noun in the absolute case), lit. "to question the flesh *or* the body," could then be a technical or dialect expression meaning "to examine under torture," which has not survived. A similar expression, but with the noun in the ablative (*mariyan-nacha asaq-*) is used by Qulan when making her unusual request to Chinggis-qan. In this case, however, the meaning is "to examine the flesh *or* body," i.e. to test her virginity. Although in my translation I follow the Chinese gloss, I am not absolutely certain that this is the correct interpretation. "My face does not turn away from the qahan," lit. "My face is not apart (= away) from the qahan," i.e. I am not double-faced, insincere in my behaviour towards the qahan. "As Naya'a's words have been confirmed," lit. "having turned out to be just as Naya'a's words."

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz

Chapter Eight*

198 After *Chinggis-qahan* subjugated the Merkit people, of the two wives - Tögei and Döregene - of Toqto'a-beki's eldest son Qudu, he gave Döregene to Ögödei-qahan.

Half of the Merkit people revolted and barricaded themselves in the Taiqal stronghold. Chinggis-qahan then gave orders that Chimbai, the son of Sorqan-shira, be put in command and he sent him to attack the entrenched Merkit with the troops of the left (*read* right) wing.

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Toqto'a with his sons Qudu and Chila'un, *only* a few men *altogether*, had escaped with nothing but their lives, abandoning their companions. Chinggis-qahan pursued them and spent the winter south of the Altai.

In the spring of the Year of the Ox (1205), Chinggis-qahan set out and crossed the Alai. Güchülük-qan of the Naiman, after his people had been captured *by Chinggis-qahan*, had fled as a rebel with a few men and had made an alliance with Toqto'a of the Merkit. They came together at the Buqdurma source of the Erdis (= Erdish) *river* and marshalled their forces.

When Chinggis-qahan arrived they fought. Toqto'a was hit there by a stray arrow and fell. His sons could not bury him, nor could they take his body away, *so* they severed his head and took that away *with them*. Then the Naiman and the Merkit were unable, even with their united forces, to keep up the fight and fled. When they moved away and crossed the Erdish, most of them fell into *the river* and drowned. The few Naiman and Merkit that got through separated and went *in different directions* after completing the crossing of the Erdish. Güchülük-qan of the Naiman went off and, passing through *the country of* the Ui'ur (= Uiqur) and the Qarluq, joined the gürqan of the Qara-Kitat who was at the Chui river in the land of the Mohammedans. The Merkit, led by Qudu, Qat (?) and Chila'un, the sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit, went off and crossed *the country of* the Qanglin and the Kimcha'ut.

After that Chinggis-qahan turned back, crossed the Alai and settled in his base camp. Chimbai utterly defeated the Merkit entrenched in the Taiqal stronghold. With regard to *these* Merkit, Chinggis-qahan said that those to be killed had been killed and the remainder had been despoiled by the soldiers.

The Merkit who had submitted earlier rose again in rebellion *and tried to break out* from the base camp, but our servants in the

camp brought them under control. Chinggis-qahan then spoke: 'I had said that they should be kept together *as one tribe*, but they have revolted,' and he had the Merkit distributed on all sides down to the last person.

199 In that same Year of the Ox (1205) Chinggis-qahan ordered Sübe'etei, who had *been provided with* an iron cart, to pursue the sons of Toqto'a headed by Qudu, Qal and Chila'un. When he sent him off *on his mission*, Chinggis-qahan had the following verbal message conveyed to Sübētei: 'The sons of Toqto'a having at their head Qudu, Qal and Chila'un were frightened *by us* as they retreated: we shot arrows at each other and they fled like a lassoed wild horse, like a stag with an arrow *in its body*. If they grow wings and fly up into the sky, you, Sübe'etei, will you not fly up like a falcon and catch them? If they turn into marmots and burrow into the ground with their claws, will you not become an iron bar and, digging and searching for them, catch up with them? If they turn into fishes and plunge into the Tenggis Sea, you, Sübe'etei, will you not become a casting-net and a drag-net, and get them by scooping them out? And again, I send you to cross high mountain passes, to ford wide rivers; mindful of the long distance *you have to cover*, you must spare your army's remounts before they become *too* lean, and you must save your provisions before they come to an end. If a gelding is *already* completely exhausted it will be of no use to spare it *then*; if your provisions have *already* completely run out, how can you save them *then*? There will be many wild animals on your way: thinking ahead, do not allow your soldiers as they advance to gallop after *and hunt down* wild animals, nor let them make circular battues without limit. If you make a battue in order to give additional provisions to your troops, hunt with moderation. Except on limited battues, do not allow the soldiers to fix the crupper to the saddle and put on the bridle, but let *the horses* go with their mouths free.

If this order is issued, the soldiers will not be able to gallop on the way. Once you have so ordered, then, whoever transgresses *this* command shall be seized and beaten. Send to Us those who transgress Our command if it looks that they are *personally* known to Us; as for the many who are not known to Us, just cut them down on the spot.

Beyond the rivers
You may lose courage,
But continue to advance
In the same way;
Beyond the mountains
You may be worried,
But think of nothing else apart from *your mission*.

If Eternal Heaven grants you further strength and power, and you capture Toqto'a's sons, there is no need for you to bring them *back to me*. *Execute them and* leave them there.' So he ordered.

Chinggis-qahan said further to Sübe'etei: 'I send you on *this* expedition because, when I was small, I was frightened by the Uduyit of the Three Merkit circling three times around Burqan-qaldun. Hateful people like this have now again gone swearing oaths *of enmity against me*. You shall go after them

To the furthest limits,
To the bottom of the deep!'

And so, in the Year of the Ox, he had an iron cart made to pursue them to the very end and sent Sübe'etei on his war mission. He gave these *final* instructions: 'If you advance thinking that even though We are out of sight it is as if We were visible, and even though We are far it is as if We were near, you will also be protected by Heaven Above!'

200 When *Chinggis-qahan* annihilated the Naiman and the Merkit, Jamuqa, being with the Naiman *at the time*, lost his people there. With five companions he then became a marauder. He went up the

Tanglu *mountains*, killed a wild sheep and roasted it. When it was time to eat it, Jamuqa there and then said to his five companions, 'Whose sons, having today killed a wild sheep, are eating it like this?' While they were eating the meat of that wild sheep, his five companions grabbed Jamuqa and, holding him *captive*, brought him to Chinggis-qahan.

When Jamuqa was brought here by his companions, he told *someone* to say to his sworn brother the qahan:

'Black crows have gone so far
As to catch a "qarambai" duck,
Black skins (= commoners) and slaves have gone so far
As to lay hands on their lord.
Qahan, my sworn brother,
How can you be mistaken?
Grey hen-harriers have gone so far
As to catch a "borchin sono" *duck*,
Slaves and servants have gone so far
As to seize their own master,
Surrounding him and conspiring against him.
Wise sworn brother of mine,
How can you be mistaken?'

To these words of Jamuqa, Chinggis-qahan said, 'How could we let men live who have raised their hands against their rightful master? To whom can such men be companions? Exterminate to the offspring *of their offspring* these people who have raised their hands against their rightful master!' So he ordered, and had the people who had laid hands on Jamuqa cut down in his (Jamuqa's) very presence.

Chinggis-qahan *then* said, 'Tell Jamuqa: "Now the two of us are united. Let us be companions! If we become *each of us like* one of the two shafts of a cart, would you think of separating yourself

from me and being on your own? Now that we are together *once more*, let us

Each remind the other of what he has forgotten,
Each wake up the other who has fallen asleep.
Although you separated from me
And went a different way,
You remain my happy, blessed sworn brother.
On the day one kills and is killed, surely
Your heart was aching *for me*.
Although you separated from me
And went a different way,
On the day one slays and is slain,
Your lungs and heart were aching *for me*.

When was that? When I fought the Kereyit people at the Qalaqaljit Sands you informed me of what you had said to Father Ong-qan. That was a service *you did me*. Then, the fact that you sent me a message *with the news* that you had frightened the Naiman people

Slaying them with your words,
Killing them with your mouth,

and said to me that I could regard them as such (i.e. as dead with fear) - that was *another* service *you did me*."'

201 After *Chinggis-qahan* had spoken Jamuqa said, 'Long ago, when we were small, in the Qorqonaq Valley I agreed with *my* sworn brother the qan to become sworn brothers:

Together we ate food that is not to be digested,
To each other we spoke words that are not to be forgotten,

and *at night* we were separated *only* by our coverlets.

Aroused by someone
Who came across,
Stirred up by someone

Standing at the side,
We parted for good.
Saying to myself that
We had exchanged weighty words,
The skin of my black face
Peeled off *in shame*;
And so I have been living
Unable to come near you,
Unable to see the friendly face
Of my sworn brother the qan.
Saying to myself that
We had exchanged unforgettable words,
The skin of my red face
Came off *in shame*;
And so I have been living
Unable to see the sincere face
Of my generous sworn brother.

Now my sworn brother the qan shows favour to me and says, "Let us be companions!" But when it was the time for being companions, I was not one. Now, sworn brother,

You have pacified the whole country,
You have unified all other tribes,

and the qan's throne has been assigned to you. Now that the world is at your disposal, of what use would I be as a companion to you? I would only disturb your dreams in the dark night, *o my* sworn brother, and trouble your heart in the bright day:

I would be the louse in your collar,
I would be the thorn in the inner lapel of your coat.

I had many paternal grandmothers. When I became disloyal to my sworn brother I made a mistake. Now, in this life, with regard to the two of us, my fame has passed from sunrise to sunset. You, sworn

brother, had a wise mother. You were born a hero by birth, and as you had younger brothers, valiant companions and seventy-three geldings, I was excelled by *you my* sworn brother. As for me, I lost my parents when I was small and had no younger brothers. My wife is a prattler, my companions untrustworthy. Because of this I was excelled by *my* sworn brother, whose destiny was pre-ordained by Heaven. If you *want to* show favour to me, let me die quickly and your heart will be at rest. And if you condescend to have me put to death, let them kill me without shedding blood. When I lie dead, my body *buried* in a high place, for ever and ever I shall protect you and be a blessing to the offspring of your offspring.

In origin I am of a different birth, *and so* I was conquered by the awesome spirit of my sworn brother who is of higher birth. Do not forget the words that I have *just* spoken; think of them evening and morning and repeat them among yourselves. Now kill me quickly!'

To these words of his Chinggis-qahan said, 'Although my sworn brother has parted *from me* and has been railing against Us, I have not heard that he has plotted harm against my life. He is a man one can learn *from*, but he refuses *to comply*. To kill him is not in accordance with the omens; to harm his life without *good* reason is not right. He is a greatly respected man. Perhaps this reason can be given to him: "Once, when Choji(= Jochi)-darmala and Taichar stole from each other their herds of horses, you, sworn brother Jamuqa, wickedly stirred up rebellion *against me*. We fought at Dalan-baljut and you forced me to take refuge in the Jerene Gorge. You frightened me then, did you not? Now, when I say, 'Let us be companions!', you refuse; when I *offered to* spare your life, you declined." *So* now tell him: "According to your request you shall die without your blood being shed."'

He ordered that *Jamuqa* be put to death without his blcod being shed and that his body should not be abandoned in the open, but be

given a fitting burial. He executed Jamuqa there and then, and had his body buried *as arranged.*

202 And so, when the people of the felt-walled tents had been brought to allegiance, in the Year of the Tiger (1206) they *all* gathered at the source of the *river* Onan. They hoisted the white standard with nine tails and there they gave Chinggis-qahan the title of qan. Then they gave the title of gui-ong to Muqali. On that occasion too, Jebe was sent on a war mission to pursue *and seize* Güchülük-qan of the Naiman. Having *thus* set in order the Mongolian people, Chinggis-qahan said, 'To those who sided with me when I was establishing *our* state, I will express my appreciation and, having formed units of one thousand men, I shall appoint them leaders of a thousand.' So he decreed, and he appointed *the following* with the rank of leaders of a thousand: (1) Father Mönglik, (2) Bo'orchu, (3) Muqali gui-ong, (4) Qorchi, (5) Ilügei, (6) Jürchedei, (7) Qunan, (8) Qubilai, (9) Jelme, (10) Tüge, (11) Degei, (12) Tolon, (13) Önggür, (14) Chülgetei, (15) Boroqul, (16) Shigi-qutuqu, (17) Güchü, (18) Kököchü, (19) Qorqosun, (20) Hüsün, (21) Quyildar, (22) Shiluqai, (23) Jetei, (24) Taqai, (25) Chaqa'an-qo'a, (26) Alaq, (27) Sorqan-shira, (28) Buluqan, (29) Qarachar, (30) Kökö-chos, (31) Süyiketü, (32) Naya'a, (33) Jungshoi, (34) Güchügür, (35) Bala, (36) Oronartai, (37) Dayir, (38) Müge, (39) Bujir, (40) Mönggü'ür, (41) Dolo'adai, (42) Bögen, (43) Qudus, (44) Maral, (45) Jebke, (46) Yuruqan, (47) Kökö, (48) Jebe, (49) Udutai, (50) Bala-cherbi, (51) Kete, (52) Sübe'etei, (53) Möngkö-qalja, (54) Qurchaqus, (55) Geüge, (56) Badai, (57) Kishiliq, (58) Ketei, (59) Cha'urqai, (60) Onggiran, (61) Toqon-temür, (62) Megetü, (63) Qada'an, (64) Moroqa, (65) Doribuqa, (66) Iduqadai, (67) Shiraqul, (68) Dawun, (69) Tamachi, (70) Qa'uran, (71) Alchi, (72) Tobsaqa, (73) Tungquidai, (74) Tobuqa, (75) Ajinai (*read* Achinai), (76) Tüyideger, (77) Sechewür, (78) Jeder, (79) Olar-güregen, (80) Kinggiyadai, (81) Buqa-güregen,

(82) Quril, (83) Ashiq-güregen, (84) Qadai-güregen, (85) Chigü-güregen, (86, 87, 88) Alchi-güregen *leading* the three Onggirat chiliarchies, (89, 90) Butu-güregen *leading* the two Ikires chiliarchies, (91, 92, 93, 94, 95) Alaqush-digit-quri-güregen of the Önggüt *leading* the five Önggüt chiliarchies. Excluding the 'people of the forests,' the leaders of a thousand of the Mongol people appointed by Chinggis-qahan were ninety-five.

203 'Those ninety-five leaders of a thousand whom I have nominated with the sons-in-law,' said further Chinggis-qahan, 'have been entrusted with chiliarchies and' - Chinggis-qahan went on - 'I shall *now* reward those among them who are *most* deserving.' And he said that the leaders having at their head Bo'orchu and Muqali should come. At that time Shigi-qutuqu was inside the tent. When *Chinggis-qahan* told him, 'Go and summon them!', Shigi-qutuqu said, 'Have Bo'orchu and Muqali been of greater assistance than others? Have they given better service than others? If you want to give rewards, surely I was not less useful, surely I did not give lesser service?

From the time I was in the cradle
And grew up at your noble threshold,
Until this beard sprouted on my chin,
I did not think of anyone else *but you*.
From the time I had a piss-pot at my crotch
And, being at your royal threshold, I grew up
Until this beard sprouted at my mouth,
I did not make a single false step.
She (= Mother Hö'elün) let me lie at her feet
And brought me up like her own son;
She let me lie at her side
And brought me up like the younger brother *of her children*.

Now, what kind of reward will you give me?'

To these words of Shigi-qutuqu, Chinggis-qahan said, 'Are you not my sixth younger brother? To you, my late-born younger brother, the reward: you shall be allotted the *same* share as the younger brothers; furthermore, on account of your services, you shall not be punished for *up to* nine crimes.' So he decreed.

And he said, 'When, protected by Eternal Heaven, I was engaged in bringing order over the entire people, you became for me

An eye to see with,
An ear to hear with.

Divide up all the *subject* people and apportion them to *Our* mother, to Us, to *Our* younger brothers and sons according to the name of the people,

Splitting up those that live in felt-walled tents,
Separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors.

Let no one disobey your word!'

Further, he entrusted Shigi-qutuqu with *the power of* judgement over all and said to him, 'Of the entire people

Chastising the robber,
Checking the liar,

execute those who deserve death, punish those who deserve punishment. Furthermore, writing in a blue(-script) register *all* decisions about the distribution and about the judicial matters of the entire population, make it into a book (i.e. permanent record). Until the offspring of *my* offspring, let no one change any of the blue writing that Shigi-qutuqu, after deciding in accordance with me, shall make into a book with white paper. Anyone who changes it shall be guilty.'

Shigi-qutuqu said, 'How can a late-born younger brother like me take a share equal *to that of the others*? If the qahan *wants to* show favour to me, let him decide about the favour of granting me *the people* from the towns that have walls of *beaten* earth.' So he

requested, and to these words *of his Chinggis-qahan* said, 'You yourself have determined your own *part*; you decide!'

After he had made *Chinggis-qahan* reward him thus, Shigi-qutuqu went out and, calling the leaders with Bo'orchu and Muqali at their head, let them into *the tent*.

204 Chinggis-qahan then addressed Father Mönglik and said:

'At birth, I was born together *with you*;
At the time of growth, I grew up together *with you*.

You, fortunate and blessed man, how many times have you helped and protected me? Among these *I shall recall the time* when Father Ong-qan and sworn brother Senggüm deceitfully invited me to the betrothal feast and on the way I spent the night in the tent of Father Mönglik. Had you *then* not dissuaded me, I would have gone right

Into whirling waters,
Into a blazing fire.

Recalling only this service of yours, how can one forget it until the offspring of one's offspring? Recalling this service, I will henceforth let you occupy the seat of this corner-base *in my tent*. I shall consult you *every* year and *every* month, and I shall give you gifts and favours. I will be serving you, until the offspring of *your* offspring!'

205 Further Chinggis-qahan spoke to Bo'orchu: 'When I was small I was robbed of eight horses, the light-bay geldings. I spent three full days on the way pursuing them and, as I was going, we met each other. Then you said to me, "You came because you are in difficulties; I will join you as a companion!" and, without a word even to your father in the tent, you who were then milking a mare, concealed your leather bucket and pail in the grass. You made me leave my bald-tailed chestnut horse and set me on a white horse with a black back, and you yourself jumped on to a fast pale-yellow horse. You left your herd of horses without a master and in haste became my

companion in the steppe. Again we spent three full days in pursuit before we reached the circular camp with the stolen light-bay geldings. They were standing at the edge of the camp. We stole them, drove them away and brought them back, the two of us. Your father was Naqu-bayan. You, his only son, what did you know *about me* when you became my companion? You became my companion because of your brave heart. Afterwards I kept on thinking about you and when I sent you Belgütei to ask you to join me *again* as a companion,

You jumped on your chestnut horse with the arched back,
You put on your grey, coarse woollen coat,

and came to join me. And when

The Three Merkit came against us and
Thrice circled Burqan-qaldun,
The mountain you circled with me.

And when, after that, we passed the night at Dalan-nemürges *with our troops* pitched opposite *those of* the Tatar people, the rain poured down incessantly day and night. Saying that I ought to get my night's rest, you covered me with your felt cloak so that the rain would not fall upon me, and throughout the night you stood beside me shifting one of your feet only once. *This* was indeed a sign of your bravery. Other than that, what brave *deeds* of yours am I to mention? You two, Bo'orchu and Muqali,

You urged me to carry out what was right,
You persuaded me not to do what was wrong,

and *in this way* made me gain this throne. Now you will sit higher than all *the others* and will not be punished for *up to* nine crimes. Bo'orchu will be in charge of the ten thousand *men* of the right wing which extends *westwards* up to the Altai *mountains*.' So he decreed.

206 Further, Chinggis-qahan said to Muqali, 'When we set up camp near the Leafy Tree in the Qorqonaq Valley around which Qutula-qan used to dance, because the words that a heavenly sign foretold to

Muqali were a clear portent, I there and then, thinking of *his father* Gü'ün-qo'a, pledged my word to Muqali. Accordingly, he shall *henceforth* sit upon a seat *above all others* and shall be gui-ong of all the people, *and so it shall be* until the offspring of Muqali's offspring.' He gave him the title of gui-ong and ordered: 'Let Muqali be in charge of the ten thousand *men* of the left wing which extends *eastwards* up to the Qara'un-jidun *mountains*.'

207 Chinggis-qahan said to Qorchi, 'You *once* made a prophecy *about me* and, from the time I was small until now, for a long time

When it was wet,
You suffered the wet with me;
When it was cold,
You suffered the cold with me.

Indeed, you have constantly been a Nendü(k) beneficent spirit *to me*. At that time *you*, Qorchi, said, "If the prophecy comes true and if it is fulfilled by Heaven according to your wishes, let me have thirty women." Now, because it has come true, I shall favour you. Look at the fine women and fine maidens of the people who have submitted *to us* and choose thirty women *among them*.' So he decreed.

Further, he ordered: 'In addition to the three thousand Ba'arin *that he already leads*, Qorchi, together with Taqai and Ashiq, should make a full myriarchy with the Chinos of the Adarkin, the Tö'ölös and the Telengüt, and Qorchi should be their commander. Freely establishing his camp *in the territory* up to the "people of the forests" along the Erdish *river*, Qorchi shall reduce the "people of the forests" to submission and be in charge of the myriarchy.' And he ordered: 'The "people of the forests" must not act this way or that without Qorchi's agreement. Those who act without his agreement, he should not hesitate *to kill them*.'

208 Further, Chinggis-qahan said to Jürchedei, 'Your *most* important service was at the time when we were fighting with the Kereyit at

the Qalaqaljit Sands and were worrying *about the outcome of the battle*. Quyildar *then* made an oath but you, Jürchedei, carried out his task. In carrying it out you, Jürchedei, attacked and overcame the Jirgin, the Tübegen, the Dongqayit, Quri-Shilemün *and his* thousand bodyguards, the best troops - all of them - and, reaching the main body of the *enemy* army, you shot an "uchumaq" *arrow* in Senggüm's red cheek. Because of this, "the door was opened and the reins *were loosened*" *for me* by Eternal Heaven. Had Senggüm not been wounded, what would have become of us? This was indeed the *most* important, the greatest service of Jürchedei.

When he separated from me, moving along the *river* Qalqa downstream, I constantly thought of Jürchedei as if he were the shelter *afforded* by a high mountain. He *then* went *to the Onggirat* and we arrived at Lake Baljuna to water *our animals*. When we set out again from Lake Baljuna, Jürchedei went ahead to reconnoitre. We took the field against the Kereyit and, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth, we crushed and plundered the Kereyit people. The *most* important people (i.e. the Kereyit) being cut off, the Naiman and the Merkit lost heart; they could no longer fight and were scattered.

In the struggle in which the Merkit and the Naiman scattered, Jaqa-gambu of the Kereyit was *allowed*, by reason of his two daughters, to stay with his own subject people as a whole *group*. But when, for the second time, he became hostile and separated from us, Jürchedei lured him with a stratagem and, after seizing him, made an end of Jaqa-gambu who had broken with us for good. For the second time we exterminated and plundered the people of that Jaqa-gambu. This was the second service of Jürchedei.'

Because, on the day one slays and is slain,
He disregarded his life;
Because, on the day one kills and is killed,
He fought to the death,

Chinggis-qahan favoured Jürchedei and gave him Ibaqa-beki *as wife*. He said to Ibaqa, 'I did not say that you have a bad character and that in looks and appearance you are ugly. You, who have entered into my heart and limbs, and who have come to me taking your place in the rank *of my favourite wives*, I present to Jürchedei in deference to the great principle *whereby services are duly rewarded*. Jürchedei

Who, on the day we fought,
Was *our* shield,
Who against the enemy people
Was *our* shelter,
He brought together the people
Who had become divided,
He united the people
Who had scattered.

I have given you to him having in mind the principle *of rewarding these* services of his. In future, when my descendants sit on Our throne, mindful of the principle *regarding* services that have thus been rendered, they should not disobey my words. Until the offspring of *my* offspring, they are not to abolish Ibaqa's *rightful* place *among my wives*.'

Chinggis-qahan said further to Ibaqa, 'Your father Jaqa-gambu gave you two hundred slaves as dowry; *he gave* you *also* the cook Ashiq-temür and the cook Alchiq. Now you are going to the Uru'ut people; go, but give me one hundred out of your dowry slaves and the cook Ashiq-temür to remember you.' And he took them.

Chinggis-qahan spoke again to Jürchedei and, showing favour to him, gave the following order: 'I give you my Ibaqa. As to your four thousand Uru'ut, you will be in charge of them!'

(To be continued)

COMMENTARY

For the abbreviations used in the Commentary see *PFEH* 4 (September 1971), 151-152, and 5 (March 1972), 175.

198 Döregene (= Töregene), the wife of Qudu (or, more correctly, Qodu) that Chinggis-qan gave to Ögödei, is well known to history. It seems that she was originally a Naiman of possible Nestorian Christian background. She gained great political power in the latter part of Ögödei's reign and became regent of the empire after his death (1241-1246). She was the mother of Güyüg (1206-1248), for whose election as qaghan she was largely responsible. At the election, which took place on 24 August 1246, near Qara-qorum, was present also the Franciscan envoy John of Pian di Carpine, who mentions her several times, and in favourable terms, in the narrative of his journey. See Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, pp.61, 65, 82. She died probably soon after the election. There are many references to her in the works of the Persian historians and in the Chinese sources. For her, see P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, *ROC* 13 (1923), 14 (1924), 27 (1931), repr. in one volume, pp.193-195; Pelliot-Hambis, p.90. She is known in the West as Turakina, and in China as Nai-ma-chen 乃馬真 (= Naimajin, 'The Naiman') and *liu huang-hou* 六皇后 or 'The Sixth Empress.' The latter designation has not been explained and remains puzzling, as both the Persian and Chinese sources list her as the second, not sixth, wife of Ögödei, belonging to the emperor's principal *ordo* (his first wife was Boraqchin). See *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, p.18; *YS* 106, 1b (= *Chung-hua shu-chü* ed., Peking, 1976 [hereafter: P.] 2693-4). The only explanation I can give is that 'sixth' is a mistake for 'eighth' and that this, in turn, is a Chinese misunderstanding of the name Naimajin (the word for 'eight' in Mongolian is *naiman*); I realise, however, that this explanation is somewhat far-fetched. On Qudu, see below. As pointed out by Ligeti, p.167, n.198, Ögödei is already called qahan in anticipation of his future status, but this title must have been added to the original text of the *SH* much later, presumably at the same time when Chinggis' title of qan was changed to qahan. The Taiqal stronghold (Taiqal-qorqa) presents some problems. The word *taiqal* is glossed in the interlinear version as 'mountain top' (*shan-ting* 山頂) and *qorqa* as 'stockade, stronghold, fortress' (*chai-tzu* 寨子); however, the sectional summary (*YCPS* 8, 5a) calls this place

'the Taiqal mountain stronghold,' with *taiqal* transcribed as a proper name. That Taiqal was a place name is confirmed by Rashid-ad-Din (I/2, p.149: Daīqāl-qōrγān), the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* (56b: the Taiqan [= Taiqal] stronghold) and the *YS* (1, 14b [= P.13]: *idem*). The gloss 'mountain top' seems to be a misinterpretation of the translator, due perhaps to his assuming the stronghold to be on a mountain. The location of Taiqal is not known. Perlee, p.9, is of the opinion that it corresponds to Qara-qorum, but his argument is based on later literary evidence showing that Qara-qorum was also known as Taiqai-balghasun. I do not find Perlee's argument very convincing, but cannot suggest other identifications. Chimbai, the son of Sorqan-shira, and his brother Chilawun were mentioned in §§84 and 85 in connection with Chinggis-qan's early escape from the Tayichi'ut. Chimbai was appointed with Boro'ul (Boroqul) as leader of the right (= west) wing, not of the left wing as stated in our text. See the *YS* 1, 14b (= P.13), and the sectional summary (*YCPS* 8, 5a), where the correct form is given. See also Rashid-ad-Din, *loc.cit.* As is known, the transcription and translation of the text of the *SH* during the Ming were done on a different ms. from the one used earlier by the authors of the sectional summary, and not as good. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.133; Mostaert, p.xi. Cf. also I. de Rachewiltz in *MS* 24 (1965), 203-204. 'Wing' is, literally, 'hand' (*qar*). See Doerfer, Nos.84, 165, 1477. For the name 'Altai' see my note to §194; as for Alai, this place name is incorrectly transcribed in the *SH* as 'Arai.' Cf. Pelliot in *TP* 31 (1935), 159. It recurs again in §257 as the name of a pass; the form found in the corresponding passage of the *AT* is 'Alai,' see Ligeti, pp.167-68, n.198, and *SHA* (= Ligeti, *Hist. secr. des Mong., Texte en écrit. ouigoure...*), p.189; Shastina, p.225. It has been identified by Perlee, p.4, with the Ulaan Dabaa (Pass) of the Altai at 47° N. lat. and 91° E. long. (to be precise 47° 24' and 91° 12'). The locality mentioned in the *SH* is perhaps related to the 'mountains of the Alui' mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn, which were also in this broad region, but which Pelliot has been unable to identify. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp. 299-302. Güchülüg joined forces with Toqto'a of the Merkit at the 'Buqdurma source of the Erdish' - presumably in the area where the Bukhtarma river, which rises in the Altai, flows into the Irtysh at Ust'-Bukhtarma (formerly Bukhtarminsk), southwest of Zyryanovsk in East Kazakhstan. The interlinear gloss renders *shiba-yin sumun* as 'a stray arrow' (射箭的箭). Although Murakami, like Haenisch, Ligeti and Damdinsüren, follows the Chinese gloss, he rightly points out that in Writ. Mong. there is a verb *shibada-* (*sibada-*) meaning 'to pierce, to

bore' (*Mongoru hishi*, II, p.315, n.7; for *shibada-* see Lessing, p.693a). Now, this verb is clearly formed on a noun *shiba* + denom. verbal suffix *-da-*. *Shiba* as such is unattested in Writ. Mong., but it has survived in Khalkha and in Buriat. In Khalkha we find *šav* (Writ. Mong. *shiba*) 'shooting target' (Cevel, p.826b), and in Buriat *šaba* (with the original *i* of the first syllable assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable), meaning 'shot; wire' (Cheremisov, p.711). Although I have followed the Chinese gloss, I am not sure whether *shiba-yin sumun* may not actually mean a particular type of arrow, such as a 'target-shooting arrow' or a 'boring arrow.' 'His sons could not bury him,' lit. 'his sons being unable to take in their hands (= bury) his bones (= body)'; on the expression *yasu bari-* 'to bury' see Cleaves in *HJAS* 14 (1951), 92, n.95. The practice of severing the head of a dead person (*pars pro toto*) has already been encountered in §189 of the *SH*. 'Most of them fell into *the river* and drowned,' lit. 'sinking *into it* caused the majority to die in the water.' The verb *chübtüs-* corresponds to Writ. Mong. *chöbte-* 'to fall to the bottom, sink,' see Lessing, p.200a. Regarding the country of the Ui'ur (= Uiqur, Uighur) and Qarluq Turks in Central Asia, see my note to §151; on the gür-qan of the Qara-Kitat, the Chui river (i.e. the Chu) and 'the land of the Mohammedans' (*Sarta'ul-un qajar*), see *ibid.* and §152 and note. The names of the three Merkit chiefs, sons of Toqto'a, as given in the section of the *SH* are Qudu, Qat and Chila'un. Qudu (same form of the name as in §§177, 197 and 199), is also called Qutu in §§141, 142, 144, 157 and 162; the correct form was apparently Qodu: See Pelliot-Hambis, p.285. The name Qat is probably an error for Qal, which occurs twice in §199. As for Chila'un, he had already been mentioned with Qudu in §§157, 162, 177 and 197. Chila'un and Chilawun are 'spoken' forms; the corresponding Writ. Mong. form is *chilaghun*, meaning 'stone' (= Turkish *tash*). On all these names and personages see *op.cit.*, pp.285-287. In the *SH* Qanglï, the name of the Turkish-speaking people who inhabited the area of Turgai north of the Aral Sea, is always written as Qanglin. For a discussion of this name see *op.cit.*, p.112ff. The Kimcha'ut (pl. of Kimchaq) are the Qïpchaq, the other Turkish-speaking people, frequently associated with the Qanglï, who were scattered over the vast steppeland north of the Caspian and the Black Sea, and who were known in Europe as Comans or Polovtsy. See *ibid.*, pp.97, 102ff., and Pelliot, 'A propos des Comans,' *JA* 15, 2 (1920), 133-150. On the Qanglï and Qïpchaq see also Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.402; W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turks d'Asie Centrale*, adapt. française de M. Donskis (Paris, 1945), pp.88-91; and J.W. Dardess, *Conquerors and Con-*

fucians (New York and London, 1973), p.189, nn.51 and 53. They are frequently mentioned in the Chinese and Persian sources, but have not yet been made the object of a comprehensive investigation. 'Settled in his base camp' renders *a'uru'ut-tur bawuba*; for the term *a'uruq* (pl. *a'uru'ut*) see my note to §136 and Doerfer, No.496.

199 'In that same Year of the Ox' must refer to 1205; see the fourth paragraph of §198. However, we have here a mistake of a full twelve-year cycle, as Sübe'etei's expedition against Toqto'a's sons took place in 1217, also a Year of the Ox. This event must have been erroneously transposed in the later transmission of the text. Cf. Pelliot in *JA* 15, 2 (1920), 163-164; Grousset, *L'empire mongol*, pp.197-198, 579. The Sübe'etei in question is the famous lieutenant of Chinggis-qan and one of the Four Hounds, already mentioned in §195. The 'iron cart' (*temür telege*) with which he was equipped for his long and arduous journey (Qodu and the remnants of the Merkit had fled to the west and sought shelter in Qïpchaq territory under the protection of a local chief) must have been a cart reinforced with an iron frame and with iron wheels. The *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 72a, specifically states that it had iron-covered wheels. In our text, *temür telegetü* is in apposition to Sübe'etei: 'Sübe'etei - he with an iron cart -.' As pointed out by Prof. Poppe (personal communication), this is an interesting and unusual construction. The name of the second son of Toqto'a is Qal (Qat in §198) which, as stated earlier, must almost certainly be the correct form. 'They fled (lit. "went") like a lassoed wild horse, like a stag with an arrow *in its body*' - an old Mongolian saying. For some interesting remarks and further references on it and other ancient popular sayings in this section see Ligeti, p.168, n.199. For the word *tarbaghan* 'marmot,' see Cleaves in *HJAS* 19 (1956), 263-264, n.692. 'Into the Tenggis Sea': this is the second and last mention of the Tenggis in the *SH* (see §1), which is called here 'Tenggis-dalai,' i.e. Tenggis Sea *or* Lake. For the identification of the Tenggis with the Baikal (of which I am in favour) see S.A. Gurulev in *Izv. Sib. Otd. Ak. Nauk* 11, 3 (1974), 102-107, and, by the same author, *Taïny baikal'skikh glubin* (Ulan-Ude, 1975), pp.13-26. 'Plunge,' lit. 'enter.' 'Mindful of the long distance *you have to cover*,' lit. 'thinking of the distance of the territory.' 'If a gelding is completely exhausted, etc.': on this sentence see Mostaert, pp.107, 197. 'It will be of no use,' lit. 'it will not do.' 'How can you save them *then*?', lit. 'to save them will not do.' 'Thinking ahead,' lit. 'thinking far.' 'In order to give (lit. "saying, Let there be") additional provisions (*neme'esün*

önggegü-yen)': the term *önggegü* is glossed in the text as 'to increase' (*tseng-i* 增益); this verb corresponds to Writ. Mong. *önggeyi-* 'to increase (in price),' see Kowalewski, p.497a, as already pointed out by Kozin, *Sokrovennoe skazanie*, p.556. 'The crupper to the saddle,' lit. 'The crupper of the saddle.' 'With their mouth free' (*sudalbiju = sula talbiju*?), i.e. without putting on the bit. 'Will not be able,' lit. 'who will be able?' - a rhetorical question. 'The soldiers will not be able to gallop on the way' because they won't be able to ride a horse without crupper at a gallop, and could not direct and control one without bridle and with a loose bit. 'In the same way,' i.e. as before. For the entire passage beginning 'Beyond the river' and ending 'abandon them there,' see Mostaert, pp.124-125. The diverging translation that I have adopted has been suggested by Prof. Poppe (personal communication). For *möseldü-* (recipr. voice of *möse-*), see Manchu *müse-* 'to lose courage' (*Sravnitel'nyĭ slovar' tungusu man'chjurskikh yazykov*, Akad. Nauk SSSR, Inst. Yazykoznaniya, [Leningrad, 1975], I, p.561a); cf. J. Norman, *A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon* (Seattle and London, 1978), p.206a: *musembi* '2. to become discouraged, to become disheartened.' For *alqasaldu-* (recipr. voice of *alqasa-* [=*alghasa-*]) see Writ. Mong. *alghasa-* 'to be concerned or worried' (Lessing, p.31a). 'If Eternal Heaven grants you further strength and power': see below, nn. 201 and 208, for this terminology. 'Capture,' lit. 'cause to enter into your hands.' 'There is no need to,' lit. 'why?' (*ya'un bui*). The episode of Chinggis, then Temüjin, chased ('to be frightened' in old Mongolian often implied being pursued and fleeing for one's life) by the Merkit chieftains - the 'Three Merkit' (here the Uduyit Merkit is singled out because Toqto'a was their chief) - is, of course, that related in §102, an ordeal that had clearly left an indelible impression on Chinggis. 'Swearing oaths,' lit. 'letting loose the mouth and tongue,' an idiomatic phrase still used in Mongolian. 'You shall go after them,' lit. 'let him (Sübe'etei) reach together.' 'To the furthest limits, etc.': for this expression see §166 *in fine*. Chinggis means that he, through Sübe'etei, will go to any lengths to punish them. 'He had an iron cart made,' lit. 'he had an iron cart beaten out,' i.e. with the iron reinforcements hammered on to the cart. For the passage, 'If you advance thinking, etc.' see Mostaert et Cleaves, *Les Lettres*, p.60.

200 'Lost his people there,' lit. 'his people were taken there.' The Tanglu (< Tangnu) is the present-day Tangnu Range, i.e. the Tangnu Ola (Ula, Uul), Tannu Ola or Tagnïn Nuruu of our maps, in the south Tuva Auton. Oblast. Its southern slopes form the

border between Mongolia and the Soviet Union. Tanglu (T'ang-lu) is also the form that we find in the *YS* 63, 35a (= P.1575). Cf. L. Hambis in *JA* 244 (1956), 291 and 299, n.44; Perlee, p.9. We are not told in which part of the Tangnu Range Jamuqa and his companions had taken shelter. The wild sheep they killed was a wild mountain sheep or argali (*uqulja* = Writ. Mong. *ughulja*, *ughalja*). 'Whose sons, etc.': as already pointed out by Mostaert, p.126, Jamuqa is saying to his companions 'Who (lit. "the sons of whom") is so lucky today to eat wild sheep's meat like you?': in other words, 'You owe it to me if your lot is better than that of many other people.' His companions, however, were evidently not of the same opinion and, tired of their leader and of their not so enviable life as marauders or 'wandering thieves' (*o'orchaq*, see §156), decided to hand him over to Chinggis-qan. With regard to the term *o'orchaq* (Writ. Mong. *oghorchagh*), Prof. Poppe has informed me (personal communication) that the idea of being a marauder or a thief is not primary; the primary meaning of this term is 'an outcast, a vagabond, a man who avoids company,' hence, a man who lives by expediency. The meaning of the alliterative message conveyed by Jamuqa to his *anda* is that the latter should not be mistaken about the treacherous act of Jamuqa's former companions and condone it. The imagery used is the same as that found in Chilger-bökö's 'lament' in §111, to which the reader is referred. Common tribesmen (*qarachu*, which I have rendered as 'black skins' to retain the colour component of the image), slaves (*bo'ol*) and servants (*nekün*, lit. 'slaves born in the household') who dare lay hands on their lord (lit. *qan*) and master (*ejen*) are compared to vile and predatory birds like black crows and grey hen-harriers (*boro quladu*: cf. Buriat *xulda* [< *quladu*] 'a hen-harrier,' i.e. a hawk of the genus *Circus*: see Cheremisov, p.600a), catching noble fowls like the *qarambai noqosu* and the *borchin sono*. We do not know exactly what species of ducks these are. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.120; Ligeti in *AOH* 1 (1951), 354-355; Mostaert, pp.128, n.124 and 129, n.125; *Mongoru hishi*, II, pp.336-337, nn.4 and 5. Murakami takes *qarambai noqosu* as two separate words which he renders as 'true duck' and 'wild duck' in parallelism with the passage in §111, where the black crow wants to eat 'goose and crane'; however, he takes *borchin sono* to be the name of a single fowl, the falcated teal (*yoshigamo*), whereas in the corresponding passage in §111 the buzzard wants to eat 'swan and crane.' I think that in our passage *qarambai noqosu* refers to one species of duck, not two. Prof. Poppe, who supplied the reference to Buriat *xulda*, has also informed me (personal communication) that in Kirghiz there is a word *qarïmbai* meaning 'rich miser,'

(see K.K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizko-russkiĭ slovar'* [Moscow, 1965], p.356a), and suggested that the name of the duck may derive from the fact that it eats too much and does not let other birds eat. On the rare word *büđün* (*?budun*) 'own,' see Mostaert, p.37, n.37. 'How can you be mistaken?', i.e. 'How can you be deceived by that?' On the verb *boso-* (*?bösö-*) 'to encircle, surround, etc.' see *ibid.*, p.163. I have followed the Chinese gloss in translating *boqda* (Writ. Mong. *boghda*) as 'wise' instead of 'holy, saintly,' which under the influence of Buddhism will later become the common epithet for Chinggis-qan. The entire poetical passage is translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.126-129, 193; see, however, Mostaert et Cleaves, *Les Lettres*, p.61. For other similes with the shafts of a cart see §§177 and 186. The meaning here is that the two *anda* would be so bound in friendship as to be like the two inseparable shafts of a cart. 'Each remind ... fallen asleep': this seems to be an idiomatic phrase or popular saying. My interpretation of *untaraqsan-iyan seri'ülülchejü* disagrees with Ligeti's and Murakami's and follows that of Haenisch, Kozin and Waley, which is not only in agreement with the Chinese sectional summary, but is also confirmed by the passage in §201, where Jamuqa refers to the exchange of 'unforgettable words,' i.e. the oaths of blood brotherhood, and to not being separated from each other in bed. Cf. also §117: 'They declared themselves sworn brothers and loved each other ... and at night they slept together.' 'Although you separated from me and went a different way,' lit. 'although you separately went elsewhere.' 'Your heart,' lit. 'your pit of the stomach (= precordia) and heart.' 'When was that?', lit. 'If you say "when?"' On the battle at the Qalaqaljit Sands and Jamuqa's action to which Chinggis-qan refers, see *SH* §170. On the second service (*tusa*) rendered by Jamuqa see §§195-196. The passage from 'Then' to the end of §200 is translated and discussed by Mostaert, pp.121-124.

201 For the Qorqonaq Valley (Qorqonaq-jubur) see §§57 and 104 and notes. 'Aroused by someone who came across (i.e. by an interloper), etc.': cf. Chinggis-qan's almost identical words in his message to Ong-qan in §177. 'Words that are not to be forgotten,' 'Weighty words': like Haenisch, Kozin, Damdinsüren, Waley and others, I understand these expressions as referring to the words of love and the oaths of friendship exchanged between Chinggis-qan, then only Temüjin, and Jamuqa at the time of their early pledge of blood brotherhood (see §117). However, Ligeti, pp.89 and 169, n.201, understands them as meaning 'hateful, angry words,' i.e. unpleasant, offending words. I think that Waley (*The Secret History of the Mongols*, p.283) is

right in taking the expression 'the food that is not to be digested' to mean each other's blood; but this expression could also mean 'the unforgettable meals' - 'indigestible food' being in parallelism with 'unforgettable words' - they shared at the time. Prof. Poppe has suggested (personal communication) that by food that is not, or would never be, digested is probably meant food that is plentiful, i.e. of which there would always be enough. And, with regard to the 'black face' and the 'red face,' he has suggested that the former may simply mean 'my own face' and the latter 'my own face' or 'my bare face.' See also Poppe, *The Canada-Mongolia Review* 3, 2 (October 1977), 122, No.16; 125, Nos.37 and 38. 'The friendly face,' lit. 'the warm countenance' (*qala'un chirai*). 'Came off *in shame*,' lit. 'was flayed.' 'I was not one,' lit. 'I was not a companion with (= to) him.' 'The whole country,' lit. 'the people all around' (*tögörigei ulus*). 'All the other tribes' renders Mongolian *qari tutum*; cf. §123: *qari irgen* 'foreign people.' 'Now that the world is at your disposal,' lit. 'now when the earth (*delegei*) has become ready *for you*.' For these words as an expression of the political ideology of the Mongols see K. Sagaster in *CAJ* 17 (1973), 223ff. 'The inner lapel of your coat' renders Mongolian *jahing*, a term which has survived in Buriat as *zaïn* with the meaning of 'pocket' (Cheremisov, p.245b). However, the word is also found in Yakut as *jayïŋ* with meanings closer to that of the *SH*, viz.: 1) 'side'; 2) 'wedge, a side inset in the shape of a fold in a dress.' See Pekarskiĭ, *Slovar' yakutskogo yazyka*, I, col. 776. My translation follows the Chinese gloss (*t'i-chin* 底襟 [= 衿]). The transcription *jahing* is probably faulty; the original form must have been *jaying*. 'I had many paternal grandmothers,' i.e. the wives of Jamuqa's grandfather who brought him up after the early death of his parents (mentioned a little later); Jamuqa wants to stress the fact that as a young boy he was surrounded by old women, *emege* meaning both 'paternal grandmother' and 'old woman.' 'When I became disloyal to my sworn brother,' lit. 'thinking (*or* feeling) beyond (= away from) the sworn brother.' 'With regard to the two of us,' lit. 'of the two, the sworn brother and us.' 'My fame has passed (lit. "reached") from sunrise to sunset': what Jamuqa implies, of course, is that his fame has now declined. I prefer this interpretation to that of 'I have acquired fame from east to west.' *Törülki* 'birth' = *törelki*. For a discussion of the form *törülki* see the commentary to the *Hua-i i-yü* (1389) IIa, 2v2, in A. Mostaert and I. de Rachewiltz, *Le matériel mongol du Houa i i iu* 華夷譯語 *de Houng-ou (1389)*, II (in preparation). 'Valiant companions' renders *örlü'üt nököt*; on the term *örlük* (pl.

örlügüt > *örlü'üt*) 'brave, valiant, fierce,' which later became a title, see Mostaert, p.70, n.62. According to Gaadamba, the *örlü'üt nököt*, or *yisün örlüg* 'the nine valiant ones,' were those early loyal companions of Chinggis-qan who were not punished for up to nine infringements of the *jasaq* in reward for their meritorious service. See *Medee* 3 (1969), 81-98, *apud* F. Aubin in *Sung Studies Newsletter* 9 (1974), 12-13, 16 n.21 (*q.v.* also for further references). However, in the *SH* the term *örlü'üt* occurs only once and there is no indication that its meaning was other than that of 'valiant.' Cf. also the sectional summary (*YCPS* 8, 23a; Waley, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, p.284). 'Seventy-three geldings': the reference to such a precise number of horses, which is unsupported by other sources, is rather puzzling. Grousset's interpretation 'The seventy-three fine men who form your entourage serve you as so many loyal steeds' in *Conqueror of the World*, p.164, is to be rejected. 'If you *want to* show favour to me ... your heart will be at rest,' lit. 'If the sworn brother shows favour to me ... the sworn brother's heart will be at rest.' 'If you condescend,' lit. 'if the sworn brother condescends.' It is a well known fact that in the case of executions the medieval Mongols regarded a bloodless death as preferable to one in which blood was shed. The former was, in fact, a privilege of the qan's close relatives, and enemies of noble birth could also be accorded one. Jamuqa, being Chinggis' *anda*, was entitled to this privilege. This practice stems from the ancient religious beliefs of the Turks and the Mongols, and their conception of a soul residing in the blood (see below). 'My body,' lit. 'my dead bones' (*ölük yasun*), i.e. 'my corpse.' The integrity of the skeleton, which is also the seat of a soul, and hence the preservation of bones, was essential for the spiritual survival of the individual after death. See J.-P. Roux in *Tractata Altaica* (Festschrift D. Sinor) (Wiesbaden, 1976), p.557ff. For the custom of burying people in elevated places, such as mountain slopes, see above, n.164. Apparently the term *etügen* (~*ötögen*, cf. §255) 'Earth' is used here as an honorific designation for an earth site. 'The awesome spirit of my sworn brother'; the term which I render, somewhat inadequately, as 'awesome spirit' is *sülder*. This important word occurs in §63 with the meaning of 'good omen' (*ch'i-chao* 吉兆), and in §249 with that of 'awesome (*or* majestic) spirit (*or* aura)' (*wei-ling* 威靈) as in the present paragraph. In the passages corresponding to §§63 and 249 of the *SH*, the *AT* has *sülde* (§63) and *sülder* (§249), see *SHA*, pp. 32, 183. The alternation *sülde* ~ *sülder* is very interesting for it shows that in the seventeenth century this word was in

some dialects in the process of losing the final r. The Writ. Mong. form is *sülde* 'good fortune, blessing; protecting spirit or genius, soul; standard (flag)': see Kowalewski, p.1428b; Lessing, p.743a. In all Mongolian languages we find the form without *r*, but in Kalmuck there is both *sülдü* 'standard' and *sülдr̥* 'fate, luck; symbol': see Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, p.340a; cf. B.D. Muniev, *Kal'mycko-russkiĭ slovar'* (Moscow, 1977), p.465a. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the term *sülder* designated the spirit, power or 'virtue' - as distinct from the 'soul' - with which an individual is endowed at birth to fulfil the destiny determined or pre-ordained by Heaven. It is not clear, however, whether in Chinggis-qan's time it was also used to designate the spirit inhabiting or, better, animating a symbolic object such as a standard (see n.193 above) and conferring to it special powers. Cf. K. Sagaster, *Die Weiße Geschichte. Eine mongolische Quelle zur Lehre von den Beiden Ordnungen Religion und Staat in Tibet und die Mongolei* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp.351-354; H. Franke, *From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God: The Legitimation of the Yüan Dynasty* (München, 1978), pp.21-22 and n.23. The concept of 'good fortune' is implicit in it, as *sülder* is inseparable from the 'strength' (*güchü*) and 'protection' (*ihe'ekde-*) bestowed by Heaven and Earth, without which ultimate success cannot be attained. See *SH* §§199, 256. Cf. B. Vladimirtsov in *Doklady Akad. Nauk SSR*, (March-April 1926), B, 29-30, No.10; I. de Rachewiltz in *PFEH* 7 (1973), 27-28. For the later usage of this term see Vladimirtsov, p.187; W. Kotwicz, 'Formules initiales des documents mongols aux XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} ss.,' *Rocz. Orient.* 10 (1934), 146; Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, p.598a; and, especially, Sagaster, *loc.cit.* See also A. Mostaert in *MS* 1 (1935-6), 333, n.8, and *HJAS* 20 (1957), 548-550, n.37; C. Bawden in *BSOAS* 25 (1962), 93-94, n.7; A. Sárközi in *AOH* 24 (1971), 43-44; H. Serruys, *Kumiss Ceremonies and Horse Races. Three Mongolian Texts* (Wiesbaden, 1974), p.44, n.71. It is clear from our text that the soul of an enemy of noble birth could exert a beneficial influence over the entire family line of his conqueror. The Mongols, like other Altaic people, believed that a defeated enemy was bound to his victor-master not only in his lifetime but also after his death. The nobler and stronger the enemy had been in his lifetime and, therefore, the greater his 'virtue,' the more powerful was his influence in the afterlife. In order to retain his power and turn it to beneficial use it was essential that his blood, the seat or vehicle of one of his souls (the integrity of which insured spiritual survival), should not be dispersed in the ground. In this conception, however, the relation between the 'soul' (or

'souls') and the 'virtue' of the individual is not clear. Cf. J.-P. Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux d'après les documents écrits* (Paris, 1963), pp.75-81 *et passim*; O. Turan in *Studia Islamica* 4 (1955), 82; V.V. Barthold in *CAJ* 14 (1970), 213; Kirakos of Ganjak in J.A. Boyle, *CAJ* 8 (1963), 204. 'Repeat them to one another,' lit. 'speak (*or* say) to one another.' 'Now kill me quickly!', lit. 'Now let *my sworn brother* despatch me quickly!' 'Has been railing against Us,' lit. 'spoke a full mouth at (= against) Us': for the expression *aman dü'üren* (= *dü'üreng*) *kelele-* (or *ügüle-*) 'to speak with anger, abuse, rail,' see §276 (my *Index*, lines 11432 and 11503-4). 'He refuses *to comply*,' lit. '*for him* it won't do,' see below. 'To kill him,' lit. 'if *I* say "let one kill *him*."' 'Is not in accordance with the omens' renders *tölge-tür ülü oromui*, lit. 'it does not enter (= fit) the omens'; in other words, the omens consulted by Chinggis-qan do not foretell, hence do not sanction, such an action. On *tölge* (< Tu. *tülük*) see A. Róna-Tas in *AOH* 25 (1975), 227-236, esp. pp.222-233. Cf. also Mostaert, pp.227-228. 'Can be given to him,' lit. 'tell *him*' - in other words, if we have to find a reason for him to die, and for me to kill him, the following may be adduced and put forth to him. Chinggis has not been sanctimoniously trying to find a way of saving Jamuqa's life, although the latter's fate is obviously sealed. In my view, he has gone through a ritual of appeasement that will ensure the goodwill and blessings of his powerful enemy after the latter's death. By recalling Jamuqa's noble deeds and by treating him with the respect due to his social rank, Chinggis avoids the danger that Jamuqa will become in the other world an influence hostile to him and his descendants. Cf. the 'spiritual' role of the eulogy among the ancient Turks in L. Bazin, *Diogenes* 42 (1963), 83. On Choji(*read* Jochi)-darmala, Taichar and Jamuqa's role on that occasion see the *SH* §§128-129. The battle of Dalan-baljut is described in §129. The expression *bulqa köyitchü* is rendered as 'stirred up rebellion' following the Chinese gloss. For the verb *köyit-* meaning 'to stir up, foment' cf. Kirghiz *köyüt-* 'to talk someone into s.' (Yudakhin, p.417b); for *bulqa* (= *bulgha*) see Mostaert et Cleaves, 'Trois documents,' pp.492-493. 'You refused ... you declined,' lit. 'it won't do ... it could not be done' (*Ülü boluyu ... ese bolba*); see Mostaert, p.244, n.228. 'His body,' lit. 'his bones.' 'Be given a fitting burial,' lit. 'hold (= bury) them well.'

202 'After having brought to allegiance,' lit. 'having made straight (*or* right)' (*shidurqutqaju*). 'The people of the felt-walled tents' (*sisgei to'urqatu ulus*), i.e. all the nomadic and

semi-nomadic pastoral people of Mongolia who lived in yurts (*ger*), to distinguish them from the forest hunting tribes of the north and northwest, the so-called 'people of the forests' (*hoi-yin irgen*), on which see below, n.207. On *sisgei* 'felt' see below, n.203. On the terms *ulus* 'people(*or* tribe)-patrimony → domain, state, empire' and *irgen* 'people-tribe' see Vladimirtsov, p.124 *et passim*. For a recent, important discussion of the term *ulus* see Paul D. Buell, 'Tribe, *Qan* and *Ulus* in Early Mongol China: Some Prolegomena to Yüan History' (Ph.D Dissertation, University of Washington, 1977), p.36ff.; *idem*, 'Kalmyk Tanggaci People: Thoughts on the Mechanics and Impact of Mongol Expansion,' *Mongolian Studies* 6 (1979) [forthcoming]. Cf. also Ch'i-ch'ing Hsiao, *The Military Establishment of the Yuan Dynasty* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp.9-11. The great assembly (*quriltai*) of the Year of the Tiger 1206 is one of the most important events in the life of Chinggis-qan. The place chosen for this momentous occasion was ground consecrated by tradition - holy ground, as it were - for it was at the very sources of the great river Onon on Mount Burqan-qaldun that the mythical blue-grey wolf (*börte chinō*) and fallow doe (*qo'ai maral*) had settled after crossing the Tenggis/Baikal, thus beginning the line from which originated all the Mongol clans as told in ch.1 of the *SH*. Later, in Chinggis' own lifetime, Burqan-qaldun continued to play an important role in protecting him (see §§100-103), and it was on its slopes that he was eventually buried by his express will. The exact area where the quriltai took place cannot be positively identified, but in view of the great number of people that must have gathered there, on this and subsequent occasions, with all their tents, carts, etc., it must be a valley in the proximity of Kentei Qan in the Kentei Mts. 'The white standard with nine tails' (*yisün költü chaqa'an tuq*): the tails or streamers, lit. 'feet,' were either yak or horse tails. This was the great standard of Chinggis-qan and the paramount symbol of his power. See above, notes 193 and 201; Pelliot in *TP* 27 (1930), 32, and especially his remarks in *Notes on Marco Polo*, II, pp.860-861. For the Mongols, as for other Altaic people, white was the auspicious colour. See Pelliot in *JA* 217 (1930), 265; Vladimirtsov, p.60; Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 125 and 14 (1951), 82; H. Serruys, *Kumiss Ceremonies and Horse Races. Three Mongolian Texts* (Wiesbaden, 1974), pp.13-14; Poppe in *The Canada - Mongolia Review* 3 (1977), 123; Franke, *op.cit.*, pp.20-21 and n.20; F. Aubin in *Quand le crible était dans la paille ... Hommage à Pertev Naili Boratav*, présenté par R. Dor et M. Nicolas (Paris, 1978), p.42ff. Cf. also Naka, *Chingisu-kan jitsuroku* (1907 ed.), pp. 361-362; I. de Rachewiltz, 'Sino-Mongol Culture Contacts in the

XIIIc. A Study on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai' (Ph.D. Dissertation, Australian National University, Canberra, 1960), pp.253-55, n.119; and above, notes 63 and 111. The association of white with luck and happy destiny is almost certainly a concept borrowed from the Inner Asian Turks (ultimately Manichean?). Cf. I. Laude-Cirtautas, *Der Gebrauch der Farbbezeichnungen in den Türkdialekte* (Wiesbaden, 1961), §24. For 'nine' as a sacred number see de Rachewiltz, *op.cit.*, pp.247-250, n.116; Franke, *op.cit.*, p.21 and n.20; A. Sárközi in *AOH* 24 (1971), 43-44; cf. also above, §103. Both white as a lucky colour and nine as a symbolic number are mentioned by Marco Polo in *The Description of the World*, ed. A.D. Moule and P. Pelliot, I (London, 1938), pp.222-223. Further references to them are found in §§216, 219, 239, 245 and 267. 'They gave Chinggis-qahan the title of qan': Chinggis-qan had already been elected qan by his followers and supporters in 1189 or, more likely, 1201 (see *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.295-296), the earlier enthronement being recorded in the *SH* §123, where it is stated that on this occasion he was named 'Chinggis-qahan' (*read* 'Chinggis-qan'). In subsequent passages of the *SH* (§§125, 126, 127 and probably also §124, where the word 'qan' at the beginning may have been dropped out, see Pelliot, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p.32, n.6), reference is made to Chinggis-qan 'having become qan,' and from §124 onwards Temüjin is called 'Chinggis-qahan.' Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.252, states that the title 'Chinggis-qan' was given to him by the Mongols after the defeat of the Kereit in 1203, and (on p.150) that this title was 'confirmed' in 1206; on the other hand, in another passage of his work (p.253; cf. also *ibid.*, I/1, p.167), he relates that the title was given to him in 1206 by the great shaman Kököchü (i.e. Teb-Tenggeri, see below, §244). The *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 57a, and the *YS* 1, 14b (= P.13), both state that Chinggis-qan received this title in 1206 and there is no reference in these two works to an earlier enthronement. Some scholars, e.g., Vladimirtsov and Grousset, are of the opinion that the title 'Chinggis-qan' was conferred on Temüjin at the time of his first enthronement as qan and later re-conferred or confirmed at the quriltai of 1206. Other scholars, among them Hambis (see his *Gengis-khan*, pp.59-60), believe that Temüjin was only elected qan at the first enthronement and that he assumed the title 'Chinggis-qan' in 1206. This is also the official position of contemporary Mongol and Soviet historians, see the *History of the Mongolian People's Republic* ('Nauka,' Moskow, 1973), pp.107-108. Ligeti (p.152, n.123 and pp.169-170, n.202) says that at the first enthronement Temüjin was given the name 'Chinggis' and was invested as qan by his clan, and that this election 'within the family'

provided him with a legal basis but little real power; in 1206 the proper election took place, with all the aristocracy of the steppe participating in it. Pelliot (*Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.296) was uncommittal as to the date (end of the twelfth century, 1203, 1206) when the Mongol leader assumed the name 'Chinggis-qan.' For my part, I am inclined to think that at the earlier enthronement, which took place some years before the quriltai of 1206 (the date remains uncertain), Temüjin was only elected qan - almost certainly in opposition to his rival Jamuqa and his confederate tribes - and that the more grandiose and sophisticated title of Turkish origin 'Chinggis-qan' (on the meaning of which see *op.cit.*, pp.296-303), now truly appropriate to his new dignity and power, may have been created specially for the occasion by the shaman Kököchü, as both Juvainī (*History of the World-Conqueror*, p.39) and Rashīd al-Dīn relate, and conferred upon him at the 1206 quriltai. For the role of Kököchü in the second enthronement see Hambis, 'Un épisode mal connu,' p.3ff. The *SH* is not to be relied upon for chronological accuracy, particularly with regard to the conferment of titles; I am convinced that this lack of accuracy is not accidental, but I shall discuss this problem elsewhere. Thus, Muqali's title of 'gui-ong' (< Chin. *kuo-wang* 國王 'Prince of State'), recorded in the present section as being conferred on him by the quriltai in 1206, was actually granted to him by Chinggis-qan in 1217. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.363; I. de Rachewiltz in *PFEH* 15 (1977), 49. Cf. below §§206 and 220. On Jebe's campaign against Küchlüg, last met in §198, and the latter's end see §237 and n. The redistribution and reorganisation of the Mongol population for military purposes into ninety-five chiliarchies (*mingqat*), i.e. population units capable of supplying in wartime a force of approximately one thousand men under the command of a leader of a thousand (*mingqan-u noyan*), is the first major change decreed by Chinggis at the quriltai. The *SH* lists the ninety-five chiliarchies with the names of their eighty-eight leaders. The leaders of a thousand are not ninety-five because Alchi-güregen was in charge of three Onggirat chiliarchies (Nos.86, 87, 88), Butu-güregen of two Ikires chiliarchies (Nos.89, 90), and Alaqush-digit-quri of five Önggüt chiliarchies (Nos.91, 92, 93, 94, 95). Thus, the statement at the end of §202 that the leaders appointed by Chinggis were ninety-five is incorrect. In view of the importance of these chiliarchies I hope to prepare a study on them in the near future. See, provisionally, the contributions of Honda Minobu 本田實信 in *Tōhō-gaku* 東方學 4 (1952), 1-12; *Shigaku-zasshi* 史學雜誌 62, 8 (August 1953), 1-26; *Rekishi-kyōiku* 歷史教育 9, 7 (July 1961), 10-18; and *Proceedings of the 23rd Congress of Orientalists* (Cambridge, 1954), pp.255-256. See also Han Ju-lin 韓儒林 in *Studia Serica* 1, 1 (1940), 29-52; and Ch'i-ch'ing Hsiao, *The Military Establishment of the Yuan Dynasty*, pp.9-11. Biographical notes on the Mongol leaders, with references to the Chinese and Persian sources, are found in Naka, *Chingisu-kan jitsuroku*, pp.317-330, and Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*, II, pp.348-392. The chiliarchies as listed by Rashīd al-Dīn are found in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp. 266-274. See also F. von Erdmann, *Temüdschin der Unerschütterliche* (Leipzig, 1862), pp.446-455. For the reading Achinai in place of Ajinai (No.75) see L. Bese in *AOH* 32 (1978), 355, No.2. Alar-güregen (No.79), Buqa-güregen (No.81), Ashiq-güregen (No. 83), Qadai-güregen (No.84), Chigü-güregen (No.85), Alchi-güregen (No.86), Butu-güregen (No.89) and Alaqush-digit-quri-güregen (No.91) were all sons-in-law (*güregen*, pl. *güreget*) of Chinggis-qan. On the name Butu ~ Botu see Bese, *op.cit.*, pp.361-362, No.11.

203 'Together with the sons-in-law' (*güreget-lu'a*[= *lü'e*] *niken-e*), see above, n.202 *in fine*. 'He said (lit., "when he said") that the leaders having at their head Bo'orchu and Muqali should come,' i.e. enter into Chinggis' tent. Shigi-qutuqu is the sixteenth leader of a thousand listed in §202. In §§135 and 138 it is related how he was found as a little boy in the deserted Merkit camp and how he was adopted by Mother Hö'elün. There he is called Shigiken(Shikiken)-qutuqu (quduqu), Shigiken being the diminutive and endearment form of Shigi. He rose to be one of the highest officials in the Mongol government and the one who supervised the census of north China in 1234-1236. See de Rachewiltz, *op.cit.*, pp.376-380, n.215; N.C. Munkuev, *Kitaĭskĭ istochnik o pervikh mongol'skikh khanakh* (Moscow, 1965), pp.77-78, 193. For an important study on Shigi-qutuqu see P. Ratchnevsky, 'Šigi-qutuqu, ein mongolischer Gefolgsman im 12.-13. Jahrhundert' in *CAJ* 10 (1965), 87-120. On Shigi-qutuqu as a possible author of the *SH* see Ligeti, pp.206-207 and Ratchnevsky, *op.cit.*, pp.114-120. 'Have Bo'orchu and Muqali been of greater assistance than others?', lit. 'Have B. and M. been of greater assistance than whom?' The passage from the above sentence to 'Bo'orchu and Muqali at their head' is translated in Ratchnevsky, *op.cit.*, pp.96-97. 'Until this beard,' lit. 'until such (*edüi*) beard.' 'At your noble threshold,' lit. 'at your high (*ündür*) threshold.' 'At your royal threshold,' lit. 'at your golden (*altan*) threshold.' 'Like her own son ... like the younger brother of *her children*,' lit. 'treating me as a son ... as a younger brother': cf. §135. 'My sixth younger brother': Chinggis-qan had three brothers (Qasar, Qachi'un and

Temüge), one sister (Temülün), and two half-brothers (Bekter and Belgütei), the eldest of whom, Bekter, had been killed by Chinggis and Qasar while still a boy (§§60, 77). Thus Chinggis had altogether five brothers, all of them younger than himself. 'My late-born younger brother' (*orochu de'ü-de'en*): the term *orochu*, although not found in Writ. Mong., has survived in the Ordos dialect as *oro'tš'o* 'né après le temps normal, tardillon (bétail),' see Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, p.522a. With regard to Chinggis-qan's position vis-à-vis Shigi-qutuqu, a different tradition is recorded by Rashīd al-Dīn who, in his work, says that Shigi-qutuqu was adopted on Chinggis-qan's order by Börte, who at that time had no children of her own. Therefore, Shigi-qutuqu used to call Chinggis-qan 'father' and Börte 'first (*teri'ün*) mother'; Chinggis called him his 'fifth son' and Ögödei his 'senior brother.' See Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, p.107; I/2, p.269. Ratchnevsky, *op.cit.*, pp.89-92, is of the opinion that Rashīd's version is more reliable than the *SH* account. 'You shall be allotted the *same* share as the younger brothers,' i.e. in the division of the war booty and distribution of the conquered people. 'You shall not be punished for *up to* nine crimes,' lit. 'you shall not be(come) culpable (*or* punishable) for nine crimes (= breaches of the *jasaq*).' The terms *alda-* and *aldal* deserve some comment. In his important article 'A New Mongolian P'ai-tzu from Simferopol' in *AOH* 31 (1977), 185-215, N. Ts. Münküyev discusses (pp.210-215, n.h.) the verb *alda-*, which he interprets as 'to be slain.' I do not think that this is correct. This verb occurs several times in the *SH* (see my *Index*, pp.181b-182a) and in the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389 (see A. Mostaert, *Le matériel mongol du Houa i i iu* 華夷譯語 *de Houng-ou (1389)*, I [Bruxelles, 1977], p.34). The Chinese glosses leave no doubt as to its basic meaning of 'to miss, fail, omit, lose,' from which has developed that of 'to commit a fault, error or transgression, hence a crime,' and, by logical extension, 'to be(come) culpable → to be(come) punishable.' These various meanings are, in fact, found in the *SH*, but nowhere in the *SH* is found the meaning of 'to be slain.' See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.5, *s.v.* 'aldaḥu.' The deverbal noun *aldal* occurs also in the *SH* with the meaning of 'punishable act, crime'; and *aldaltai, aldaltan* with the meaning of 'guilty, culpable → punishable.' See Haenisch, *loc.cit.*; Pelliot in *TP* 27 (1930), 40; Mostaert, p.148, n.144; Cleaves in *HJAS* 23 (1960-61), 70, n.5; Ratchnevsky, *op.cit.*, p.96, n.33. To be exempted from punishment for up to nine transgressions of the Mongol law (*jasaq*) was at this time a privilege enjoyed by a small number of men, such as the *darqat* or 'freedmen,' who had performed outstanding services, usually in protecting or saving the life

of Chinggis-qan. See Han Ju-lin in *Studia Serica* 1, 2 (1940), 155-184, esp. p.171; Etani Toshiyuki 惠谷俊之 in *Tōyōshi-kenkyū* 東洋史研究 22, 2 (October 1963), 65, 70. For 'nine' as a symbolic number see above, n.202. 'When, protected by the Eternal Heaven ...': on Heaven's protection of Chinggis-qan see above, n.201. 'In bringing order over the entire people' (*gür ulus-i jükle'üljü*): the verb *jükle-* (Writ. Mong. *jügle-* 'to head for, strive after') is glossed in Chinese as *cheng* 正 'to regulate, rectify,' and is interpreted as *ting* 定 'to fix, settle' in the free sectional summary (*YCPS* 8, 32b). The real meaning is, of course, 'to conquer, subject.' To be 'An eye to see with,/An ear to hear with' is a set phrase or idiom describing a person who performs important services and delicate missions; one, therefore, who is a most trustworthy personal assistant. Cf. §252. For its use in the later Yüan official terminology, see Ratchnevsky, *op.cit.*, p.96, n.34. 'According to the name of the people' (*irgen-ü nere-'er*): this means, I think, that the apportioning of subjects among Chinggis' family had to be done by dividing the tribes according to their importance (name = fame, renown), so that the most important groups of subjects were allotted to the more exalted members of the family. 'Splitting up those that live in (lit. "having") felt-walled tents,/Separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors,' i.e. the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes living in yurts (see §202) and the sedentary people living in houses with doors, lit. 'having wood-board doors' (*qabdasun e'üdeten*). In 1206 Chinggis had not yet conquered sedentary populations and this statement is, therefore, anachronistic. In this passage, as in §124, 'felt' is written *isgei* (cf. Writ. Mong. *isegei, esegei* idem), whereas in §202 the same word is written *sisgei*, a form which is also attested in other early texts; see, e.g., Mukaddimat al-Adab, p.323b: *sisegei* 'felt'; Mostaert, *Le matériel mongol*, p.94: *sisyei* 'feutre.' Cf. Khomonov in *Trudy Bur. Inst. Obshch. Nauk BF SO AN SSR* 13 (1970), 33. The verb *ireche'ül-* 'to cause to separate, break up' is not found in Writ. Mong. and does not seem to have survived in the dialects. 'He entrusted him with *the power of* judgement over all,' i.e. he appointed him as supreme judge (*jarghuchi* or *yeke jarghuchi*). With regard to the passage in which Chinggis entrusts Shigi-qutuqu with the duties of keeping the population registers (essential for the distribution of subjects among the ruling family, the court nobility and the military leaders) and the recording of judgements (to serve as precedents in law proceedings), the Mongol text is not very clear. In the sentence *basa gür irgen-ü qubi qubilaqsan-i jarqu jarqulaqsan-i kökö debter bichik bichijü debterlejü* the verb *debterle-*, - a denominal

verb from *debter* 'book, register,' - may mean 'to make or compile a register = to register,' rather than 'to make into a register = to bind in book or register form,' which is its current meaning, since this verb is glossed in Chinese as *tsao-ts'e* 造冊, which normally means the former. See the dictionaries of Palladiĭ-Popov (II, p.348a), Giles (2nd ed., p.1446c), Couvreur (2nd ed., p.73c), Mathews (p.987a) and Liang Shih-ch'iu 梁實秋 (p.1102c). Also, in view of the fact that the sentence that follows speaks of *kökö bichik* 'blue script,' and not of *kökö debter* 'blue register(s),' I wonder whether the original recension of the *SH* may have not had the word *debter* before *debterlejü*, i.e. *kökö bichik bichijü debter debterlejü* instead of *kökö bichik bichijü debterlejü*. This hypothesis is to some extent supported also by the particular construction of the sentence in which, after *irgen*-ü, each noun is followed by the corresponding verb (*qubi gubila-, jarqu jarqula-, bichik bichi-*, so that we would also expect *debter debterle-* ' to register a register = to compile a register.' Later on, as is known, these important population records were actually called *köke (= kökö) debter*, but this may not have been the case at such an early date as 1206. Their existence and widespread use in the later Yüan period may have been responsible for a transposition of the word *debter* after *kökö* by a copyist or editor (we know that the *SH* text we have today was altered during the Yüan dynasty). This, however, cannot be conclusively proved. On the *köke debter* and the use of blue ink in certain documents see Pelliot, *TP* 27 (1930), 38-42, where the relevant passage in the *SH* is also discussed (p.40). In my translation I have followed his interpretation. See also Liu Ming-shu 劉銘恕 in *Bulletin of Chinese Studies* (中國文學研究彙刊) 7 (1947), 101-106; Ratchnevsky, *op.cit.*, p.97 and nn.37, 38; *idem*, 'Die Yasa (J̌asaq) Činggis-khans und ihre Problematik' in *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der alten Oriens* 5: *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker* (Berlin, 1974), p.479 and n.42; Buell, 'Tribe, *Qan* and *Ulus*,' pp.39-40. 'Equal,' lit. 'equal and corresponding' (*sacha'u denggechen*).

204 For the events concerning Father Mönglik - the first leader of a thousand listed in §203 - which are recalled by Chinggis-qan, see §§68 and 69, and 168. Cf. Hambis, 'Un épisode mal connu,' p.20ff; Ligeti, pp.178-179, n.244. 'Into whirling waters, / Into blazing fire,' lit. 'Into water that is whirling, / Into fire that is red.'

205 On the early exploits of Chinggis-qan and Bo'orchu, see §§90-93. Regarding the puzzling word *benglenijü* (*Index*, line 7916), I

think there is no doubt that, as already suggested by Pelliot, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p.79, n.4, it is a mistake for *mungtaniju* 'being in difficulty *or* distress,' which is the word found in the corresponding passage in §90. Cf. also §§92, 93. 'Concealing': the Mongol word here is *bürgüjü*, whereas in §§90 and 93 it is *buquju*. The verb *buqu-* corresponds to Precl. Mong. *bughu-* 'to hide, put away, conceal,' on which see Cleaves in *HJAS* 14 (1951), 83-84, n.56. As for *bürgü-*, this verb corresponds to Writ. Mong. *bürkü-* 'to cover, cover up, envelop, obscure': see Lessing, p.150a. Damdinsüren, *Mongolyn nuuc tovčoo* (1975 ed.), p.42, confuses Precl. Mong. *bughu-* with Writ. Mong. *boghu-* (Kh. *boox*) 'to bind, tie, bundle, wrap, envelop' (Lessing, p.111a), and in §205 renders *bürgüjü* as *orxiž* 'casting away, abandoning' (Damdinsüren, *op.cit.*, p.168). 'In the grass,' lit. 'in the steppe.' 'Before we reached the circular camp with the stolen light-bay geldings,' lit. 'when we reached the circular camp (*güre'en*) that had stolen the light-bay geldings.' 'Because of your brave heart,' lit. 'by the courage (*külük*) of your mind (= heart: *setkil*).' 'When I sent you Belgütei to ask you to join me *again* as a companion,' lit. When I, sending Belgütei, said, "Let us be companions!".' See Mostaert, p.195. On Belgütei's mission see §95. 'And came to join me,' lit. 'when you came to be a companion.' The episode of young Temüjin being pursued three times around Burqan-qaldun by the Three Merkit is described in §102, but there is no mention there of Bo'orchu circling the mountain with him; for Bo'orchu's part at the time see §103. 'Throughout the night,' lit. 'until the night finished.' 'One of your feet,' lit. 'one of your two feet.' In the brief description of the famous battle of Dalan-nemürges in §153 there is no reference to Bo'orchu's act of protecting Chinggis from the night rain. However, in Bo'orchu's biography in *YS* 119, 19b (= P.2946) and in Muqali's biography in *YS* 119, 1b (= P.2929), this event is related, and from these two biographies we also learn that Bo'orchu and Muqali held the cloak together over their sleeping leader. Cf. de Rachewiltz in *PFEH* 15 (1977), 46. I think that both the episode of Bo'orchu circling Burqan-qaldun and of holding the felt cloak (*nemürge*) are part of a later elaboration of epic themes concerning Chinggis' *nököt* (Bo'orchu, Muqali, Jelme, etc.) circulating at the time when the *SH* was composed and, perhaps, developed also by the author(s) of the *SH*. The *gesta* of Chinggis' 'knights' must have formed a sizable body of epic literature, some of which has survived to this day outside the *SH*, in works like the *AT* and the *Chinggis-qaghan-u chadig*, as well as in oral tradition. Bo'orchu's name appears in a 'fragment from the precepts of Činǧis-khan' in alliterative verse found by P.K. Kozlov in Qara-qoto. See Kotvič quoted

by Cleaves in *HJAS* 18 (1955), 7, and Munkuyev in L. Ligeti, ed., *Mongolian Studies*, p.343. The felt-cloak episode may well have had its origin in a simple association of ideas with the very name of the place where it was supposed to have occurred: Dalan-nemürges 'The Seventy Felt Cloaks'; cf. Grousset, *L'empire mongol*, p.184, n.1. 'What *other* brave *deeds* of yours am I to mention?', lit. 'what bravery of yours will I finish telling?' 'You urged me to carry out what was right,/ You persuaded me not to do what was wrong,' lit. 'Pulling until my right proceeded,/Restraining until my wrong subsided' - a very Mongolian way to put it. 'You will sit higher than all *the others*,' lit. 'let them sit on seats above all.' Bo'orchu, the first of the Four Champions (*dörben külü'üt*), beside being appointed as one of the leaders of a thousand (§202, No.2), was at the same time made leader of ten thousand or myriarch (*tümen-ü noyan*) in charge of the *bara'un qar*, i.e. the right, or west, wing (lit. 'hand') of the Mongol army. This wing was composed of troops drawn from tribes inhabiting the region extending westwards to the Altai Mts. or, as the *SH* says, 'using the Altai as a pillow' (*Altai deregelün*). For the interpretation of this expression I follow the Chinese sectional summary; see *YCPS* 8, 39a and 40b. As leader of a thousand, the first chiliarchy of the right wing, which was composed of men of his own Arulat, or Arlat, tribe, belonged to him. Bo'orchu's appointment is mentioned in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.267; on his double appointment as leader of a thousand and ten thousand, see Honda's remarks in *Shigaku-zasshi* 62, 8 (August 1953), 6-7. On both Bo'orchu and his tribe see also Pelliot-Hambis, pp.342-360; Ligeti, pp.171 and n.205, 174 and n.220., and 175-176 and n.227.

206 On the Leafy Tree (Saqlaqar or Saqlār[< Saqlaqar]-modun) of the Qorqonaq Valley near the Onon see §57; from §117 we learn that it was situated on the southern side of the Quldaqar Cliff in the Qorqonaq Valley. The word *temtek* (= *temdeg*), glossed in the *SH* as 'clear, manifest,' carries also the meaning of 'ominous sign, omen' (see Lessing, p.798b), which I think is implicit in the present context, hence my rendering of it as 'portent.' We do not know what the 'heavenly sign' (*tenggeri-yin ja'arin*) was, but it may have been a prophetic vision or dream similar to that of Qorchi described in §121 and, like Qorchi's, predicting Temüjin's ultimate victory and his rise to supreme leadership of the Mongol tribes. On the other hand, this may be a later addition to Muqali's saga prompted perhaps by the fact that Qorchi's prophetic vision is recalled immediately after the section on Muqali in §207. Cf. Ligeti, p.171, n.206. It is not clear also what the reference to Muqali's father

Gü'ün-qo'a (Gü'ün-u'a in §137) means, but he obviously plays a part in the lost story of Muqali. The promise made by Chinggis-qan was, of course, to reward him in the way described if his prophecy came true. 'He will *henceforth* sit on a seat *above all others*': the text merely says *sa'uri de'ere sa'uju* 'sitting on a seat,' but from the sectional summary (*YCPS* 8, 40b) it appears that the original text had (as in §205) *bürin-ü de'ere sa'uri sa'uju*, hence my translation. On Muqali, the second of the Four Champions, see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.360-372; de Rachewiltz in *PFEH* 15 (1977), 45-54 and the bibliography on pp.59-61. Like Bo'orchu, Muqali was appointed leader of a thousand (see §202, No.3), as well as of ten thousand. The first chiliarchy of the left wing composed of his own tribesmen, the Jalair, belonged to him. See Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.270; Ligeti, p.171, n.206; Honda, *op.cit.*, pp.5-6. As myriarch, he was entrusted with the supreme command of the *jewün* (*je'ün*) *qar*, i.e. the left, or east, wing of the army, whose troops were drawn from tribes inhabiting eastern Mongolia up to the Qara'un-jidun Mts. in the southern Great Khingan Range (see above, n.183). North China was regarded as an extension of this region and, therefore, it also fell under Muqali's control. The title of gui-ong 'Prince of State' (see above, §202 and below, §220) was actually conferred on Muqali a decade later, in 1217, when he returned to Mongolia after several years' campaigning in China. This title had apparently already been given to him by the people of north China, and so it was only formally confirmed by Chinggis-qan and made hereditary. 'Which extends *eastwards* up to the Qara'un-jidun *mountains*,' lit. 'using the Qara'un-jidun as a pillow'; cf. §205 and note.

207 On Qorchi's prophecy see §121. 'Indeed, you have constantly been (*bolju yabuba-je chi*) a Nendü(k) beneficent spirit (*nendü qutuq*)': the expression *nendü qutuq* is glossed as *fu-shen* 福神, 'a spirit (deity, god) that brings good fortune (*or* happiness), a beneficent spirit.' This expression reappears in §231 in the form *nendü'üt* (pl.) *qutuq*, where only the word *qutuq* is glossed as *fu-shen*. In §105 *fu-shen* renders also *qutuq* (*YCPS* 3, 6b). It is clear that the first element of the two-word compound was no longer understood by the Ming translators in the second half of the fourteenth century. The passage corresponding to §231 in the *AT*, 158, l.10, has *ertekid qutugh*, undoubtedly a copyist's error for *nendügüd qutugh*. Cf. *SHA*, p.164. Now, the plural form *nendü'üt* of §231 presupposes a singular form ending with a consonant other than *n*, hence Pelliot's note 3, on p.80 of his *Histoire secrète des Mongols: 'nändü[k]?'* So far as I know this term is unattested outside the *SH*. I share the view

that the *nendü(k) qutuq* was the name of a kind of tutelary spirit or god in the religious (shamanistic) system of the thirteenth century Mongols. See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.73, *s.v. ḫutuh*; Poucha, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, p.176; and S. Jagchid in *Wen shih chih hsüeh-pao* 10 (1961), 256, §207, n.1. Cf. the use of the expression *nendü'üt qutuq* in §231, where it is applied to Chinggis-qan's bodyguards. I wonder whether this expression may not have been, in fact, a designation of the tutelary spirits and household gods later known as *ongghod*, the felt images ('dolls') of which have been described by thirteenth century travellers. See Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, pp.9 (*Sinica Franciscana*, I, p.36; cf. Pelliot, *Recherches*, pp.17-18), 95-96 (*Sin. Franc.*, p.174; cf. Pelliot, *loc.cit.*). On the ongghod see G. Tucci et W. Heissig, *Les religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie*, tr. R. Sailley (Paris, 1973), p.354 *et passim*. On the function of *yabu-* as an auxiliary verb see Mostaert, p.195. Qorchi was a Ba'arin (Bārin) and one of the top leaders of a thousand (§202, No.4). To him belonged the 3,000 Ba'arin troops, hence the words 'in addition to,' lit. 'on top of' (*de'ere*). The myriarchy (*tümen*) of which Chinggis-qan put him in charge, together with the two other commanders Taqai and Ashiq (on whom see below), was made up of troops from the Chinos (= Chinōs), Tö'ölös and Telenggüt tribes. The text speaks of 'the Chinos of the Adarkin.' On the Adarkin tribe see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.57-58, 60, 300; as already remarked by Pelliot, *ibid.*, pp.135 and 300, the association of the Adarkin with the Chinos (on whom see *ibid.*, pp.131-137) is not clear. Naka, *Chingisukan jitsuroku* (1907 ed.), p.342, says that the Chinos had been dispersed - presumably after their defeat at Dalan-baljut (see *SH* §129) - and had become the subjects of the Adarkin, which would explain their designation in this passage of the *SH*. On the Tö'ölös (Tö'eles, Tōles, correct reading: Tōlesh) and the Telenggüt (pl. of Teleng) see Pelliot-Hambis, p.300; Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris, 1949), p.142 and nn.1 and 2; *idem, Notes critiques d'histoire kalmouke* (Paris, 1960), pp.5, 9, 60 n.55, 120 n.55; Cleaves, *HJAS* 19 (1956), 395 and n.21. They were two of the 'people of the forests' (*hoiyin irgen*) and they are mentioned again, as Tö'eles and 'Tenleg,' in §239, where their submission by Jochi is related. The 'people of the forests' were tribes of forest hunters inhabiting the vast region extending from the upper reaches of the Irtysh, the Erdish of the *SH*, to the Yenisei and covering the former Uryankhai Territory, i.e. Tannu-Tuva (now Tuva Auton. Oblast). As is evident from their designation as forest people, the other Mongol tribes regarded them as being different, and somewhat beyond the pale, because of their remoteness and mode

of life. With regard to the two commanders Taqai and Ashiq mentioned together with Qorchi, the former must be the Taqai of §202 (No.24), i.e. Taqai-ba'atur of the Suldus, on whom see n. 151; the latter is probably the Ashiq-güregen of §202 (No.83). For a translation of the passage from the beginning of §207 to *songquju ab ke'en jarliq bolba* see Cleaves in *HJAS* 11 (1948), 319-320; for the passage from *Qorchi-dacha eye* to the end of the section see Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 80, n.12. 'He should not hesitate *to kill them*,' lit. 'why should he hesitate?' On Qorchi's adventure before he took his coveted prize, see §241.

208 Jürchedei of the Uru'ut (Urūt) tribe, the hero of the battle of Qalaqaljit Sands, is the sixth leader of a thousand in the list of §202. The momentous events recalled by Chinggis-qan at the beginning of this section are related in §171 of the *SH*. 'Your *most* important service' renders *erkin tusa chinu*; this expression can also be translated 'your *most* meritorious action.' 'To open the door and the reins,' i.e. 'to open the door and loosen the reins,' is obviously an idiomatic expression that conveys the idea of removing barriers and allowing free progress. In other words, Heaven opened the way to Chinggis' success and from that moment on led him into a commanding position. As to the latter point, it should be noted that the word 'reins' (*jilo'a ~ jilu'a*) means also 'rule, order, control'; cf. the English expression 'the reins of government.' Cf. *SH* §224. From Chinggis-qan's remarks it appears that he regarded the victory over the Kereit at Qalaqaljit Sands as the turning point of his career. 'When he separated from me': this refers to Chinggis' movements after the battle, when he split his forces, himself leading half of them along the western bank of the river Qalqa, and Jürchedei the other half (composed of Uru'ut and Mangqut troops) along the eastern bank of the Qalqa. See §175. 'He *then* went *to the Onggirat*': for Jürchedei's mission to the Onggirat chiefs of Lake Buyur see §176. On Chinggis' arrival at Lake Baljuna, Jürchedei's reconnoitring and the Kereit's defeat, see §§182-183 and 185. Jürchedei was with Chinggis and the other companions at Lake Baljuna. On all these events cf. also Cleaves in *HJAS* 18 (1955), 367ff. On the 'increase of strength' (*güchü nemegde-*) caused by Heaven and Earth, i.e. the Earth-goddess, see above, n.201. 'Being cut off' renders Mongolian *ongjaldaju* following the Chinese gloss. A verb *ongja-* is unknown in Written Mongolian and in the dialects. 'Lost heart' renders *chirai-ban ququraju*, lit. 'their mien was broken'; by 'mien, countenance' (*chirai*) is meant here the will to fight as shown through one's countenance.

Ong-qan's younger brother Jaqa-gambu had two daughters, one of whom was taken by Chinggis-qan and the other was given to Tolui. Because of this relationship, Jaqa-gambu was allowed to retain control of his own subjects after the deafeat and disintegration of the Kereit tribe. See §186. There is, however, no previous reference in the *SH* to Jaqa-gambu's subsequent ('second') rebellion and of Jürchedei's role in capturing and executing him. Ibaqa-begi was Jaqa-gambu's eldest daughter whom Chinggis had taken for himself (§186). 'He disregarded his life,' lit. 'He deployed (exposed, set up) his life'; for *öre-* cf. Writ. Mong. *örü-* 'to set in order; arrange' (Lessing, p. 643b). *Ölümle-* 'to fight to the death' is a denominal verb formed on Tu. *ölüm* 'death.' 'You don't have a bad character': the text has *chimayi ülige che'eji chinu üge'üi*, lit. 'you are without your *ülige* and breast.' The word *ülige* is not glossed in the interlinear translation, but the sectional summary (*YCPS* 8, 48b) renders this sentence as 'you have no bad character and conduct' (你無性行). *Ülige* has survived in Khalkha *üleg* 'bad character, vicious, malicious': see Cevel, p.620b. *Che'eji* (Writ. Mong. *chegeji*) 'breast, bosom' has also the meaning of 'memory, mind' (Lessing, p.170a; Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, p.699b); in our text it clearly forms a two-word compound with *ülige*, the meaning of which is 'character, nature.' 'You, who have entered ... wives,' lit. 'You, who have entered into my breast and *my* legs (i.e. who have become my wife) and who have descended (= come to me) taking place in the ranks (i.e. among my favourite wives)': see Mostaert, pp. 73-74. 'In deference to,' lit. 'thinking' (*setkijü*). 'He brought together the people/Who had become divided,/He united the people/Who had scattered.': cf. the poetical passage in §104 where the same phraseology is used. 'They are not to abolish Ibaqa's *rightful* place *among my wives*,' i.e. in spite of the fact that Ibaqa-begi was given as wife to Jürchedei, she would continue to occupy her place at court according to her official rank as Chinggis' wife. For this passage see Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 79, n.10. 'Gave you two hundred slaves as dowry (*injes*)': the *injes* (pl. of *inje*) were the servants and maids, forming part of the bride's dowry, who followed her to her new household. Their status apparently was that of domestic slaves. See Vladimirtsov, pp.70, 82, 85, 127, n.6; Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 (1950), 54-55, n.184; H.F. Schurmann, *Economic Structure of the Yüan Dynasty* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), pp.3, 82, n.8; Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*, I, p.48, n.4; II, p.484, n.6. Cf. also the *Pei-lu feng-su*, tr. H. Serruys, *MS* 10 (1945), 130. On the term *inje*, see Doerfer, No.670. The Uru'ut (Urūt) was Jürchedei's own tribe, see above, n.130. 'To remember you,'

lit. 'as your souvenir' (*geriyes-iyen*); on the term *geriyes*, see Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 110-111, n.82. 'As to your four thousand Uru'ut, you will be in charge of them!', lit. 'Will you not be in charge, you, of your four thousand Uru'ut?' - a rhetorical question. Cf. Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 465. The four thousand Urūt under the command of Jürchedei formed the 'chiliarchy' assigned to him by Chinggis (No. 6 in §202). As already pointed out by Ligeti, p.172, n.208, in Rashīd al-Dīn's work (where Jürchedei is confused with his son Ketei throughout) the account of how Ibaqa-begi was given to Jürchedei is quite different from the one told in the *SH*. See Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, p.186; I/2, p.271; F. von Erdmann, *op.cit.*, p.221. Cf. also Pelliot-Hambis, pp.7, 236-237; Vladimirtsov, p.85. There is a biography of Jürchedei in *YS* 120, 8a-10a (=P. 2962-3).

ADDITIONAL NOTE

201 With regard to the Mongol custom of burying important people on mountains, see also Magdalena Tatár's remarks in her interesting article 'Two Mongol Texts Concerning the Cult of the Mountains' in *AOH* 30 (1976), 1-58, esp. pp.4-7.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz

Chapter Nine*

209 Further, Chinggis-qahan said to Qubilai, 'For me you pressed down

The necks of the mighty ones,

The buttocks of the strong ones.

You, Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübegetei - these four hounds of mine - when I sent you off, directing you *to the place* I had in mind,

When I said, "Reach *there*!",

You crushed the stones *to be there*;

*The translation of Chapters I and II appeared in *PFEH* 4 (September 1971), 115-163; Chapter III in *PFEH* 5 (March 1972), 149-175; Chapter IV in *PFEH* 10 (September 1974), 55-82; Chapter V in *PFEH* 13 (March 1976), 41-75; Chapter VI in *PFEH* 16 (September 1977), 27-65; Chapter VII in *PFEH* 18 (September 1978), 43-80; and Chapter VIII in *PFEH* 21 (March 1980), 17-57. I am greatly indebted to Prof. N. Poppe (Seattle) for his constant help with textual and other problems.

When I said, "Attack!",
You split up the rocks,
You shattered the shining stones,
You cleaved the deep waters.

When I sent you, Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübe'etei, my four hounds, to the place I had designated, if Bo'orchu, Muqali, Boroqul and Chila'un-ba'atur - these four champions of mine - were at my side and, when the day of battle came, I had Jürchedei and Quyildar standing before me with their Uru'ut and Mangqut *troops*, *then* my mind was completely at rest. Qubilai, will you not be in charge of all military affairs?' So he ordered, favouring him.

Further, he said, 'Because of Bedü'ün's stubbornness, I fell out with him and did not give him a chiliarchy. You are the right *person to manage* him! You shall be the leader of a thousand with him and you will get on in consultation with each other.' And he added, 'Afterwards We will examine Bedü'ün's *conduct*.'

210 Further, Chinggis-qahan said to Qunan of the Geniges, 'For you, the commanders having Bo'orchu and Muqali at their head, and for *you*, the cherbi Dödei, Doqolqu and others, this Qunan was

A male wolf in the dark night,
A black raven in the bright day.
When we were on the move he did not stop,
When we halted he did not move on.
With a person who rose in rebellion,
He did not put on another face;
With a hateful person,
He did not put on a different face.

Do not act without the agreement of Qunan and Kökö-chos. Act *only* after deliberating with them.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'The eldest of my sons is Jochi. Qunan, at the head of the Geniges, shall be a leader of ten thousand under Jochi.

Qunan, Kökö-chos, Degei and Old Man Üsün - these four are the four that never hid *from me* what they saw, never concealed *from me* what they heard.'

211 Further, Chinggis-qahan said to Jelme, 'Old Man Jarchi'udai, carrying his bellows on his back - Jelme was still in the cradle - came down from Burqan-qaldun and gave sable swaddling clothes when I was born at Deli'ün-boldaq on the Onan. Since he became my companion, *Jelme* has been

The slave of *my* threshold,
The hereditary slave of *my* door.

Jelme's merits are many. Fortunate and blessed Jelme,

Who was born when I was born,
Who grew up when I grew up,

and *whose companionship with me* has as its origin the sable swaddling clothes, he shall not incur punishment if he commits *up to* nine crimes.' So he ordered.

212 Further, Chinggis-qahan said to Tolun, 'Why is it that you, father and son, will *each* be in charge of a separate chiliarchy? When you assembled the people - you, *Tolun*, being one of the two wings, with your father *as the other wing* - you strove together and together gathered the people. Because of that I gave you the title of cherbi. Now will you not form your own chiliarchy with *the people* that you have acquired yourself and constituted *as your patrimony*, and act in consultation with Turuqan?' So he ordered.

213 Further, Chinggis-qahan said to the steward Önggür, 'You, the three Toqura'ut and the five Tarqut, and you, Önggür, son of Mönggetü-kiyan, with *your* Changshi'ut and Baya'ut, have formed one *whole* camp for me. You, Önggür,

You did not go astray in the fog,
You did not separate from the others in the fight.
When it was wet,

You suffered the wet with me;
When it was cold,
You suffered the cold with me.

Now, what kind of reward will you take *from me*?' At this Önggür said, 'If you allow me to choose the reward, as my Baya'ut brothers are scattered about among all the tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Baya'ut brothers.'

Thereupon, Chinggis-qahan ordered, 'Yes, be it so! Bring together your Baya'ut brothers and take command of the chiliarchy *formed with them*!' He said further, 'When you, the two stewards Önggür and Boro'ul, distribute food to the right and left sides,

Do not let it fall short
For those who stand or sit
On the right side;
Do not let it fall short
For those who stand in a row
Or who do not
On the left side.

If you two distribute *the food* in this way, my throat will not choke and my mind will be at rest. Now, Önggür and Boro'ul, ride off and distribute food to the multitude.' So he ordered, and pointing out their seats, he said, 'When you take your seats, you must sit so as to look after the food on the right and the left sides of the large *kumis* pitchers. Sit with Tolun and the others in the centre *of the tent*, facing north.'

214 Again, Chinggis-qahan spoke to Boroqul, saying, 'My mother took Shigi-qutuqu, Boroqul, Güchü and Kököchü - the four of you - from the ground in the tribal camps:

She placed you between her legs,
She treated you as her own sons
And brought you up with care;

She stretched your necks
And made you into adults;
She stretched your shoulders
And made you into men.

She surely brought you up in order to make you the companions for us her sons. Who knows how many favours and services you have returned to my mother for the favour of having brought you up.

Boroqul, you became my companion and

When we made swift sorties on rainy nights
You did not let me spend the night with an empty stomach;
When we were engaged in battle with the enemy
You did not let me spend the night without soup.

Again, we subjugated the Tatar people, object of our hatred and revenge, who had exterminated *my* ancestors and father. At the time when

We were taking our revenge,
We were requiting their wrongs,

by killing the Tatar people to the last, measuring them against the linchpin of a cart, as Qargil-shira of the Tatar was about to be slain, he fled and became an outlaw. Then, being in need and suffering from hunger, he came *back* and entering the tent said to *my* mother, "I am a beggar." When he was told, "If you are a beggar, sit there," he sat at the end of the bench on the western side *of the tent*, near the inside of the door.

At that moment, Tolui, who was five years old, came into *the tent* from outside. Then, as he ran out *again*, Qargil-shira rose and, *seizing* the child, pressed him under his arm. He went out and, as he was going forward feeling for and drawing out his knife, Boroqul's wife, Altani, was sitting on the eastern side of *my* mother's tent. When Mother cried, "The boy is done for!", Altani followed her out and, running together with her, caught up with Qargil-shira: *with one*

hand she seized his plaits and with the other she seized the hand that was drawing the knife. She pulled *it so hard that* he dropped the knife. At that very moment, north of the tent Jetei and Jelme were killing a hornless black ox for provisions. At Altani's cry, they both came running, holding their *butchering* axes and with their fists red *with the animal's blood*. With axe and knife they slew Qargil-shira of the Tatar on the spot.

While Altani, Jetei and Jelme were arguing among the three of them whose merit it was for having saved the life of the child, Jetei and Jelme said, "If we had not been there and if, by running fast and arriving *in time*, we had not killed him, what could Altani, a woman, have done? *Qargil-shira* would have harmed the life of the child. The chief merit is certainly ours!" Altani said, "If you had not heard my cry, how could you have come? And, when I ran and caught up with him, seizing his plaits and pulling the hand that was drawing the knife, if the knife had not dropped, wouldn't he have done harm to the child's life before Jetei and Jelme arrived?" When she had finished speaking, the chief merit went, *by general consent*, to Altani. Boroqul's wife became the second shaft *of a cart* for Boroqul and was useful in *saving* the life of Tolui.

Again, when Boroqul was fighting *with us* against the Kereyit at the Qal(a)qaljit Sands, Ögödei was hit by an arrow in the neck artery and fell *from his horse*. Boroqul got off his horse and stopped by him, sucked the clotting blood with his mouth and spent the night with him. The following morning he put him on a horse, but as *Ögödei* could not sit up, they rode together *on the one horse, with Boroqul* clasping Ögödei from behind and continuously sucking the obstructing blood, so that the corners of his mouth were red *with it*. So he brought Ögödei *back* alive and safe. In return for my mother's suffering in bringing him up, he was indeed of service in *saving* the lives of my two sons. Boroqul was a companion to me: he never tarried

To *my* signal and call,

To *my* voice or to its echo.

If Boroqul commits *up to* nine crimes he shall not be punished.' So he ordered.

215 Further, *Chinggis-qahan* said, 'Let Us reward Our female descendants!'

216 Further, Chinggis-qahan said to Old Man Üsün, 'Üsün, Qunan, Kökö-chos and Degei, these four, without hiding or concealing, have always reported to me what they saw and heard; they have always informed me of what they thought and comprehended. According to Mongol tradition with regard to the way of *being* a chief, there is a principle whereby he becomes a "beki." You are a descendant of Elder Brother the Ba'arin: as to the way of *being* a beki, you Old Man Üsün, who are from among *us* and senior to Us, shall become a beki. When one has been raised to *the rank of* beki,

He shall wear a white dress
And ride a white gelding;
He shall sit on a *high* seat
And be waited upon.

Furthermore, I shall consult you *every* year and *every* month. Let it be so!' So he ordered.

217 Further, Chinggis-qahan said, 'Because of sworn brother Quyildar's service of being the first to speak at the time of battle - to the sacrifice of his life - let *his descendants* to the offspring of his offspring receive the bounty granted to orphans.' So he ordered.

218 Further, Chinggis-qahan said to Chaqan-qo'a's son Narin-To'oril, 'Your father Chaqan-qo'a was fighting zealously before me at the battle of Dalan-baljut when he was killed by Jamuqa. Now, To'oril, for your father's services you shall receive the bounty granted to orphans.' To this To'oril said, 'If you are to favour me, as my

Negüs brothers are scattered about among all the tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Negüs brothers.' Thereupon, Chinggis-qahan ordered, 'If so, after having brought together your Negüs brothers, you will be in charge of them to the offspring of *your* offspring!' So he ordered.

219 Further, Chinggis-qahan said to Sorqan-shira, 'At the time when I was small, when out of envy I was seized by Tarqutai-kiriltuq of the Tayichi'ut and his brothers, then *you* Sorqan-shira, because I was envied by my relatives (i.e. the Tayichi'ut), with your sons Chila'un and Chimbai, made your daughter Qada'an take care of me, hid me and *later*, releasing me, you sent me away. Mindful of that good service of yours, *whether* in the dark night in my dreams, or in the bright day in my heart, I certainly kept the memory of it; but you did come late to me from the Tayichi'ut. If I show favour to you now, what kind of favour do you wish?'

Sorqan-shira, who was together with his sons Chila'un and Chimbai, said, 'If you are to favour me, let me have the free use of grazing grounds. Let me settle on and freely use the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge *river*. As for other favours in addition *to this*, let Chinggis-qahan decide!'

To these words, Chinggis-qahan said, 'Settle on the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge and, indeed, have free use of *its* grazing grounds. You shall be a freedman, allowed to carry quivers and drink the ceremonial wine to the offspring of the offspring. You shall not incur punishment for *up to* nine crimes.' So he ordered.

Further, Chinggis-qahan, showing favour to Chila'un and Chimbai, gave the following order: 'Thinking of the words that you, Chila'un and Chimbai, once spoke, how can one ignore them? Chila'un and Chimbai, if you *want to* say what you have in mind or request *something* that you lack, do not tell an intermediary *about it*. You in person, through your own mouths, tell me yourselves what you have

thought, request from me yourselves what you lack.'

Further, he gave the following order: 'You, the freedmen, Sorqan-shira, Badai and Kishiliq, you too, as freedmen,

When hastening after many enemies,
If you find booty,
What you have found you can take.
When in a battue
You hunt wild beasts,
What you have killed you can take.

As for Sorqan-shira, he was but a retainer of Tödege of the Tayichi'ut. Badai and Kishiliq were but horse-herders of *Yeke*-Cheren. Now, with my support, enjoy *the privilege of* being freedmen, allowed to carry quivers and drink the ceremonial wine!'

220 Further, Chinggis-qahan said to Naya'a, 'When Old Man Shirgötü, together with you - his sons Alaq and Naya'a - seized Tarqutai-kiriltuq and, proceeding on his way to us, arrived at Qutuqul-nu'u, Naya'a there and then said, "How can we go on, holding and making away with our rightful master?" And, unable to make away with him, you set him free and sent him away.

When Old Man Shirgötü, together with *you* - his sons Alaq and Naya'a - arrived, then Naya'a-bilji'ür ("the Lark") said, "We laid hands on our rightful master Tarqutai-kiriltuq and were coming *here*, but we could not make away with him. We set him free and sent him off, and came to offer our strength to (i.e. to serve) Chinggis-qa'an. We said to ourselves that had we come having laid hands on our master, it would have been said of us: 'People who have laid hands on their rightful master - how can they be trusted in future?' So, we could not make away with our master."

Then, because the reason why he could not make away with his rightful master was *the fact that* he had been mindful of the great principle *whereby one owes respect to one's master*, I approved of his

words and said, "I shall entrust him with an *important* office." Now, Bo'orchu shall be in charge of the ten thousand of the right (= west) wing; and I put Muqali in charge of the ten thousand of the left (= east) wing, giving him the title of gui-ong. Now, Naya'a shall be in charge of the ten thousand of the centre.' So he ordered.

221 Further, *Chinggis-qahan* said, 'Jebe and Sübe'etei shall *each* be leaders of a thousand over *all* those *people* that they themselves have acquired and constituted *as their own patrimony*.'

222 Further, *Chinggis-qahan* made the shepherd Degei bring together the unregistered households and put him in charge of a thousand.

223 Further, *Chinggis-qahan* said, 'As the carpenter Güchügür lacks subjects *to form a chiliarchy*, let *these* be collected from here and there *and given to him*. Since, from among the Jadaran, Mulqalqu has been a perfect companion *to me*, you two - Güchügür and Mulqalqu - be jointly in command of the chiliarchy and consult with one another.'

224 Chinggis-qahan made leaders of a thousand those who had established the state with him and who had suffered with him. Forming units of one thousand men (= chiliarchies), he appointed the leaders of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten. Forming units of ten thousand men (= myriarchies), he appointed leaders of ten thousand. The leaders of ten thousand and of a thousand to whom reward seemed appropriate, he rewarded; those who were to be commended, he commended. He gave them the following order: 'Formerly, I had eighty men to serve on roster as night-guards and seventy men to serve as day-guards. By the strength of Eternal Heaven, my strength and power have now been increased by Heaven and Earth and I have brought the whole people to allegiance, causing them to come under my sole rule, so now choose men to serve on roster as day-guards from the various chiliarchies and recruit them for me. When you recruit them and have night-guards, quiver-bearers and day-guards enrolled, recruit them so as to fill *the number to* ten thousand.' So he ordered.

Further, Chinggis-qahan proclaimed the following order to the various chiliarchies regarding the selection and recruitment of the guards: 'When guards will be recruited for Us, and the sons of leaders of ten thousand, of a thousand and of a hundred, or sons of ordinary persons, will enter *Our service*, those shall be recruited who are able and of good appearance, and who are deemed suitable to serve by Our side. When recruiting sons of leaders of a thousand, they shall *each* bring with them ten companions and one younger brother. When recruiting sons of leaders of a hundred, they shall *each* bring with them five companions and one younger brother. When recruiting sons of leaders of ten, or sons of ordinary persons, they shall *each* bring with them three companions and, likewise, one younger brother; and they shall be provided with fully-equipped mounts *supplied* by the units to which they originally belonged. When strengthening *in this guise the number of* those who will be placed to serve by Our side, the ten companions to be given to *each of* the sons of the leaders of a thousand must be drawn from the units of a thousand and of a hundred from which they originally came. Whether *or not* they have a share *of goods* given by their fathers and regardless of the number of men and geldings that they have acquired themselves and constituted *as their own property*, a levy shall be raised - independently of their personal share *of property - of mounts and men* according to the amount fixed by Us and, levying *men* and preparing *mounts* in this manner, they shall be given them. And, exactly in the same manner, independently of their personal share *of property* and levying in precisely the same way, five companions *each* shall be given to the sons of leaders of a hundred and three companions *each* to the sons of leaders of ten, as well as to the sons of ordinary persons.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'As to the leaders of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, and the numerous *ordinary* persons who have received this

command of Ours, or who have heard it, anyone who transgresses it shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*. As to the people who have been recruited to serve on roster for Us, if any of them are unsuitable because they evade *duty*, regarding their service by Our side as *too* difficult, we shall recruit others *in their stead* and we shall punish those people and send them to a distant place, out of *Our* sight.'

And he said, 'People who come to Us in order to learn to serve inside *the tent* by Our side shall not be hindered.'

225 Since Chinggis-qa'an had issued an order, choosing *guards* from the chiliarchies and, according to the same order, choosing the sons of leaders of a hundred and of ten, as they came forward - formerly there were *only* eighty night-guards - he increased *the latter* to eight hundred. And he said, 'On top of the eight hundred, *add to the number so as to* make up a thousand.'

He ordered, 'Those who *want to* enrol in the night-guards shall not be hindered.' And he ordered, 'Yeke-Ne'ürin shall be the commander of the night-guards and he shall be in charge of a thousand.'

Earlier, four hundred quiver-bearers had been selected. Selecting them *anew*, he said, 'Yisün-te'e, the son of Jelme, shall be the commander of the quiver-bearers and he shall act in consultation with Tüge's son, Bügidei.'

And he ordered, 'When the quiver-bearers, together with the day-guards, will enrol in (i.e. to form) various companies, Yisün-te'e shall enrol and be the commander of one company of quiver-bearers; Bügidei shall enrol and be the commander of one company of quiver-bearers; Horqudaq shall enrol and be the commander of one company of quiver-bearers; Lablaqa shall enrol and be the commander of one company of quiver-bearers. Let *these four* enrol their quiver-bearers for the various companies of day-guards to carry quivers and be thus their commanders. Yisün-te'e shall *add to the number of* quiver-

bearers to make up a thousand and be their commander.'

226 *Chinggis-qahan*, increasing *the number of* day-guards who had formerly enrolled with Ögele-cherbi to make up a thousand, said, 'Ögele-cherbi from the family of Bo'orchu shall be in charge of them.' He said, 'As for one thousand day-guards, Buqa from the family of Muqali shall be in charge of them.' He said, 'Alchidai from the family of Ilügei shall be in charge of one thousand day-guards.' He said, 'Dödei-cherbi shall be in charge of one thousand day-guards and Doqolqu-cherbi shall be in charge of one thousand day-guards.' And he ordered, 'Chanai from the family of Jürchedei shall be in charge of one thousand day-guards; Aqutai from the family of Alchi shall be in charge of one thousand day-guards; Arqai-qasar shall be in charge of one thousand day-guards - one thousand chosen brave warriors - who, in the many days *of peace* shall serve as day-guards, and in the days of battle shall stand before me and be brave warriors.'

Thus, there were eight thousand day-guards selected from the various chiliarchies; there were also two thousand night-guards with quiver-bearers. *Altogether* there were ten thousand guards.

Chinggis-qahan ordered, 'The ten thousand guards attached to Us must be strengthened and become the main body of the army.' So he ordered.

227 Further, when Chinggis-qahan issued the order appointing those who were to be the elders (= senior officers) of the four companies of day-guards on roster duty, he said, 'Buqa shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them and take his turn of duty. Alchidai shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them and take his turn of duty. Dödei-cherbi shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them and take his turn of duty. Doqolqu-cherbi shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them and take his turn of duty.' So he

appointed the elders of the four companies on roster duty.

Chinggis-qahan promulgated the order about taking turns of duty, saying, 'On taking his turn of duty, the leader of the company shall muster the guards who are to serve on roster with him and take his turn of duty; after spending three nights (= days) with them, *the guards* shall be relieved. If a member of the Guard fails to take his turn, this guard that has so failed shall be taught with three strokes of the rod. If the same guard fails again - for the second time - to take his turn of duty, he shall be taught with seven strokes of the rod. If, once more, the same man, without being sick in body and without having *first* consulted the leaders of the company, if the same guard fails once more - *that is* three times - to take his turn of duty, regarding his service by Our side as *too* difficult, he shall be taught with thirty-seven strokes of the rod and sent to a distant place, out of *Our* sight.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'The elders of the companies shall proclaim this order to the guards every third shift. If the elders of the companies do not proclaim it, they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*. When the guards have heard the order, if they contravene it and, in *dis*agreement with the principle of the order, fail to take their turn of duty, they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*.' So he ordered.

He said, 'Elders of the companies, without my permission do not reprimand my guards, who have enrolled *as guards* equal *to you*, because you are their seniors. If *any of them* violates the law, report it to me. Those liable to execution We shall certainly have executed; those liable to be beaten We shall indeed make them lie down and be beaten. If you lay hands on my guards who are equal *to you* and strike them with a rod, because you are their seniors, as requital for strokes of the rod you shall be repaid with strokes of the rod, and as requital for fists you shall be repaid with fists.'

228 Further, Chinggis-qahan ordered, 'My guards are higher *in rank* than the outside leaders of thousands; the attendants of my guards are higher *in rank* than the outside leaders of hundreds and of tens. If outside commanders of thousands regard themselves as equal to my guards and, by so doing, quarrel with them, we shall punish the persons who are commanders of thousands.' So he ordered.

229 Further, Chinggis-qahan issued the *following* order and proclaimed it to the leaders of the various companies: 'When the quiver-bearers, the day-guards *and the stewards* take their turn of duty, they shall carry out their day duties, each at his respective post; as the sun sets, they shall retire *so as to be replaced* by the night-guards and, going outside, they shall spend the night *there*. At night, the night-guards shall spend the night beside Us. The quiver-bearers shall leave, turning over their quivers - and the stewards their bowls and vessels - to the night-guards. *The following morning*, the quiver-bearers, day-guards and stewards who have spent the night outside shall stay at the horse station (*kirü'e*) while We eat Our soup; *then*, they will report to the night-guards. When We have finished eating *Our morning* soup, the quiver-bearers shall return to their quivers, the day-guards to their *appointed* place and the stewards to their bowls and vessels. Those who take their turn of duty on roster must *all* act thus, in precisely the same manner, according to this ordinance.' So he ordered.

He said, 'Any person who moves about crosswise at the rear or front of the Palace after sunset shall be arrested and the night-guards shall hold him *in custody* for the night. The following morning, the night-guards shall question him. When the company is relieved, the *incoming* night-guards shall hand over their passes and *only then* come in and take their turn of duty; the outgoing night-guards when relieved shall likewise hand *theirs* over and depart.'

He said, 'The night-guards at night lie down around the Palace;

you, night-guards who stand guarding the door, shall smite *any* persons entering at night until their heads are crushed and their shoulders broken, *then* cast them aside. If *any* persons come at night with an urgent message, they must report to the night-guards and communicate *the message to me* while standing together with the night-guards at the rear (= northern side) of the tent.'

'No one is to sit in a place above the night-guards. No one is to enter *the precinct* without permission from the night-guards. No one is to walk up beyond the night-guards. No one is to walk between the night-guards. No one is to ask the number of night-guards. The night-guards shall arrest persons who walk up beyond them. The night-guards shall arrest persons who walk between them. And the night-guards - with regard to the person who shall have asked their number - the night-guards shall seize that person, the gelding that he was riding that very day, with saddle and bridle, and the clothes that he was wearing.' So he ordered.

Eljigedei, even though he was a trustworthy *person*, was he not arrested by the night-guards when, in the evening, he happened to walk up beyond them?

(To be continued)

COMMENTARY

For the abbreviations used in the Commentary see *PFEH* 4 (September 1971), 151-152, and 5 (March 1972), 175.

209 Chapter IX of the *SH* has been translated in full, with annotations and a glossary, by Kuo-yi Pao (Unensechin of the Khorchin Borjigin) in *Studies on the Secret History of the Mongols* (Bloomington & The Hague, 1965) (hereafter: Pao). See the reviews by N. Poppe in *CAJ* 11 (1966), 234-235; H. Serruys in *MS* 24 (1965), 477-480; and Hashimoto Masaru 橋本勝 in *Tōyō-gakuhō* 52 (1969), 85-95. The Qubilai mentioned in this section is Qubilai of the Barulas, one of the 'four hounds' (*dörben noqais*); see above, n.195; Ligeti, p.172, n.209. His appointment as head of 'all military affairs' must be taken as a rhetorical statement, since it is immediately contradicted by Chinggis' statement to the effect that he should share command of a chiliarchy with Bedü'ün of the Dörben. He is the eighth leader of a thousand listed in §202. 'You, Q., J., J. and S. - these four hounds of mine,' lit. 'These Q., J., J. and S., you my four hounds.' 'When I said, "Reach *there*!" ...'; cf. §72 and especially §147 above. In Writ. Mong. the verb *qal-* has retained the meaning of 'to attack'; see Kowalewski, p.796b. This meaning, however, is not given in Lessing, p.916a. *Nitulun* is the modal converb of *nitul-*, a verb normally meaning 'to kill, slaughter,' but used here with the meaning of 'to cut asunder, cleave.' In Pelliot's edition of the *SH* (*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p.82, §209, line 6) and in my *Index to the Secret History*, p.120, line 8206, *noyas-iyan* is a mistake for *noqas-iyan*. The *Index*, pp.274b and 275a, must also be amended accordingly. In this section of the *SH*, the author, writing with an eye to posterity, enumerates the members of the select group of Chinggis' preux in whom he had complete trust, viz. the 'four hounds' Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübegetei ~ Sübe'etei (Sübētei), the 'four champions' Bo'orchu (Bōrchu), Muqali, Boroqul (Boro'ul) and Chila'un (here called Chila'un-ba'atur, as in §§163 and 177), as well as Jürchedei of the Uru'ut (on whom see §130) and Quyildar of the Mangqut (see §130; his death is mentioned in §175). Bedü'ün is the Mochi-Bedü'ün ('Bedü'ün the Carpenter') of §120, a chief of the Dörben. For *mochi*, a denominal noun of vocation from **mo*(*n*) 'tree, wood,' see Cleaves

in *HJAS* 14 (1951), 99-100, n.152. In our passage, Bedü'ün is criticised by Chinggis-qan on account of his *mojirqaq* (= *mojirqagh*), a term rendered in the Chinese sectional summary as 'stubborn(ness)' (性拗), but left untranslated in the interlinear version. This is a denominal noun in *-rqaq* (/*-rkek* = *-rqagh/-rkeg*), designating abundance of something, from **moji*, a word unattested in Mongolian. Pao, p.47, n.18, has related *mojirqaq* to Writ. Mong. *mojighar* ~ *mujighar* 'squinting, slanting' (Lessing, pp.544b, 554a), but this is not obvious. Khalkha has *muži-*, *mužii-* 'to behave obstinately' (Cevel, p.348b). Prof. Poppe (personal communication) has suggested that *mojirqaq* may be related to Buriat *možo* 'thigh, thighbone.' If so, it would convey the idea of someone behaving in a stubborn fashion like an animal making full use of its haunches, i.e. legs, to resist being pulled. Cf. also Buriat *možogor* 'awkward, clumsy, stupid' (Cheremisov, p.298b). Although the term *mojirqaq* may have well been used in relation to Bedü'ün because of its similarity in sound to his sobriquet Mochi, it is clear from the above that there is no semantic relationship between *mochi* 'carpenter' and **moji* 'stubborn(ness)'; Doran Tibo's interpretation of the name Mochi-Bedü'ün as 'Bedü'ün the Stubborn' (倔拗成性的別都溫) is therefore untenable. See Tao-jun T'i-pu 道潤梯步 (Doran Tibo), *Hsin-i chien-chu Meng-ku pi-shih* 新譯簡注蒙古秘史 (Huhehot, 1979), p.236, n.3.

210 On Qunan of the Geniges, the seventh leader of a thousand in the list in §202, see §122. Although our text says that Chinggis-qan spoke to Qunan, the actual order is directed to the other commanders (*noyat*) and *cherbin* in favour of Qunan, hence Pao's translation 'Činggis-Qahan said of Qunan' (Pao, p.32), which, however, is not quite correct grammatically. On the appointment of Qunan as leader of ten thousand (*tümen-ü noyan*), see Ligeti, pp.172-173, n.210, who rightly points out the disagreement on this point between the *SH* statement and Rashīd al-Dīn's account. On Dödei-cherbi and Doqolqu-cherbi, see §124. 'With a person who rose in rebellion' renders *bosu gü'ün-lü'e*. The word *bosu* is not glossed in the Chinese interlinear version, and in the sectional summary *bosu gü'ün* and *öshtü gü'ün* are together translated as *tai-jen* 歹人 'bad men,' which is only a general rendering of the idea expressed in Mongolian. In the corresponding passage of the *AT* I, 140, 1.7 (= *SHA*, p.143), we find *bulgh-a kümün*, lit. 'rebel man *or* men' and this interpretation leads me to believe that rather than being a mistake for *busu* 'other, different,' as some think, *bosu* is either **bosū* < **bosu'u* < **bosughu* (= *bos-* 'to rise, revolt' + *-u-* + *-ghu*) 'rebellious,'

or, more likely, *bosu'a* (= *bosugha*) 'one who has stood up *or* risen (in rebellion),' with the Chinese character for *'a* (阿) inadvertently omitted in the transcription. Prof. Poppe (personal communication) favours the latter interpretation. This would match in meaning the line 'With a hateful person' (*öshtü gü'ün-lü'e*). 'Another face ... a different face,' i.e. he would not act shamelessly. 'Never hid ... never concealed'; cf. §216. What Chinggis-qan means, of course, is that they were honest and sincere and completely trustworthy. 'After deliberating with them,' lit. 'after deliberating with the two Qunan and Kökö-chos.' Jochi (1184-1227), Chinggis' eldest son, is first mentioned in §165. On him see Pelliot, *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris, 1949), pp.10-28; *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.287. Kökö-chos of the Ba'arin is first mentioned in §120, in the list of the tribe and clan leaders who sided with Chinggis-qan after his first split with Jamuqa, together with Old Man Üsün (the 'Üsün-ebügen' in my translation of §120 should be changed to 'Old Man Üsün' for the sake of consistency). Degei of the Besüt is also mentioned in the same section. All three are listed among the leaders of a thousand in §202 (nos.30, 20: 'Hüsün,' and 11). On them see also §216.

211 On Jelme of the Uriangqai, one of the 'four hounds,' and his father Jarchi'udai the smith, see §97, where the events to which Chinggis-qan refers are related. In §120 Cha'urqan and Sübe'etei-ba'atur of the Uriangqai are called 'the younger brothers (*de'ü*) of Jelme.' In this instance, however, as in the case of Ögölen-cherbi in the same §120, the term *de'ü* must mean 'younger cousin' (see my n.120), since we know that the father of Cha'urqan and Sübe'etei was not Jarchi'udai, but Qaban. See *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 29, 9b. Jelme is the ninth leader of a thousand in the list in §202. 'The slave of *my* threshold,/The hereditary slave of *my* door'; cf. §§137, 180. 'Who was born when I was born,/Who grew up when I grew up,' lit. 'Who was born with *my* being born,/Who grew up with *my* growing up.'

212 On the appointment of Tolun of the Qongqotan as cherbi, see §191 and note. He is listed (no.12) as 'Tolon' among the leaders of a thousand in §202. According to Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.176, 268, he was a son of Father Mönglik. The same source, p.268, lists him among the leaders of a thousand of the right wing. We are not informed, however, as to the role of his father and of Turuqan (?Toruqan; cf. *YCPS* 9, 7b) to which our text refers. Pao, p.51, n.36, makes Turuqan a brother of Tolun, which is hypothetical. See Naka, *Chingisu-kan jitsuroku* (1907 ed.), p.353. 'You strove together' (*jiktüldüjü*): in the *SH* the Writ.

Mong. verb *jidkü-* 'to pull; to endeavor, strive, exert oneself' (Lessing, p.1049a) occurs in the forms *jitkü-* (§121), *jikdü-* (§177), *jitgü-* (§195), and *jiktü-* (§§205, 212). Pao's comments on this word (p.50, n.35) are not apposite. On *jö'e-* 'to amass; to constitute *as one's own patrimony*' in association with *ol-* 'to find,' see Mostaert, pp.254-255.

213 On the steward (*bawurchi[n]*; on this term cf. Doerfer, No.82) Önggür of the Baya'ut see §120, where he is mentioned for the first time together with the 'three Toqura'ut' (*qurban Toqura'ut*), i.e. the three brothers Qachi'un-Toqura'un, Qaraqai-Toqura'un and Qaraldai-Toqura'un of the Jalayir tribe, and the 'five Tarqut' (*tabun Targut*), i.e. Qada'an-daldurqan and his four brothers. Önggür and the other sons of Mönggetü-kiyan led both the Baya'ut and Changshi'ut. Önggür and Boro'ul were both put in charge of victuals. Önggür is the thirteenth leader of a thousand listed in §202: in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.272, he is mentioned as a leader of a thousand of the left wing and the man in charge of the food preparation. 'You have formed one *whole* camp for me,' lit. 'you became one camp for me,' i.e. they together made up one circular camp (*güre'en*) when they came to submit to Chinggis-qan, then Temüjin, as related in §120. Cf. the last sentence of §120: 'Then Qorchi ... came together with the Menen-Ba'arin - one *whole* camp.' 'In the fight,' lit. 'in the rebellion' or 'in the disorder' (*bulqa-tur*) - according to the Chinese gloss and the *Hua-i i-yü* (of 1389) IIa, 4a (see Mostaert, *Le matériel mongol*, p.43). However, the meaning 'fight' of *bulqa* is attested in Ibn al-Muḥannā's glossary; see *Mukaddimat al-Adab*, p.434a. 'When it was wet, etc.': cf. the same lines in §207. For the connotations of *nobshi-* and *köbshi-*, see J. Street's remarks in *Altaic Elements in Old Japanese*, Part 2 (Draft version) (Madison, 1978), pp.227-228. For *nobshi-*, cf. also Ordos *noBšī-* 'être mouillé jusqu'aux os' (Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, p.495a). 'Are scattered about' renders *bura tara bui* on the basis of the Chinese gloss. Cf. also §218. *Bura tara* is somewhat puzzling. It seems to be an expression of the 'pêle-mêle' or 'harum-scarum' type, which are quite common in Mongolian. As stated by Pao, p.51, n.40, *tara* is no doubt *tara-* 'to disperse, scatter' (see Lessing, p.779b); as for *bura*, Prof. Poppe (personal communication) thinks it may be Turkish *bura* 'here'; however, I agree with Pao, *loc.cit.*, that its role must be chiefly phonetic. 'Yes, be it so!' (*je teyin*), lit. 'Yes, thus!' Cf. the interjection *je teli* (*deli*) of §242 *et passim*, discussed in Mostaert, p.173. Boro'ul is, of course, Boroqul (= Boroghul). His name occurs in the *SH* mostly in the form Boroqul; see my *Index to the Secret History* , pp.199b-200a.

For the poetical passage beginning 'Do not let it fall short,' see Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 463. 'My throat (lit. "gullet") will not choke,' i.e. I will not choke with sorrow thinking of those who have not received their share of food. See Mostaert, p.205. 'The large *kumis* pitchers' renders the expression *yeke tüsürge* 'large *tüsürge*.' On *tüsürge* see Mostaert, p.61 and n.55, and H. Serruys in *MS* 24 (1965), 478. On the basis of the Chinese gloss and the context of the earlier occurrence of this word in §130, I take it to mean a 'pitcher' or 'jug' used to pour kumis - 'cruche' in Mostaert's translation. The idea of pouring is implicit since *tüsürge* is a deverbal noun in *-gha/-ge* of *tüsür-* 'to pour'; cf. the modern (literary) meaning of *tüsürge* 'watering can' (Lessing, p.857b; Cevel, p.569b *s.v. tüsreg*). The *yeke tüsürge* were, then, the large pitchers or vats containing kumis ready to be served, which were placed on the bench near the entrance of the tent, and which are known to us through the medieval travellers' accounts. See Serruys, *loc.cit.*, and Cleaves in *HJAS* 17 (1954), 448, n.22. The *SH* does not indicate whether these particular containers were made out of skins, as stated by Serruys, or some other material. 'On the right and left sides of the large *kumis* pitchers' actually means on the right and left of the bench holding the pitchers, i.e. of the wine table. This explains, I think, why the interlinear version glosses the term *tüsürge* as *chiu-chü* 酒扈 (here 扈 = 具) 'wine service,' i.e. all the objects (cups, bowls, etc.) pertaining to the serving and drinking of wine (= kumis). See above, n.187. They included, no doubt, also the bench or table holding them. Cf. Cleaves, *loc.cit.* On Tolun see above, §212. 'In the centre *of the tent*, facing north' renders *tüblen*, modal converb of *tüble-* 'to be in the centre facing north'; cf. Writ. Mong. *töble-* 'to centralize' (Lessing, p.831b). In Ordos this verb has retained some of its ancient meaning. See Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos*, p.672b: *t'öblö-* 'prendre chacun sa place respective (convives à un banquet).' Doran Tibo, *op.cit.*, p.239, n.11, regards the words 'facing north' of the Chinese gloss as superfluous; however, the fact that this interpretation of the Mongol term is found in both the interlinear version and the sectional summary shows that this was, indeed, the original meaning of the term. On the seating arrangement at Mongolian banquets, see the interesting note by S. Jagchid in Yao Ts'ung-wu and S. Jagchid, *Meng-ku pi-shih* (III) in *Wen shih chih hsüeh-pao* 11 (1962), 342, n.2. Cf. Cha-ch'i Ssu-ch'in 札奇斯欽 (S. Jagchid), *Meng-ku pi-shih, hsin-i ping chu-shih* 蒙古秘史，新譯並註釋 (Taipei, 1979), pp.323-324, n.8.

214 The four 'foundlings' were picked up (in the text lit. 'found') by Mother Hö'elün in the tribal camps (*irgen-ü nuntuq-acha*) of the Tatar (Shigi-qutuqu, §135), Jürkin (Boroqul, §138), Uduyit-Merkit (Güchü, §114) and Tayichi'ut (Kököchü, §119). In the original, the words '*She* picked up (found) *you* from the ground' (*köser-eche olju*) form the first line of the poetical passage, but to transpose them there in the translation would result in a clumsy sentence. 'She placed you between her legs,' i.e. in her lap. Ligeti, p.98, understands 'she put you on foot,' i.e. she made you stand up. The expression *köl-düriyen dürüjü* is, indeed, ambiguous. I follow Haenisch, Kozin, Damdinsüren and most of the other translators. 'And made you into adults ... into men,' lit. 'She made you equal with (= to) a man (*gü'ün*) / ... / She made you equal with (= to) a male (*ere*).' 'She stretched your necks,' lit. 'she pulled *you* by your necks.' 'She stretched your shoulders,' lit. 'She pulled *you* by your collar-bone (*or* shoulder blade: *egem*).' 'In order to make you the companions for us her sons,' where 'companions' renders the Mongolian expression *nökör se'üder* 'companion-shadow,' a 'mot-couple' about which see Mostaert, pp.43, 152, and Cleaves in *HJAS* 25 (1964-5), 65-66, n.63. 'When we made swift sorties,' lit. 'In swift expeditions (*or* military campaigns).' 'Object of our hatred and revenge, etc.'; see Serruys in *MS* 24 (1965), 478. 'We were taking our revenge,/We were requiting their wrongs' (*ösül ösün kisal kisan*): a more literal rendering of these words would be, 'Exacting vengeance and requiting retribution' (Serruys, *loc.cit.*). The reference is to the poetical passage in §154. 'He fled,' lit. 'he went out.' 'I am a beggar,' lit. 'I am a seeker of good things' (*sayi eri'ülsün buyu*); on this expression see Mostaert, p.86. *Iseri*, here 'bench' rather than 'bed' as in Pao, p.34. *Iseri*, of course, may mean both; cf. §§86, 169, 177. 'Near the inside of the door,' lit. 'at the door-back' (*ala'un-a*), i.e. in the least honourable place in the tent. Cf. §165 and note. 'Under his arm,' lit. 'in his arm-pit.' The passage 'Tolui, who was five years old ... the eastern side of *my* mother's tent' is translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.129-131. Cf. also Mostaert in *AM* 4 (1927), 152-153. On the name Altani ('Crimson'), see Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 410-411. 'On the eastern side of *my* mother's tent,' i.e. on the side reserved for women, see Mostaert, *op.cit.*, p.153, n.4. On the plaits or pigtails worn by Mongol men, see *op.cit.*, p.148ff. Cf. *SH* §56. On the expression *ger-ün ümer-e* 'to the north of the tent,' see Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 101, n.122. Jetei is the twenty-third leader of a thousand listed in §202; he first appears in the *SH* in §120. The term *mugular* 'hornless (ox)' is also found in §121. On it see Pao, p.57,

n.60, and Pelliot-Hambis, p.57. As for *jemlen* 'provisions, food' (cf. Turk. *yemlen-* 'to feed'), see S. Hattori in *Studia Altaica: Festschrift für N. Poppe* (Wiesbaden, 1957), pp.69-70. 'They both came running,' lit. 'both Jetei and Jelme came running.' 'On the spot,' lit. 'right there' (*mün tende*). The word *juldu*, glossed as 'chief merit' (頭 功) in the Chinese interlinear translation, is unknown in Mongolian. Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*, III (Tokyo, 1976), p.24, n.9, has suggested that it is probably related to Chaghatai *chuldu* 'reward, recompense'; see Radloff, *Versuch*, p.2178b. According to Prof. Poppe (personal communication), the Chaghatai form given by Radloff is actually to be read *juldu*. There is no doubt, then, that this is the same word found in the *SH*. 'The chief merit went, *by general consent*, to Altani,' lit. 'The chief merit was Altani's.' For the expression 'to be the second shaft *of a cart*' (*nökö'e kilgün bol-*) meaning 'to assist,' see above, n.186. 'When Boroqul was fighting *with us* against the K.,' lit. 'when B. was fighting with the K.' For the incident involving Ögödei and Boroqul related in this section, see §§172-173. 'Boroqul got off his horse and stopped by him,' lit. 'B., dismounting *from his horse* over *him*'; the verb *bawu-* (*~ba'u-* = Writ. Mong. *baghu-*) means both alighting from a horse, and halting and pitching camp. The reciprocal form *bawulduju* is used simply to indicate that two persons are involved, even if one (Ögödei in this case) is a passive agent. Pao's 'qaquqsan' ('congealed,' see pp.17, 131) is a mistake for 'haquqsan' (*haq-* = Writ. Mong. *agh-* 'to dry up'). The mistake goes back to Haenisch. See his *Wörterbuch*, p.56. 'Continually sucking,' lit. 'sucking and sucking.' 'Brought Ögödei *back* alive and safe,' lit. 'brought Ögödei's life safe.' The dramatic episode of Qargil-shira and Tolui related in §214 is one of the most vivid pages of the *SH* but, as already noted by other scholars, its historicity - at least in the form presented here - is highly doubtful. To begin with, there are irreconcilable problems of chronology. When the incident reputedly took place, about 1202, Boroqul would still have been a boy, while Tolui was not five (= four by our reckoning), but about twelve years old at the time. Moreover, the wife of Boroqul was not called Altani, but Tekü̈i. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.375-376; Ligeti, p.173, n.214. A different and more credible account of the incident is given by Rashīd al-Dīn. According to him, the villain was a Tayichi'ut, not a Tatar, and the heroes who saved the five-year old Tolui were the latter's mother Börte, the twelve-year old Shigi-qutuqu and a sheepdog called Barak. See Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, p.108. As Ligeti, *loc.cit.*, points out, in this section of the *SH* Boroqul is not referred to as one of Chinggis' 'four champions' (*dörben külü'üt*; see §163), nor as a leader of

a thousand (no.15 in §202) and deputy commander of the right wing under Bo'orchu (see above, n.205; later, Boroqul himself became a leader of ten thousand; see Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.268). The section ends with exactly the same words that we read in §215. Since this is clearly a scribal error, I have omitted them in my translation.

215 This, the shortest paragraph of the *SH*, is in all likelihood all that is left of a set of ordinances and injunctions concerning grants and rewards to Chinggis-qan's daughters and granddaughters. It is more than probable that they were purposely excised from the original text as a result of political events and internal disputes between the rival branches of Chinggis' family. *Ökin uruq* means, literally, 'daughter descendant(s),' i.e. Chinggis-qan's female offspring. 'Let Us reward,' lit. 'Let Us give favour(s).' Cf. below, n.224.

216 On Üsün, Qunan, Kökö-chos and Degei, and their observance of the principle of 'not hiding or concealing,' see §210 and note. 'What they thought and comprehended'; in the text these two verbs are in inverse order. By 'what they thought' (*setkiksen*) is meant also 'how they felt about something.' Cf. *setkil* (= Writ. Mong. *sedkil*) 'thought, opinion, inspiration, feeling, etc.' See Lessing, p.680b, and Mostaert et Cleaves, *Les Lettres*, p.93. With regard to *beki*, the *SH* mentions many personages holding this important title: Sacha-beki, Toqto'a-beki, Bilge-beki, etc. *Beki* must be distinguished from *begi*, even though the *SH* has only the one form *beki*, for *begi* was a title conferred only on princesses. See Vladimirtsov, pp.60-62; Pelliot-Hambis, p.180; *TP* 27 (1930), 50; 28 (1931), 231; Doerfer, No.114. 'Elder Brother the Ba'arin' (*Ba'arin aqa*) was Ba'aridai, the eponymous ancestor of the Ba'arin tribe (see *SH* §41). As explained by Mostaert in *HJAS* 24 (1963), 69, this Ba'aridai was the son of Chinggis' ancestor Bodonchar, but whereas Chinggis was descended from him through Bodonchar's son Qabichi-ba'atur, who was born from Bodonchar's principal wife, Ba'aridai was born from the Jarchi'ut woman captured by Bodonchar in a raid (§38). Ba'aridai must have been born before Qabichi-ba'atur, hence the respectful designation of *aqa* 'elder brother' employed by Chinggis-qan in §216. On the Ba'arin (Bārin) tribe, see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.34, 300; Cleaves in *HJAS* 19 (1956), 202, n.2. 'Who are *from* among *us* and senior to Us,' lit. '*being* from among and above Us,' i.e. being from the same family (*uruq*) as Chinggis, and higher than him in seniority. This passage has been understood in various ways by different scholars and, unfortunately, is one of those not discussed

by Mostaert. 'Shall become a beki,' lit. 'let Old Man Üsün become a beki!' To wear a white dress, ride a white gelding and sit in an elevated position indicated, of course, the high status of the title-holder. On the significance of the colour white for the Mongols, see above, n.202. With regard to the high seat, cf. Chinggis' words to Bo'orchu in §205: *bürin-ü de'ere sa'uri sa'uju*, lit. 'sitting on a seat over (*or* above) all,' i.e. sitting (at court ceremonies, banquets, etc.) on a more elevated (= physically raised) place than that occupied by all the other officials. The explanation is found in John of Pian di Carpine's description of the Mongol princely court: 'He (Batu - I.R.) even sits raised up as if on a throne with one of his wives; the others, however, both his brothers and sons and others less noble, sit lower down on a bench in the middle; as for the rest they sit beyond them on the ground, the men on the right and the women on the left.' (Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, p.57; cf. also *ibid.*, pp.64-65.) The seat or position occupied by Bo'orchu obviously was at the bench in the middle, 'above' the rest that sat on the ground. (The same applies to Muqali in §206.) The term *de'ere* has special 'vertical' connotations, the model being Heaven, which is 'above' by definition (*de'ere tenggiri*), below which come the qan on his raised throne, his wives and family, and the body of dignitaries and military leaders sitting at descending levels. Physical elevation denoted status, hence the predilection of chiefs for burials on mountains, the lifting up of the qan on the white felt carpet when he was elected, etc. Within a given level, status was indicated by orientation, the left (= east) being usually more honourable. 'I shall consult you *every* year and *every* month'; cf. the identical expression in §204.

217 This section merely repeats Chinggis' decree concerning the grant made to Quyildar's children and descendants mentioned at the end of §185. For other references to Quyildar's services, see §§171 and 175. As in §208, Quyildar is called 'sworn brother' (*anda*). In my translation of that passage (*PFEH* 21 [March 1980], 31, line 2) the words 'sworn brother' before 'Quyildar' have been omitted by mistake and should be inserted. As already stated by Ligeti (p.174, n.217), the decree has probably been repeated here for the sake of comprehensiveness.

218 The death of Chaqan(= Chaqān)-qo'a (~Chaqa'an-u'a) of the Negüs (Ne'üs) is mentioned in §129, where it is related how he was killed by Jamuqa at Dalan-baljut and his head dragged about attached to the tail of Jamuqa's horse. On Narin-To'oril, who appears here for the first time, see Pelliot-Hambis, p.417, and

Ligeti, p.174, n.218. For his request to gather his scattered tribesmen, cf. the same request by Önggür in §213, where almost identical language is used. 'You will be in charge of them,' lit. 'will you not be in charge?' - a rhetorical question. Cf. the last sentence of §208.

219 The famous episode that Chinggis re-evokes is the one narrated in §§85-87. For the Tayichi'ut 'relatives' (*aqa de'ü*), see §76 and note. This is the first time that a reason ('out of envy') is given for the Tayichi'ut's hostility towards Chinggis-qan, then Temüjin. Sorqan-shira of the Suldus later joined Jamuqa's camp, but eventually rallied to Chinggis, as related in §146, and Chinggis accepted his explanation for his belated allegiance. However, he does not miss the opportunity of reminding him of this fact when he rewards him now for his services. Sorqan-shira is the twenty-seventh leader of a thousand listed in §202, but his sons, strangely enough, are not listed among them, and were probably not appointed (Rashīd al-Dīn does not mention any of them, not even Sorqan-shira, among the army commanders), even though Chila'un was one of the 'four champions.' See Ligeti, p.174, n.219. The verb *darqala-* 'to be (= enjoy the privilege of being) a darqan ("freedman"),' when in combination with *nuntuq* (= Turkish *yurt*), i.e. the territory reserved for transmigration or 'terrain de transhumance' (Vladimirtsov, pp.52, n.1, 70 *et passim*; cf. Doerfer, No.1914), or in combination with *nuntuqla-* 'to set up a camp, to settle in a (particular) grazing ground,' means 'to freely establish a camp *or* to encamp as a freedman,' i.e. to settle on and make use of a particular territory for grazing and hunting purposes without paying any of the dues to the ruler - the darqan being 'free' by definition from such obligations. 'The territory of the Merkit on the Selengge *river*,' lit. 'the Selengge - the territory (*or* country) of the Merkit.' For the conferment of the hereditary ('to the offspring of the offspring') privilege to carry quivers and drink the ceremonial wine (*ötög*), see §187 concerning Badai and Kishiliq. I have slightly rephrased here the sentence similar to the one occurring in §187. 'You shall not incur punishment,' lit. 'Let them not incur punishment.' The words spoken by the two sons of Sorqan-shira to which Chinggis refers were, in fact, the very words that saved his life; see §85. 'How can one ignore them?' (*ker qandaqu*); Naka, Haenisch, Ligeti, Damdinsüren and other scholars render *ker qandaqu* as 'How could I forget?' (Kozin has 'unforgettable' in his paraphrase of the whole sentence), which is the interpretation, rather than the translation, of these two words given in the Chinese summary (*YCPS* 9, 27a: 如何忘得). The correct translation is

given by Pao, p.36: 'How can I ignore....' However, Pao fuses *setkijü* 'thinking' and *qandaqu* 'ignore' into one concept, whereas I separate them. As for *qandaqu*, as already noted by both Pao, p.131, and Murakami (*Mongoru hishi*, III, p.35, n.2), it corresponds to Writ. Mong. *qandu-* (cf. Khalkha and Buriat *xanda-*), a verb which Kowalewski, p.725a, renders as 'détourner (les yeux), se détourner: 2. prendre une autre direction.' Cf. Lessing, p.928a, and *Meng-Han tz'u-tien* 蒙漢辭典 *(Mongghol kitad toli)* (Huhehot, 1976), p.539b. Thus, the idea conveyed by this verb is that of 'turning away' from something, i.e. to pretend not to know, to ignore. What has puzzled scholars so far, is the Chinese interlinear gloss which translates *qandaqu* with the mysterious expression *man li ti* 滿立的 'that stands full.' However, the character *man* 滿 is, I believe, an error for *man* 瞞 'to close the eyes, conceal the truth, deceive,' so that this expression should be understood as 'that stands closing the eyes (= concealing),' i.e. saying nothing about what should be said, purposely disregarding, ignoring. One of the meanings of *qandu-* in the living languages, such as Khalkha, is 'to treat' (see, e.g., D. Tömörtogoo, *A Modern Mongolian-English-Japanese Dictionary* [Tokyo, 1979], p.640); because of this, Doran Tibo, *op.cit.*, pp.243, 246, n.6, understands *ker qandaqu* as 'How shall I treat (= recompense) you?' I think that this interpretation disregards both the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary and is, therefore, unacceptable. 'What you have in mind,' lit. 'your thoughts.' 'An intermediary,' lit. 'a between-man' (*ja'ura gü'ün*). 'You in person,' lit. 'You, by your own bodies (= persons).' For the poetical passage in this section, cf. the almost identical words of §187. For *haran* 'retainer,' see *SH* §123: *eres harad* '(common) men - retainers' = 'retainers.' On Yeke('Big')-Cheren, see §154. 'With my support' (*minu turuq*), rather than 'you, my support,' as understood by other scholars; see the sectional summary (*YCPS* 9, 27a): 'Now, relying on me (= with my support), you are made comfortable and happy' (如今教倚仗着我快活者). For *turuq* 'support,' see n.167 above (where, however, *turugh* is a mistake for *turuq*).

220 Old Man Shirgötü (a contracted form of Shirgü'etü) of the Nichügüt-Ba'arin, with his two sons Alaq ('Mottled') and Naya'a (i.e. the Nayā-noyan of §197), had been responsible for the capture and subsequent release of their former chief Tarqutai-kiriltuq, a leader of the Tayichi'ut tribe. The event, which is here recalled by Chinggis-qan, is described in detail in §149. Chinggis at one point calls Shirgötü's second son 'Naya'a-bilji'ur,' i.e. Naya'a 'the Lark' (for the meaning of *bilji'ur*

see above, n.160); the origin of this epithet is obscure, but it may have something to do with the episode of Qulan-qatun's 'abduction' described in §197. See Pelliot's remarks in Pelliot-Hambis, p.162. 'How can they be trusted, 'lit. 'how can these be trusted.' The 'great principle' (*yeke törö*) is not spelled out in the text; however, it is clear from the context that it is the one governing the relations between master and subject - one of the cornerstones of the *jasaq*. 'I shall entrust him with an *important* office'; this statement is, in fact, recorded in §197 (*in fine*). There the text has *yeke üyile* (= *üile*) 'important affairs (*or* office),' whereas in our passage we have *niken üyile* 'an office.' I think that the word *niken* is almost certainly an early scribal error (which has passed also into the text of the *SH* in the *AT*) for *yeke*, the two words bearing a very close resemblance to each other. Naya'a is the thirty-second leader of a thousand listed in §202 (Alaq is the twenty-sixth); furthermore, according to the *SH*, he was appointed to one of the highest positions in the army, that of leader of the division of the centre (*tüb-ün tümen*). This, however, is not supported by Rashid-ad-Din (I/2, p.272), where he is mentioned only as one of the leaders of a thousand of the left wing and deputy of Muqali, whom he subsequently (i.e. after the latter's death in 1223) replaced as commander of the left wing. On the appointment of Bo'orchu and Muqali see §§205, 206. Old Man Shirgōtü or Shirgü'etü was the great-grandfather of the famous Mongol general Bayan (d.1295). See Cleaves in *HJAS* 19 (1956), 194 and 202-203, n.3, on the various forms of Shirgōtü's name.

221 Jebe and Sübe'etei, two of the 'four hounds' of Chinggis-qan and prominent military leaders, are naturally in the list of §202 (nos.48 and 52). This section deals mainly with Chinggis' order concerning the composition of their two chiliarchies, to the effect that these should be formed with men of their own tribes (Besüt and Uriangqai) of whom they were already in charge or, as the *SH* puts it, whom they had 'acquired (*or* assembled) themselves and constituted *as their own patrimony*.' For this expression, see §212 and note. As noted by Ligeti, p.175, n.221, Rashid-ad-Din (I/2, p.272) lists Sübe'etei among the commanders of the chiliarchies of the left wing, but not Jebe.

222 The 'shepherd' (on this epithet see below) Degei was a Besüt, like Jebe, and first appears in §120 as the brother of Küchügür and one of the early allies of Chinggis-qan after the latter's separation from Jamuqa. See also above, n.210. He is the eleventh leader in the list in §202. 'Unregistered households' renders *bükde'ül*, a term that occurs only once in the *SH*, where it is glossed *mai-mo* 埋沒 'conceal(ed)' (the 理沒 in Haenisch's *Wörterbuch*, p.21, is an error), and the term is explained as 'unregistered people' (無户籍的百姓) in the sectional summary (*YCPS* 9, 30a). *Bükde'ül* is a deverbal noun in *-'ül* (*/-'ul = -gül/-ghul*; see Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, p.46, §153) from *bükde-* 'to be hidden.' For *bük-* 'to hide, conceal; to lie in ambush,' see Haenisch, *loc.cit.*; it corresponds to Writ. Mong. *büggü-* id. (see Lessing, p.145a) and Khalkha *büg-* id. (Cevel, p.114a). Thus *bügde'ül* literally means 'the concealed people' as a category or class of individuals. They included, no doubt, the many vagrant tribesmen or 'outcasts' (*o'orchaq ~ o'urchaq*) mentioned in the *SH* (§§156, 200, 214), that had become homeless as a result of the breaking-up of their tribes by Chinggis-qan. Regarding the epithet 'shepherd' (*qonichi*) given to Degei, see §124, where Degei, declaring in what capacity he would serve the newly elected Chinggis-qan, says that he would 'tend the sheep.' As supervisor of the cattle, and of the domestic staff of Chinggis as well, Degei was appointed cherbi, i.e. chamberlain.

223 The 'carpenter' Güchügür is none other than Degei's brother Küchügür (for Küchügür ~ Güchügür, cf. Kereyit ~ Gereyit, etc.), mentioned with Degei in §120. In §124 he pledged to serve Chinggis as manager of the tent-carts, hence his epithet of 'carpenter' (*mochi*), on which see Cleaves in *HJAS* 14 (1951), 99-100, n.152. Chinggis' order is to the effect that a chiliarchy was to be made up for Küchügür, who had just been appointed a leader of a thousand (see §202, no.34), by levying a sufficient number of men from other leaders who had plenty ('from here and there'), the idea of gathering them in this way being regarded as equivalent to an exaction or levy, a meaning which is implicit in the verb *qubchi-* used in this passage. For a discussion and translation of the entire §223, see Mostaert, pp.131-135. Mulqalqu had also been mentioned in §124 among the chiefs in charge of the herds of horses, but no separate chiliarchy was assigned to him in 1206 (in §124 he is referred to as a Tayichi'ut, whereas here he is called a Jadaran). 'A perfect companion,' lit. 'a companion in a fitting manner (*jüg-iyer*),' - as a true *nökör* should be. For the expression *jüg-iyer*, see Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 466. For other examples of joint leadership, see §§209, 212.

224 This, with §§191-192, is the most important section dealing with the early military system of Chinggis-qan and the re-structuring of the Guard (*keshik*). See n.191 and the references given in

n.202 on the establishment of the chiliarchies. Further references will be given below. The subject of the first long sentence in the text (*Ulus bayi'ululchaqsat ... bolju*) is Chinggis-qahan, who is mentioned immediately after as the subject of the next sentence (*C.-q. jarliq bolurun...*). For stylistic reasons, I have transposed it to the beginning of the first sentence in my translation and divided the single sentence into several. The formation of decimal units up to one thousand (*minqan*), following the model of the Kereit army, is already mentioned in §191; one new development in the 1206 reorganization is the creation of units of ten thousand or myriarchies (*tümen*). Parts of Chapters VIII and IX are devoted to the rewards and commendations given by Chinggis to his loyal followers. I translate *soyurqal jarliq bol-*, lit. 'to order favour,' as 'to commend.' For the connotations of the term *soyurqal* 'favour, grace' → 'gracious deed, privilege,' see Murakami Masatsugu in *Tōyō-gakuhō* 44 (1961), 311ff. With regard to the former recruitment of eighty night-guards (*kebte'ül*) and seventy day-guards (*turqa'ut*) to serve as bodyguards on roster (*keshigten*), see also §191. Chinggis claims that now, with the help of Heaven and Earth, he has unified all the people, i.e. tribes, under his sole rule (*qaqcha jilu'a-duriyan oro'uluqsan*), lit. 'causing it to enter into my only reins.' On this expression, cf. §208 and note; Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 108, n.168. For an earlier reference to the bringing to allegiance of the people and the establishment of the state in connection with the new military appointments, see §202; cf. also Jamuqa's words in §201. For the role of Heaven and Earth in supporting Chinggis' actions and 'increasing his strength,' cf. §§113, 201, 208. In view of Chinggis' exalted position as supreme leader of all the people of Mongolia, a much stronger contingent of picked warriors was called for to serve as bodyguards, attendants, etc. The rules and regulations governing the appointment of these guards form the substance of the present section, most of which has been translated by Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 46, n.7; 15 (1952), 108, n.168; and Mostaert, pp.256-257. (For an important discussion of various technical terms and expressions in this section, see especially Mostaert, pp.250-256.) See also Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 460. For an excellent outline of the system in the early period, see Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 蕭啟慶, 'Yüan-tai ti su-wei chih-tu' 元代的宿衛制度 ['The Guard System of the Yüan Period'], *Pien-cheng yen-chiu-so nien-pao* 邊政研究所年報 4 (1973), 43-54. (For the system from Qubilai onwards, see *ibid.*, pp.54-74.) Cf. also, by the same author, *The Military Establishment of the Yuan Dynasty*, pp.36-38. I take this opportunity to rectify an error, pointed

out by Hsiao in the latter work, p.149, n.16, that I made in my article 'Personnel and Personalities in North China in the Early Mongol Period,' *JESHO* 9 (1966), 134, n.1. There I stated that 'in old Turkic, the son of a noble serving as hostage was called *turγaq*.' This is not so, and the above statement is merely due to a misinterpretation on my part of Pelliot's note on the subject of *turγaq* in *JA* 217 (1930), 265. I may add in this connection that the term 'hostage' (i.e. a son offered as a hostage, Chin. 質子) is glossed as *turqa[q]* in the *Li-hsüeh chih-nan* 吏學指南 (rep. Tokyo, 1951), 14a. 'Various chiliarchies,' lit. 'the thousands and thousands.' I translate the verb *oro'ul-*, lit. 'to cause to enter,' indifferently as 'to recruit' and 'to enrol.' 'To serve by Our side,' i.e. to personally attend to Chinggis-qan's needs and safeguard his person. 'The numerous *ordinary* persons' renders *olon gü'ün*; this expression obviously refers to the *düri-yin gü'ün* 'ordinary persons,' i.e. people of ordinary status, which occurs earlier in this section, and on which see Mostaert, pp.252-253; Hsiao, *The Military Establishment*, p.36. This class of individuals must be distinguished from the *qarachus*, a term usually rendered as 'commoners' (French 'roturiers'; see Mostaert, p.52), who were *le menu peuple* or plebs of Mongol society, just above slaves and servants in status. However, the connotations of these terms have varied in time with the internal changes of society and are not clearly definable. See Vladimirtsov, pp.99, 154 and n.4. 'Who have received this command of Ours,' lit. 'having caused one to deliver this Our command *to them*.' 'Anyone,' 'any,' lit. 'the people' (*haran*) - a term often used to designate lowly individuals and law-breakers. Cf. Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments*, pp.98-99, Note 62. 'Shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*' renders *aldaltan boltuqai*. On *aldaltan* see above, n.203. I have added '*and liable to punishment*' because the idea of requital, although not explicitly stated, is nevertheless implied in that of being guilty of an offence, just as in Chinese the term *tsui* 罪 means both 'crime' and 'punishment.' See P. Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*, I (Paris, 1937), pp.20, n.2; 21, n.1. 'To send *a person* to a distant place out of sight' (*nidün-ü echine qolo qajar-a ilē-*) is a paraphrase for 'to banish.' For the passage 'As to the people who have been recruited ... out of *Our* sight,' see Mostaert, p.243, n.228. 'In order to,' lit. 'saying.'

225 Continuation of the ordinance on the day- and night-guards, and the quiver-bearers (*gorchin*). For the earlier appointment of eighty night-guards, see §§191 and 192. 'He increased,' lit. 'he made into.' 'Make up a thousand,' lit. 'fill a thousand.'

Yeke-Ne'ürin, the officer appointed as commander of the night-guards chiliarchy, appears here for the first and only time in the *SH*. He is not mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn. Whereas the earlier appointment of the eighty night-guards is recorded in the *SH*, there is no previous mention of the four hundred quiver-bearers; however, their duties are set out in §192. Yisün-te'e is the same personage as Yisün-tö'e of §278. His name means 'Nine Spans' (*yisün* 'nine'; *te'e* < *tö'e* 'span'). This son of Jelme reappears in §§230 and 234. He is mentioned in both the Chinese and Persian sources. See *YS* 3, 3a (= P.45); Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.267, 269; *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, pp.138, 139, 180, 204, 213. He was executed in Möngke's post-election purges in 1251. Tüge, the Tüngge of §137 and Tüge of §202 (no. 10 in the list of leaders of a thousand), was the eldest son of Chila'un-qayichi, himself the second son of Telegetü-bayan of the Jalayir (see §137 and note) and uncle of Muqali. So, Tüge or Tüngge was Muqali's first cousin. On the variants of Tüge's name, see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.365, 367, where Pelliot transcribes the form Tüngge as Töngge. For Bügidei ~ Bükidei, see also §§230, 234 and 278. Horqudaq, the leader of the third quiver-bearers company, is also mentioned with Yisün-tö'e, Bükidei and Lablaqa (~Labalqa) in §278. Neither Horqudaq nor Lablaqa is mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn. 'Let *these four* enrol their quiver-bearers for (lit. "of") the various companies, etc.'; this difficult passage is rendered differently by most translators (see Pao, pp.67-68, n.95). To understand what the author means, we must take into account the similar passage in §278, which runs as follows: *Basa qorchin-i Yisün-tö'e Bükidei Horqudaq Labalqa dörben keshik keshik bolun qor aqsaqui-a turqa'ud-un dörben keshik keshik-tür achid-un qorchin-iyan jasaju oroldutuqai ke'en jarliq bolba*. 'Further, he (= Ögödei-qahan) ordered, "As to the quiver-bearers, Yisün-tö'e, Bükidei, Horqudaq and Labalqa (= Lablaqa), forming four separate companies and organizing (*jasaju*) their quiver-bearers of the bodyguards (*achit*), shall respectively enter (*oroldutuqai*) in the four separate companies of the day-guards to carry quivers (*qor aqsaqui-a*).' The meaning of the passage is that the four companies (*keshik*) of quiver-bearers led by Y.-t., B., H. and L. - each company comprising two hundred and fifty men with Y.-t. as commander-in-chief - were to join (lit. 'enter in, enrol') the four companies of day-guards (*turqa'ut*), each comprising two thousand men (on the establishment of the eight-thousand strong day-guards force, see §226), and share guard duties with them in the day-time. The reason for this move is given in both passages as *qor aqsaqui-a*, i.e. 'in order to carry (lit. "put on, attach") quivers'; in other words, in order that the day-guards, who did not carry quivers, had serving with them quiver-bearing guards - an élite group of warriors that would strengthen their effectiveness and overall capacity. At sunset, on completion of their day-guard duty (*üdür-ün yabudal*), the quiver-bearers were to retire for the night, leaving their quivers with the incoming night-guards (see §229).

226 This section deals with the reorganization of the day-guards, whose number had earlier (§191) been fixed at seventy, with Ögele-cherbi and Qudus-qalchan as joint commanders. 'Increasing *the number of* day-guards,' lit. 'on top of (= on top and above) the day-guards.' 'From the family (*uruq-acha*) of Bo'orchu'; see §120, where it is stated that Ögölen-cherbi was Bo'orchu's younger cousin. Ögele's name in the *SH* is variously written Ögele, Ögöle(i) and Ögölen. Buqa was Muqali's younger brother; see §137. One must not confuse him, as Naka does in *Chingisu-kan jitsuroku* (1907 ed.), pp.325-326, with Buqa-güregen (no.81 in the chiliarchs' list in §202), who was a Baya'ut. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.84-85, 370. 'Shall be in charge of them,' lit. 'shall be in charge of one thousand day-guards.' Alchidai is the son of Ilügei (no.5 in the list in §202); he is not to be confused with the homonymous nephew of Chinggis-qan, the son of his younger brother Qachi'un, on whom see n.170. Our Alchidai was executed with Yisün-te'e and others in 1251; cf. above, n.225. See *YS* 3, 3a (= P.45). Dödei-cherbi and Doqolqu-cherbi were last mentioned in §210. For the erroneous statement in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.272, concerning Doqolqu-cherbi's family, see Pelliot-Hambis, p.353; Ligeti, pp.175-176, n.227. Chanai, from the family of the Uru'ut chief Jürchedei, on whom see §130 *et passim* (last mentioned in §209), will become a post-stations commissioner under Ögödei; see §§234, 279. Aqutai (= Aghutai) is mentioned again in §234. Alchi is probably Alchi-noyan, eldest son of Dei-sechen and brother of Börte, but his identification with the Alchi mentioned in §§202 (no.71) and 253 is not certain, since Alchi-noyan, as Naka, *op.cit.*, p.327, suggests, may well be the same person called Alchi-güregen in §202 (nos. 86, 87, 88). See Pelliot, 'Sur un passage du *Cheng-wou ts'ing-tcheng lou*,' in *Studies Presented to Ts'ai Yuan P'ei on His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, II (Peiping, 1935), pp.908-917, esp. pp. 909, 916-917. Cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 14 (1951), 15 and 23, n.118. As for the last chiliarch of the day-guards, Arqai-qasar, in 1203-1204 he had already been appointed leader of an élite one-thousand-men corps who on the battlefield were to fight before Chinggis-qan, and in time of peace were to serve as day-guards. See §191 (where I inadvertently rendered *ba'atud* as 'valiant men' instead of 'brave warriors'). On 'the many days *of peace*,'

see n.191. On the term *yeke qol* (= *ghol*) 'the main body of the army,' see N. Poppe in *MS* 26 (1967), 513-514, no.7; cf. Buell, 'Tribe, *Qan* and *Ulus*,' p.29ff. Thus, the Guard (*keshik*), as *yeke qol*, formed the main nucleus or central core of the whole Mongol army (*cherik*); this was a very important innovation. See Hsiao, *op.cit.*, p.37ff.

227 In this section we have the ordinance concerning the appointment of senior officers, called 'elders' (*ötögüs*), in charge of the four two-thousand-men strong companies of guards (*keshik*) who were to serve on roster for three days. As we have seen above (§225 and note), they were assisted by the four, four-hundred-and-fifty-men strong, companies of quiver-bearers. The four elders were Buqa, Alchidai, Dödei-cherbi and Doqolqu-cherbi, chosen from among the eight leaders of the day-guard chiliarchies. 'He shall marshal them,' lit. 'marshalling (*medejü*) the guards.' 'After spending three nights with them' (*qurban qonolduju*), i.e. after spending three days with his men - the Mongols counting days by the number of nights that have elapsed. 'That has so failed,' lit. 'that has failed to take his turn of duty.' For the expression 'to send someone to a distance place, out of sight,' i.e. to banish him, see above, n.224 (*in fine*). The passage from 'If a member of the Guard' to 'out of *Our* sight' has been translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.241-249; cf. also Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 80, n.12. 'Member,' lit. 'man' (*gü'ün*). The second ordinance in this section, regarding punishment for those who failed in their guard duty, is quoted almost *verbatim* in §278; cf. Mostaert, pp.239-241. 'Every third shift,' not 'on each third day,' as in Pao, p.40. See Serruys in *MS* 24 (1965), 479. 'Who have enrolled *as guards* equal (*sacha'u*) *to you*,' i.e. who in their status as members of Chinggis' Guard are equal to their chiefs, the company elders. This distinction is missed if one translates *sacha'u* merely as 'equal in rank,' since the elders were obviously superior in rank to the ordinary guards. Murakami (*Mongoru hishi*, III, p.47) has understood the text correctly. 'Because you are their seniors,' lit. 'saying, "they have been excelled *by us* in seniority."' Cf. Cleaves, *loc.cit.* 'If you lay hands on and strike,' lit. 'if, causing to reach (= touching with) the hands-feet (= hands), *you* strike.' For *qar köl* 'hands-feet' = 'hands,' see Mostaert, p.43. 'You shall be repaid with strokes of the rod ... with fists,' i.e. with an equal number of strokes and with an equal number of blows.

228 By 'the outside leaders of thousands (hundreds, tens),' and 'the outside commanders of thousands' are meant the leaders of the

chiliarchies, etc., who did not belong to the Guard, i.e. the captains of the two wings of the Mongol army. The term *minqali'ut* 'commanders of thousands' is the plural of *minqaliq* (= *minghaligh*), a denominal noun in *-liq* (= *-ligh*) from *minqa(n)* (= *mingha[n]*) 'a unit of a thousand men or chiliarchy.' The medieval Mongols had several related terms designating the same military functions; another name for a leader of a thousand (*minqan-u noyan*) not found in the *SH*, but occurring in the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389, was *minghantu*. See Mostaert, *Le matériel mongol*, p.75. The 'attendants (*or* servants)' (*kötöchin*) were the retainers of the guards. Since the latter had an exalted position in the army, their personal attendants also enjoyed a proportionately high status. 'By so doing,' lit. 'being equal' (*denggechen*); for this term see Mostaert, p.97, n.92.

229 'Proclaimed it,' lit. 'proclaimed the order.' I have added the stewards (*bawurchin*) to the quiver-bearers (*qorchin*) and day-guards (*turqa'ut*) in view of what follows. 'Each at his respective post' renders *jük jük mör mör-tür-iyen*, lit. 'in their every direction and every way (= task, duty),' i.e. each in his assigned place and at his assigned duty. 'As the sun sets,' lit. 'at the moment when the sun is fiery' (*naran-u qaltai-a*); cf. the passage at the beginning of §192: 'Before the sun sets ....' 'Beside Us,' lit. 'by Us' (*bidan-tur*). 'The quiver-bearers ... shall stay (lit. "sit") at the horse station (*kirü'e-tür*) while (lit. "until") We eat Our soup.' Cf. the corresponding ordinance in the earlier system as set out in §192. On the *kirü'e*, or horse station, see n.131 (where, however, for '*kirü'e*' read '*kirü'ese=kirü'es*, pl. of *kirü'e* [cf. §§229, 245],') and Pelliot-Hambis, pp.187-188. 'Who moves about crosswise at the rear or front of the Palace': the text says, 'who goes crossing sideways (*ketügeljen yabuqu*) at the rear and front (*qoyina'un urida'un*) of the Palace (*ordo*),' meaning presumably any person who moved about the front and back, i.e. the south and north, of the Palace precinct coming from the side. Such an action would obviously be regarded as suspicious. 'Palace' is the rather imperfect rendering of *ordo*, a term designating here the complex of tents and other structures forming the living quarters of the qan and his dependants - a forbidden precinct in the middle of the encampment guarded day and night by the *keshigten* - descriptions of which are given in the medieval travellers' accounts. See Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, pp.60-65, 126, 150-151, 175-180. For the term *ordo* (*orda*), see Doerfer, No.452. By *ger* 'tent,' occurring later in this section, is meant the *ordo ger*, or 'palace tent' of Chinggis-qan. 'After sunset,' lit. 'after the sun has set.' 'For the night,'

lit. 'passing the night.' 'Shall question him,' lit. 'shall ask his words (i.e. of explanation).' 'Their passes' (*belge anu*), i.e. their tokens of identification. 'When relieved,' lit. 'being relieved.' On the night-guards 'lying down around' the qan's dwelling and those guarding the entrance, see also §192. 'Entering at night,' i.e. who try to enter without due authorization. For the ordinance concerning the delivery of urgent messages, cf. §169 and note. 'Are ... broken,' lit. 'fall.' 'Without permission,' lit. 'without word.' 'No one is to sit in a place (lit. "seat") above (= beyond) the night-guards,' i.e. anywhere past the line of the night-guards, between the latter and the qan's tent. The same interdiction applied to anyone walking in that area. 'No one is to walk up beyond the night-guards,' lit. 'No one is to walk on the upper side of (*dege'ün*, i.e. above = beyond) the night-guards.' This entire sentence is omitted in Pao's translation (p.41). 'The people who walk up beyond them,' lit. 'the people who walk on the upper side of the night-guards.' Some of these regulations, as well as the reference to Eljigedei's misadventure - about which nothing else is known - are quoted by Ögödei in §278. 'Was he not arrested...?', lit. 'how was he arrested...?'

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz

Chapter Ten*

230 Chinggis-qahan said,

'My elder night-guards who in the cloudy night
Lie all around my vented tent,
You ensure that I sleep in quiet and peace:
You have gained me this throne.
My blessed night-guards who in the starry night
Lie all around my palace-tent,
You ensure that I have no fear in my bed:

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* The translation of Chapters I and II appeared in *PFEH* 4 (September 1971), 115-163; Chapter III in *PFEH* 5 (March 1972), 149-175; Chapter IV in *PFEH* 10 (September 1974), 55-82; Chapter V in *PFEH* 13 (March 1976), 41-75; Chapter VI in *PFEH* 16 (September 1977), 27-65; Chapter VII in *PFEH* 18 (September 1978), 43-80; Chapter VIII in *PFEH* 21 (March 1980), 17-57; and Chapter IX in *PFEH* 23 (March 1981), 111-146. I am greatly indebted to Prof. N. Poppe (Seattle) for his constant help with textual and other problems.

You have gained me the high throne.
My true-hearted night-guards who in swirling snowstorm,
In shivering cold, in pouring rain, taking no rest,
Stand all around my latticed tent:
You have gained me this throne of joy.
My trustworthy night-guards, who in the midst
Of trouble-making enemies, not blinking an eye,
Stood all around my felt-girt tent
Withstanding *their onslaught*;
My watchful night-guards who, *hearing the enemy's*
Quivers of birch-bark barely rattling,
Stood *on your feet* without delay;
My swift-moving night-guards who, *hearing the enemy's*
Quivers of willow-wood barely rattling,
Stood up not *a moment* too late;
My blessed night-guards, *from now on*
You shall call *yourselves* "the elder night-guards."

The seventy day-guards who had enrolled with Ögöle-cherbi shall be called "the great day-guards." The brave warriors of Arqai shall be called "the elder brave warriors." The quiver-bearers Yisün-te'e, Bügidei and the others shall be called "the great quiver-bearers."' So he ordered.

231 *Chinggis-qahan* said, 'As for my ten thousand personal guards, who have come *to serve* in my presence, chosen for personal service from the ninety-five thousand, you, sons *of mine* who will later sit on my throne to the offspring of the offspring, considering these guards as a keepsake *from me*, give them no cause for dissatisfaction, but take good care of them! These ten thousand guards - will they not be called my Nendü(k) beneficent spirits?'

232 Further, Chinggis-qahan said, 'The night-guards shall look after the cherbi-maids (= female attendants) of the Palace, the sons of the household (i.e. the household slaves), the camel-keepers and the cowherds, and they shall take care of the tent-carts of the Palace. The night-guards shall take care of the banners and drums, and the spears *arranged* beneath *them*. The night-guards shall take care of the bowls and vessels. The night-guards shall supervise Our drink and food. The night-guards shall supervise and cook the uncut meat and food as well: if drink and food are lacking, we shall seek them from the night-guards who have been entrusted with their supervision.' And he said, 'When the quiver-bearers distribute drink and food, they must not do so without permission from the supervising night-guards. When they distribute food, they shall do so beginning with the night-guards.' And he said, 'Entering into and going out from the palace-tent must be regulated by the night-guards. At the door, the door-keepers from the night-guards shall stand right next to the tent. Two from the night-guards shall enter *into the tent* and be in charge of the large *kumis* pitchers.' And he said, 'The camp-masters from the night-guards shall go *before* and set up the palace-tent.' And he said, 'When We *go* falconing or hunting, the night-guards shall go falconing and hunting with Us; *but* exactly one half of them shall stay at the carts.'

233 Further, Chinggis-qahan said, 'If We Ourselves do not go on military campaign, the night-guards must not take the field without Us.' So he said, and he issued the following order: 'After receiving an order in such terms, the cherbi troop-leaders who transgress the ordinance and, out of jealousy for the night-guards, send them on campaign, shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*.' And he said, 'You say, "Why is it that soldiers from the night-guards are not sent on campaign?" The night-guards watch over my golden (= royal) life. When *We* go falconing or hunting, they toil *with Us*. As they are in

charge of the administration of the Palace, when *this* is moving or is stationary, they look after the carts. Is it an easy *thing* to spend the night watching over my person? Is it an easy *thing* to look after the tent-carts when the main base-camp is in movement or settled? The reason why We say that they (i.e. the night-guards) must not go on campaign without Us and separately, is because We say *to Ourselves* that they have *already* so many and quite distinct duties.'

234 Further, *Chinggis-qahan* issued the following order: 'Some of the night-guards shall decide on judicial matters together with Shigi-qutuqu.' And he said, 'Some of the night-guards shall take care of quivers, bows, breastplates and weapons, and they shall distribute them. Looking after some of the geldings, they shall *also* load the *hunting* nets *on to them*.' And he said, 'Some of the night-guards, together with the cherbi, shall distribute the satin.' And he said, 'When the quiver-bearers and the day-guards have reported on *the establishment of* the encampment, the quiver-bearers such as Yisün-te'e and Bükidei, and the day-guards such as Alchidai, Ögele and Aqutai, shall take up duty on the right (= western) side of the Palace.' And he said, 'The day-guards Buqa, Dödei-cherbi, Doqolqu-cherbi and Chanai shall take up duty on the left (= eastern) side of the Palace.' And he said, 'The brave warriors of Arqai shall take up duty in front of the Palace.' And he said, 'The night-guards, having taken care of the tent-carts of the Palace, shall take up duty in the proximity of the Palace, on the left (= eastern) side.' And he said, 'At the Palace, Dödei-cherbi shall constantly supervise all the guards who are day-guards, and, round about the Palace, *he shall supervise* the sons of the household of the Palace, the horse-herders, shepherds, camel-keepers and cowherds.' He appointed him and gave the following order: 'Dödei-cherbi shall take up duty and

be constantly present, behind the Palace,

Eating scraps of leftovers,

Burning dried dung.'

235 *Chinggis-qahan* sent Qubilai-noyan to fight against the Qarlu'ut. Arslan-qan of the Qarluq came to submit to Qubilai. Qubilai-noyan took Arslan-qan back with him and made him pay homage to Chinggis-qahan. Because he had not rebelled (i.e. refused to submit), Chinggis-qahan showed favour to Arslan and said, 'I shall give him a daughter *in marriage*.'

236 Sübe'etei-ba'atur, who had *been provided with* an iron cart, had gone on a campaign in pursuit of the sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit headed by Qutu and Chila'un. He caught up with them at the Chui river, destroyed them and came *back*.

237 Jebe, pursuing Güchülük-qan of the Naiman, caught up with him at Sariq-qun (*read* Sariq-qol). He destroyed Güchülük and came *back*.

238 The idu'ut of the Ui'ur (= Uiqur) sent envoys to Chinggis-qahan. Through the envoys Atkiraq and Darbai he had the following petition conveyed to him:

'As if one saw mother sun

When the clouds disperse;

As if one came upon the river water

When the ice disappears (= melts),

so I greatly rejoiced when I heard of the fame of Chinggis-qa'an. If through your favour, O Chinggis-qa'an, I were to obtain

But a ring from your golden belt,

But a thread from your crimson coat,

I will become your fifth son and will serve you.' *This was* the petition he sent.

Chinggis-qahan, in reply to these words and showing favour to him, sent the following message: 'I shall give him a daughter and

let him become my fifth son. The idu'ut must come, bringing with him gold, silver, small and large pearls, brocades, damasks and silks.' The idu'ut rejoiced because he had been favoured; and taking with him gold, silver, small and large pearls, silks, brocades, damasks and satins, he came and paid homage to Chinggis-qahan. Chinggis-qahan favoured the idu'ut and gave him *his daughter* Al-altun *in marriage*.

239 In the Year of the Hare (1207), *Chinggis-qahan* sent Jochi with the troops of the right (= west) wing on an expedition against the 'people of the forests.' Buqa went with him acting as a guide. Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat came to submit before the Tümen-Oyirat. He came and, acting as a guide, led Jochi to *the territory* of the Tümen-Oyirat and made them submit at Shiqshit. Jochi brought the Oyirat, Buriyat, Barqun, Ursut, Qabqanas and Tubas under submission.

When he reached *the territory of* the Tümen-Kirgisüt, their leaders Yedi-inal, Aldi-er and Örebek-digin - *these* leaders of the Kirgisüt - came to submit. Bringing with them *gifts of* white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables they paid homage to Jochi.

After Jochi had subjugated the 'people of the forests' from the Shibir, Kesdim, Bayit, Tuqas, Tenlek, Tö'eles, Tas and Bajigit to this side, he came back, taking with him the leaders of ten thousand and of thousands of the Kirgisüt, and the leaders of the 'people of the forests.' He caused them to pay homage to Chinggis-qahan with *gifts of* white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables.

Chinggis-qahan welcomed Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat, saying, 'He came to submit before *the others*, leading the Tümen-Oyirat.' And he showed favour to him, giving Checheyigen to his son Inalchi. He gave Jochi's daughter Qoluiqan to Törölchi, elder brother of Inalchi. He gave Alaqa-beki to *the ruler of* the Önggüt.

Chinggis-qahan favoured Jochi, saying, 'You, eldest of my sons,

who only *now for the first time* have left home, you have been lucky. Without wounding or causing suffering to man or gelding in the lands where you went, you came back having subjugated the fortunate "people of the forests." I shall give *this* people to you.' So he ordered.

240 Further, he sent Boro'ul-noyan to fight against the Qori-Tumat people. As Daiduqul-soqor, the leader of the Tumat people, had died, his wife Botoqui-tarqun was governing them. Upon reaching *the Tumat's territory*, Boroqul-noyan *with two others* - three men *altogether* - set out from the main army to proceed ahead of it. In the evening, as they were going along a path in the thick forest and were off guard, they were attacked from the rear by their (i.e. the Tumat's) scouts, who blocked the path. Boroqul-noyan was caught and killed.

When Chinggis-qahan learnt that the Tumat had killed Boroqul, he was greatly angered and prepared to move in person *against them*, but Bo'orchu and Muqali pleaded with him until he desisted. Thereupon he appointed Dörbei-doqshin of the Dörbet and commanded him thus: 'Set the army in strict order, pray to Eternal Heaven and try to subdue the Tumat people!'

Dörbei set the army in order and beforehand made a decoy manoeuvre along the roads, paths and passes where the army was *expected* to advance and which *enemy* scouts would keep under surveillance. *Then, going* by tracks trodden *only* by the red bull, he gave the order to *his* warriors that, with regard to all the men in the army, if anyone lost heart *and refused to proceed*, they should beat him, and he made *each* man carry ten rods *for this purpose*; he *also* had axes, adzes, saws, chisels and weapons prepared for the men. Along the tracks trodden by the red bull he had them chop, hew and saw the trees that stood in the way, *thus* making a road *for the army to pass*.

They went up the mountain and, *as though falling* from the smoke-

hole of the tents of the Tumat people who were busy feasting, they *took them* by surprise and captured them.

241 Earlier Qorchi-noyan and Quduqa-beki had been seized by the Tumat and were there, with Botoqui-tarqun. The way in which Qorchi was seized *was the following*. When *Chinggis-qahan* had issued the order that *Qorchi* should take thirty women - fine maidens - of the Tumat people, *Qorchi* went to take the maidens of the Tumat people, but *these* people, who had formerly submitted, *now* rebelled and seized Qorchi-noyan.

When Chinggis-qahan learnt that Qorchi had been seized by the Tumat, he said, 'Quduqa knows the ways *and manners* of the "people of the forests," and sent him *to them*, but Quduqa-beki was also seized.'

After he had completely brought the Tumat people under submission, *Chinggis-qahan*, because of the death of Boroqul gave one hundred Tumat *to his family*. Qorchi took thirty maidens. *Chinggis-qahan* gave Botoqui-tarqun to Quduqa-beki.

242 Chinggis-qahan decreed that he would apportion the *subject* people to *his* mother, children and younger brothers. When he gave *them their share*, he said, 'The one who toiled *most* gathering (i.e. rallying) the people was Mother. The eldest of my sons is Jochi. The youngest of my younger brothers is Otchigin.' To *his* mother, together with Otchigin's share, he gave ten thousand people. Mother was dissatisfied, *thinking them too few*, but she did not complain.

To Jochi he gave nine thousand people. To Cha'adai he gave eight thousand people. To Ögödei he gave five thousand people. To Tolui he gave five thousand people. To Qasar he gave four thousand people. To Alchidai he gave two thousand people. To Belgütei he gave one thousand five hundred people.

He said, 'Daritai joined the Gereyit. I shall wipe him from my

sight.' On that, Bo'orchu, Muqali and Shigi-qutuqu, the three of them, spoke saying, '*This action would be*

Like extinguishing one's own *hearth*-fire,
Like destroying one's own tent.

As a reminder of your good (= late) father, only your paternal uncle is left. How can you make away with him? He *acted* without thinking, so spare him. Allow the younger brother of your good (= late) father, together with *his people*, to let the smoke of their camp swirl up!' And they reasoned with him until *he was so moved that*

He snuffled, as if
He had smoke in his nose.

'Right!' - he said, and thinking of his good (= late) father, he calmed down at the words of Bo'orchu, Muqali and Shigi-qutuqu, the three of them.

243 *Chinggis-qahan said*, 'I have given ten thousand people to Mother and to Otchikin, and *for them* I have appointed the four leaders Güchü, Kököchü, Jungsai and Qorqasun. For Jochi I have appointed the three *leaders* Qunan, Möngke'ür and Kete. For Cha'adai I have appointed the three *leaders* Qarachar, Möngke and Idoqudai.'

Further, Chinggis-qahan said, 'Cha'adai is obstinate and petty-minded. Köke-chos shall stay at his side evening and morning, and shall tell him what he thinks (i.e. he shall advise him).' So he ordered.

For Ögödei he appointed both Ilüge and Degei. For Tolui he appointed both Jedei and Bala. For Qasar he appointed Jebke. For Alchidai he appointed Cha'urqai.

244 The sons of Father Mönglik of the Qongqotan were seven. The middle one was Kököchü Teb-Tenggeri. Those seven ganged up and beat Qasar.

When Qasar, kneeling before Chinggis-qa'an, told him that he had

been beaten by the seven Qongqotan who had ganged up *against him*, Chinggis-qahan was angry about other *matters*. While Qasar was *still* talking, Chinggis-qahan in his anger said to him, '*In the past* you have done *nothing* but *claim* that you would not be vanquished by *any* living being. How is it that you have *now* been vanquished?' At this Qasar wept, *then* rose and left.

Qasar was vexed and for three days *in succession* did not come *before Chinggis-qahan*.

After this, Teb-Tenggeri said to Chinggis-qa'an, 'The decree of Eternal Heaven *concerning* the ruler has been foretold by heavenly signs *as follows*: once they (i.e. the signs) said that Temüjin will hold the nation, once that Qasar *will*. If you don't strike at Qasar by surprise, there is no knowing *what will happen*!'

On these words, Chinggis-qahan that very night rode off to seize Qasar. When he left, Güchü and Kököchü informed Mother (i.e. Hö'elün) that he had gone to seize Qasar. When Mother heard this, straightaway - it was *still* night - she harnessed a white camel and set out in a black cart, travelling all night.

On her arrival at sunrise, Chinggis-qahan had tied up the opening of Qasar's sleeves, removed his hat and belt, and was interrogating him. Chinggis-qahan, surprised by Mother's descending upon him, became afraid of her.

Mother was furious. As *soon as* she got there and dismounted from the cart, she herself untied and loosened Qasar's sleeves, the opening of which had been fastened, and gave *back* to Qasar his hat and belt. Mother was *so* angered that she was unable to contain her fury. She sat cross-legged, took out both her breasts, laid them over her knees and said, 'Have you seen them?

These are the breasts that gave you suck, and
Those (= you two) - she stressed quoting *ancient words* - are

The ones who have bitten their own afterbirth,
The ones who have cut their own birth cord.

What has Qasar done? Temüjin used to drain this one breast of mine. Qachi'un and Otchigin between them did not drain a single breast. As for Qasar, he completely drained both my breasts and brought me comfort until my bosom relaxed. He used to make *my* bosom relax. Therefore,

My able Temüjin
Has skill of mind.
My Qasar has skill in archery
And might, and so he was wont
To shoot and subdue
All those on the run, shooting at him.
With long distance arrows he was wont
To shoot and subdue
All those on the run, in fear *of him*.

But now, saying that you (Temüjin) have destroyed the enemy people, you can no *longer* bear the sight of Qasar.' So she spoke.

After Chinggis-qan had at last calmed Mother, he said, 'I was afraid of Mother getting *so* angry and *really* got frightened; and I felt shame and was *really* abashed.' And saying, 'Let us withdraw!', he withdrew *and returned home*. But, without letting his mother know, he secretly took away the people (= subjects) of Qasar and let Qasar have *only* one thousand four hundred people. That is how, when Mother learned *this*, the thought of it made her go quickly *into decline*. Jebke of the Jalayir then left in fright and fled into the Barqujin *lowland*.

245 After that, the 'people of the nine tongues' gathered under Teb-Tenggeri. Many from Chinggis-qa'an's horse-station *also* decided to gather under Teb-Tenggeri. When they had thus gathered, the

people who were subject to Temüge-otchigin went over to Teb-Tenggeri. Otchigin-noyan *then* sent his messenger, by name of Soqor, to request *the return of* the people who had departed. Teb-Tenggeri said to the messenger Soqor, 'I am very grateful to both Otchigin and you,' and, after beating him, sent the messenger Soqor back on foot, forcing him to carry his saddle on his back.

Greatly affected by the beating of his messenger Soqor and his returning on foot, Otchigin the following day - Otchigin himself - went to Teb-Tenggeri and said, 'I sent my messenger Soqor *to you,* but you beat him and sent him back on foot. Now I have come to request *the return of* my people.'

On that, the seven Qongqotan from all sides surrounded Otchigin, saying, 'You were right to send your messenger Soqor.' Otchigin-noyan, being dealt with *in this way* and fearing to be seized and beaten *by them*, said, 'I was wrong to send my messenger.' The seven Qongqotan *then* said, 'If you were wrong, kneel down and make amends,' and they had him kneel down behind Teb-Tenggeri.

Otchigin was not given his people; so, early next day, when Chinggis-qa'an had not yet got up and was still in bed, he went into *his tent*. He wept and, kneeling down, said, 'As "the people of the nine tongues" had assembled under Teb-Tenggeri, I sent a messenger called Soqor to request from Teb-Tenggeri *the return of* the people subject to me. They beat my messenger Soqor, they made him carry the saddle on his back, and he was sent back on foot. When I in person went to request *my people,* I was surrounded from all sides by the seven Qongqotan, who compelled me to make amends and kneel down behind Teb-Tenggeri.' And he wept.

Before Chinggis-qa'an could utter a sound, Lady Börte sat up in bed, covering her breasts with the edge of the blanket. Seeing Otchigin weep, she *herself* shed tears and said, 'What are these

Qongqotan doing? They recently ganged up and beat Qasar. And now, why do they make this Otchigin kneel down behind them? What kind of behaviour is this? Thus they covertly injure even these younger brothers of yours who are like cypresses and pines. And truly, later

When your body, like a great old tree,
Falls down,
Whom will they let govern your people
Which is like tangled hemp?
When your body, like the stone base of a pillar,
Collapses,
Whom will they let govern your people
Which is like a flock of birds?

How will people covertly injuring like this your younger brothers, who are like cypresses and pines, *ever* allow my three or four little "naughty ones" (= "my sons") to govern while they are *still* growing up? What are these Qongqotan doing? *Now* that you have let them ill-treat your younger brothers in this fashion, how do you view *all this*?' So spoke Lady Börte and shed tears.

On these words of Lady Börte, Chinggis-qahan said to Otchigin, 'Teb-Tenggeri is coming now. Whatever you may *wish to* do *to him* within your power, it is for you to decide!' Whereupon Otchigin rose, wiped away his tears and, going out *of the tent,* stood in readiness with three strong men.

After a while, Father Mönglik came with his seven sons. The seven all entered and, as Teb-Tenggeri sat down on the right side of the *kumis* pitchers, Otchigin seized the collar of Teb-Tenggeri, saying, 'Yesterday you compelled me to make amends. Let us *now* measure up to each other!' - and, holding his collar, dragged him towards the door. Teb-Tenggeri, *then,* facing Otchigin, seized his collar and wrestled with him. As they were wrestling, Teb-Tenggeri's

hat fell in front of the fireplace. Father Mönglik took his hat, smelled it and put it in his bosom. Chinggis-qahan said, 'Go out and match each other's strength and might.'

Otchigin dragged Teb-Tenggeri out. The three strong men who had earlier been standing in readiness at the threshold of the door faced Teb-Tenggeri. They seized him, dragged him out *further*, broke his back and cast him *down* at the end of the *line of* carts of the left (= east) side.

Otchigin came *back* into *the tent* and said, 'Teb-Tenggeri had compelled me to make amends. When I said, "Let us measure up to each other," he was not willing *to wrestle* and lay down pretending *that he could not get up*. Not much of a companion, was he!'

Father Mönglik understood and, shedding tears, said, 'I have been your companion

Since the brown earth
Was *only* the size of a clod,
Since the sea and rivers
Were *only* the size of a rivulet.'

At these words, his six Qongqotan sons barred the door and disposed themselves around the fireplace. When they rolled up their sleeves, Chinggis-qahan got frightened. Being pressed *by them*, he said, 'Make way, I am going out.' As soon as he stepped outside, quiver-bearers and day-guards surrounded Chinggis-qa'an and stood by.

Chinggis-qahan saw that after breaking his backbone, they (i.e. the three strong men) had cast Teb-Tenggeri *down* at the end of the *line of* carts. He had a gray tent brought from the back and placed over Teb-Tenggeri, saying, 'Fasten the harnessing *to the carts*, we shall move on.' And he moved on from there.

246 After they had covered the smoke-hole of the tent in which they had placed Teb-*Tenggeri*, had blocked the door and put people to

keep watch, on the third night at dusk *Teb-Tenggeri* opened the smoke-hole of the tent and came out bodily *through it*. When they investigated closely, it was established that it really was Teb-*Tenggeri whom one had seen* in that part of the tent (i.e. over the smoke-hole).

Chinggis-qahan said, 'Because Teb-Tenggeri laid hands on my younger brothers and spread baseless slanders among them in order to sow discord, he was no longer loved by Heaven, and his life, together with his body, has been taken away.'

Chinggis-qahan then railed at Father Mönglik saying, 'By not restraining your son's nature, you *and your sons* began thinking that you were equal *to me*, and you have paid *for this* with Teb-Tenggeri's life. If I had known that you had such a nature, you would have been dealt with like Jamuqa, Altan, Quchar and others.' So he railed at Father Mönglik.

When he had finished railing at him, he said further, 'If one retracts in the evening what one has said in the morning, and retracts in the morning what one has said the *previous* evening, surely one will be criticised until covered with shame. I have earlier pledged my word *to you*. Enough of this *matter*!' And, his anger abated, he showed favour to him *again*. He said, 'Had you restrained your ambitious nature, who among Father Mönglik's offspring would have considered himself equal *to me*?' After he had destroyed Teb-Tenggeri, the *proud* air of the Qongqotan was *much* reduced.

(To be continued)

COMMENTARY

For the abbreviations used in the Commentary see *PFEH* 4 (September 1971), 151-152, and 5 (March 1972), 175. Please note that henceforth references to the *YS* are to the *Chung-hua shu-chü* edition of 1976 only.

230 This section is almost entirely taken up with Chinggis' words of praise for his faithful night-guards. 'Lie all around,' lit. 'lying down surrounding' (*e'eren kebtejü*); cf. §§192 and 229. 'Vented,' lit. 'having a smoke-hole': *örügetei*, a denominal noun designating possession from *örüge*~*erüge* (= Writ. Mong. *erüke*~*örüke*) 'smoke-hole on top of the yurt'; see Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, pp.46, 128. 'You ensure that,' lit. 'you let (*or* make) *me*.' The verb *oqjatqa-* is a causative of *oqjat-* 'to be frightened.' According to Prof. Poppe (personal communication), this verb is probably derived from *oqjam* (= *oghjam*) 'abrupt, sudden.' See Lessing, p.603b. 'In quiet and peace' (*örük nuta*): *örük* is a borrowing from Uighur *örüg* 'quiet, rest'; see *Drevnetyurkskiĭ slovar'*, p.390b; Clauson, *Etym. Dictionary*, p.222b. Cf. Mostaert, p.145. *Nuta* (= Khalkha *nut*) in the written language and in the dialects means 'firm, strong.' See Lessing, p.596b; Cevel, p.390a. This meaning is, of course, related to the ancient meaning of '(at) peace, (at) rest' (> 'not movable,' hence 'firm'). 'My palace-tent (*ordo ger*)'; see above, n.229. 'In swirling snowstorm, in shivering cold, in pouring rain,' lit. 'in the snowstorm that is moving (i.e. changing position), in the cold that makes one shiver, in rain that is pouring'; for *shilgütke-*, causative of *shilgüt-* (= *shilgüd-*) 'to tremble, shiver,' see A. Mostaert in *MS* 4 (1939-40), 329. 'Latticed tent' (*shiltesütei ger*), i.e. with a lattice frame (*shiltesü*), as the traditional tents are made. The word *shiltesü*(*n*) corresponds to Writ. Mong. *süldesü*(*n*) 'splints or strips of bamboo'; see Lessing, p.743a. 'Taking no rest,' lit. 'not making *jirim*.' The word *jirim* is glossed in the interlinear version as 'a short rest' (略-歇息), a meaning apparently unattested elsewhere for this word in Mongolian. However, as pointed out by Prof. Poppe (personal communication), Karaim has a word *cirim* meaning 'slumber'; see Radloff, III, p.2126b. Furthermore, *cirim* is the form actually found in the *AT*, I, 157 (cf. *SHA*, 162). Prof. Poppe has also suggested a possible relationship with Ordos *Dzirmī-* 'regarder en fermant à moitié les yeux'

(Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.202b)< *jirim-ii-*, = Writ. Mong. *jirmeyi-* 'to squint' (Golstunskiĭ, III, p.369c). Thus, there are two possibilities: 1) 'not making *even* slumber = without *even* slumbering,' and 2) 'not *even* blinking,' both of them fitting our context. 'Felt-girt tent' (*irgetei ger*), lit. 'tent having *irge*,' *irge* being the broad protective felt band surrounding the lower portion of the tent on the outside. On this word, see Mostaert, p.137. For the image of the enemy quivers rattling (lit. 'shaking *or* moving'), see §105. The passage 'My trustworthy night-guards ... you shall call *yourselves* "the elder night-guards"' is discussed and translated in Mostaert, pp.135-142; cf. also Cleaves, pp.529-530; Mostaert et Cleaves, *Les Lettres*, p.77. For their merits, the original eighty night-guards (see §§191, 192) are henceforth designated with a title of seniority appropriate to the 'old guard' (*ötögüs kebte'ül*); Ögöle(= Ögele, Ögölei)-cherbi and the early seventy day-guards (§191) are called 'the great day-guards' (*yekes turqa'ut*), to distinguish them from the new recruits; the brave warriors (*ba'atut*) of Arqai (= Arqai-qasar), i.e. the élite one-thousand-men corps created in 1203-1204 (§191), are now called 'the elder brave warriors' (*ötögüs ba'atut*); and Yisün-te'e, Bügidei 'and the others,' i.e. the four hundred quiver-bearers led by Yisün-te'e and Bügidei whose duties are set out in §192, are renamed 'the great quiver-bearers' (*yekes qorchin*). Cf. Ligeti, p.176, n.230. The epithet 'great' (*yekes*) in the present context refers to seniority, just like *ötögüs*. For this usage of *yekes*, cf. the Mongolian (Yüan) version of the *Hsiao-ching* 孝經 , 8b6 *et passim*. See Ligeti, *Indices Verborum*, II, p.152. For the Mongolian text of this work, see *ZAS* 12 (1978), 162, and my forthcoming study in *ZAS* 16 (1982).

231 'Considering these guards as a keepsake *from me*,' lit. 'thinking of these guards like a souvenir (*geri'es*).' For the term *geri'es*, see my note to §208. 'Give them no cause for dissatisfaction,' lit. 'do not make them displeased' (*ülü gemüri'ülün*); on *gemüri'ül-*, causative of **gemüri-* 'to be displeased, have a grievance against someone,' see Mostaert, pp.197-198. For the expression 'Nendü(k) beneficent spirit,' see §207 and note. The reconstruction of the word *nendük*, as well as its interpretation, are hypothetical, but the general meaning of the phrase is quite clear: the guards must be regarded as Chinggis-qan's protecting genii.

232 The 'cherbi-maids' (*cherbin ökit*) were, as their designation implies, women who served in various capacities as 'stewardesses' in the qan's 'palace' (*ordo*), but their degree of servitude is not known. On the other hand, the 'sons of the household' (*ger-ün kö'üt*), lit. 'sons of the tent,' in this early period were almost certainly young domestic slaves. The term *ger-ün kö'üt*, its Chinese transcription in later Yüan texts (*ch'ieh-lien-k'ou* 怯 憐 口) and its Turkish equivalent in the Persian texts (*ēv oghlān*), have been the subject of investigation by various scholars. See, in particular, Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 (1950), 51-52, n.171 (where earlier literature on the subject is discussed); Doerfer, Nos.675, 676; Murakami in *Mongoru hishi*, III, pp.72-73, n.8, and *The Second International Congress of Mongolists*, Vol.I (Ulan-Bator, 1972), pp.320-321. Cf. also Vladimirtsov, p.214, for the later usage of similar social terms. From the context in which these categories of service personnel are mentioned in our passage, it would appear that their functions in Chinggis-qan's time were rather menial. It will be remembered that in §124, Dödei-cherbi was put in charge of 'domestics and servants in the tent' (*ger dotora gergen tutqar*). Dödei-cherbi was subsequently (1206) appointed as one of the 'elders' of the (four) companies of day-guards (§227). The functions of all these different classes of servants are unfortunately not described. *Cherbin* is an ancient plural of *cherbi*; on this title and the cherbi's duties, see n.191 and §§124, 233 and 234. For the term *hükechin* 'cowherd, ox-drover,' see Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 103, n.3. For the expression *ordo-yin ger tergen*, see the same author in *HJAS* 18 (1955), 37, n.26; and above, n.121. 'The banners and drums, and the spears *arranged* beneath *them*' (*tuq gü'ürge dōro jida*); it would seem from this sentence, that in the tent(s) or cart(s) where this equipment was kept, the spears were placed under, i.e. at the foot of, the banners and drums. The night-guards were also put in charge of the qan's precious bowls and vessels (*ayaqa saba*). In §278 this ordinance is quoted again, with the bowls and vessels mentioned immediately after the spears: *kebte'ül tuq ke'ürge dōro jida ayaqa saba asaratuqai* 'the night-guards shall take care of the banners and drums, and of the spears, bowls and vessels *arranged* beneath *them*.' Prof. Poppe (personal communication) is inclined to see in *tuq gü'ürge doro jida* four direct objects, *doro* being in his view either a weapon or an attribute of *jida*. 'Uncut meat and food,' lit. 'thick (*ötken*) meat and food' - i.e. the meat and foodstuffs before being cut and prepared for cooking by the *bawurchin*. Thus the night-guards had also to supervise

both the supply of raw foodstuffs and the preparation of the same. This sentence is related to the next one, which implies that the night-guards would be held responsible for any scarcity (*qor qomsa*) of food. For the understanding of these passages I have relied on the interpretation found in the sectional summary (*YCPS* 10, 6a); therefore, my translation diverges from those of Haenisch, Kozin, Damdinsüren, Ligeti and Murakami. 'Do so ... do so,' lit. 'distribute *them* ... distribute *it*.' 'Beginning with,' lit. 'beginning first from.' 'Without permission,' lit. 'without accord' (*eye ügei*). 'Shall stand right next to the tent'; on this expression, see Mostaert et Cleaves, *Les Lettres*, p.77. 'Shall ... be in charge,' lit. 'shall be holding' (*barin atuqai*). On the 'large *kumis* pitchers' (*yeke tüsürge*), see above, n.213. 'The camp-masters' (*nuntu'uchin*), i.e. the officers in charge of laying out the camp and setting up the qan's tents. The term *nuntu'uchin*, plural of *nuntu'uchi*, appears again in §§278 and 279, also (§279) in the form *nuntuqchitan*. For the plural suffix *-tan/-ten*, see Mostaert, p.30. 'Exactly one half of them shall stay at the carts,' lit. 'counting their half, they shall place it at the carts'; in other words, exactly one half of the night-guards must remain to guard the tent-carts, while the other half goes hunting with the qan. Several of the above ordinances, including this one, are re-confirmed by Ögödei in §278.

233 Continuation of the ordinance concerning the duties of the night-guards. The injunction against going to fight without the qan is repeated in §278. The entire §233 is translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.142-153. 'After receiving an order in such terms,' lit. 'having let themselves be told in this way.' For this expression, cf. also Ligeti in *AOH* 24 (1971), 152. 'The cherbi troop-leaders' renders *cherig medegü cherbin*, lit. 'the cherbi who command soldiers.' Besides their duties as chamberlains and stewards in the ordo, the cherbi were also military chiefs as the occasion demanded (see §234); therefore, it is inaccurate to translate the title cherbi invariably with 'steward.' 'My golden life' (*minu altan amin*); for *altan* 'golden' = 'royal,' see my note to §21. 'When *this* (the ordo) is moving or is stationary,' i.e. when the qan is travelling or when he has pitched camp. 'The main base camp,' lit. 'the great *a'uruq*' (*yeke a'uruq*). This was the base or 'rear' camp (see n.136) belonging to the qan's ordo. The epithet *yeke* as usual indicates that the object in question pertains to the qan. 'The reason why We say, etc.,' lit. 'Saying *to Ourselves* that *the night-guards* have such double (*dabqur*, i.e. manifold) and

quite distinct (*qaqas qaqas*) tasks (*yabudaltan*, i.e. duties), the reason why We say, "Let them not go on military campaign without Us and separately" is such (= this).'

234 'Some of the night-guards shall decide on judicial matters together with Shigi-qutuqu,' lit. 'As to judicial matters with S.-q., let *some* from *among* the night-guards hear judicial matters together *with him*' (*S.-q.-lu'a jarqu kebte'ül-eche jarqu sonosulchatuqai*), i.e. officers from the night-guards shall be appointed to assist Shigi-qutuqu in hearing legal cases and passing judgment. Shigi-qutuqu, as we have already seen (§203 and note), had earlier been appointed supreme judge (*jarghuchi*). 'Quivers, bows, breastplates and weapons (*jebe*)'; the word *jebe* has two meanings: 1) a particular type of arrow (§147 and note), and 2) 'weapons' in general (including arrows). Cf. Doerfer, No.156, and Khomonov in *Trudy Bur. Inst. Obshch. Nauk BF SO AN SSSR* 13 (1970), 39 (*q.v.* also for remarks on *quyaq* 'breastplate, armour'). Although there is some ambiguity in the Chinese sectional summary (*YCPS* 10, 10a), which speaks of 'arrows and weapons,' I follow the interlinear gloss and render *jebe* as 'weapons,' as most of the other translators have also done. 'The *hunting* nets' (*hö'öshin* = Writ. Mong. *ögeshin*) were nets, or snares, for catching birds and other animals. The 'a'oga' of Haenisch (*Mangḫol un niuca tobca'an*, p.78, §234, and *Wörterbuch*, p.8) is an incorrect reading due to a faulty Chinese transcription of the original Mongol word. *A'urasun* 'satin' corresponds to Writ. Mong. *aghurasun* 'chattels, belongings, possessions' (Lessing, p.18a); cf. *aghurasutai* 'having possessions, rich' (*ibid.*, p.1197a). This word occurs but seldom in ancient texts. On the commanders of the quiver-bearers and the day-guards, and on Arqai's 'brave warriors' (*ba'atut*) mentioned in this section, see §§225-227, 230. The ordinance regarding the stationing of the night-guards near the ordo, on the left side, has been inadvertently omitted in the text edited by Ligeti; see his *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p.203, first line. 'The tent-carts of the Palace' (*ordo ger tergen*); some scholars, including Ligeti (p.108, §234) and Cleaves (*HJAS* 18 [1955], 37, n.26), separate *ordo* from *ger tergen* and translate 'the palace (*ordo*) and the tent-carts.' However, *ordo ger tergen* = *ordo-yin ger tergen*, as is clearly shown by the examples quoted by Cleaves in the same note, and by his own translation of the passage in §278 (*loc.cit.*). 'Constantly' (*darun*); on this term, a fossilized modal converb of *daru-* 'to press' used adverbially, see Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 24. 'Scraps of leftovers' renders Mongolian *qoq* (= *qogh*). The

literal meaning of the Chinese interlinear gloss is 'cuttings of grass' (草 芻) but the actual meaning is 'sweepings, scraps, remnants of food, garbage,' which we find in the living dialects and the literary language. This word is a borrowing from Uighur Turkish *qogh* 'dust, dirt, ashes.' See *Drevnetyurkskiĭ slovar'*, pp.452b, 457a; Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p.609a. The word for 'dried dung' (to be used for fuel) is here *qoma'ul*, which alliterates with *qoq*. *Qoma'ul* (= *qomaghul*) corresponds to Writ. Mong. *qomoghol*, *qomool*, *qomol* (=*qomōl*) id. (mainly used with reference to horse, donkey and mule dung); see Kowalewski, p.936a; Lessing, p.961a; *Mongghol kitad toli*, p.659a-b. The ordinances in this section provide for the security of the qan's ordo by distributing the reorganized detachments of night-guards, cherbis, quiver-bearers and day-guards around it. This enables us to get a much clearer picture of the topography of the Mongol camp. The right (or western) side of the ordo - the entrance of which faced south - was jointly guarded by the quiver-bearers of Yisün-te'e and Bükidei or Bügidei (see §§225,230), and by the day-guards under the command of Alchidai, Ögele and Aqutai (see §§226, 227, 230). The left (or eastern) side was guarded by the day-guards led by Buqa, Dödei-cherbi, Doqolqu-cherbi and Chanai (see §§226, 227). In front of the ordo, i.e. on the southern side, were deployed the élite guards of Arqai-qasar (see §§226, 230). Dödei-cherbi was moreover appointed to control all the day-guards on duty, as well as the numerous auxiliary personnel attached to the ordo, an office that obviously carried great responsibility. Further details on the organization of the Mongol camp can be gleaned from the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*, 20b-21a. See E. Haenisch, Yao Ts'ung-wu, P. Olbricht and E. Pinks, *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh. Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237* (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp.185-186.

235 The Qarluq Turks (on whom see note to §151) had already been mentioned in §198 in connection with the flight to Central Asia of Güchülük, i.e. Küchlüg, the Naiman prince son of Tayang-qan. Their chief Arslan ('Lion')-qan (this may have been a royal title, rather than his name), who ruled in Qayaliq or Qayaligh in the lower Ili valley (identified with the site of Dungin, 18km SW of Taldy-Kurgan in S. Kazakhstan), was wise enough to submit peacefully to Qubilai-noyan, thus becoming a subordinate ally of the Mongols. In reward - and to seal their alliance - Chinggis gave him one of his daughters in marriage, thus making him a 'son-in-law' (*güregen*). He did the same with the rulers

of the Uighur and Önggüt Turks, who had also not 'rebelled' (see §238 and note to §182). On the Mongol concept of 'rebellion,' i.e. refusal to submit voluntarily to their authority, see I. de Rachewiltz in *PFEH* 7 (March 1973), 21-36. Upon Arslan's submission, Chinggis renamed him 'Arslan the Mohammedan' (Arslan-sartaqtai). See Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, p.151. For the background of Arslan's submission, see Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.74-77. According to the Chinese sources and to Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.163, Arslan-qan's submission took place in the spring of the Year of the Sheep (1211). See Naka, *Chingisu-kan jitsuroku* (1907 ed.), p.390; cf. V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, tr. by V. and T. Minorsky, I (Leiden, 1956), p.33. Qubilai-noyan is, of course, the leader of a thousand of the Barulas. See §§202 (no.8), 209. As for the identity of Chinggis' daughter, it is noteworthy that her name is not given in any of the sources, whereas the princesses given to the rulers of the Uighurs (§238) and the Önggüt (§239) are named. An imperial princess called Töre is given in *YS* 109, p.2761d, as being the wife of Yesü-buqa, son of Arslan. Chinggis is not known to have had a daughter by that name. It is difficult to say, therefore, whether she was the daughter who went to Yesü-buqa after Arslan-qan's death. See *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 151, 5b-6a.

236 In §199 it is related how in the Year of the Ox, i.e. 1205, Chinggis sent Sübe'etei - 'he with an iron cart' (see my note to §199) - in pursuit of Toqto'a's sons, of whom two are mentioned in the present passage: Qutu, i.e. Qudu or, better, Qodu, and Chila'un or Chilawun (on these names see n.198). As I explained in my note, the date is wrong as this event must be placed *s.a.* 1216/1217. The same error occurs with regard to the next event (§237). The 'Chui river' is the Chu in present-day Kazakhstan, already mentioned in §§152, 177 and 198. The Mongol army sent against the Merkit remnants headed by Qodu was led by Jochi and Sübe'etei. Qodu was first defeated at the Chu and, finally, at a place that the Chinese sources call Yü-yü 玉峪 (= ?Yūghūr), in the Qipchaq territory whither Qodu and his followers had fled. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp.369-371. 'Destroyed them and came *back*' (*muqutqaju irebe*); the verb *muqutqa-* (= *muqudqa-*, a causative of **muqud-*) 'to destroy, bring to an end,' occurs frequently in the *SH* (see Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.111, and my *Index to the Secret History*, p.268b). In his recent article 'Yüan-tai yüan-p'ai liang-chung chih k'ao-shih 元代圓牌兩種之考釋 ' (Investigation and Interpretation of Two Round Tablets of the Yüan Period) in *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究

1980:4, 124-132, the Chinese historian Ts'ai Mei-piao 蔡美彪 claims that this verb, in the form *muqudi-* appears also in a 'Phags-pa inscription on a round *p'ai-tzu* 牌子 discovered in Yang-chou 揚州 in 1962 during demolition work on the old wall of the city dating from the Yüan. This interesting and unique *p'ai-tzu* contains on one face a double inscription consisting of a line in Mongolian in 'Phags-pa script and a line in Persian in Arabic-Persian script. See the illustration (II) in Ts'ai, *op.cit.*, p.132. Ts'ai (p.130) reads the Mongolian text as *muqu diqu gereé*, which he translates as '[contraveners] will certainly be destroyed' (必誅滅), taking *muqu diqu*, i.e. *muqudiqu*, as corresponding to *muqutqa-*, and *gereé* to *ereé* with the force of an imperative. Ts'ai also claims that this death threat is confirmed by the Persian text. The latter consists of three words, of which Ts'ai (*loc.cit.*) reads only the third one as *kusht* 'to be killed, put to death' (被殺，處死). In my opinion Ts'ai has misunderstood both texts. The Mongolian inscription reads *muquriqu k'ere·e* (= *gere'e, gerege*) 'tablet (= *p'ai-tzu*) to go round about,' i.e. authorizing the holder to travel and return to the point of departure availing himself of the government post network and facilities. For *muquri-* see the *SH* §278; Haenisch, *loc.cit.*; for *gerege*, see Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 255-259. The Persian text reads *bi'llāh. šab gašt*, lit. 'By God. Night going round about [tablet].' (The punctuation is mine.) Cf. the Persian text of the Mongolian-Persian-Chinese *p'ai-tzu* reproduced in *Haneda Hakushi shigaku rombunshū* 羽田博士史學論文集 (*Recueil des oeuvres posthumes de Tōru Haneda*), I (Kyoto, 1957), Pl.V, where the words *šab gašt* also occur, in combination with *lauḥ* 'tablet,' in the Persian text of the inscription: *lauḥ[i] šab gašt* 'tablet [of] night going round about,' i.e. 'tablet authorizing [the holder] to go round about at night.' I have discussed in detail the 'Phags-pa inscription on the Yang-chou *p'ai-tzu* in a forthcoming article to appear in *AOH*.

237 Jebe's expedition against Güchülük (= Küchlüg), already briefly referred to in §202, actually took place in 1218. Again we have here an error of a full twelve-year cycle (1206 for 1218). For the various accounts of Küchlüg's death, see Juvaini, *op.cit.*, pp.66-68; Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.183-184; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp.400-403; Grousset, *L'empire mongol*, pp.224-225, and *L'empire des steppes*, pp.294-296; Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society*, p.654. The place where Küchlüg met his death is called in the *SH* 'Sariq-qun' - a Turkish-Mongol hybrid meaning 'Yellow Cliff' (*sariq*= Tu. *sarïgh* 'yellow').

As already pointed out by Pelliot (*TP* 27 [1930], 55), the name of the place found in the Persian sources as well as in the corresponding passage of the *AT* (II, 20, l.11; cf. *SHA*, p.167) is Sariq-qol (= Sarïgh-ghool), i.e. 'Yellow River.' This, in turn, may be an error for Sarïgh-köl (or Sar-i köl), the 'Yellow Lake,' i.e. Lake Victoria or Zor Kul (Zorkul') in the Pamir, on the Tadzhikistan-Afghanistan border, in the same region (the valley of the Pamir river) where Küchlüg is supposed to have been captured by local hunters and delivered to Jebe's horsemen. On the other hand, the Sarikol Range at the eastern edge of the Pamir cannot be excluded, even though this location seems too far to the east. The identification remains, therefore, uncertain. For a discussion of the problem, see Boyle in Juvaini, *op.cit.*, pp.67-68, n.18. Sübe'etei's and Jebe's missions in Central Asia in 1216/1217 and 1218 respectively put the Mongols directly in contact with the Khwarezmian empire and were a prelude to the great Western Campaign launched by Chinggis-qan soon after their return to Mongolia. The first clash between the Khwarezmian troops of the Shāh Muḥammad and the Mongols led by Jochi and Sübe'etei apparently took place in 1216/1217 in the course of the Mongol campaign against Qodu in Qipchaq country, between the rivers Qaili and Qaimich (? Irghiz and Turghai). See Juvaini, pp.69-70, 370-373; Barthold, *op.cit.*, p.371; and *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, I, p.36.

238 *Idu'ut* was the title of the Uighur ruler. The Mongol written form was *idughud* (> *idu'ut*), a form confirmed by the *AT* II, 20, l.12 (cf. *SHA*, p.167), which corresponds to Uighur Turkish *ïduqut*; in other preclassical texts we find the *lectio plena idugh qut* (see, e.g., Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 [1949], 73b), corresponding to Uighur *ïduq qut* (> *ïduqut*) 'the sacred favour (of Heaven)' or 'divine majesty.' On this title, see Doerfer, No.1936. See also *Drevnetyurkskiĭ slovar'*, p.217b; Clauson, *Etym. Dictionary*, p.46a. 'Uighur' - as in previous occurrences of the name (§§152, 177) the text has 'Ui'ut,' a plural of Ui'ur, Uiqur (= Uighur, cf. n.151), thus, lit. 'the Uighurs.' The ruler of the Uighur state who in 1209 submitted voluntarily to Chinggis-qan was Barchuq-art-tegin. On his name, see Cleaves, *op.cit.*, p.100, n.28. For bibliographical references to Barchuq, see *ibid.*, p.43, n.29; see also Hambis, *Le Chapitre cviii du Yuan che*, p.133, n.9. His capital was Besh-baliq, lit. 'Five Cities' (Besh-baligh, Bish-baligh in Mongolian; Pei-t'ing 北庭 or 'Northern Court' in Chinese), northwest of present Guchen, or Kuchengtze, in Sinkiang. See I. de

Rachewiltz in *MS* 21 (1962), 48, n.56. That this, and not Qara-qocho (Qara-khoja, east of Turfan), was his residence is clearly stated in Juvaini, *op.cit.*, p.47. Barchuq's submission to, and subsequent relations with, Chinggis-qan are related in Juvaini, pp.44-48, and Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, pp.147-149; I/2, pp.152-154, as well as in the Chinese sources. For a discussion of these relations, see the recent important contribution of Th. T. Allsen, 'The Yüan Dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th Century' (unpublished paper presented to the Conference on Multistate Relations in East Asia, 10th-13th Centuries, Issaquah, Wash., July 1978). Our sources, however, do not agree on the names of the envoys sent by Barchuq to Chinggis. In the *SH* their names are given as At-kiraq (*AT*: Adkiragh; see *SHA*, p.167) and Darbai. Pelliot suggested a possible emendation of At-kirak into At-buiruq (*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p.93, n.1), but gives no reason. I read Atkiraq (= Adgiraq < Turkish *adghiraq* 'a young stallion') following L. Bese in *AOH* 32 (1978), 356, no.5, which is supported by the *AT* reading. Cf. Clauson, *op. cit.*, p.49a. The discrepancies between the *SH* and the Persian sources are discussed by Boyle in Juvaini, p.45, n.9; cf. also Ligeti, pp.176-177, n.238; Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*, III, pp.85-86, n.8. The confusion is largely due to the fact that there was an exchange of envoys from both sides on more than one occasion. 'Mother sun' (*eke naran*); on the epithet *eke* 'mother,' given to deities that are personifications of nature, such as the Earth, cf. Mostaert in *Oriente Poliano* (Roma, 1957), pp. 99, 101, n.8; and in *UAS* 13 (1962), 201. 'Came upon,' lit. 'found.' For the 'mot-couple' *nere aldar* 'name-fame' = 'fame,' cf. Mostaert et Cleaves, *Les Lettres*, p.31. 'A thread from your crimson coat,' lit. 'a shred (*hürtesün*) from the crimson coat.' *Hürtesün* = Writ. Mong. *ürtesü(n)*, *üredesü(n)* 'scrap, shred, rag, etc.' See Lessing, p.1011b. In Mongolian medieval terminology 'to become a son' meant 'to become a subject or vassal,' and it is in this sense that Barchuq employs this expression; see Mostaert, p.209. 'In reply ... sent the following message,' lit. 'sent saying in reply ... when he sent saying.' 'He came and paid homage,' lit. 'the idu'ut came and paid homage.' For *a'ulja-* 'to pay homage, greet a superior, have an audience with,' see Mostaert, p.223. The daughter of Chinggis-qan who was given in marriage to Barchuq is called Al-altun in the *SH*, a reading only partly confirmed by the *AT* (II, 21, l.8: Ilqaltun-beki; cf. Shastina, p.183: Ilghaltun-begi). Ligeti's emendation 'Al-altun-beki' in *SHA*, p.168, is, therefore, unwarranted, since the *AT* reading, faulty though it undoubtedly is, might represent Il(or El)-qatun or Il(or El)-

-altun. See Pelliot, *Recherches*, p.128 *in fine*. A comparison of the various forms of the name in the Persian and Chinese sources indicates that her name was probably Altan ('Gold') in Mongolian and Altun ('Gold') or El(∿ Il)-altun ('Peace-Gold') in Turkish; and she bore, of course, the title of *begi* or princess. Cf. Boyle's remarks in Juvaini, p.47, n.17; Ligeti, p.176, n.238. See also Huang Wen-pi 黃文弼 in *Wen wu* 文物 160, 2 (1964), 34, and [40], l.11. On the Turkish name Altun, see J.R. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties* (Paris, 1955), pp.145-146, no.2; Pelliot in *TP* 37 (1943-4), 175. The name Al-altun of the *SH* appears to be a 'mongolized' form (*el→al*) of her Turkish name. According to Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.70, she was the fifth and favourite daughter of Chinggis-qan. Cf. *YS* 109, p.2760a. Tracing the marriages of Mongol imperial princesses with the Uighur princes is obfuscated by premature deaths and demands further research. See Ligeti, *loc.cit.*, and Murakami, *op.cit.*, p.87, n.10.

239 This section has been translated in full and richly annotated by Paul Pelliot in *Notes critiques d'histoire kalmouke*, pp.5, 55-64. See also the commentaries in Ligeti, p.177, n.239, and Murakami, *op.cit.*, pp.92-104. As pointed out by Pelliot, the account of the expedition against the 'people of the forests' (*hoi-yin irgen*) and other tribes inhabiting the region of the Irtysh, Angara and Yenissei (Kem) rivers is in reality a conflation of two separate events dated 1207/1208 and 1218/1219 respectively. The voluntary submission of Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat and his tribe, the Tümen('Ten Thousand')-Oyirat, belongs to the former date, whereas Jochi's expedition (with the participation of Buqa) against the rebellious forest tribes belongs to the latter. Quduqa-beki had previously allied himself with Jamuqa, the Naimans and the Merkits (see §§141-144). His territory was the region along the Shishgid-gol (the 'Shisgis' of §144 and the 'Shiqshit' of our §239; see below), just west of Lake Khubsugul (Hövsgöl-nuur) and flowing into the Dod (Dood-nuur); however, it must have extended considerably to the southwest. When the army led by Chinggis-qan, Jochi and others moved in 1208 against the Naiman and Merkit forces assembled in NW Mongolia, its vanguard (possibly led by Jochi) reached Quduqa's territory, whereupon Quduqa not only submitted without resistance, but also agreed to guide the Mongol army to the place where his former allies had in the meantime gathered, i.e. the Irtysh/Bukhtarma area about 700-800km to the immediate southwest. The famous battle on the Irtysh, the death of Toqto'a and the rout of the Naiman-Merkit army are vividly

recounted in §198 of the *SH*. At this stage of the operations, there is no possibility of another major expedition much further north in the Angara-Yenissei region against the forest tribes, involving Boroqul and Dörbei, as well as Jochi. Of these tribes, the Kirghiz (in our text: Kirgisüt, pl. of Kirgis) had offered their submission to Chinggis in 1207, following a Mongol embassy there. Rashīd says that they revolted twelve years later and that Jochi was sent to subjugate them. Jochi crossed the frozen Selenga and Yenissei rivers, and brought the Kirghiz and their neighbouring tribes (Urāsut, Telengüt, Kestimi, etc.) back to allegiance. Surely, the Khirgiz' revolt and Jochi's campaign of 1218/1219 were directly related to the reverse suffered by Boroqul and his death in 1217 during the campaign against the Qori-Tumat. The latter had apparently refused to acknowledge Mongol suzerainty over their people and had seized Qorchi-noyan and Quduqa-beki (§241). Boroqul and Dörbei-doqshin were sent to deal with them, but Boroqul was killed in an ambush. The *SH* (§240) makes Dörbei successfully complete the subjugation of the Tumat. According to other accounts, the Mongols asked the help of the Khirgiz against the Tumat, but they refused, whereupon Jochi was sent to bring all the rebellious forest tribes into submission: this, then, is the winter 1218/1219 expedition, with Buqa leading the vanguard. Kirghiz, Tumat and other 'people of the forests' were brought into submission. This final campaign is the one referred to in the present section of the *SH*, *s.a.* 1207. The *SH* chronology and presentation of facts for all these events is quite unreliable. The reference to a rebellion that took place exactly twelve years later, as well as repetitions in the *SH* account, make us suspect, of course, that we have here the same error of a full twelve-year cycle that occurs also in the previous sections (§§231 and 237). Cf. Pelliot, *op.cit.*, p.60, n.58. However, there is also a strong possibility that these events have been purposely anticipated, or brought forward, in the *SH*. I will discuss all these problems in detail in a forthcoming article 'On Some Problems Concerning Činggis-qan's Campaigns in Mongolia, Siberia and Central Asia.' According to Pelliot, p.57, n.30, Shiqshit - the place where the Oyirats' submission took place - may refer to either campaign; but in my opinion it can only refer to the 1208 submission of Quduqa-beki prior to the expedition to the Irtysh. In the interlinear version Shiqshit is glossed as 'a place name.' However, as stated by L. Hambis in *JA* (1956), 286-287, and Perlee, p.10, this is undoubtedly the Shishgid-gol, already mentioned as 'Shisgis' in §144 in connection with Quduqa-beki's movements. Shiqshit

(Shigshit) is a metathetic form. For final *d∿s*, see Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, p.109. The *AT* has the corrupted forms Sigsigh and Singsing; see *SHA*, pp.100, 168. According to §207, Qorchi was given authority over the 'people of the forests' from his base on the Irtysh, and was ordered to bring these people under control - obviously not an easy task judging by later developments, Mongol authority over the whole region between the Irtysh, the Yenissei, the Angara and the Selenga being still rather loose. The Tö'ölös and Telengüt people were also to form part of Qorchi's new myriarchy. Qorchi is mentioned again in §241, but only in connection with the submission of the Qori-Tumat. We do not know which Buqa is the one mentioned as Jochi's guide. Some scholars, such as Wang Kuo-wei and Ligeti, believe that Muqali's younger brother is meant; others claim that he is to be identified with Buqa-güregen (no.81 in the list in §202). See Pelliot's comments, *op.cit.*, p.56, n.37; subsequently, however, Pelliot took the view that this Buqa was 'probably' Muqali's brother. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.370. For the verb *qajarchila-* 'to accompany someone to show him the way,' see Cleaves in *HJAS* 19 (1956), 394, n.17. Quduqa-beki, the chief of the Tümen-Oyirat, is known also as the father of a son who married a daughter of Chinggis-qan (see below), and of a daughter called Oghul-qaimish - not to be confused with the homonymous wife of Güyüg - who married Möngke-qaghan. Quduqa eventually became one of the leaders of a thousand of the right wing in Chinggis' army - his chiliarchy, recruited from Oyirat tribesmen, numbering four thousand men. See Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.269. As noted by Pelliot, *op.cit.*, n.38, *tümen* 'ten thousand' is merely an epithet prefixed to names of tribes; cf. Tümen-Tübegen ('the Ten Thousand Tübegen'), Olon-Dongqayit ('the Numerous Dongqayit'), etc. The Oyirat are, of course, the historical Oirat ancestors of the Kalmyk, and the Buriyat the ancestors of the modern Buriat. The Barqun (the plural form Barqut is the one used by Rashīd al-Dīn) are to be identified with the ancestors of the present-day Bargu-Buriat, a subdivision of the Buriat. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.288-289. The Ursut (Rashīd al-Dīn's Urāsut) lived apparently next to the Kirghiz and the Qabqanas (∿ Qamqanas), whose territory was at the very sources of the Yenissei. The Tuba are the ancestors of the modern Tuba, the so-called Black Forest Tatars, of the Autonomous Altai Mountain Region (Gorno-Alt. Avt. Oblast). As Pelliot pointed out, the Kirgis (= Turkish Qïrqïz) are the 'true' Kirghiz, not those sometimes referred to as Kirghiz, but who are in reality Kazakh. Their territory at the time

was 'five post-stations' from that of the Oyirat, beyond the Yenissei. 'Their leaders,' lit. 'the leaders of the Kirgisüt.' Yedi-inal and Aldi-er's mission is mentioned in the *YS* 1, p.14, *s.a.* 1207; cf. also the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 57b-58a. The names Yedi-inal ('Seven' + the tribal chief's title *ïnal*), Aldi-er ('Six Men') and Örebek-digin ('Prince Örebek') are Turkish. For the title *ïnal*, see P. Zieme in *Türk Dili Araştızma Yıllığı-Belleten* (1977), 72-73, 79. The Shibir are the Sibir (Rashīd al-Dīn's Ibir-Sibir) beyond the Kirghiz and further north in NW Siberia. The Kesdim are the Kestimi or Keshtimi of Rashīd al-Dīn. 'Tenlek' is a mistake for Teleng, pl. Telengüt (cf. §207), the modern Telengit in the Autonomous Altai Region. The Tö'eles (∿Tö'ölös; cf. §207), are the Tölesh, another Turkic tribe of the Altai. The Bajigit correspond to the Bashgirt, i.e. the modern Bashkir. The other names listed in §239 cannot be easily identified. For the above identifications and further literature on the subject, see Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp.57-60, nn.40-57; *idem*, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, pp.141-142 and notes. For the distribution of the tribes, see Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, pp.121-123, 150-151. The most recent study of these tribes, largely based on Pelliot's works, but making use also of new material drawn from Chinese sources, is Han Ju-lin's paper in *Chung-kuo shih yen-chiu* (*Zhongguo shi yanjiu*) 中國史研究 1 (1979), 108-126. On the Qabqanas∿ Qamqanas, see the interesting article by Cleaves in *HJAS* 19 (1956), 390-406, containing also important notes on some of the other forest people mentioned in this section. On the Qabqanas, Telengüt and Tuqas, see L. Hambis in R. Jacobson and S. Kawamoto (eds), *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics* (Tokyo, 1970), pp.175-179; for the Qabqanas, Telengüt and Ursut, cf. the same author in *JA* 245 (1957), 25-36. See also §207 of the *SH*, where some of these tribes are mentioned in connection with Qorchi's appointment. Most of the tribes mentioned in these sections were, at least predominantly, Turkish-speaking. Checheyigen, the second daughter of Chinggis-qan according to Rashid-ad-Din (I/2, p.70), was given to the Oyirat chief to cement the alliance. This chief was Quduqa-beki's eldest son Inalchi according to the *SH* account or, if we follow Rashid-ad-Din (I/1, p.119; I/2, p.70), his younger son Törölchi. The *YS* (109, p.2762) supports the latter source. According to the *YS* and other Chinese sources, Princess Qolui (Qoluiqan is the diminutive and endearment form), a granddaughter of Chinggis, was married to one Qada. The disagreement between the various sources has been discussed by Pelliot, *Notes critiques*, pp.61-62, n.59. The name Inalchi is Turkish

and may represent an original Ïnalchïq, or even Ïnanch, both names deriving from official titles. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.102; Clauson, *Etym. Dictionary*, pp.184b, 187a; Doerfer, No.669; cf. also Grousset, *L'empire mongol*, p.486. For the name Checheyigen~Checheyiken, see L. Bese in *AOH* 32 (1978), 365, no.15. In spite of Bese's remarks, I think Poucha is correct in regarding this name as a diminutive form of *checheg* 'flower.' See Poucha, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal*, p.83. According to Vladimirtsov, the suffix *-qan/-ken* functions not only as a diminutive, but also as a feminine ending. See his 'Sledy grammaticeskogo roda v mongol'skom yazyke,' in *Dokl. Akad. Nauk* (Leningrad), 1925, pp.31-34. Cf. also the name Jimisken-qatun, (Dayan-qaghan's) 'Fruit Lady,' in the Inscription of Tsaghan Baishing. See G. Huth, *Die Inschriften von Tsaghan Baišiṅ* (Leipzig, 1894), p.31, l.6. (I owe these two references to Prof. Poppe.) The reference to Chinggis' daughter Alaqa-beki (read, as usual, 'begi') being given in marriage to the ruler of the Önggüt, although historically correct is not actually related to the events described in this section, viz. the submission of the 'people of the forests.' It has clearly been added, for the sake of completeness, in the context of marriage alliances concluded by Chinggis-qan. The alliance with the Önggüt raises many problems that have been discussed at length by Pelliot in *Notes critiques*, pp.63-64, n.60; and *Recherches*, pp.263-267. Cf. also Grousset, *op.cit.*, pp.491-494, and the recent investigations by Chou Ch'ing-shu 周清澍 and Hung Yung-pin 洪用斌 in *Chung-kuo Meng-ku shih-hsüeh-hui ch'eng-li ta-hui chi-nien chi-k'an* 中國蒙古史學會成立大會紀念集刊 (Huhehot, 1979), pp.147-206, 207-229. Princess Alaqa, or Alaqai, married the Önggüt prince Jinguê, the nephew of Alaqush-digit-quri (on whom see §§182, 190) in 1207 or 1211. Alaqa was then about twenty years old. The passage 'You, eldest of my sons ... fortunate "people of the forests"' has been translated and discussed by Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 106-107, n.64; 530-531. Cf. Mostaert et Cleaves, *Les Lettres*, p.31. 'You have been lucky,' lit. 'you have had good "way" (*mör*).' For *mör* 'way' = 'luck,' see Mostaert *apud* Cleaves, *HJAS* 12 (1949), 107, n.64. The use of the term 'fortunate' (*öljeitü*) with reference to the 'people of the forests' may sound strange, but it is appropriate because, by submitting as they did, they were not only spared death and destruction, but their chiefs also became closely related to the Mongol ruling family through marriage. No greater fortune could befall a subject of Chinggis-qan.

240 The Tumat or Qori-Tumat (for the reading Tumat *v.* Tümet, see Pelliot in *JA*[1920], 175) of northern Mongolia were mentioned at the beginning of the *SH* (§§8 and 9) in connection with their chief Qorilartai-mergen, the husband of Barqujin-qo'a and father of Alan-qo'a. They lived on the southwestern shore of Lake Baikal and in the forest region between this lake and Lake Kubsugul. Rashid-ad-Din (I/1, p.122) places them in the Barqujin-tögüm, i.e. further east, in the region between the Selenga and Barguzin rivers. The association between the Tumat and the Barqujin territory is confirmed, *inter alia*, by the very name of Qorilartai-mergen's daughter. We must, therefore, assume that this forest tribe was scattered over a wide area at the time. The campaign against the Tumat and the death of Boroqul (Boro'ul) must be placed *s.a.* 1217. See Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.178 (cf. also *ibid.*, pp.255-256), where the account of these events is at variance with the *SH* version. Cf. Ligeti, p.177, n.240; Cleaves in *HJAS* 19 (1956), 393-394 and n.12; and my forthcoming paper 'On Some Problems.' *Soqor* ('blind') and *tarqun* ('fat') are clearly disparaging epithets given by the Mongols to the Tumat chief Daiduqul and his widow Botoqui. 'Was governing them,' lit. 'was governing the Tumat people.' 'In the evening'; for the expression *üde jilda* = *jilda* 'evening,' see Mostaert, pp.172-173. 'In the thick forest,' lit. 'in the difficult (*berke*) forest.' 'And were off guard,' lit. 'without realizing (*or* unaware).' *Uqamsar* < *uqam* 'intellect' + the suffix *-sar* (= English '-less'). For *uqam* (< *uqa-* 'to understand' + deverbal nom. suffix *-m*), cf. *gharum* 'ford' (< *ghar-* 'to go out, pass; to ford a river'). In the later literary language, the function of *-sar* was forgotten and *uqamsar* was used with *ügei* to express the same idea. See Lessing, p.892a. The suffix *-sar* = Chuvash *-săr*, Turkic *-sïz*. (Personal communication from Prof. Poppe.) Cf. G.J. Ramstedt in *Mémoires de la Societé Finno-Ougrienne* 98 (1950), 260. 'And prepared to move'; for the verb *tu'urbi-* 'to prepare oneself, to get ready (to do something),' see Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 474-475. 'Pleaded with him,' lit. 'persuaded Chinggis-qa'an.' Dörbei-doqshin, i.e. Dörbei the Terrible, of the Dörben tribe reappears in §261. On him, see Pelliot's remarks in Pelliot-Hambis, p.402. The expression *hoqtorqui erbegelje'ül-* designates the well-known tactic of moving troops to feign an attack from a certain direction, while the main army makes a detour and attacks from the direction where the enemy least expects it. The Chinese interlinear translation glosses this expression as 'to make pretence (*or* a false display, an empty demonstration)' (虛張形勢) - in order to deceive

someone. As for the literal meaning of the Mongol expression, *hoqtorqui* (= Writ. Mong. *oghtorqui, oghtarqui*) means 'sky, firmament, atmosphere; void, empty'; hence 'vain, false, in a simulated way.' *Erbegelje'ül-* is the causative of *erbegelje-*, a deverbal verb of motion in *-lje-* (*/-lja-*) from **erbege-*. Although **erbege-* is, I think, unattested as such, it corresponds to Writ. Mong. *erbeyi-* (∿ **erbeye-* ∿ **erbege-*) 'to bristle, jut out unevenly; to move' (Lessing, p.319b; *Mongghol kitad toli*, p.152c); cf. Kalmuck *erwē-* 'to be lively, flutter, actively move, swing' (Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wört.*, p.127a-b). Haenisch's *Wörterbuch* (p.44) has 'erbegelje'ulgu (erbegeje'ulgu ?)' followed by the Chinese interlinear gloss. Pelliot, *Histoire secrète*, p.94, transcribes '*ärbägäl ǰä'ülǰü*[2],' and in n.2 on the same page '*ärbägäläǰä'ülǰü* ?'. Kozin (*Sokr. skazanie*, pp.565, 583) relates this word to Writ. Mong. *'erbelče-'* (= *erbelje-*) 'to flit, flutter, move swiftly' (see Lessing, p.319b). Cf. Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*, III, p.104, n.22. In my view, Kozin is correct and *SH erbegelje-* > *erbe'elje-* > *erbēlje-* (= Writ. Mong. *erbelje-*). Cf. Kalmuck *erwlz̊-* 'to flutter, crawl, swarm (of insects); to move swiftly' (Ramstedt, p.127b; Munev, *Kalm.-russkiĭ slovar'*, p.701b). Thus, the meaning of *hoqtorqui erbegelje'ül-* is 'to make a false (= simulated) *troop* movement (lit. "falsely to cause *troops* to move"),' i.e. 'to make a decoy movement *or* manœuvre.' In view of the above, Haenisch's '(erbegeje'ulgu ?),' which is due to the incomplete transcription of the word in Yeh Te-hui's edition of the *SH*, must no longer be retained, and the same applies to the question mark on p.137, l.9417, and the two references to 'erbegeje'üljü' on p.224a of my *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*. 'To advance,' lit. 'to go.' 'By tracks trodden *only* by the red bull' (*hula'an buqa-yin yabuqsan mör-iyer*); these words occur again a few lines further down and all between is parenthetical. However, for stylistic purposes I have had to break the long passage into separate sentences. The interpretation of the expression *hula'an buqa*, lit. 'red bull (*or* ox)' presents some difficulties. It is certainly not a place name, as some scholars (e.g. Wei Kwei Sun) have taken it to be, owing to a misinterpretation of the Chinese sectional summary. The reference is undoubtedly to a particular animal: it was the tracks made by these animals in the mountain forest that the Mongol soldiers followed, enlarging them as they went by felling trees, etc., so as to allow the army to get through and reach the top of the mountain, and fall upon the Tumats encamped on the other side of the range. To identify the animal with a wild ox or buffalo, as many have done (e.g. Naka, Haenisch,

Kozin, Ligeti, Murakami, Yao/Jagchid), is a mistake, for this animal did not inhabit this part of northern Mongolia. Since these events took place in the mountain taiga and forest region of the Baikal, the animal in question was almost certainly one of the large species of deer that still inhabit the area. In my view there are only two possibilities: the Manchurian red deer (*Cervus elaphus xanthopygos*) and the larger elk (*Alces alces*), both common in the Barguzin district. *Hula'an* (Writ. Mong. *ulaghan*) 'red' may also designate various shades of brown. See Poppe in *The Canada-Mongolia Review* 3, 2 (1977), 125-126. Cf. *Mukaddimat al-Adab*, p.363a: *ulān görēsün* 'deer' (lit. 'red wild animal'), and Buriat *ulaan gürööhen* 'summer or red roe-deer' (Cheremisov, p.466b). 'Carry ten rods,' lit. 'carry ten rods on the back.' For some interesting remarks on the words *uqali* 'adze,' *shi'üchi* 'chisel' and *jer jebsek* 'weapons,' see Khomonov, *op.cit.*, pp.37, 38. '*As though falling* from the smoke-hole of the tents'; for this metaphor, cf. §§105 and 109. See Mostaert, p.46. 'They *took them* by surprise,' lit. 'unprepared' (*genet*). On *genet*, a plural of *genen* 'unprepared for something unexpected,' see *ibid.*, pp.87-88. As noted by Ligeti, p.177, n.240, the *SH* account of the second campaign against the Tumat has a strong epic flavour.

241 In §207 it is related how Qorchi, in reward for his services, got permission from Chinggis-qan to take thirty maidens from among the people who had submitted to the Mongols. In the same section Qorchi had also been entrusted by Chinggis with the creation of a myriarchy drawn from various forest tribes. Neither his capture by the Tumat, nor that of Quduqa-beki by the same people, had been mentioned before. The narrative of these events is somewhat fragmentary and, as we have already seen, chronologically out of order. Since this is also the case with the *AT* text of the *SH*, the 'disarrangement' of the material must have occurred at an early date. In my forthcoming paper 'On Some Problems' I have discussed the possible reasons why the events in question are misplaced in the *SH*. 'Because of the death,' lit. 'because of the bones' (*yasun-u tula*). Cf. the expressions *yasu bari-*, lit. 'to hold (seize, take) the bones' = 'to bury' (§201); *yasun talbi'ul-*, lit. 'to lay the bones' = 'to bury' (§175). See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.169. This way of referring to the death of a person must be rooted in the shamanistic beliefs of the Mongols and in the tendency to avoid direct references to death. Also, as stated earlier (n.201), bones were regarded as one of the seats of the human soul (or souls ?) and had, therefore, noumenous connotations.

For the grant of slaves to the family of a fallen hero, cf. the case of Quyildar, to whose widow and children Chinggis-qan had also given one hundred people taken from the Jirgin tribe (§185). Boroqul's death is related in §240.

242 'Gathering the people' (*ulus quriya'an*), i.e. rallying the clansmen and subjects who had become disaffected after the death of Yisügei. See §73. However, I think that Chinggis may also allude here to the support and advice he received from his mother during the arduous years when his authority was being established over all the tribes of Mongolia. The distribution of subjects among members of his family is mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn, but Rashīd's figures are at variance with those given by the *SH* and at times the difference is quite considerable. Chinese sources such as the *YS* provide additional information. The *SH* figures appear to be inflated. They have been compared and discussed by Ligeti, pp.177-178, n.242; and by Murakami in *Mongoru hishi*, III, p.108ff. Otchigin's, i.e. Temüge-otchigin's, share (*qubi*) is put together with that of Mother Hö'elün (10,000 altogether according to the *SH*; 5,000 and 3,000 respectively according to Rashīd) because Otchigin, being the youngest son and master of the hearth, was the one who 'stayed home' and who by tradition inherited the yurt. See Vladimirtsov, pp.67, 126. 'Did not complain,' lit. 'did not utter a sound.' Jochi received 9,000 people (Rashīd: 4,000); Cha'adai 8,000 (Rashīd: 4,000); Ögödei 5,000 (Rashīd: 4,000); Tolui 5,000 (Rashīd: not given); Qasar, i.e. Jochi-Qasar, 4,000 (Rashīd: 1,000 to Q.'s three sons); Alchidai 2,000 (Rashīd: 3,000). Cha'adai (= Chaghatai 'The White One'), Chinggis' second son, is mentioned in the *SH* for the first time in this passage. He was born *c.*1185 and died in 1242, a year after Ögödei. On him, see Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, pp.63-64; *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.250-254, 287. As for Alchidai (= Eljīdei < Eljigidei), he was Chinggis' nephew, the son of his younger brother Qachi'un, and must not be confused with the military leader Alchidai of the family of Ilüge (§§226, 227, 234, 277, 278). On this confusion, see Ligeti, p.178, n.242. Belgütei received 1,500 (Rashīd: not given). Daritai (= Dāritai), the 'disloyal' uncle of Chinggis-qan, was mentioned last in §§153-154, where it is related how he fell foul of Chinggis for having disobeyed his orders regarding the plundering of the defeated Tatars. From Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.48, we learn that soon after this incident Daritai left the Mongol camp and went over to the Tayichi'ut, then to the Kereyit ('Gereyit' in our passage) and, eventually, to the Naiman and

Dörben. 'I shall wipe him from my sight (lit. "eyes")' - a euphemism for 'I shall get rid of him,' i.e. 'I shall kill him,' as evident from the three nökörs' question 'How can you make away with him?' (*ker tebchigü*). Their argument is that to kill Daritai, the youngest son of Bartan-ba'atur and guardian of the yurt, would be like destroying Chinggis' own yurt; furthermore, since Daritai was the only surviving brother of Yisügei, it would mean also severing the last remaining link (lit. 'reminder') with his late father - both powerful arguments. On the term *geri'es* ∿ *geriyes* 'remembrance, souvenir,' see above, n.208. For *sayin* 'good' = 'late, deceased,' see Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 455-459; *Les Lettres*, p.59. 'He *acted* without thinking, so spare him'; lit. 'In (= because of) his not considering (i.e. because he acted without realizing the consequences of his action), let him be!' 'To let the smoke of their camp swirl up,' i.e. so that he and his family could go on living as before. See Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 455. 'They reasoned with him,' lit. 'they argued clearly (*or* reasonably) with him.' See Mostaert, pp.147, 150. 'Until *he was so moved that* He snuffled, as if/He had smoke in his nose,' i.e. until he was so moved that he began snuffling as if he were affected by smoke in his nose. The expression *qabar-acha huni qangshi-*, lit. 'to snuffle *out* smoke from the nose' = 'to be(come) deeply moved,' must be an ancient idiom. The whole sentence has been rendered in different ways by other translators. The problem centres around the puzzling word *qangshitala*. The verb *qangshi-* (*ghangshi-* in the Palladius ms.; see Pankratov, *Yuan'-chao bi-shi*, p.479) is glossed in the interlinear version as 'to rob, plunder, take away' (*ch'iang* 搶), but this verb is nowhere attested with this meaning in Mongolian. Written Mongolian has 1) *qangsa-* 'to remove or scrape the hair from a skin'; 2) *qangsa-* 'to speak through the nose' (= *ghangsi-*); and 1) *ghangsi-* 'for a drought to set in'; 2) *ghangsi-* 'to speak through the nose, yelp, howl.' See Kowalewski, pp.729a, 982b; Lessing, pp.929b, 349b. Cf. *ghongsi-*, *ghungsi-* 'to talk through the nose, stammer; to beg earnestly' (Kowalewski, p.1022b; Lessing, pp.360b, 368a). In the dialects we find the following: Ordos *ɢuŋšï-* 'to talk through the nose, snuffle' (Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.314b); Buriat *gonšo-* id. (Cheremisov, p.156b); Khalkha *gunši-*, *gonši-* id. (Cevel, pp. 159b, 151a); Kalmuck *ɢuŋš-* id. (Ramstedt, p.155b); cf. Yakut *xaŋsyj* id. (Pekarskiĭ, p.3314). Because of these forms, *SH qangshi-* has been related to *ghangsi-* 'to speak through the nose, snuffle' by S. Kałużyński (*Mongolische Elemente*, p.109). However, such an interpretation conflicts with the Chinese

interlinear gloss. This difficulty has been resolved by Daoruntibo and his colleagues who, correctly in my opinion, regard *ch'iang* 搶 as an error for *ch'iang* 嗆 'to cough, choke' (*Meng-ku pi-shih*, pp.273, 275, n.4. In my commentary to the translation of Chap.IX of the *SH*, I referred to Daoruntibu as 'Doran Tibo,' since this was the transcription of his name given in the Xinhua press release of 17 September 1979 [No.091702]. However, in the Xinhua press release of 11 May 1981 [No.051122], his name is given as Daoruntibu, which is also the form employed by Harry G. Schwarz in *ZAS* 14/1 [1980], 214. According to Schwarz, *loc.cit.*, Daoruntibu is 'the pen name of Gewa of the Inner Mongolian Social Science Institute. He is a native of Hulunbuir, as alluded to by his pen name.' In view of the above, I shall henceforth refer to him also as Daoruntibu.) Even though 'to cough, choke' is not the same as 'to speak through the nose, snuffle,' the idea conveyed by these verbs is that of producing a sound with the throat or nose, as, indeed, one is prone to do when affected by smoke or deep emotion. This understanding of the phrase in question is supported by the sectional summary, which paraphrases it as 'Thereupon, T'ai-tsu (i.e. Chinggis-qan) was deeply moved' (*YCPS* 10, 25a *in fine*). 'Right!' renders Mongolian *je deli* (= *teli*). On this expression, by which the subject indicates that he has finally made up his mind, see Mostaert, p.173 and n.156 (where the whole sentence is translated). For Shigi-qutuqu's role in this episode, see Ratchnevsky, 'Šigi-qutuqu,' pp.97-98.

243 In this section Chinggis-qan nominates the chiefs in charge of the people distributed among his family. The list given by the *SH* complements and, at the same time, supplements the information found in Rashīd al-Dīn's work, on which see Ligeti, p.178, n.243. All the chiefs are mentioned among the leaders of a thousand listed in §202: Güchü (no.17), Kököchü (no.18), Jungsai (= Jungshoi, no.33) and Qorqasun (= Qorqosun, no.19); Qunan (no.7), Möngke'ür (= Mönggü'ür, no.40) and Kete (no.51); Qarachar (no.29), Möngke (= ? Möngkö-qalja, no.53) and Idoqudai (= Iduqadai, no.66: on this name see Bese in *AOH* 32 [1978], 367, no.18); Köke-chos (= Kökö-chos, no.30); Ilüge (= Ilügei, no.5: on this name see Bese, *op.cit.*, pp.367-368, no.19) and Degei (no.11); Jedei (= Jetei, no.23) and Bala (no.35); Jebke (no.45); Cha'urqai (no.59). 'Cha'adai is obstinate and petty-minded' (*C. keche'ü buyu narin aburitu buyu*), or, in Mostaert's French rendering, 'Ča'adai est dur; il a le caractère minutieux' (Mostaert, p.187, n.169). In other words, Cha'adai was unbending

and concerned with details and trivial matters - implying that he was excessively so. He left, in fact, the reputation of being a staunch upholder of the *jasaq*. Because of his difficult character, Chinggis wanted him to have constantly at his side a reasonable and level-headed man like Kökö-chos, whose skill in 'thinking' is well illustrated in §254. It is not certain whether the Cha'urqai mentioned in this section and in §202 is the same person as Cha'urqan, the elder brother of Sübe'etei, on whom see §§120, 124. Murakami (*Mongoru hishi*, I, pp.228-229, n.11; II, p.380, n.65, following Naka, *Chingisu-kan jitsuroku* [1907 ed.], p.323) assumes that he was.

244 Mönglik-echi'e(= echige), or Father Mönglik, was last mentioned in §204. Some of his seven sons are well known: Süyiketü or Söyiketü-cherbi, Tolun-cherbi, and Sutu (? Sütü) - all mentioned in the *SH* and by Rashīd al-Dīn. However, his most famous offspring was undoubtedly his fourth son Kököchü, the chief shaman (*bö'e*) of the Mongols, who had gained immense prestige among them on the strength of his supernatural powers. Relying on his authority and influence over Chinggis-qan, in whose enthronement in 1206 he had apparently played an important role (see above, n.202), Kököchü overreached himself and went as far as challenging Chinggis' leadership, but failed and was destroyed, as vividly narrated in the sequel to the present section of the *SH*. For the Persian accounts, see Juvaini, *op.cit.*, p.39; Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, pp.167-168. The episode has been recently discussed by L. Hambis in his article 'Un épisode mal connu de l'histoire de Gengis-khan,' in *Journal des savants* (Jan.-Mars 1975), 8ff. Kököchü's epithet or appellation was Teb-Tenggeri, the meaning of which is controversial. Pelliot and others after him (Grousset, Hambis, etc.) are of the opinion that it means 'The Very Celestial (or Divine),' whereas Cleaves interprets it as 'Lord Cunning.' See Cleaves in *UAJ* 39 (1967), 248-260. Although Cleaves' argument is learned and impressive, I do not find his interpretation convincing for the following reasons: (1) This epithet was not a posthumous disparaging name given to Kököchü, but a designation he was known by when alive and at the height of his power (see Juvaini, *loc.cit.*), and I very much doubt that he would have been referred to then in such a disrespectful way; (2) I am even more doubtful that a disparaging term like *tev* (> *teb*), always used in a pejorative sense in Uighur Turkish, could be associated with a very respectful form of address, one actually carrying sacred connotations, like *tenggeri* (= *tengri*) 'Heaven, divine.' (For the use of this

word as a title of respect in the forms *täŋgrïm, tärïm* in Turkish proper names, see Pelliot in *TP* 37 [1943-44], 175ff., and, more recently, P. Zieme in *Türk Dili Araştırma Yıllığı-Belleten* [1977], 79, 82, with interesting examples of its usage in men's names.) Moreover, in Turkish *tev* is almost invariably used in the hendiadys *tev kür* 'fraud, lie.' See Clauson, *Etym. Dictionary,* p.434b; *Drevnetyurkskiĭ slovar'*, p.557a. Thus, in spite of certain difficulties, which I think can be solved, Pelliot's interpretation in my view still holds true. Even though it is not grammatically correct in Mongolian to strengthen a substantive - as opposed to an adjective or colour-name - by means of a reduplicative prefix like *teb* (before a word beginning with the syllable *te*), Teb-Tenggeri may well be an *ad hoc* expression, i.e. coined, as it were, in order to express a certain idea for a special purpose. 'The Very Divine' is, indeed, a most appropriate designation for such an eminent personality as Kököchü undoubtedly was. Furthermore, as already pointed out by other scholars (see Cleaves, *op.cit.*, p.253), the epithet, so understood, finds a correspondence in the shaman's real name Kököchü, which derives from *kökö* 'blue.' 'The middle one,' lit. 'the middle one of the seven.' 'Ganged up,' or 'acted in concert' (*ömerejü*); for the verb *ömere-* (∿*ömeri-* ∿*ömer-* ∿*ömöre-*), see Mostaert et Cleaves, *Les Lettres,* p.77. Qasar is, of course, Jochi-Qasar, the younger brother of Chinggis-qan, famous for his physical strength and skill in archery. On him, see above, n.60, §195 and note; Hambis, *op.cit.*, p.8, n.13 *et passim.* 'While Q. was *still* talking, C.-q. in his anger said to him,' lit. 'while he was talking, C.-q. in his anger said to Q.' 'At this,' lit. 'being told *so*' (*ke'egdejü*). '*Concerning* the ruler'; here *qan* does not refer to Chinggis-qan, but to the ruler(ship) of the Mongol nation (*ulus*). The terms *qan* and *qa'an* ∿ *qahan* (=*qaghan*) deserve comment at this juncture. As noted earlier, neither Chinggis' ancestors, nor he himself ever bore the title of *qa'an*, which in the *SH* later editors substituted for the original title of *qan* throughout the work. See Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.302-303. Ligeti has, in fact, restored the *qan* throughout in his translation whenever it refers to Chinggis. As for *qa'an* ∿ *qahan*, constantly alternating in the *SH* (even within the same section, as in the present one), the former is the actual pronunciation of the word in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the intervocalic hiatus being represented in Uighur-Mongol script by the letter *ḫēth* (γ = my *gh*); the latter is the same word in which, however, the aspirate *h* of the second syllable (Chin. *han*) has the value of a hiatus,

hence *qahan* = *qa'an*. The reason why the Chinese transcribers wrote *han* 罕 without the diacritic 𠂉 on the upper left side (i.e. 𠂉罕) is almost certainly because they wanted to signify that the *ḫēth* of the written form was not pronounced as such, but was simply a hiatus mark. See Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 107, n.64. The titles of *qan* and *qa'an* have been investigated by several scholars, and their meaning and usage by the medieval Mongols are still subject to discussion. See K. Shiratori in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 1 (1926), 19-26; Vladimirtsov, pp.100-110; Pelliot in *TP* 27 (1930), 25; *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.302-303; Pelliot-Hambis, pp.211-212; Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 98-99, n.26; 418-419, 533; L. Krader in *CAJ* 1 (1955), 17-35; H.F. Schurmann in *HJAS* 19 (1956), 314-316, n.11; J.A. Boyle in *HJAS* 19 (1956), 152; L. Ligeti in *AOH* 14 (1962), 40; Doerfer, No.1161 (particularly important); I. de Rachewiltz in *PFEH* 7 (1973), 35, n.35. From the results of these studies and my own investigation of the problem one can reach certain conclusions regarding the use of *qan* and *qa'an* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, i.e. until the end of the Yüan dynasty.

The following is a summary of my paper on the subject read at the XXIV Meeting of the P.I.A.C. (Permanent International Altaistic Conference) in Jerusalem on 17 August 1981:

A. *Before 1229*, i.e. before Ögödei's enthronement and his assumption of the imperial title *qa'an*.

1. *Qa'an* was not used as a title by the tribes of Mongolia or by Chinggis-qan.

2. *Qan* was used as:
   a) the title of leaders of important tribes, e.g. Tayang-qan;
   b) the title of leaders of tribal confederations, e.g. Chinggis-qan;
   c) the title of rulers of foreign countries and of tribal confederations outside Mongolia, e.g. Altan-qan, Arslan-qan;
   d) a term (∿*qa*; pl. *qat*) designating the leader of a tribe/confederation, the ruler of a nation, and the 'lords' of land and rivers (i.e. the powerful nature spirits), e.g. *tus qan, qa ergü-, qamuq-un qat, qajar usun-u ejet qat*;
   e) a term (∿*qa*) meaning 'government,' 'pertaining to the government,' e.g. *qa bolqa-* (where *qa* = 'government property') ← 2(d).

B. *After 1229*

1. *Qa'an* was used as:
   a) the title and personal epithet of Ögödei (r.1229-41);
   b) the title of all subsequent emperors, including Güyüg (r.1246-48), until 1368;
   c) the posthumous title conferred on Chinggis-qan and some of his ancestors (after 1260);
   d) the term for 'emperor' with reference to (b), e.g. *qa'an-u jarliq*;
   e) a term (= *qan*) designating the ruler of a nation or people ('king, sovereign'), also used as a title, mainly in Buddhist texts, e.g. Ashugi (= Aśoka) *qa'an, kü'ün-ü ejen qa'an, ulus-un qa'an*.

2. *Qan* was used as:
   a) the title of the imperial princes and their descendants, i.e. the khans of the Golden Horde, the Il-Khans of Persia, etc., e.g. Batu-qan, Hülegü-qan;
   b) a term (= A. 2[d]) designating the ruler of a nation, and, specifically, the Mongol sovereign, this being the ruler of the Great Mongol Nation and of the world, e.g. *qan ergü-, yeke Mongghol ulus-un qan, dalai-yin qan*;
   c) a term (= A. 2[e]) meaning 'government.'

Prof. Herbert Franke, in his *From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God*, p.21, renders Teb-Tenggeri as 'Arch-Heaven,' and the words *möngke tenggeri-yin jarliq qan* as 'order-king of eternal Heaven.' 'Has been foretold by heavenly signs,' lit. 'heavenly signs *fore*tell.' 'Once they said that T. will hold the nation, once that Q. will,' lit. 'Once they say, "Let T. hold the nation"; once they say, "*Let* Q. *hold the nation*."' 'If you don't strike at Qasar by surprise' (*Q.-i ese nende'esü*); on *nende-* see note to §166. We had been informed in the previous paragraph (243), that Güchü and Kököchü (of the Besüt) were appointed with Jungsai and Qorqasun as commanders in charge of the subjects assigned to Hö'elün and Temüge-otchigin. 'When Mother heard this,' lit. 'Mother having learned *this*.' 'At sunrise,' lit. 'with the sun rising.' To remove one's hat and belt was an act of total submission; see §§103 and note, 117. In the present instance, Chinggis was humiliating his brother to an extreme degree, for he had also tied up the opening of his sleeves, so as to immobilize him during the interrogation, which was no doubt a brutal one. 'To interrogate' is, literally, 'to question *one's* word(s)' (*üge asaqu-*). 'Descending upon him,' lit. 'coming upon him.' 'Became afraid of her,' lit. 'became afraid of Mother.' 'She herself,' lit. 'Mother herself.' For

the words 'Qasar's sleeves, the opening of which had been fastened' (*Q.-un huyaqsat qanchut*), see Mostaert, p.184. 'Laid them over her knees (lit. "over *her* two knees")' (*qoyar ebüdük dege'ün bisari'ulju*); for *bisari-* (∿*bisqari-*) 'to overflow,' caus. *bisari'ul-* 'to lay over,' see Mostaert in *MS* 4 (1939-40), 328. For the adverb *dege'ün* 'over,' see Ligeti in *AOH* 24 (1971), 146-147. 'That gave you suck,' lit. 'that you have sucked.' After 'Those' (*ede*) - referring to Chinggis and Qasar - there follow the two puzzling words *qadalun da'un*, which are not glossed in the interlinear translation and are also not rendered in the sectional summary. The *AT* gives, in their place, the single word *ghadaghun* 'outside'; see *SHA*, p.173. Since *qadalun* 'citing' and *da'un* 'voice, sound' make little sense in the present context and have, in fact, also puzzled the Ming translators (who prudently left a blank), Pelliot suggested amending the text to '*qadaqun darun? qala'un darun?*' (*Histoire secrète*, p.96, n.5), without giving, however, his own interpretation of these expressions. None of the several other interpretations proposed so far is satisfactory. In a personal communication (letter of 18 March 1981), Prof. Poppe writes: '*Qadalun da'un*. There is a lacuna here. It was probably [*qa'učin üges-i*] *qadal-un* "reciting (quoting) ancient words." As for *da'un* it cannot be connected with anything. I am tempted to agree with Pelliot's *darun* "pressing" pro *da'un*, i.e. reciting and "pressing," that is to say "making an intonation, stressing"; cf. German "mit Nachdruck," "emphasizing."' In my translation I have adopted, albeit with reservations, the interpretation suggested by Prof. Poppe. The phrase in question is inserted abruptly into the poetic passage not only for alliterative purposes, but also to introduce, as it were, the 'ancient words' that follow. As we know already from the famous passage in §78, where the same image is used, Hö'elün was fond of quoting *qa'uchin üges*. 'Birth cord,' lit. 'navel' (*küi*). What Hö'elün means is: you are bent on destroying your own flesh and blood. See the sectional summary (*YCPS* 10, 32a-b); cf. Waley, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, p.288. In translating this passage, Hambis, 'Un épisode,' p.11, has followed the sectional summary, not the Mongol text. Qachi'un and (Temüge-)Otchigin were, of course, Hö'elün's two youngest sons (see §60). 'Between them,' lit. 'the two of them together.' 'Until my bosom relaxed,' lit. 'until my bosom (*che'eji*) became wide (*a'ui boltala*).' 'Has skill of mind,' lit. 'has skill of bosom (*che'eji*, here = "heart, mind").' For a previous poetical description of Qasar's feats with the bow, see §195. For the verb *hontucha-* 'to

shoot arrows at a long distance,' which occurs again in §254, see I. de Rachewiltz in *Tractata Altaica*, pp.490, 500-501, nn.25-28. 'And so he was wont,' lit. 'because he had skill... he was wont.' 'Those on the run,' lit. 'those who went out.' 'To go out' (*qar-*) is the opposite of 'to go in' (*oro-*) = 'to submit, to join'; thus, 'those who went out *or* escaped' were, in fact, rebel or fugitive tribesmen whom Temüjin was in the process of bringing under his control. Hö'elün is emphasizing here the important role that Qasar, the redoubtable champion archer, had played in the 'rallying of the tribes' by his brother, the future Chinggis-qan. 'But now, saying that you (Temüjin) have destroyed the enemy people, you can no *longer* bear the sight of Qasar,' lit. 'Now, saying, "I (Temüjin) have destroyed the enemy people," you cannot see Q.' 'He secretly (*echine'ün*) took away'; see Ligeti, *op.cit.*, p.146. 'Let Qasar have,' lit. 'gave to Q.' As stated earlier in the *SH* (§242), Qasar had originally been granted 4,000 people, but after the ugly incident related in this section, Chinggis, obviously not appeased by his mother's entreaties, dispossessed him of about two-thirds of this force in order to weaken him and, in this way, remove the threat he allegedly posed. However, as pointed out by Hambis (*op.cit.*, p.13), Qasar was subsequently appointed one of the leaders in the war against Chin, in the course of which he apparently died. The circumstances of his death are obscure, but not necessarily suspicious. His three sons were certainly treated badly by Chinggis, who appointed them only as leaders of a thousand. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.172-173; cf. Grousset, *L'empire mongol*, p.206 and n.3. 'The thought of it made her go quickly *into decline*,' lit. 'by that thought she went quickly straight *into old age*,' i.e. she aged quickly and died before long. Jebke of the Jalayir tribe was one of the leaders of Qasar's people appointed by Chinggis (see §243 *in fine*).

245 In this section we reach the climax of the story of Teb-Tenggeri and Chinggis-qan. The *yisün keleten irgen*, lit. 'people having nine tongues,' are generally understood to be various groups of tribesmen speaking different languages or dialects, 'nine' in Mongolian meaning also 'many.' I am not sure whether this interpretation is correct. In the *Altan tobchi* of the Ming, we find people referred to as 'having dark-brown tongues' (*barān kele-tü*), 'having many tongues' (*olan kele-tü*) and 'having good tongues' (*sayin keletü*). See the *Mongol Chronicle Činggis Qagan u čidig, Including Altan Tobči* (rep. of 1225 ed., Peking, 1940), p.115; Bawden, *The Mongolian Chronicle Altan*

Tobči, p.189. The ones characterized as 'having many tongues' are the Kereyit. I wonder whether the expression *yisün keleten irgen* of the *SH* may not be an oblique reference to a particular group of tribesmen, such as the Kereyit, who had been distributed among the Mongol leaders and who then decided to leave their masters and join Teb-Tenggeri's camp. 'Gathered under,' lit. 'gathered at (Teb-Tenggeri's camp),' i.e. they went over to him. 'I am grateful to both Otchigin and you' renders *Otchigin ta jirin elchiten* (read *achitan*) *bolju'ui*. The emendation *achitan* 'deserving gratitude' for *elchiten* 'having messengers' is suggested in an unpublished note by Fr. Mostaert on the word *hachi* 'benefit' in the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389. As it stands, the phrase 'Otchigin and you both are with messengers' does not make much sense. The reading *achitan* is found in the *AT* II, 40, l.7. The Bibliothèque nationale MS of the *AT*, formerly belonging to Pelliot, has (135v, 12) *achi tan*. Ligeti's tacit correction 'elci-ten' (*SHA*, p.175), is, therefore, not only unwarranted, but also casts doubts on the reliability of his text editing. The expression *achitan bolju'ui* corresponds to modern *achitai bolul-a* 'I am very grateful,' 'thank you.' See Lessing, p.8b; Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.35b. Teb-Tenggeri sarcastically thanks Temüge-otchigin and Soqor for the 'gift' of the horse which he has just seized from him. I have no doubt that Mostaert's interpretation is the correct one. As noted by Ligeti, p.179, n.245, to make a horseman carry the saddle on his back and send him home on foot is a humiliation; even more so is it to force someone to apologize kneeling behind one's back, as Otchigin was subsequently compelled to do. 'From all sides,' lit. 'from here and from there' (*endeche tendeche*). 'You were right to send,' 'I was wrong to send,' lit. 'Your sending ... is right,' 'My sending ... is wrong.' 'Sat up in bed,' lit. 'raised herself and sat'; *öngdeyi-* 'to raise oneself' corresponds to Writ. Mong. *öndeyi-* id. 'She *herself* shed tears,' lit. 'She let tears fall.' 'What are these Qongqotan doing?' lit. '*They are* Q. doing what, those?' 'What kind of behaviour is this?,' lit. 'What sort of manner (*yosun*) is it?' 'They covertly injure (*oyisulaldumui*) even (*bel*) these younger brothers of yours.' The verb *oyisula-* ~ *oyisulat-* (! *öyisület-* in §281) means 'to secretly harm' - as through poisoning. To my knowledge, this verb is not attested anywhere else. For the passage 'And truly ... see *all this*,' see Mostaert, pp.155-159. 'Like a great old tree'; both the ideas of 'great' and 'old' are implicit in the word *ne'üle* (= Writ. Mong. *negüle[n]*), hence my rendering. See Mostaert, p.156. 'Like the stone base of a pillar,' renders *tulu metü*.

The word *tulu*, glossed in the Chinese interlinear version as *chu-chüeh* 柱 礎 'base of a pillar,' is used metaphorically here for 'the mainstay (of the nation).' This is an image which the Mongols almost certainly borrowed from the Chinese, since pillars and bases of pillars are alien features in a nomadic culture. Just as we would speak of a great man being 'a pillar of the state,' the Chinese, using the same metaphor, would refer to him as either 'a pillar of the state' (*kuo-chu* 國 柱) or 'a pillar-base' (*chu-shih* 柱 石 , lit. 'pillar-stone'), because the supporting strength of the (wooden) pillar resided in its stone base. The latter expression (*chu-shih*) corresponds to the *chu-chüeh* of the *SH* gloss. It should be noted that in the Ölöt Kalmuck dialect, *tul* actually means 'supporting beam; pillar' (see Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wörterbuch*, p.409b); it is, therefore, possible that in spite of the Chinese gloss, this was also the original meaning of *tulu*. The reading *tulu* is confirmed by the corrupt form *toli* of *AT* II, 42, l.4 (see *SHA*, p.176). The regular word for 'pillar, column' in Preclassical Mongolian is *tulgha*; see Mostaert, *Le matériel mongol*, p.103. Cf. Buriat *tulga*, id. (Cheremisov, p.435a). On this term, cf. H. Franke, *Mittelmongolische Kalenderfragmente aus Turfan* (München, 1964), p.21. The poetical passage in this section is repeated in slightly modified wording in §254. By likening the subject people to tangled hemp and a flock of birds, Börte indicates that they are troublesome and difficult to rule. Cf. the words of Inancha-bilge-qan of the Naiman in §189: 'Will he (i.e. Tayang) be able to look after and govern/My numerous, lowly and unruly people?' 'How will people ... *ever* allow,' lit. 'People ... how will they (*tede*) *ever* allow.' 'Little "naughty ones"' (*üchüget mawun*) is a term of endearment for one's sons; see Mostaert, p.158. 'Whatever you may *wish to* do *to him* within your power (*or* "to the best of your ability" [lit. "as much as *you* can"]), it is for you to decide! (lit. "you decide!"),' i.e. 'it is up to you to do to him what you can' - in other words, Otchigin is free to act and can even kill him if he finds the means. 'Whereupon,' lit. 'at that.' 'Three strong men' (*qurban bökös*); the word *bökö* (= Writ. Mong. *böke*) means 'strong man' as well as 'wrestler,' since wrestlers were then, as now, chosen from among the strongest men in the land. This word has retained both meanings in the living dialects; see, e.g., Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.85b *in fine*. Cf. Lessing, p.126b. This explains why some translators have preferred to translate *bökös* in our passage as 'wrestlers,' or 'wrestling champions,' which is, of course, perfectly legitimate. The

primary meaning of the word is, however, 'strong (man),' and this is also how the Chinese gloss renders it. See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.17. Cf. Doerfer, No.803. 'In front of the fireplace' (*qolumta teri'ün-e*); *qolumta* (= Writ. Mong. *gholumta*) is the fireplace, or hearth, in the centre of the tent; the expression *teri'ün-e* literally means 'at the head,' thus *qolumta teri'ün-e* is 'at the head (= in the front part) of the fireplace,' rather than 'on top of (*or* into) the fireplace.' To render *teri'ün-e* with 'on the edge' and 'at (*or* by) the side,' on the basis of the Chinese sectional summary, is also not accurate. To smell a personal garment, such as a hat and a shirt, was an act of remembrance and love, and one we have already encountered in §55, in the famous episode of Hö'elün and Yeke-Chiledü. See L. Olschki in *JAOS* 67 (1947), 54-56. 'Match each other's strength and might,' lit. 'compete with each other for the strong man's might.' 'At the threshold of the door'; the text has 'between (*ja'ura*) the threshold of the door,' which is not obvious. The author probably means 'within the threshold,' i.e. in the area immediately adjacent to the threshold, hence just outside the door of the tent. This is, at any rate, how the Ming translators of the *SH* seem to have understood the phrase. See *YCPS* 10, 42a. On the two lines of carts placed to the right (= west) and left (= east) sides of the tent, see Mostaert, p.163. For the correct meaning of *arqalaju* 'pretending, making the excuse that (as a reason for refusing a request),' see A. Waley in *BSOAS* 23 (1960), 527. 'Not much of a companion, was he!' (*chaqtu nökör aǰu'u*); cf. above, §170 and note. Otchigin's sarcastic remark is to the effect that he expected a better performance from a person like Teb-Tenggeri who now, instead of fighting, lies on the ground pretending that he cannot get up. Otchigin is, of course, adding insult to injury by implying that his opponent is behaving like a coward. 'Since the brown earth, etc.,' i.e. from the very beginning. For this alliterative saying and the expression 'brown earth' (*dayir etügen*), see Mostaert, pp.162, 191-192; cf. also Cleaves, pp.531-532; and Mostaert in *UAS* 13 (1962), 202. 'Barred the door' (*e'üten bosoju*); the verb *boso-* (? *bösö-*) occurs in §200 with the meaning of 'to encircle, surround.' See n.200. The term for the 'funeral tent' of Teb-Tenggeri is *qoshiliq*. This word occurs also in §80; in §169 we find the related form *qosh*. To my references in n.169 above, one must now add A. Róna-Tas' remarks in D. Sinor, *Aspects of Altaic Civilization* (Bloomington, 1963), p.50, where *qosh* is defined as 'a conical pole-tent with felt-cover.' *Qoshiliq* (= Writ. Mong. *qoshiligh*) is a denominal noun in *-liq*

(= *-ligh*) from Turkish *qosh*, with the connecting vowel *-i-*. Cf. E. Hovdhaugen in L. Ligeti (ed.), *Researches in Altaic Linguistics* (Budapest, 1975), p.72. This particular type of felt tent was evidently used by the medieval Mongols in the funeral ceremony of high-ranking persons, a custom that has survived until modern times among certain Mongolian people like the Kalmucks. See Ligeti, p.179, n.245. With regard to the word *qoshiliq*, Prof. Poppe writes (letter of 18 March 1981): 'Its Turkic etymon word cannot be located. The form *qoš(i)liγ* may have originated in Mongolian, although *qoš* is a Turkic word. In Kalmuck *xoš* is "temporary camp," "camp."' The reason for moving camp after the slaying of Teb-Tenggeri and subsequent disappearance of his body is no doubt to be found in the ancient Mongols' taboo on the site of death - particularly relevant in this case, since the violent death of a powerful shaman had taken place just outside Chinggis' tent. Cf. Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques*, pp.64-67. The entire section from 'Father Mönglik understood' to the end of §245 has been translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.160-164.

246 The entire §246 has been translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.164-175. 'At dusk,' lit. 'when the *brightness of* day was yellow.' 'Bodily,' lit. 'together with *his* body' (*beye selte*). 'In that part of the tent,' lit. 'in that place of it (= the tent).' 'Among them,' lit. 'among my younger brothers.' 'You have paid *for this* with Teb-Tenggeri's life,' lit. 'you have come to *pay with* Teb-Tenggeri's head.' 'You would have been dealt with like Jamuqa, Altan, Quchar and others,' i.e. they would have been executed. For the fate of Altan and Quchar, about which this passage of the *SH* leaves no doubt, see above, n.181. 'If one retracts,' lit. 'if one demolishes (*or* undoes).' Regarding the 'earlier pledge' of Chinggis-qan to Mönglik, see §204. For a different, and plausible, interpretation of Chinggis' words 'Had you restrained...,' see Ligeti, p.114. Ligeti understands: if you had restrained their (i.e. your sons') unbridled nature, who could have competed with Father Mönglik's clan? 'The *proud* air,' lit. 'the mien' (*chirai*). Cf. above, n.208.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz

Chapter Eleven (= Suppl. I)*

247 After that, in the Year of the Sheep (1211), Chinggis-qahan set out against the Kitat people. He took Vujiu (= Fu-chou), crossed over the Fox Ridge (Hünegen-dabā = Yeh-hu ling), took Söndeivu (= Hsüan-te fu) and sent Jebe and Güyigünek-ba'atur as vanguards.

On reaching Chabchiyal (= Chü-yung kuan), *seeing that* the Chabchiyal Pass was defended, Jebe there and then said, 'We shall

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entice them and get them to move and come *after us*. Then, let us put them to the test!' So saying, he turned back. *When they discovered that* he had turned back, the Kitat troops said, 'Let us pursue him!', and they went in pursuit until the valleys and the mountains were completely covered *with them*. Upon reaching the spur of Söndeivu, Jebe turned back, rushed forth against the enemies who were approaching in successive *waves* and routed them. Chinggis-qahan, pressing on with the main body of the army, dislodged the Kitat *from their positions*, crushed the valiant and bold Jüyin troops of the Qara-Kitat and the Jürchet, slaying them until they were like heaps of broken logs as far as the Chabchiyal.

Jebe took the gate of Chabchiyal, and after he had captured the passes and crossed over them, Chinggis-qahan pitched camp at Shira-degtür (= Lung-hu t'ai).

Launching the attack on Jungdu (= Chung-tu/Peking), he sent troops to various towns and cities, ordering them to attack. He sent Jebe to attack the city of Dungchang (= Tung-ch'ang). *Jebe* reached the city of Dungchang but, unable to take it *by storm*, turned back and went as far as the distance of six days' *march from there*. Then - *the enemy* being unaware - he returned and, marching throughout the night, each soldier leading a spare horse by hand, he arrived at the moment when *the enemy* was unprepared and took the city of Dungchang.

248 After taking the city of Dungchang, Jebe returned and joined Chinggis-qahan.

When Jungdu was under attack, a high official of the Altan-qan, Ongging-chingsang (= Wan-yen *ch'eng-hsiang*), advised the Altan-qan as follows: '*This is* the turn of fortune decreed by Heaven and Earth. Could it be that the time has come when the great (= imperial) throne will pass *to a new ruler*? The Mongols are coming in great

might: they have crushed our valiant and bold élite Jüyin troops of the Qara-Kitat and the Jürchet, slaying them until they were utterly destroyed. The Chabchiyal *Pass*, too, on which we were relying, they have wrested *from us*. If now we re-organize *our* troops and send them out *to fight*, should they again be crushed by the Mongols, they will no doubt scatter *and return* to their various cities. And, if we rally them against their will, they will turn against us and will no *longer* be our friends. If *you*, the Altan-qan, grant *permission*, let us for the present submit and come to terms with the ruler of the Mongols. If the Mongols agree to withdraw, after their withdrawal we shall there and then take a different counsel again. It is said that the men and geldings of the Mongols find *our* country unsuitable and fall victim to epidemics. Let us give a princess to their ruler, and to the men in *his* army let us send out gold, silver, satin and goods in abundance. Who knows whether they will *or will* not agree to our proposal?'

When Ongging-chingsang had given his advice, the Altan-qan approved these words of his, saying, 'Let it be so!' *Then*, offering submission, he sent to Chinggis-qa'an a princess by name of Gungjü, and from Jungdu he sent out to the men in *his* army gold, silver, satin and goods - as much as, in their judgement, their strength *and that of their horses* could carry. He *also* sent Ongging-chingsang to Chinggis-qahan.

When they came and submitted themselves, Chinggis-qahan agreed to their proposal. He ordered back the troops that were attacking the various towns and withdrew. Ongging-chingsang accompanied Chinggis-qa'an as far as the spurs called Mojiu (?) and Vujiu, and *then* returned. As for the satin and goods, our troops loaded as much as *their horses* could carry and moved away, tying up their loads with *bands of* heavy silk fabric.

249 In the course of that military campaign, *Chinggis-qa'an* set out towards the Qashin people. When, moving in their direction, he reached *their country*, Burqan-*qan* of the Qashin people said, 'I shall submit and, becoming your right (= west) wing, I shall give you my strength.' And he offered his daughter, called Chaqa, to Chinggis-qa'an.

Further, Burqan-qan said, 'Hearing of the fame and glory of Chinggis-qa'an, we were in fear *of him*. Now your majestic person has arrived, you have come to us, and we are afraid of your majesty. Being afraid we the Tang'ut people have said that we shall become your right wing and give you our strength. When we give you our strength, because

We are *people* who live in permanent camps,
We are *people* who have towns with beaten-earth *walls*,
when we become your companions,
In waging a swift campaign,
In fighting a deadly combat,
We shall not be able to hasten into a swift campaign,
We shall not be able to fight a deadly combat.
If *you* Chinggis-qa'an show favour to us, we the Tang'ut people,
We shall bring forth many camels
Reared in the shelter of the tall feathergrass:
We shall turn them into government property
And we shall give *them to you*.
We shall weave woollen material and make satin,
And we shall give *them to you*.
Training falcons to fly loose *at game*,
We shall gather them
and the best ones we shall send *to you*.' Thus he petitioned *Chinggis-qa'an*. And having spoken, he kept to his word. He levied

camels from his Tang'ut people and, bringing *so many* that it was impossible to drive *any more of them*, he gave *them to Chinggis-qa'an*.

250 On that campaign Chinggis-qahan obtained the submission of the Altan-qa'an of the Kitat people and took a large quantity of satin. He *also* obtained the submission of Burqan of the Qashin people and took a great number of camels.

In that campaign of the Year of the Sheep (1211), having *thus* obtained the submission of the Altan-qan of the Kitat people, called Aqutai, and of Iluqu Burqan of the Tang'ut people, he returned *home* and set up camp in the Sa'ari Steppe.

251 Again, after that, since Jubqan and many other envoys of ours who were sent to Jeu-gon to seek allegiance had been hindered by the Altan-qan Aqutai of the Kitat people, in the Year of the Dog (1214), Chinggis-qahan set out once more against the Kitat people. On setting out he said, 'After they had submitted themselves, how *dare they* hinder the envoys sent to Jeu-gon?'

Chinggis-qahan moved in the direction of the Tunggon (= T'ung-kuan) Pass, ordering Jebe to go by way of Chabchiyal. Realizing that Chinggis-qa'an had gone by the Tunggon Pass, the Altan-qan entrusted the command of his troops to the three, Ile, Qada and Höbögetür, saying, 'With the army blocking the passage and disposing the Red Coats as vanguard, fight for the Tunggon Pass and do not let them cross the defile!' And he sent Ile, Qada and Höbögetür, the three of them, in haste with the troops.

When *Chinggis-qahan* arrived at the Tunggon Pass, the Kitat troops came to block his passage, saying, '*Our* soil!' Chinggis-qahan fought against Ile, Qada and Höbögetür, *all* three of them, and put to flight Ile and Qada. Tolui and Chügü-gürigen *then* arrived, rushing forth from the side; they forced back the Red Coats, repulsed and *completely* defeated Ile and Qada, and slew the Kitat

until they were like heaps of broken logs.

When the Altan-qan learned that his Kitat troops had been slain and destroyed, he fled out of Jungdu and entered the city of Namging (= Nan-ching/K'ai-feng). As the remnants of his troops were dying of starvation, they ate human flesh between them.

Because Tolui and Chügü-gürigen had performed well, Chinggis-qahan showed both of them his highest favour.

252 Chinggis-qahan set up camp at Qosivu (= Ho-hsi-wu), *then* in the Shira-ke'er ('Yellow Plain') of Jungdu. Jebe broke down the gate of Chabchiyal and, having routed the *enemy* troops who were holding Chabchiyal, came and joined Chinggis-qahan.

When the Altan-qan moved out of Jungdu, he appointed Qada as liushiu ('vicegerent') in Jungdu before leaving *the city*. When Chinggis-qahan had the inventory taken of the gold, silver, goods, satin and other things *gathered* in Jungdu, he sent the cook Önggür, Arqai-qasar and Shigi-qutuqu, the three of them, *to do this*. As these three were approaching, Qada went ahead to greet them, taking with him gold-*embroidered* and patterned satin. He came out of Jungdu and welcomed them.

Shigi-qutuqu said to Qada, 'Formerly, the goods of this Jungdu, and the very *city of* Jungdu, did belong to the Altan-qan. Now Jungdu surely belongs to Chinggis-qa'an. How *dare you* give the goods and satins of Chinggis-qa'an, stealing them and bringing them *here* behind his back? I shall not take them.' Thus spoke Shigi-qutuqu and did not take them, but the cook Önggür and Arqai took them. After making the inventory of the goods and other things of Jungdu these three came back *to Chinggis-qahan*.

Chinggis-qahan then asked the three, Önggür, Arqai and Qutuqu, 'What did Qada give you?' Shigi-qutuqu said, 'He brought and gave us gold-*embroidered* and patterned satin. I said to him, "Formerly,

this Jungdu did belong to the Altan-qan. Now it has surely become Chinggis-qa'an's *property*. How *dare you*, Qada, give Chinggis-qa'an's goods, stealing them behind his back?" *Thus* I said and did not take them, but Önggür and Arqai took what *Qada* had given them.' So spoke *Shigi-qutuqu*.

Chinggis-qahan then mightily rebuked Önggür and Arqai. *As for Shigi-qutuqu*, he greatly favoured (= rewarded) him, saying, 'You, Shigi-qutuqu, have been mindful of the great norm *concerning one's obligations to the qan*.' And he said, 'You shall be

An eye for me to see,
An ear for me to hear!'

253 After the Altan-qan had entered Namging, he submitted himself in person and, making obeisance, sent his son called Tenggeri, with a hundred companions, to Chinggis-qahan to serve as a day-guard *and hostage*.

As *the Altan-qan* had been subjugated by him, Chinggis-qahan said that he would withdraw. There and then he withdrew by the Chabchiyal *Pass*, sending Qasar along the sea *coast* with the troops of the left (= east) wing. He sent him with the following instructions: 'Set up camp at the city of Beiging (= Pei-ching). After you have brought the city of Beiging under subjection, proceed further and cross *the country of* Vuqanu of the Jürchet. If Vuqanu intends to offer resistance, you attack him. If he submits, pass through their (i.e. the Jürchet's) border towns, go along the rivers Ula and Na'u, and crossing the Tawur River upstream, join forces with me at the main base-camp.' With Qasar he sent Jürchedei, Alchi and Tolun-cherbi, the three of them, from among the *army* leaders.

Qasar brought the city of Beiging under subjection, forced Vuqanu of the Jürchet to submit and brought under subjection the towns which were on the way. Qasar *then* proceeded upstream along

the Tawur River and pitched at the main base-camp.

254 After that, as Chinggis-qahan's one hundred envoys with Uquna at their head had been held up and slain by the Sarta'ul (= Mohammedan) people, Chinggis-qahan said, 'How can I tolerate my "golden halter" (= sovereign authority) being broken by the Sarta'ul people?' And he said, 'I shall set out against the Sarta'ul people,

To take revenge,
To requite the wrongs

for *the slaying of* my hundred envoys with Uquna at their head.'

When he was about to set out, there and then Yisüi-qatun respectfully gave the following advice to Chinggis-qa'an: 'The qahan has thought of

Establishing order over his many people,
Climbing high passes,
Crossing wide rivers
And waging a long campaign.

But living beings born *to this world* are not eternal:

When your body, like a great old tree,
Falls down,
To whom will you bequeath your people
Which is like tangled hemp?
When your body, like the stone base of a pillar,
Collapses,
To whom will you bequeath your people
Which is like a flock of birds?

Of your four heroic sons whom you have begotten, which one will you designate *as your successor?* I have given you *this* advice on what, thinking about it, we - the sons, younger brothers, the many common people and my bad self - understood *to be an important question.* Your order (= word) shall decide!'

So she advised him and Chinggis-qahan declared: 'Even though she is only a lady (i.e. a woman), Yisüi's words are more right than right. No matter who - younger brothers and sons, and you Bo'orchu, Muqali and others - no one has advised me like this. And also

I forgot,
As if I would not follow the forefathers;
I slept,
As if I would not be caught by death.'

Having said *this*, he said, 'The eldest of my sons is Jochi. What do you, *Jochi*, say? Speak up!' But before Jochi could utter a sound, Cha'adai said, 'When you say, "Jochi, speak up!", do you mean *by that* that you will appoint Jochi *as your successor?* How can we let ourselves be ruled by this bastard offspring of the Merkit?'

At these words, Jochi rose and grabbing Cha'adai by the collar, said, 'I have never been told by *my* father the qan that I was different *from my brothers.* How can you discriminate *against* me? In what skill are you better *than I?* Only in your obstinacy you are, perhaps, better. If we shoot arrows at a long distance and I am outdone by you, I shall cut off my thumb and throw it away! If we wrestle and I am defeated by you, I shall not rise from the place where I have fallen! Let the order (= word) of *my* father the qan decide *which of us is better*!'

So he said, and as Jochi and Cha'adai both stood holding each other by the collar, with Bo'orchu pulling Jochi by the arm and Muqali pulling Cha'adai by the arm, Chinggis-qahan listened and sat without saying a word.

Then, Kökö-chos, who was standing on the left side, said, 'Cha'adai, why are you so hasty? It was you, among the sons, for whom your father the qan had cherished hopes. Before you were born,

The starry sky was turning upon itself,
The many people were in turmoil:
They did not enter their beds *to rest*,
But fought against each other.
The crusty earth was turning and turning,
The entire nation was in turmoil:
They (= the people) did not lie on their coverlets *to rest*,
But attacked each other.
At such time *your mother was abducted*.
It was not her wish:
It happened at a time
When men met, *weapons in hand*.
She was not running away *from her home:*
It happened at a time
Of mutual fighting.
She was not in love *with someone else:*
It happened at a time
When one *man* slew another.

You speak so as to harden the butter (= softness) of your mother's affection, so as to sour the milk (= kindness) of the wise lady's heart.

From the warm *womb*, *coming forth*
Suddenly, were you *two*
Not born from the same belly?
From the hot *womb*, *coming forth*
Abruptly, were you *two*

Not issued from a single womb?
If you incur blame
From your mother who has borne you
From her heart, her affection
For you will grow cold:
Even if you appease her
It will be of no avail.
If you incur reproach
From your mother who has borne you
From her belly,
Even if you lessen her reproach
It will be of no avail.
When your father the qan
Established the whole nation,
His black head was bound to the saddle,
His black blood was poured
In a large leather bucket.
His black eyes he did not wink,
His flat ear he did not rest on a pillow:
Of his sleeve he made a pillow and
He spread his robe *for a mattress*.
Easing his thirst with his own saliva,
Eating the flesh between his teeth for supper,

he strove fiercely, and

Till the sweat of his brow reached
the soles *of his feet*,
Till the sweat from the soles *of his feet*
went up to his brow,

he applied himself earnestly *to his great task*. It was the time when your mother, together *with him*, suffered hardship:

Pulling firmly her cap
Over her head,
Tying tightly her belt
To shorten *her skirt,*
Fastening her cap
Over her head,
Fixing her belt
To tighten *her waist,*
She brought you up, her *sons.*
As she gulped *her food*
She gave you half of it;
Her throat choking *with pity*
She gave you all of it,
And she herself went hungry.
Stretching your shoulders,
"How shall I make them into men?"
She said to herself.
Stretching your necks,
"How shall I make them into adults?"
She said to herself.
Cleaning your whole body,
Causing you to lift your heels
And learn how to walk,
She made you reach
Up to men's shoulders,
Up to geldings' cruppers.

And *even* now, does she not wish to see the happiness of you, her *sons?* Our wise lady, *in bringing you up* had a heart
As bright as the sun,
As wide as a lake.'

So he spoke.

255 Thereupon, Chinggis-qan said *to Cha'adai,* 'How can you speak thus about Jochi? Isn't Jochi the eldest of my sons? In future do not talk like that!' So he said, and at his words Cha'adai smiled and said, 'I shall not dispute Jochi's strength, nor shall I reply to *his claims* of skill. *It is said that*

"*Game* that one has killed *only* with one's mouth
Cannot be loaded on one's mount;
Game that one has slain *only* with one's words
Cannot be skinned."

The eldest sons are Jochi and I. We shall, in cooperation with each other, serve *our* father the qan.

The one of us who evades *his duty*
Shall have *his head* split open;
The one of us who lags behind
Shall have his heels cut across.

But it is Ögödei *among us* who is steady *and considerate:* let us, *therefore,* agree on Ögödei. As Ögödei is close to *our* father the qan, if *the qan* instructs him on the imposing array of the "teaching of the cap" (i.e. on how to be a qan), *this* will be fine!'

So he spoke, and at his words Chinggis-qahan said, 'What do you say, Jochi? Speak up!' Whereupon, Jochi said, 'Cha'adai has just said it: Cha'adai and I shall, in cooperation with each other, serve *the qan.* Let us agree on Ögödei.' So he spoke, and Chinggis-qahan declared as follows: 'Why should you *two* go so far as to cooperate with each other? Mother Earth is wide: its rivers and waters are many. Extending the camps (= grazing grounds) that can be easily divided, We shall make *each of you* rule over a domain and We shall separate you.' And he said, 'You, Jochi and Cha'adai, keep to your word:

Do not let yourselves be scorned by people,
Nor laughed at by men.

Formerly, Altan and Quchar had pledged their word like that (i.e. like you did), but because they failed to keep their word, how were they dealt with? Now, with you, We shall separate *also some* of the offspring of Altan and Quchar: seeing them, how can you be remiss *in your duties?*'

Having spoken thus, *Chinggis-qahan* said, 'Ögödei, what do you say? Speak up!' Ögödei said, 'When *my* father the qahan, favouring me, tells me to speak, what am I to say? How can I say that I am not able *to do so?* I shall say that I will certainly try according to *my* ability. Later, if perchance *some* among my descendants will be born *so worthless* that

Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass,
They would not be eaten by an ox;
Even if one wrapped them in fat,
They would not be eaten by a dog,

will they *not - like the unskilled hunter* - "miss the elk breadthwise *just as* the rat lengthwise?" I'll say as much as that. What else shall I say?'

So he spoke, and at his words Chinggis-qahan declared as follows: 'If Ögödei speaks such words, *that* will do.' Further, he said, 'Tolui, what do you say? Speak up!'

Tolui said, 'Being at the side of my elder brother (i.e. Ögödei) whom *our* father the qahan has *just* designated,

I shall remind him of what he has forgotten,
I shall wake him up when he has fallen asleep.
I shall become a friend of *the word* "yes"
And the whip of his chestnut horse.
Not being remiss in *my* "yes,"

Not being absent from the ranks,
I shall for him go forth on a long campaign
Or fight in a short fight.'

When *Tolui* had spoken thus, Chinggis-qahan approved and declared: 'Descendants of Qasar, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Alchidai, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Otchigin, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Belgütei, appoint one of you to govern. If, thinking in this way and appointing one of my descendants to govern, you do not rescind my order by contravening it, *then* you will not err, you will not be at fault. Supposing that the descendants of Ögödei are *all* born *so worthless* that

Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass,
They would not be eaten by an ox;
Even if one wrapped them in fat,
They would not be eaten by a dog,

is it *possible* that among my descendants not *even* a single one will be born who is good?' So he declared.

256 When Chinggis-qahan set out on the campaign, he sent envoys to Burqan of the Tang'ut people *with a message* saying: 'You said that you will be *my* right (= west) wing. As the Sarta'ul people have broken my "golden halter," I have set out to call them to account *for their action.* You set forth *too* as the right wing *of my army*.'

When *the message* he had sent *was received*, and before Burqan could utter a word, Asha-gambu forestalling him said, 'Since *Chinggis-qahan's* forces are incapable *of subjugating others*, why did he go as far as becoming qan?' So saying, he did not dispatch auxiliary troops *to him* and sent back *the envoys* with haughty words.

Thereupon, Chinggis-qahan said, 'How can we *bear* being spoken to in this manner by Asha-gambu?' And he said, 'The best plan *would*

be for us to send *troops* against them at once by detouring in their direction. What difficulty would there be *in that? But now*, when we are indeed moving in the direction of other people, let that pass. If I am protected by Eternal Heaven, when I come back pulling in strongly *my* golden reins, then surely this matter shall be *dealt with*!'

257 In the Year of the Hare (1219), Chinggis-qahan set out against the Sarta'ul people crossing the Alai. From among the ladies, he took with him on the campaign Qulan-qatun and, having entrusted Otchigin-noyan, from among his younger brothers, with the main base-camp, he moved forth. He sent Jebe as vanguard. He sent Süb'etei in support of Jebe and sent Toquchar in support of Sübe'etei.

As he sent these three *ahead* he said, 'Go *round the* outside, coming out at the other side (= at the back) of the Sultan and, waiting for Us to arrive, attack him from your side.' So saying he sent them forth.

Jebe then went and, passing the cities of Qan-Melik without touching them, he bypassed them on the outside. Behind him, Sübe'etei bypassed them in the same manner without touching them. But Toquchar, *coming* behind him (i.e. Sübe'etei), attacked the border towns of Qan-Melik and pillaged his peasants. Because his towns had been attacked, Qan-Melig rose in rebellion *against us* and joined Jalaldin-soltan.

Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melig moved against Chinggis-qa'an. Shigi-qutuqu went as vanguard before Chinggis-qa'an. Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik fought with Shigi-qutuqu. They defeated Shigi-qutuqu and, pressing on, approached as far as Chinggis-qahan. At that moment, however, Jebe, Sübe'etei and Toquchar, the three of them, came in from behind Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik, overcame them and utterly destroyed them. By so doing, they prevented them from

joining forces in the cities of Buqar (Bukhārā), Semisgab (Samarqand) and Udarar (Utrār). They pursued them as far as the Shin (Indus) River and when, being pressed, the Sarta'ul started throwing themselves into it, many of them did indeed perish there, in the Shin River.

Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik fled upstream along it, saving their lives.

Chinggis-qahan advanced along the Shin River upstream and went to plunder Batkesen (Badakhshān). He reached the Eke Brook and the Ge'ün Brook, and set up camp in the Baru'an (Parvān) Plain. He sent Bala of the Jalayir in pursuit of Jalaldin-soltan.

Chinggis-qahan, greatly favouring Jebe and Sube'etei, said, 'Jebe, you were named Jirqo'adai. When you came *to me* from the Tayichi'ut, you indeed became (i.e. were named) Jebe. Toquchar, of his own will, attacked the border towns of Qan-Melik and caused him to rebel *against us*. By decree we shall execute him!' However, in the end he did not execute him, but having severely reprimanded him, he punished him by demoting him from his command of the army.

258 Then Chinggis-qahan, returning from the Barula (*read* Baru'an) Plain, sent *his* three sons, Jochi, Cha'adai and Ögödei, saying 'Cross the Amui (= Amū) River with the troops of the right (= west) wing and set up camp at the city of Ürünggechi (Urgench/Gurgānj).' He sent Tolui, saying, 'Set up camp at Iru (Herāt), Isebür (Nīshāpūr) and many other towns.' Chinggis-qahan himself encamped at the city of Udirar (Utrār).

The three sons, Jochi, Cha'adai and Ögödei sent the following request: 'Our troops are completely assembled. We have reached the city of Ürünggechi. Of the *three* of us, according to whose words should we act?' Upon their request, Chinggis-qahan sent a message to them ordering that they should act according to the words of

Ögödei.

259 Then Chinggis-qahan, having brought the city of Udurar (Utrār) to submission, set out from the city of Udurar and pitched camp at the city of Semisgab. Setting out from the city of Semisgab, he pitched camp at the city of Buqar. Thereupon, Chinggis-qahan waited for Bala and spent the summer at the ridge of Altan-qorqan in the *former* summer quarters of the Soltan. *From there* he sent messengers to Tolui, saying, 'The weather has become warm. The other troops must pitch camp *too*. You *come and* join Us.'

When he sent *this message*, Tolui had captured the cities of Iru, Isebür and others, had destroyed the city of Sisten (Sīstān) and was just destroying the city of Chuqcheren (Chukhcharān). When the messengers gave him this message, Tolui, having destroyed the city of Chuqcheren, returned to pitch camp and joined Chinggis-qahan.

260 Jochi, Cha'adai and Ögödei, *these* three sons *of Chinggis-qahan*, subjugated the city of Örünggechi (Urgench): they shared the people of the cities among all three of them, but did not give Chinggis-qahan a share.

When these three sons came to set up camp, Chinggis-qahan reprimanded Jochi, Cha'adai and Ögödei - the three sons *in question* - and for three days did not allow them into his presence. Then Bo'orchu, Muqali and Shigi-quduqu, *these* three, petitioned as follows: 'We caused the Soltan of the Sarta'ul people, who had refused to submit, to abase himself and we conquered his cities and peoples. The city of Örünggechi, which was taken and shared, and the sons *of yours* who took it and shared it among themselves, all belong to Chinggis-qa'an. Now that, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth, we have caused the Sarta'ul people to abase themselves like this, we - *the men of* your entire army - are rejoicing and are content with ourselves. Why is the qahan so angry? The

sons have realized their mistake and are indeed afraid. Let *this* be a lesson for their future *behaviour*! We fear lest the sons' natural *ardour* may be diminished *as a result of this*. Will you not, *therefore*, show favour to them *again* and allow them into your presence?'

Upon their petition, Chinggis-qahan, appeased, allowed them into his presence. He rebuked them

> Quoting ancient words,
> Citing old sayings,

and reprimanded them

> To the point where they almost sank
> In the place where they stood,
> To the point where they could not wipe off
> The sweat of their brow.

Just as he was addressing them with reprimands and admonitions, Qongqai-qorchi, Qongtaqar-qorchi and Chormaqan-qorchi - these three quiver-bearers - *also* petitioned Chinggis-qa'an as follows: 'Like grey falcons that have just begun training, the sons are barely learning *how* to wage a military campaign, and, right then, you rebuke them in such a way, ceaselessly, discouraging the sons. Why? We fear lest the sons, being afraid, will lose heart. From *the place* where the sun sets to *the place* where it rises there are enemy people. If you incite us - your Tibetan dogs - and send us *on a mission*, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth we shall bring for you enemy people, gold, silver, satin, goods and subjects. If you say, "Which people?", we say, "Here in the west there is one called the Qalibai-soltan of the Baqtat (Baghdād) people." Let us move against him!' So they petitioned him. The qahan was appeased by these words and *his anger* abated.

Chinggis-qahan approved *their proposal* and issued the *following*

order, favouring the three quiver-bearers Qongqai, Qongtaqar and Chormaqan: 'Qongqai of the Adargin and Qongqatar of the Dolonggir shall stay at my side.' He sent Chormaqan of the Ötegen on a campaign against the Baqtat people and the Qalibai-soltan.

261 Further, *Chinggis-qahan* sent Dörbei-doqshin of the Dörbet on a campaign against Aru (= Iru/Herāt), Maru (Merv) and the city of Abtu (? Āmul) of the Madasari (Māzandarān) people between the Hindus people and the Baqtat people.

262 Further, he sent Sübe'etei-ba'atur northwards to campaign as far as the countries and peoples of these eleven tribes: Qanglin, Kibcha'ut, Bajigit, Orusut, Majarat, Asut, Sasut, Serkesüt, Keshimir, Bolar and Kerel, and, crossing the rivers Idil (Volga) and Jayaq (Ural) rich in water, as far as the city of Kiwa Men-kermen (Kiev).

263 Further, having completed the conquest of the Sarta'ul people, Chinggis-qahan issued an order setting up resident commissioners (*daruqachin*) in the various cities. Two Sarta'ul of the Qurumshi (Khwārazmian) clan - father and son - called Yalawachi and Masqut came from the city of Ürünggechi. They told Chinggis-qa'an about the laws and customs of cities; *whereupon the latter*, being adequately informed as to *these* customs, appointed his (i.e. Yalawachi's) son Masqut the Qurumshi, putting him in charge, with our resident commissioners (*daruqas*), of Buqar, Semisgen, Ürünggechi, Udan (Khotan), Kisqar (Kashgar), Uriyang (Yarkend), Güsen-Daril (= Kucha-tarim) and other cities. He brought *back with him* his (i.e. Masqut's) father Yalawachi and put him in charge of the city of Jungdu of the Kitat.

Because, from *among* the Sartaqtai (Muslim) people, Yalawachi and Masqut were adept in the laws and customs of cities, *Chinggis-qahan* appointed them, with *our* resident commissioners, putting them in charge of the Kitat people.

264 *Chinggis-qahan* spent seven years in *the country of* the Sarta'ul people. Then, at the time when he was waiting for Bala of the Jalayir, Bala, having crossed the Shin River, was pursuing Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik as far as the country of the Hindus. He lost track of Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik and, *even though* he sought them as far as the middle of *the country of* the Hindus, he was unable *to find them* and returned. He came back pillaging the people on the border of the Hindus and seizing many camels and many gelded billy-goats.

Then Chinggis-qahan returned *home*. On the way he spent the summer on the *river* Erdish (Irtysh). In the autumn (*read* spring) of the Year of the Cock (1225) - the seventh year *of the campaign* - he settled down at his palaces (= royal encampment) in the Black Forest of the Tūla.

(To be continued)

COMMENTARY

For the abbreviations used in the Commentary see *PFEH* 4 (September 1971), 151-152, and 5 (March 1972), 175. To these must now be added the following: Cleaves *SH* = F.W. Cleaves, *The Secret History of the Mongols, For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with an Exegetical Commentary*, Vol. 1 (Translation), (Cambridge, Mass.; London, 1982).

247 With this section begins the account of Chinggis' campaign in North China against the Jurchens who, since 1115, had established themselves there as rulers of the Chin 金 state, replacing the Khitan-Liao 遼 (907-1115) and enlarging their kingdom at the expense of the Southern Sung 南宋 (1127-1279). The account in the *SH* covers the period 1211-1215 (§§247-253). This is followed by Chinggis' Western Campaign, i.e. the expedition against the Shāh Muḥammad of Khwārazm (hereafter Khwarezm) in Central and Western Asia of 1218/9-1225 (§§254-264), and by his final war against the Tangut state of Hsi-Hsia 西夏 in 1226-1227 (§§265-268), ending with the conqueror's death. These three phases are treated very superficially in the *SH* and contain many historical and geographical inaccuracies. The chief value of the *SH* narrative lies not in its historical reliability, but in providing us with an insight into these momentous events straight from the Mongol camp, as it were, and in enlivening them with numerous human elements, personal touches and important details which are lacking in the Chinese sources. The latter, together with the rich Persian sources, are of course much more accurate and complete as records of political and military events for this period, certainly one of the most confused in the history of Asia. Insofar as the war with Chin is concerned, the fullest account in any western language is still H.D. Martin's *The Rise of Chingis Khan and His Conquest of North China* (Baltimore, 1950; rep. New York, 1970) which, owing to the fact that the author did not know Chinese, must be used with great care. For the events under discussion, see especially pp.130-180. A good survey of this campaign is found in Li Tse-fen 李則芬, *Ch'eng-chi-ssu-han hsin-chuan* 成吉思汗新傳 (Taipei, 1970), pp.249-309. See also the important historical and geographical commentary by Naka in *Chingisu-kan jitsuroku* (1907 ed.), p.427ff., and the detailed notes to the relevant sections in Murakami's *Mongoru*

hishi, III (1976). The inhabitants of North China belonging to the Jurchen/Chin state are always called 'Kitat' or 'the Kitat people' (*Kitat irgen*). See my note to §53, where this terms occurs for the first time, and Pelliot's remarks in *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.386-387. They included Jurchen as well as Chinese people. Further on in this section we encounter for the first time the designation 'Jürchet' (pl. of Jürchen). On this name, see H. Serruys, *Sino-Jürced Relations During the Yung-lo Period (1403-1424)*, (Wiesbaden, 1955), pp. vii-viii, n.1. On its use by the Mongols see below. Vujiu, i.e. Fu-chou 撫州, was the northernmost outpost of Chin and therefore the first to take the brunt of the advancing Mongol army early in 1211. It was situated in Chang-pei hsien 張北縣, in the former province of Chahar, now the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region; its ruins were, and presumably still are, in present-day Hsing-ho ch'eng 興和城, known also by its Mongolian name of Qara-balghasun or 'Black Town,' some 50 km. north of Chang-chia k'ou 張家口 (formerly Kalgan). See *Guides Madrolle: Chine du Nord*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1911), pp.244-245. The 'Fox Ridge' (Hünegen-dabā) is the Mongolian translation of Chinese Yeh-hu ling 野狐嶺, the defile about 15 km. northwest of Chang-chia k'ou and 20 km. northeast of Wan-ch'üan 萬全, known in Yüan times also as E-hu-ling 扼胡嶺. See *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chu* 13, 2a-3a; *Yüan pi-shih shan ch'uan ti-ming k'ao* 10, 40a; and *Yüan pi-shih ti-li k'ao-cheng* 13, 1b (on these Chinese works, see *HJAS* 14 [1951], 434; the last two have been reprinted in *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih san-chung* 元朝秘史三種 [Kyoto, 1975], pp.773-815). Passage through the Yeh-hu ling was by the strategic Te-sheng k'ou 得勝口 Pass, known in the Yüan as Huan-erh tsui 獾兒嘴 ('Badger's Mouth'). It was one of the main gateways to China from Mongolia and a regular route of invaders. Söndeivu, i.e. Hsüan-te fu 宣德府, is the present-day Hsüan-hua hsien 宣化縣 in Hopei, on the road from Chang-chia k'ou to Peking. The name Hsüan-te fu is apparently anachronistic since this place was then officially known as Hsüan-te chou (州), the name being changed to Hsüan-te fu only in 1263. The change in the text seems to have occurred, therefore, after this date. See W. Hung in *HJAS* 14 (1951), 489-490; Ligeti, p.180, n.247. For some evidence to the contrary see, however, I. de Rachewiltz in *MS* 24 (1965), 196. On the capture of Hsüan-te by the Mongols, see Martin, *op. cit.*, p.142. The officer sent ahead with Jebe to Chü-yung kuan is called Güyigünek-ba'atur. He is mentioned only once in the *SH* and is probably to be identified with the

K'uei-ch'ü-nieh (*Küichüne[k]) 愛曲涅 of *YS* 115, p.2886, *s.a.* 1231. As noted by Murakami, *op. cit.*, p.141, n.5, this name is Turkish: *küikänäk* ∿ *küigänäk* 'a mouse-catching hawk, a bustard.' See Radloff, II, pp.1418, 1419. Chabchiyal and Chabchiyal-daba'an ('Chabchiyal Pass') designate Chü-yung kuan 居庸關 , the well-known pass in the Chü-yung defile northwest of Ch'ang-p'ing hsien 昌平縣 in Hopei, the southern end of which (Nan-k'ou 南口) is about 53 km. from Peking. For a long time it was the most strategic post north of Peking on the route between this city and Hsüan-te. This long (18 km.) and narrow valley separating the plain of Peking from the Chang-chia k'ou plateau was called by the Mongols Chabchiyal, a word meaning in fact 'steep, steep ravine, gully.' See Lessing, p.154b; *Mongghol kitad toli*, p.1201c. Its present name in Mongolian is Chabchiyal-boghomta (Khalkha: Cavčaal-boomt), also meaning Chabchiyal Pass. On this pass, see Madrolle, *op. cit.*, pp.48-51; see also the recent, monumental work by Murata Jirō 村田治郎 (ed.), *Kyoyō-kan* 居庸關 (*Chü-yung-kuan, The Buddhist Arch of the Fourteenth Century A.D. at the Pass of the Great Wall Northwest of Peking*) (Kyoto, 1955-58), esp. Vol. I, pp.327-330. The latter work is chiefly devoted to the famous arch or gate at Chü-yung kuan which is 10 km. northwest of Nan-k'ou (i.e. halfway between Nan-k'ou and Pa-ta-ling 八達嶺), and the walls of which contain Buddhist inscriptions (*dhāraṇis* and hymns) in six languages and scripts dating back to 1345. The Chabchiyal-un qa'alqa or 'Gate of Chabchiyal' mentioned further on in this section of the *SH* refers to this gate, as it was, of course, during the Chin period. For all these localities, see also the excellent map of Peking and surroundings by E. Bretschneider, reproduced at the end of J. Bredon's work *Peking. A Historical and Intimate Description of its Chief Places of Interest* (Kelly and Walsh; Shanghai, etc., 1922). '*Seeing that* the C. Pass was defended (*bekilekdejü*)': for this construction, see Poppe, 'Passive Constructions,' p.374; cf. also Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 (1950), 444, n.15. '*When they discovered that* he had turned back': for this construction too, see Poppe, *op. cit.*, p.375. 'Till the valleys (*chölke*) and the mountains were completely covered (*bütetele*) *with them*': here *chölke* must be read *jölke* as already indicated by Mostaert, pp.98-99, n.94, who rendered this sentence as 'de façon que vallées et monts furent obstrués' (p.99). For *büte-* (= Writ. Mong. *büte-*, *bütü-*) 'to cover completely,' cf. §193 *in fine*. See Kowalewski, p.1232b; Lessing, p.151b. Cf. Ordos *bɯ'tʻɯ-* 'être recouvert' (Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.107b). The Chinese gloss *sai-man*

塞滿 was rendered by Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.24, as 'verstopft sein' (cf. Mostaert's 'furent obstrués'); however, *sai-man* properly means 'to stuff full.' See Mathews, p.752a; Lin Yutang, p.921c. 'With the main body of the army,' i.e. with the army of the centre or middle army (*gol cherik*, Chin. *chung-chün* 中軍). For this expression, see Poppe in *MS* 26 (1967), 513-514, no. 7. Cf. Martin, *op. cit.*, pp.22-23. 'The valiant and bold (*erekün omoqun*) Jüyin troops of the Qara-Kitat and the Jürchet': the text has 'Qara-Kidat.' For Qara-Kidat = Qara-Kitat, see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.227. The enigmatic 'Jüyin troops (*cheri'üt*)' of §§247 and 248, and the 'Jüyin people (*irgen*)' of §§53 and 266, were border-defence corps in the service of the Jurchen. They were drawn from various ethnic groups and tribes, such as the Tatar (§53), the Khitan (§§247, 266) and the Jurchen themselves (§247). They have been identified by some scholars with the Chiu Army 糾亾 (=糾乚) 軍 of the Liao, Chin and Yüan sources. The Chiu Army consisted of troops stationed along the northern frontier to guard the border areas from incursions from the north. Originally made up of Khitan soldiers during the Liao dynasty, they later (i.e. during the Chin period) included auxiliary forces from other allied groups, although the Khitan element apparently predominated. Among the Chiu, the Chinese sources mention also Tangut troops as well as troops from other minor ethnic groups along the border. Textual evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the identification of the Chiu with the Jüyin. However, contrary to opinions expressed in the past, I do not believe that there is any phonetic relationship between the Chinese and the Mongol term, since in the 13th-14th c. *chiu*糾亾 resulted in *giv*, not *jiv*. See, e.g., the *Meng-ku tzu-yün* 蒙古字韻 (in Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 羅常培 and Ts'ai Mei-piao 蔡美彪 , *Pa-ssu-pa tzu yü Yüan-tai Han-yü* 八思巴字與元代漢語 [Peking, 1959], p.120b [= B, 17b]). In my view, the relationship between the two terms is semantic. The term *jüyin*, possibly of Khitan origin, most likely derives from the verb **jüyi-* (= *jüi-*) + the deverbal nominal suff. *-n*. In Mongolian, *jüi-* means 'to assemble, put together from various pieces, arrange according to the colour; attach to.' Cf. Kowalewski, p.2407b; Lessing, pp.1083b-1084a. For the nominal suffix *-n*, see Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, p.49, §175. Thus, *jüyin* would mean 'something assembled (i.e. put together, arranged) from different sources *or* made up of different kinds.' In Chinese, the word *chiu*糾亾 (=糾) means 'to join, band together, unite (in a group, confederacy, etc.).' See Mathews,

p.171a; Lin Yutang, pp.1425c-1426a. The idea expressed by both terms is of something - in this case troops, an army - brought together from different places or made up of different kinds of people, as in fact these *foederati* were. According to the *SH* (§§247 and 248), the Jüyin troops sent against the advancing Mongols were the élite 'Qara-Kitat' and 'Jürchet' detachments supporting the regular Chin army, here referred to simply as 'the Kitat.' They were defeated by the main Mongol army led by Chinggis. The Chinese sectional summary says (*YCPS* S.I, 3b): 'He (Chinggis) defeated all the important (= leading) Ch'i-tan (Khitan), Nü-chen (Jürchen) and other troops of the Chin state.' As stated earlier, in the Mongolian text the general term 'Kitat' designates the Chin state of North China and its mixed population - Jurchen and Chinese; the term used for the ethnic Khitans (*both* the subjects of the Chin living in North China *and* the Qara-Khitai/Hsi-Liao of Central Asia) was 'Qara-Kitat' ('Black Kitat'), *qara*, lit. 'black' here merely indicating that these were the 'true' Khitans. (On this particular use of the term *qara*, see N. Poppe in *The Canada-Mongolia Review* 3, 2 [Oct. 1977], 121, §§12 and 14.) The double value of 'Qara-Kitat' (in Persian 'Qarā-Khitai') is reflected also in Rashīd al-Dīn's work. The 'Jürchet' of the *SH* are, therefore, not the Jurchens of China, also called 'Kitat,' but the 'true' Jurchens of southeastern Manchuria. See Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.227, 387. The Khitan and Jurchen Jüyin corps were obviously among the best and most loyal troops of the Chin ruler, as witness Chinggis' remarks in §266; however, already during the reign of the Chin emperor Chang-tsung 章宗 (1190-1208), some Jüyin troops had rebelled against their Jurchen masters and gone over to the Mongols. The role of the Jüyin in the Mongol conquest of North China has been virtually ignored by Western historians and we are, therefore, indebted to P.D. Buell for having drawn attention to it in recent years. See, in particular, his 'Tribe, *Qan* and *Ulus*,' pp.23, 44, 50-54, 61, 88; and 'The Role of the Sino-Mongolian Frontier Zone in the Rise of Chinggis-qan,' in *Studies on Mongolia. Proceedings of the First North American Conference on Mongolian Studies*, ed. H.G. Schwarz, Western Washington University (Bellingham, 1978), esp. pp.66-67. On the Jüyin, see also the fundamental studies by Wang Kuo-wei in *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* 觀堂集林 16 (*Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien-sheng i-shu, ts'e* 7), 2b-16b; and Yanai Watari in *Mōkoshi kenkyū*, pp.69-125. See also Pelliot in *TP* 26 (1929), 128-129; Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, pp.137, n.20; 395, n.100; Hsiao, *The Military Establishment*, p.174, n.52 (also for further literature on the subject); Haenisch, Yao, Olbricht and Pinks, *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* (hereafter Olbricht and Pinks), pp.16, 17-18, n.1, 36, 44, n.22, 60, 62, n.9, and, more recently, Ts'ai Mei-piao 蔡美彪 in *Yüan-shih lun-ts'ung* 元史論叢 2 (1983), 1-22. 'Until they were like heaps of broken logs,' lit. 'until they stood (= piled up) *like* broken (*or* rotten) trees.' Cf. §§196, 251 and 272. For the 'gate of Chabchiyal,' see above. For the passes in question, see Madrolle, *op. cit.*, pp.47-48. Shira-degtür ('Yellow Terrace') corresponds to Lung-hu t'ai 龍虎臺, a locality southeast of Chü-yung kuan, about halfway between Nan-k'ou and Ch'ang-p'ing hsien and some 40 km. northwest of Peking. *Degtür* (∿ *degtü*) = Writ. Mong. *degtürge* 'step, tier; terrace on the side of a mountain.' See Mostaert's and Cleaves' remarks on this term in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 88, n.20. Jungdu, i.e. Chung-tu 中都 ('Middle Capital'), was the main Chin capital. It occupied, by and large, the southern half of the modern city of Peking, which was built in the early 15th century. On it, see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.142, 256; II, p.844; Hsiao, *op. cit.*, p.192, n.244. The actual attack on Chung-tu did not take place until the beginning of 1214, hence later than the events described in this section, which are of 1211-1212. What the *SH* means is that Chinggis, on his way to conquer the Chin capital, sent his armies to seize the main enemy strongholds in order to secure the success of the operation. These strongholds, referred to as *qotot qotot balaqat* 'the various towns and cities,' are enumerated in the *YS* and other sources. See Naka, *op. cit.*, pp.435-437; cf. Martin, *loc. cit.* As already noted by previous investigators, Dungchang, i.e. Tung-ch'ang 東昌 (in Shantung) must be an error for Dungging, i.e. Tung-ching 東京, or Liao-yang 遼陽, present-day Liao-yang hsien in Liaoning. This correction is supported by parallel accounts in the *YS* 1, p.16, and *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 62a, as well as by Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.165 (where 'Tun-kin' = Tung-ching). See W. Hung in *HJAS* 14 (1951), 489. However, according to other accounts found also in the *YS*, Tung-ching was captured by Muqali in 1214. See Naka, *op. cit.*, p.438; Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*, III, pp.145-146, n.10; I. de Rachewiltz in *PFEH* 15 (March 1977), 48-49. Conflicting reports on the dates of capture of towns and the identity of the military leaders are all too common in the later sources dealing with these early campaigns. It seems that in the case of Tung-ching both accounts are correct: the city was first captured by Jebe in 1212, then reoccupied by the Chin, and later recaptured by Muqali's army. Cf. Li Tse-fen, *op. cit.*, pp.267-275, esp. pp.268-271; Martin, *op. cit.*, p.145ff. The *AT*, II, 69,

lines 2, 4 (= *SHA*, pp.181, 182) has the corrupt form 'Düngju,' which is of no help. 'As far as the distance (*qajar-a gürchü*) of six days' (*jirqo'an qonoq*, lit. "six nights") *marching from there*'; according to the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 62a (*s.a.* 1211), the distance covered by Jebe's soldiers was 500 *li* (= c.270 km.), which makes an average of 45 km. a day. Haenisch (*Die Geheime Geschichte*, p.120, §247) erroneously has 'drei Tagesmärschen'; cf. his *Wörterbuch*, p.57, *s.v.* 'ḫajar': 'jirḫo'an ḫonoh∿, .. von 6 Tagereisen 247.' For *genet* 'who is unaware, unprepared; etc.,' see above, n.240 *in fine*.

248 'When Jungdu was under attack (*e'erekderün*)': for *e'erekderün*, cf. Poppe's rendering 'experiencing the siege' ('Passive Constructions,' p.374). I follow the Chinese gloss which has 被攻時 'when was attacked'; however, the verb *e'ere-* (= Writ. Mong. *egere-*) in the *SH* has both the meanings of 'to attack' and 'to surround, besiege.' See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.42. The first siege of Chung-tu, to which our text refers, took place early in 1214; see Martin, *op. cit.*, p.168ff. The Chinese and Persian accounts of these events are not in full agreement with each other and with the *SH* narrative. See *YS* 1, p.17; *Sheng-wu* ..., 66b-67a; Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.170-171. Cf. Ligeti, p.180, n.248, for a discussion of some of these discrepancies. The Altan-qan, i.e. the then ruling Chin emperor (see nn.53 and 250 above) was Hsüan-tsung 宣宗 (r.1213-1223). For Ongging-chingsang = Wan-yen *ch'eng-hsiang* 完顏丞相 'Chancellor Wan-yen,' see n.132 above (where 'Prime Minister' should be amended to 'Chancellor'). However, the person in question is not the same official mentioned in §§132-134, viz. the Right Chancellor (*yu ch'eng-hsiang* 右丞相) Wan-yen Hsiang 完顏襄 , but the Right Chancellor Wan-yen Fu-hsing 復興 , alias Wan-yen Ch'eng-hui 承暉 . See *Chin-shih* 金史 (*Chung-hua shu-chü* ed., 1975) 101, pp.2223-2227, esp. p.2225. Cf. Martin, *op. cit.*, pp.169-171. I have used the form *chingsang* because this is the one found in the Persian and Armenian sources (*chingsāng; chinksan*), as well as in Marco Polo's book (*cingsan*). It is mainly on this ground that Pelliot adopted it (see *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.365, *s.v.* 'Cingsan'; and Pelliot-Hambis, pp.193-194) and all commentators after him, with the notable exception of Ligeti, who writes *csingsziang* (= *čingsiang*) in his translation (Ligeti, p.45 *et passim*), but *čingseng* in his text edition (*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p.87 *et passim*) and in *SHA*, p.90 *et passim*. The reading *seng* instead of *sang* for the character *hsiang*相 of *ch'eng-hsiang* is, indeed, supported by the 13th and 14th c. transcriptions of

Chinese in 'Phags-pa script, in which 相 is regularly read as *seŋ*, whereas uncertainty remains with regard to those in Uighur-Mongol script, in which the word in question can be read either *sang* or *seng* - the problem being further complicated by the front- or back-vocalic words that are joined to it, as e.g. in the term *saisang/seiseng* = Chin. *tsai-hsiang* 宰相 . See Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 131-132, n.263 (where, however, it is incorrectly stated that 相 *deest apud* Dragunov; this character is actually listed in Dragunov's table as no.399). Hence, too, Ligeti's reading *saisang* in *MLMMT* II, p.75, line 53, but *gung-seng-vuu* in *ibid.*, pp.54, line 14, and 56, line 31. The reading *seng* is also supported by the fact that the character *hsiang* 想 , identical in sound to 相 , is one of the characters used in the *SH* to transcribe Mongolian *seng*, as e.g. in the name Senggüm (< Senggün, see Pelliot-Hambis, p.334). Nevertheless, 相 read *siaŋ* in Ancient Chinese (according to Karlgren) and *siaŋ* in Old Mandarin (according to Tōdō on the basis of the *Chung-yüan yin-yün* 中原音韻 of 1324) can also render *sang*, as in the Old Turkish and Uighur transcriptions, which show a clear ambivalence (*saŋun/säŋün*). See J.R. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties* (Paris, 1955), p.155, no.39. On these titles, see also Doerfer, Nos.184 (*čingsāng*) and 1221 (*sāngün*). The same ambivalence clearly existed in the Mongol period also with regard to the Turco-Mongolian pronunciation of *ch'eng-hsiang*, with both forms (*chingsang* and *chingseng*) used concurrently. It must be emphasized again that for the contemporary reader of such transcriptions in Uighur-Mongol script it was normally impossible to decide (without, of course, previous knowledge of the original term) *on the basis of the script alone* whether the word in question - or part of it in the case of a composite term - was to be read with front or back vocalism. *'This is* the turn of fortune decreed by H. and E.,' lit. 'The destiny (*jaya'an*) and time (*chaq*) of H. and E.' Cf. §194: *Monggol-un chaq jaya'an bui-je* 'Surely it is the turn of fortune *in favour* of the Mongols decreed *by Heaven*,' lit. 'Surely it is the time and destiny of the Mongols.' My renderings in §194 and n.194 have to be amended accordingly. For the words *yeke oro ye'ütgekü chaq-u'u gürba* (= *gürbe*), see Mostaert, p.102, and Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 466. For *yeke oro* 'the great (= imperial) throne,' lit. 'the great place,' cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 (1950), 106-107, n.17. *Erkit* is the plural of *erkin* 'leading, eminent, important' (= Writ. Mong. *erkin, erkim* id.), translated here as 'élite.' I render *itegeltü Chabchiyal-i ber* as 'the Chabchiyal, too, on which we were relying (lit.

"the reliable Chabchiyal"),' rather than 'even the Chabchiyal (Pass) which (we) were relying on,' as in J. Street, 'The Particle *ber* in the *Secret History*' (*UAJ* 6, N.F.1 [1981], 155, no.17), because the Chinese sectional summary does not support the rendering of *ber* with 'even' in the present instance (see *YCPS* S.I., 7a). 'They will no doubt (*qala'ar*) scatter *and return* to their various cities (*balaqat balaqat-dur-iyan*),' i.e. the scattered remnants of the defeated armies will not regroup, but will flee back to the safety of their respective garrisons. The word *qala'ar* (= Writ. Mong. *qalaghar*) occurs only once in the *SH*, in the present passage, where it is glossed as *pi-jan* 必然 'certainly, without fail.' It occurs several times in the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389 with the same meaning. See Mostaert, *Matériel mongol*, p.87. The Writ. Mong. form is not registered by Kowalewski, but it occurs, for example, in the colophon of the *Erdeni-yin tobchi*. See C.Ž. Žamcarano, *The Mongol Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century*, tr. R. Loewenthal (Wiesbaden, 1955), p.21, line 27. Cf. J.R. Krueger in *CAJ* 8 (1963), 122 and 123, stanza 47, line 4. *Qalaghar* is found in Lessing, p.1214a, where it is rendered as 'verily, surely.' 'And if we rally them against their will they will turn against us and will no *longer* be our friends,' lit. 'Furthermore (*jichi*), if they are subject to being gathered by us, not willing, becoming enemies (= hostile) to us, they will not be friends.' 'For the present' renders *edö'et-tür*, an expression which occurs also only once in the *SH*, but twice in the *Hua-i i-yü*, where it alternates with *edö'e-tür* (= Writ. Mong. *edüge-dür*) 'at present, now.' See Mostaert, *op. cit.*, p.52. The expression *edö'et-tür* (= Writ. Mong. *edüged-tür*) occurs in other early texts, such as the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362. See Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 66, line 37: *edüged-tür*. According to Poppe, *Twelve Deeds*, p.88: F19v.14, *edö'et* (*edüged*) is a plural of *edö'e* (*edüge*). For the plural suffix *-t* (*-d*) added to words ending in a vowel, see Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, p.71, §268. For the passage *ü* > *ö* (*edüge* > *edöge* > *edö'e*), see Mostaert, p.41, n.40; Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, p.73. 'If the Mongols agree to withdraw,' lit. 'If, entering into (= acceding to) the proposal (*or* agreement) the Mongols withdraw.' 'After their withdrawal,' lit. 'after we have caused them to withdraw.' 'Find *our* country unsuitable (*he'üshiyejü*) and fall victim to epidemics (*kölchirgemüi*)'; on the verb *he'üshiye-* (= Writ. Mong. *egüshiye-*) 'to find disagreeable, intolerable,' see Pelliot in *JA* 206 (1925), 216, no.23; Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 (1950), 114-115,

n.84. For *kölchirge-* 'to fall victim to epidemics,' see Pelliot, *loc. cit.* 'Princess (*öki*),' lit. 'daughter, girl' (= French *fille*). Cf. *kö'ü(n)* 'son' = 'prince.' For *et* (= Writ. Mong. *ed*) 'goods, possessions' and *et tabar* (= Writ. Mong. *ed tavar*) id., see Cleaves in *HJAS* 17 (1954), 88-89, n.7. 'In abundance,' lit. 'heavily' (*kündü-te*). 'When O.-c. had given his advice, the A.-q. approved these words of his,' lit. 'When he (O.-c.) had advised, the A.-q. approved these words of O.-c.' 'Let it be so!' renders *eyin bö'et boltuqai*, lit. 'thus, precisely, let it be!' i.e. 'do just as you say.' The Chin princess offered to Chinggis-qan is called Gungjü in the *SH*. This was not the name of the lady in question, but the Mongol transcription of the Chinese term for 'princess' which is *kung-chu* 公主 . Haenisch (*Die Geheime Geschichte*, p.121) transcribes this word as 'Gungdschu,' and Cleaves (*op. cit.*, p.88, n.7) as 'Gungju.' Cf. Cleaves *SH*, p.184. In effect, the character *chu* 主 in the Chinese transcriptions of the 13th-14th c. is used to render both *ju* and *jü*, and in view of the modern pronunciation of this character, the reading 'Gungju' seems justified. The *AT*, II, 70, line 7 (= *SHA*, p.183), gives the corrupt form 'Güngji': the final *yod* is undoubtedly a scribal error for *waw*. Now, in the 'Phags-pa transcriptions of Chinese, *chu* (Ancient Chinese *tśi̯u*) was written *jeu* = *jü*. See the *Meng-ku tzu-yün*, p.109b (= A, 29b). Cf. the Old Mandarin reading *tʃɩu* (Tōdō), *tsriu˧* (Stimson). In the Yüan transcriptions in Uighur-Mongol script, *chu* 主 in the combination *kung-chu* is written *ju* or *jü* (final *waw* can represent either vowel), as well as *juu*. See Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 (1950), 84b-85a, 119, n.131. Cf. G. Kara in *AOH* 17 (1964), 164, n.65. Unfortunately, this character does not occur in initial position. However, the character *chu* (Ancient Chinese *ɖ'i̯u*) 柱 , which has the same final of 主 , occurs at the beginning of words, where it is transcribed unequivocably as *jü* (see Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p.85a), and in final position as *juu* (where *uu* = ü ?). See Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 74b. Whatever the significance of the latter phenomenon, which in my view is an orthographic, not a phonological, peculiarity of the texts in Uighur-Mongol script (cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 [1950], 105-106, n.9; 106, n.11), there is no doubt that in the Mongolian transcriptions of the Yüan the vowel sound of the character 柱 was ü and not *u*. This is confirmed by the 'Phags-pa transcription *cheu* = *chü* of this character (see *Meng-ku tzu-yün*, *ibid.*). We may, therefore, assume that in the 13th-14th c. the character 主 had also the value of *jü* in Mongolian, and that this value reflected its Old Mandarin

pronunciation *tʃu* which eventually resulted in Modern Mandarin *tṣu* (= Wade-Giles *chu*). However, in view of the fact that the Chinese transcriptions such as those of the *SH* and the *Hua-i i-yü* cannot in most cases distinguish between the vowels *u* and *ü*, the character *chu* 主 employed in these works can represent both *ju* and *jü*. Nevertheless, for the reasons stated above, the phonetically correct reading of the expression *kung-chu* (Old Mandarin *gung-tʃu*) is *gung-jü*, hence the form 'gungjü' adopted by Ligeti in his transcription of the *SH* text (p.217), which I have also followed in my *Index*. Cf. Kara, *loc. cit.* However, in Ligeti, pp.116, 181 and 222, the princess' name is transcribed as 'Güngdzsü' (= Güngjü), probably in order to harmonize the first with the second syllable and perhaps also on the strength of the reading 'Güngji' of the *AT*. The same 'harmonized' reading is found in Damdinsüren's version (*Mongolyn nuuc tovčoo*, 1976 ed., p.208) and in Murakami, *op. cit.*, III, p.148, n.13. Since we do not know what the form found in the original text of the *SH* in Uighur-Mongol script was, the reading 'Gungjü' although *theoretically* correct, is by no means certain and it is, therefore, given here only tentatively. The works by Karlgren, Tōdō and Stimson to which I have referred in the above discussion are the following: B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Stockholm; rep. in 1972 from *BEFEO* 29 [1957]); Tōdō Akiyasu 藤堂明保, *Kanji gogen kenkyū* 漢字語源研究 (Tokyo, 1963); and H.M. Stimson, *The Jongyuan in yunn: A Guide to Old Mandarin Pronunciation* (New Haven, 1966). As already noted by earlier commentators, the princess in question was not the daughter of Hsüan-tsung, but of his predecessor Wei-shao wang 衛紹王, alias Yung-chi 永濟 (r.1209-1213), and her name was Ch'i-kuo 岐國. See *YS* 1, p.17. Cf. Martin, *op. cit.*, pp.170-171. The Taoist patriarch Ch'ang-ch'un 長春, i.e. Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 丘處機 (1148-1227), and his party met her in Mongolia in July 1221. See the *Hsi-yu chi*, A, 21b, 22b-23a; Waley, *Travels of an Alchemist*, pp.71, 73 (where, however, the word 'Tangut' in n.2 is a mistake for 'Chinese'). 'As much as, in their judgement, their strength *and that of their horses* could carry,' lit. 'letting them decide (*mede'ülün*) by the strength (*güchün-e*) as much as one could carry (*da'aqui-acha*).' For *da'a-* (= Writ. Mong. *daghagha-*) 'to be able to carry, bear or lift,' see Lessing, p.216a. Mojui is our transliteration, into 13th-14th c. Mongolian pronunciation, of the name Mo-chou 莫州 of the text, glossed - together with the following Fu-chou 撫州 (Vujiu, see above, n.247) - as *chün ming* 郡名 'names of commanderies.' In §247, Fu-chou was glossed as

chou ming 州名 'name of prefecture,' just as Hsüan-te fu 宣德府 (Söndeivu) in the same paragraph was glossed *fu ming* 府名 'name of administration.' The different gloss for Mo-chou and Fu-chou in our passage already shows that there is something wrong with these names. The sectional summary reads as follows: 'Wang-ching 王京 (= Ongging) personally accompanied *Ch'eng-chi-ssu* as far as the mountain spurs(山嘴) of Mo-chou and Fu-chou.' See *YCPS* S.I, 7b. The various editions and manuscripts of the *AT* give the following readings: Moju Juju (*AT*, II, 70, line 11; Bibliothèque nationale MS, 156v, line 7); Mo jeu U-jeu (Kozin, *Sokr. skaz.*, p.391); Moju Juju (Shastina, p.219); Mo-ju U-ju (*SHA*, p.183). It is almost certain that the 'Juju' or 'Uju' of the *AT* was originally 'Vuju'. Thus, the *AT* would confirm the reading of the *SH*. Nevertheless, the text is certainly corrupt and the evidence from the *AT* merely indicates that the error originated in the copying or editing of the MS during the Yüan. Furthermore, as we have already seen (above, n.247), place names in the *SH* underwent changes that cannot always be accounted for. As already noted by most commentators, Mo-chou 莫州 is out of the question here, as this town - the present Jen-ch'iu hsien 任邱縣 in Hopei - is southwest of Peking, hence in a completely different direction from that taken by Chinggis. The conqueror, as we know, returned to the north in the third month (= 12 April-10 May) of 1214, and in the sixth month (= 9 July-7 August) was encamped on the banks of the Yü-erh-po 魚兒濼 (or Ta-li-po 達里濼 'Ta-li Lake,' i.e. the Dal (< Dar) Nor, by some authors incorrectly referred to as 'Dalai Nor'; on this lake, see H. Serruys in *MS* 18 [1959], 4, n.6) 'escaping the summer heat' (*YS* 1, pp.17-18). According to the *YS* (1, p.17), Wan-yen Fu-hsing, alias Ongging-chingsang, 'accompanied the Emperor out (lit. "going out") of Chü-yung,' in other words, he saw Chinggis out of the pass before returning to Chung-tu. The laconic *YS* account does not say how far out of Chü-yung kuan he actually went with the imperial suite before turning back, but other early sources do. The *Sheng-wu ...*, 67a (*s.a.* 1214) says that he accompanied Chinggis-qan 'as far as Yeh-ma ch'ih 野麻池 and returned.' In the corresponding passage of Rashid-ad-Din (I/2, p.171) it is stated that he 'came before Chingiz-khan, passed through Chamchiyal (= Chabchiyal, i.e. Chü-yung kuan), and accompanying *him* went as far as the place called Machi (= Māchī; in the text: Mājī - I.R.), and from there turned back.' Cf. I.N. Berezin in *V.O.I.R.A.O.* 15 (1888), 23. In the rare *T'ung-chien hsü-pien* 通鑑續編 of Ch'en Ching 陳櫻

(Preface of 1350) 20, 6b-7a, the same account is found, and the locality in question is called Ma-ch'ih 麻池. There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the Mājī/Māchī of Rashīd al-Dīn and the (Yeh-)Ma-ch'ih of the Chinese sources are one and the same place. I agree with other commentators that the 'Mo-chou (Mojiu)' of the *SH* is probably an error for 'Ma-ch'ih (Machi),' but with reservations. See W. Hung's remarks in *HJAS* 14 (1951), 488. It remains, however, to identify this locality which to my knowledge is not mentioned in other Yüan or later works, at least in this form and in this region. Since in the *SH* 'Mo-chou' is mentioned in connection with Fu-chou, we may of course assume that it was in the same general area of the latter; this makes sense, as the locality under discussion would then be on the way from the Great Wall to the Dal Nor by the usual route - the one, e.g., also followed by Ch'ang-ch'un (see Waley, *op. cit.*, pp.56-64). The obvious 'point of return' for an envoy like Ongging-chingsang would have been, in fact, one of the last Chin outposts north of the Wall, such as Fu-chou. The 'spurs' (*goshi'un*) to which the *SH* refers can only be, therefore, those of the northern face of the Manitu Mts. (馬尼圖山). Now, according to Ting Ch'ien 丁謙, Yeh-ma ch'ih corresponds to a locality called I-ma-t'u 歸馬圖, situated 90 *li* north and slightly to the east of Chang-chia k'ou (Kalgan). See his *Yüan Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu ti-li k'ao-cheng* 元聖武親征錄地理考證 (*Che-chiang t'u-shu-kuan ts'ung-shu* 浙江圖書館叢書 ed.; 1915), 38a. This identification is worth considering. I-ma-t'u, also and better known as Yeh-ma-t'u 野馬圖, is about 30 km. east-southeast of Chang-pei/Fu-chou, 30 km. northeast of Chang-chia k'ou and 20 km. northwest of Ch'ung-li/T'ai-p'ing chang. See the 1:1.000,000 World Map of the U.S. Army Map Service (Sheet NK50, Series 1301: Ch'eng-te) at 41°N and 115°E. Cf. the *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta tz'u-tien*, p.861d, *s.v.* 野馬圖; and Ting Wen-chiang a.o., *Chung-hua min-kuo hsin ti-t'u*, Map 16. Its situation on the northern slopes of the Manitu Mts. and a short distance from Fu-chou would make it an excellent candidate for the Yeh-ma ch'ih of the Chinese sources - also on phonetic grounds except for the last syllable. The name may have undergone a change during the Ming or, more probably, the Ch'ing period and further research on this score is necessary. Also, Yeh-ma ch'ih ('Wild Hemp Pool') seems to be the Chinese name of a lake, whereas Yeh-ma-t'u/I-ma-t'u is the Chinese phonetic transcription of a Mongolian word, almost certainly *imātu* (< *ima'atu* = Writ. Mong. *imaghatu*) 'having goats.' Cf. the I-ma-t'u — 麻禿

= Yang-shan 羊山 ('Goat Mountain') in the glossary of the *Wu-pei chih* 武備志 (1621 ed.) 227, 3b, and the Imatu alin (馬日馬圖山 ~ 伊馬圖山) or Imatu Mts. northeast of Kuei-hua in W. Fuchs, *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit* (Peking, 1943), pp.161, 295, no.169. 'With *bands of* heavy silk fabric' renders *kibu'ud-iyar*. *Kibu'ut* is the plural of *kib*, glossed in Chinese as *shu-chüan* 熟絹 'heavy or glossy silk fabric, taffeta.' See Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 (1950), 445-446, n.25.

249 As elsewhere, here too the chronology of the *SH* is unreliable and misleading. Chinggis-qan's campaign against the sinicized state of Hsi-Hsia (called 'Qashin' and 'Tang'ut' in our text) and the payment of tribute by its ruler (Burqan-qan) as related in this section actually preceded the campaign against Chin described in §§247-248. We know, in fact, that the Mongols had been carrying out raids into Hsi-Hsia territory in 1205 and 1207 (see *YS* 1, pp.13-14; *Sheng-wu* ..., 57a-b; Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.149 [where, however, '1202' is an error for '1205'] and 151), but it was not until the summer/autumn of 1209 that Chinggis began a massive attack against the Hsi-Hsia strongholds, including the capital Hsing-ch'ing (= Ning-hsia/Eriqaya in Kansu), which came under siege. The *SH* narrative ignores all this and describes only the outcome, i.e. the peace bought by the Tangut court. For an account of the 1209 campaign, see *YS* 1, p.14; *Sheng-wu* ..., 60b-61a; Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.153; Martin, *op. cit.*, pp.115-120; Kychanov, *Ocherk*, pp.298-301. See also the recent work of Wu T'ien-ch'ih 吳天墀, *Hsi-Hsia shih-kao* 西夏史稿 (Ch'eng-tu, 1980), p.124. There are some discrepancies as to the year of the campaign, some sources giving 1210 and even 1211 for it, but the overall evidence points to 1209, and this is also the year given by the *T'ung-chien hsü-pien* 19, 31a. Cf. Naka, *Chingisu-kan jitsuroku* (1907 ed.), pp.444-445; Murakami, *op. cit.*, pp.151-152. For the state of Hsi-Hsia and the name Qashin (< Chin. Ho-hsi 河西 'West of the [Yellow] River'), see my note to §150 (where, however, 'Qashīn' is a misprint for 'Qashin'); for Tang'ut (< Tangqut = Tangghut), a Turco-Mongolian designation of Hsi-Hsia, see Ligeti, pp.184-185, n.265. The 'Qashin people' (*Qashin irgen*), i.e. the inhabitants of Hsi-Hsia, are here referred to as the 'Tang'ut people' (*Tang'ut irgen*), and their ruler, who at the time of these events was Hsiang-tsung 襄宗, alias Li An-ch'üan 李安全 (r.1206-1210), is called Burqan-qan, lit. 'Buddha (= Divine) Ruler.' This apparently was the religious and popular designation of the Tangut rulers originating from

their deep Buddhist faith. Another designation of the Hsi-Hsia sovereign, found in §250, was Iluqu Burqan 'Victorious Buddha.' *Iluqu = ilūqu < ilaghuqu*, the *nomen futuri* of the verb *ilaghu-* 'to conquer, overcome.' It corresponds to Writ. Mong. *ilaghughsan, ilaghughchi*, all of them rendering Sanskrit *jina* 'conqueror, victorious,' a standard epithet of a Buddha. See Lessing, p.1171a. 'Becoming your right (= west) wing (lit. "hand")': Chinggis' army was invading China from the north; its weak flank was the western flank under constant threat from the Hsi-Hsia forts along the border, hence the various probing and reconnaissance raids into Tangut territory and the present campaign immediately preceding the actual launching of the expedition against Chin. Burqan-qan is now pledging his support and, to remove Chinggis-qan's fears, offers to become the Mongol army's 'western wing,' meaning that Chinggis would be secure on his western flank from any Hsi-Hsia attack. 'I shall give you my strength' = 'I shall serve you.' To seal his allegiance - and as a hostage, of course - Burqan-qan gives his daughter Chaqa to Chinggis. The identification of Chaqa with Ch'a-erh 察兒 (*Char), listed in the *YS* 106, p.2695, as the fifth empress belonging to the third *ordo* - identification proposed by Li Wen-t'ien (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chu* 13, 10a) and Naka (*op. cit.*, p.443) - is acceptable only if it can be shown that the two names are related and, unfortunately, this cannot be done on purely phonetic grounds. Chaqa appears to be the Mongolian counterpart or version of the princess' name, just as Iluqu Burqan is the Mongolian version of her father's title. The *AT*, II, 71, line 2 (= *SHA*, p.183), gives the reading 'Chaghan' ('White') instead of 'Chaqa.' On the other hand, *chaqa* means 'child' in Mongolian, and is plausible as a name or nickname. See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.25; Lessing, p.166b. *Char* means 'layer of frost on the surface of snow; hard crust on snow' (Lessing, p.165a). However, Ch'a-erh may well be the Chinese transcription of the original Tangut name of the princess. Further research on this problem by Tangut specialists is clearly necessary. In any event, the objection by Murakami (*op. cit.*, p.152, n.2) to Naka's (and, ultimately, Li Wen-t'ien's) identification, recently adopted also by Daoruntibu (*Meng-ku pi-shih*, p.297, n.3), based on the assumption that Ch'a-erh and Cha'alun, the 'daughter' (actually the wife) of Toqto'a of the Merkit (see §157 and note) are one and the same person, is hardly defensible on phonetic grounds. The Tangut princess, too, was met by Ch'ang-ch'un and his disciples in Mongolia in July 1221. See the *Hsi-yu chi*, A, 21b; Waley,

op. cit., p.71. See above, n.248. 'Majestic person' and 'majestic' render Mongolian *süldertü beye* and *sülder*. On *sülder*, see my note to §201 (where, however, '*ch'i-chao*' is an error for '*chi-chao*'). 'You have come to us,' lit. 'undergoing the coming *by you*' (*irekdejü*). Cf. Poppe, 'Passive Constructions,' p.377. 'We are *people* (lit. "ones") who live in (lit. "have") permanent (lit. "immovable") camps, / ... who have towns with beaten-earth *walls*,' i.e. a sedentary population and, consequently, untrained and unsuitable for the type of warfare waged by the Mongols. Cf. §203: 'Splitting up those that live in felt-walled tents, / Separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors!' *Nunji*, glossed as *pu tung ti* 不動的 'immovable,' came to mean 'tardy, slow; slow (*or* late) growing; weak, frail, having poor sight or hearing' in the later literary language. See Kowalewski, p.676b; Lessing, p.596a; *Mongghol kitad toli*, p.395c. 'Beaten-earth,' lit. 'pounded.' *Qurdun aya ayala-* 'to wage a swift campaign' is, literally, 'to campaign a swift campaign.' On the expression *aya ayala-*, see Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 101, n.32. 'To fight a deadly combat' renders *qurcha bulqa* (= *bulgha*) *bulqaldu-* (= *bulghaldu-*), lit. 'to fight a sharp fight.' See Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 493, n.85. 'We shall bring forth many camels / Reared in the shelter of the tall feathergrass,' lit. 'Rearing them in the shelter of the tall *deresün*, / We shall bring forth many camels.' For *deresü(n)* 'feathergrass, broom grass' = *Lasiagrostis splendens* (Trin.) Kun., etc., see Lessing, p.253b, and *Ulsyn ner tom'ëony komissyn medee*, No.89-90 (Ulan-Bator, 1973), p.85, no.15019. See also C.R. Bawden's remarks in *BSOAS* 45 (1982), 205. 'We shall turn them into (lit. "cause to become") government property (*qa*)': for *qa*, an alternative form of *qan* 'ruler' > 'rulership, government,' hence 'pertaining to the government, government property,' see Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 97-98, n.90; and I. de Rachewiltz, '*Qan, Qa'an* and the Seal of Güyüg,' in K. Sagaster and M. Weiers (eds), *Documenta Barbarorum. Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 70. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1983), p.273 (e) (summarized in n.244 above). What Burqan-qan means is that the camels will be levied (*qubchi-*, see below) from his subjects in order to be delivered to Chinggis-qan. On the Mongols' requirements of camels, see also §274. On their need of textiles, see H. Serruys in *JAH* 16 (1982), 125ff. As Serruys points our (p.126), the Mongols had wool and used it to make felt for their tents, but they did not weave. 'Training falcons to fly loose *at game*,' lit. 'teaching (*surqaju*) birds (*shibawun*,

here = falcons) that one lets loose (*o'orqu*).' *Shibawun* (= Writ. Mong. *shibaghun*) 'bird' has the secondary meaning of 'falcon'; cf. Writ. Mong. *shibaghuchi* 'falconer' (Lessing, p.693b). The *SH* gloss has, in fact, *ying* 鷹 'falcon, hawk.' 'The best ones,' lit. 'the fine ones (*sayid-i*) of (= amongst) them (*inu*)'; cf. Mostaert, p.95. 'He kept to his word,' lit. 'he reached (= came up) to his word.' For this expression, cf. Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, p.31. For *qubchi-* 'to levy,' see above, §§223, 224; and Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.69.

250 This section contains a brief recapitulation of the results of Chinggis' two expeditions against Chin and Hsi-Hsia described in the previous sections, viz. the acquisition of a large amount of booty on the part of the Mongols. The year given for the two campaigns is the Year of the Sheep, i.e. 1211. As shown in the previous notes, the chronology of the *SH* concerning these events is unreliable. The year 1211, already mentioned in §247, is the year in which the invasion of Chin was launched and has no bearing on the earlier campaign against Hsi-Hsia, which is of 1209. In this section, owing to faulty editing, the Altan-qan of the Kitat is referred to once as 'the Altan-qa'an.' On this problem, see my paper '*Qan*, *Qa'an* and the Seal of Güyüg,' p.1468. 'A large quantity ... a large number,' lit. 'many (*olon*) ... many (*olon*).' The name of the Altan-qan, i.e. of the Chin ruler at the time, is given as Aqutai. This is an error, the origin of which is obscure. In Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.166-167, we read: 'This same ruler (i.e. of the Jurchen/Chin - I.R.), who conducted a struggle with Chingiz-khan and his army, was from the tribe and region of Jurje (*read* Jürche - I.R.) and belonged to the descendants (i.e. was a descendant - I.R.) of Dai-Kam-Van (= ? Ta-Chin-wang 大金王 "the king of Great Chin"; cf. Pelliot, "Sur un passage du *Cheng-wou ts'ing-tcheng lou*," p.930, n.18 - I.R.) Agude (*read* Aguda - I.R.). Agude is the name, and the rest the nickname (i.e. the appellation - I.R.). The Mongols call this Agude Khakutai (= Aqutai - I.R.), and all the rulers who belong to his descendants (i.e. who descend from him - I.R.) are called by the Mongols Altan-khan.' It would appear, then, that the Mongols in Chinggis' time called the Chin ruler by extension also Aqutai. Cf. Murakami, *op. cit.*, III, pp.153-154, n.5; Daoruntibo, *op. cit.*, p.298, n.6. Another explanation is the one put forth by Ligeti (p.181, n.251), according to whom the Chin ruler's name may have been confused with that of the Jurchen envoy A-hu-tai 阿虎帶 (Aqutai), who after Chinggis-qan's death was sent by the Chin

to the Mongol court with funerary presents which Ögödei rejected. See the *YS* 2, p.29 (*s.a.* 1229). There are, however, some chronological problems concerning the Chin peace missions to the Mongols and the identity of the envoys. See *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 3, 31b (*s.a.* 1227: mission of Ao-t'un A-hu 奧屯阿虎), and 4,3a (*s.a.* 1229: mission of Wan-yen Nu-shen 完顏奴申). Personally, I favour the first explanation, viz. that the Jurchen name Aguda, pronounced by the Mongols Aqutai or Aghutai/Aghudai, although properly belonging to the founder of the dynasty, was also mistakenly applied by them to his descendant, much as we would say 'the Agudaid.' The Mongol practice of giving names to other peoples is an interesting subject in itself and deserves investigation. For Iluqu Burqan, see above, n.249. For the Sa'ari-ke'er, or Sa'ari Steppe, see my note to §128. The *SH* statement that Chinggis-qan returned to his camping grounds in northern Mongolia is correct only insofar as the completion of the 1209 campaign against Hsi-Hsia is concerned. After the immediately following 'first' campaign against Chin, concluded in 1214, Chinggis withdrew his army only as far as the Yü-erh-po, i.e. the Dal Nor, in southeastern Mongolia to avoid the summer heat, as already shown above (n.248). For the use of the verb *bawu-* 'to pitch camp,' lit. 'to dismount,' with the accusative, see Mostaert and Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p.29.

251 This section deals with the resumption of hostilities with Chin. The *SH* is again in error as to the sequence of events by placing the Altan-qan's flight from Chung-tu *after* the resumption of hostilities, whereas all other sources agree that Chinggis' renewed attack was triggered off by the Chin ruler's hasty transfer of the court to the relative safety of the Southern Capital Pien-liang 汴梁, i.e. K'ai-feng 開封, in Honan in June 1214. For these events, see Martin, *op. cit.*, p.171ff. There are also other inconsistencies that will be discussed later. The reason given in the *SH* for this, the 'second' campaign, is the Chin government's interference with (lit. 'hindering') the envoys sent by Chinggis to the Sung court in the south. These envoys were seeking an alliance with Sung against the Jurchens, which explains of course why they were detained by the latter. On the other hand, envoys were sacred for the Mongols, and hindering their mission or harming them automatically provided the Mongol court with a legitimate *casus belli*. The then reigning Sung emperor, Ning-tsung 寧宗 (r.1195-1224), is called Jeu-gon, which was the Mongol pronunciation of Chao-kuan 趙官, lit. 'Chao person-in-office,'

Chao being as is known the family name (*hsing*) of the Sung rulers. This unusual appellation must have been a popular designation of the Southern Sung emperors in northern Chin-ruled China. *Kuan* 官 is used here with the meaning of 'emperor' which this character also has, and on which see Morohashi, *Dai kanwa jiten*, III, no.7107(3). Cf. also the Middle Chinese expressions *kuan-chia* 官家 and *kuan-li* 官裏 id. See *ibid.*, nos. 7107.29 and 7107.357; Lin Yutang, p.925a. For the surname of a person followed by his title or designation, cf. Mongolian 'Čau Qošang' = Chin. Ch'ao *ho-shang* 超 (?) 和尚 , lit. 'Monk Ch'ao,' in Cleaves, *HJAS* 14 (1951), 56[31], 71. (I prefer reading the Mongolian version as 'Čeu Qošang.') I read Jeu-gon instead of the Jaugon (Jau-gon) or Jaogon (Jao-gon) of other investigators with the exception of Ligeti, who in his translation (p.117) has 'Dzsaugon' (= Jaugon), but 'J̌eu-gon' in his text edition (p.220). The reading *jeu* for 趙 is supported by the 13th-14th c. transcriptions in 'Phags-pa script. See, e.g., the *Meng-ku tzu-yün*, p.119b (= B, 15a). The correct reading of this word in the *AT*, II, 72, lines 6 and 8, is therefore Jeu<n>gon in both occurrences, instead of J̌eunggun, J̌ao-χuan (Kozin), Žau-guan (Šagdar), Čiongun (Shastina), and Čeugon, Čeu-gon (Ligeti). For an emendation of the 'Chao-kuan' of the *SH* into 'Chao K'uo 趙擴 ' (K'uo being the personal name of Ning-tsung), see Wang Kuo-wei, *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* 16, 26b; cf. Pelliot in *TP* 26 (1929), 130. This emendation is very doubtful on phonetic grounds. Jubqan, the chief envoy of Chinggis-qan to the Sung, is a known personage, mentioned in the *Meng-Ta pei-lu*, 2a-b (see Wang Kuo-wei's important note on him, *ibid.*), the *YS* 2, p.31 (*s.a.* 1231), and other Sung and Yüan sources, where his name is transcribed in slightly different ways (Su-pu-han, Shuo-pu-han, etc.). See Munkuev, *Mėn-da bėǐ-lu*, pp.46-48, 101-102, n.38; Olbricht and Pinks, pp.3, 8-9, n.11; Naka, *op. cit.*, pp.446-447; Murakami, *op. cit.*, III, pp.156-158, n.2; W. Abramowski in *ZAS* 10 (1976), 126, 140, n.35 (where, however, Shuo-pu-han is not identified). The various transcriptions of his name reflect Subuqan ∿ Chubuqan (> Jub[u]qan) ∿ Chobuqan). The *AT*, II, 72, line 6, gives Chab-qan (= Chabqan) - incorrectly read as 'J̌euχan' by Kozin and 'Čau-qan' by Shastina - which has been amended by Ligeti to 'Čubqan' in his text edition (*SHA*, p.185). Murakami, *loc. cit.*, suggests a possible derivation from *chibuqan* (= Writ. Mong. *chibughan*, *chibaghan*) 'jujube.' Cf. Uighur Turkish *chubaqan* id. See Mostaert, *Matériel mongol*, p.46; Lessing, pp.174a, 175a; *Drevnetyurkskiĭ slovar*,' p.156a. Although this etymology is very plausible, I would like to suggest a possible,

even if less likely, alternative, viz. **chobughan* ∿ **chubughan* 'intelligent, eloquent,' from **chobu(n)* ∿ **chubu(n)* (= Ordos *tš'owō*, *tš'owōn*) 'very intelligent, lively, eloquent' + denominal suffix *-ghan* (on which see Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 [1952], 452-453). See Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.714a-b. Cf. Ölöt *tsowā* 'witty,' registered in Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wört.*, p.431a. This could have been a nickname given by the Mongols to this personage on account of his skill as an ambassador. We know that he was a Chinese-speaking Önggüt, apparently serving under Muqali in North China, who was entrusted with several missions to the Sung, including one about 1221. He was eventually killed in Shensi by a Chin official in the course of a mission to the Sung on behalf of Tolui in 1231, i.e. after Ögödei's full-scale resumption of the war against Chin. One may well wonder whether the reference to Jubqan in the passage of the *SH* under discussion is not a later interpolation, or contamination, in view of the fact that Jubqan was, indeed, prevented from carrying out a Mongol diplomatic mission to the Sung, losing his life into the bargain, about seventeen years later. For the construction *olon elchin-iyen...jetgükdejü*, see Poppe, 'Passive Constructions,' p.374. For the auxiliary verb *bara-* in the *SH*, cf. Mostaert, p.114, n.106. The form *bülegei* (cf. *büligi* in §151) occurs only once in the *SH* and is not found, I think, in any other Middle Mongolian text, the regular transcriptions replacing the intervocalic *-g-* of the Uighur-Mongol written form with a hiatus or a *-y-*. See Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 460. The two occurrences with *-g-* in the *SH* may further confirm that the Chinese phonetic transcription of this work was carried out on a text in Uighur-Mongol script, not in 'Phags-pa script as some scholars have claimed in the past. On this question, cf. Ligeti, p.193ff.; Mostaert, p.260. The Tunggon Pass (Tunggon-amasar) is the famous T'ung-kuan 潼關 stronghold, one of the main strategic points of Shensi and Honan, overlooking the Huang-ho. T'ung-kuan was attacked and briefly conquered by the Mongol army led by General Samuqa only in 1216. See Naka, *op. cit.*, pp.449-451; *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 3, 18a; cf., however, Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.175 (*s.a.* 1213-1214). Chinggis-qan never crossed the Huang-ho and directed all the military operations from various points north of Chung-tu. He did not even enter Chung-tu when the city fell in 1215 (see below). 'Ordering Jebe to go by way of Chabchiyal,' lit. 'caused Jebe to be *going* by Chabchiyal,' i.e. by way of Chü-yung kuan. Of the three Chin commanders appointed by the Altan-qan, Ile has been identified with I-la P'u-a

移剌蒲阿, on whom see *Chin-shih* 112, pp.2470-2475. Qada has been identified with Wan-yen Ho-ta 完顏合達, on whom see *ibid.*, pp.2463-2470; and *YS* 2, p.31. See Naka, *op. cit.*, p.451; Murakami, *op. cit.*, III, pp.158-159, nn.4 and 5. Unfortunately, very little is known about I-la P'u-a's activity as a military commander before 1222-1223. However, there is no doubt that 'Ile' corresponds to the Khitan surname Yeh-lü 耶律 ∿ I-la 移剌 ∿ I-lieh 移(亦)列(烈). See I. de Rachewiltz in *PFEH* 9 (March 1974), 201-202, n.37. There were several military leaders at the time in the Chin army who belonged to this clan, and I-la P'u-a is certainly the one who *after 1225* was closely associated with Wan-yen Ho-ta in leading the Chin counter-offensive. Both these generals were defeated and captured by the Mongols early in 1232. Cf. W. Abramowski in *ZAS* 10 (1976), 127, 141, nn.50, 51. If, as suggested, our Ile is I-la P'u-a, his retrospective inclusion in the *SH* among the Chin commanders *s.a.* 1214 is almost certainly incorrect. As for the third commander, Höbögetür, his identification is even more problematic. Naka, *loc. cit.*, suggests that this may have been another name of the military leader Wan-yen Ch'en-ho-shang 完顏陳和尚 (on whom see *Chin-shih* 123, pp.2680-2683); cf. Murakami, *op. cit.*, III, 159-160, n.6. Cleaves is of the opinion that the name of the Chin general 'Qamar Neküder' (QMR NKWDR) mentioned by Juvainī together with Qadai 'Rengü' (= ? Senggüm < Chin. *chiang-chün* 將軍 'general') - who is to be identified with Wan-yen Ho-ta - may be a corruption of Höbögetür. See *History of the World-Conqueror*, p.192 and n.5. But the events related by Juvainī refer to Ögödei's and Tolui's operations in North China in 1231-1232, which are also, and more fully, described by Rashīd al-Dīn. In *Successors*, p.35, Rashīd mentions too the Chin generals who are identified by Boyle, following Cleaves, as *Qada Sengüm and *Höbegedür (see *ibid.*, n.115), in connection with the Mongols' second and final attack on T'ung-kuan (see below). The names of the two generals in Rashīd al-Dīn's text are Qadai Rengü and Qamar Tegüder. See E. Blochet (ed.), Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din, *Djami el-Tévarikh*, II (Leiden and London, 1911), p.20 and nn.*g*, *h*; Rashid-ad-Din, II, p.22, nn.76, 77. Rashīd's source for these names is clearly Juvainī. According to the Chinese sources, the T'ung-kuan garrison surrendered to the Mongols on 12 February 1232 (see *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 4, 7a). The problem is further complicated by the *SH* reference to the 'Red Coats' (*Hula'an-degelen*) being used as the vanguard, i.e. as crack troops, of the Chin army against the Mongols in the defence of T'ung-kuan, and their defeat by

Tolui and Chügü-gürigen (= Chigü-güregen of §202, no.85; see below) in the course of the same campaign of Chinggis-qan, ostensibly *s.a.* 1214. At that time there was a rebel army operating in Shantung, composed of bands of discontented peasants, displaced people and outlaws, known as the 'Red Coats' (Chin. *Hung-ao* 紅襖). The Chin government made determined efforts to suppress them in 1214-1215, but without much success, and the Red Coats continued to harass the authorities and the local population for many years. In its fight against these rebels, the Chin government made use of civil volunteer troops known as the 'Multicoloured Caps Army' (Chin. *Hua-mao chün* 花帽軍), and these troops were also used in support of the regular army when the Mongol forces led by Samuqa attacked the T'ung-kuan stronghold in 1216. Some scholars, therefore, have suggested that the *Hula'an-degelen* of the *SH* were actually the Multicoloured Caps Army; other scholars maintain that they were the latter, but comprising also units of the Red Coats who had changed sides and rallied to the government. Cf. the various arguments in Yao Ts'ung-wu's 姚從吾 contribution to the Tung Tso-pin *Festschrift* (慶祝董作賓先生六十五歲論文集, *CYYY*, 外編, IV [1960], 913-925); and Murakami, *op. cit.*, III, pp.160-161, n.7. As pointed out by Murakami (*loc. cit.*), the distinction between the Red Coats and the Multicoloured Caps Army may have later become blurred because of the incorporation of the former into the latter. On the Red Coats and their leaders, see Sun K'o-k'uan 孫克寬, *Meng-ku Han-chün yü Han wen-hua yen-chiu* 蒙古漢軍與漢文化研究 (Taipei, 1958), pp.11-43, esp. p.22ff.; F. Aubin's biography of Li Ch'üan 李全 (d.1231) in H. Franke (ed.), *Sung Biographies* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp.542-546; and Yao Tao-chung, 'Ch'üan-chen: A New Taoist Sect in North China During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,' Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Arizona (Tucson, 1980), p.118ff. In any event, all authors agree that the battle of T'ung-kuan described in this section of the *SH* is that of 1216. It should be pointed out, however, that Rashīd al-Dīn, in describing the military operations in North China just prior to Tolui's great victory at 'Tungqan-qahalqa' (*read* 'Tungqan-qaqalqa'), i.e. the T'ung-kuan Pass, in 1231/1232, says that Ögödei, who was personally in charge of the operations, 'himself proceeded on the right in the direction of a province of Khitai (= North China - I.R.), the people of which are called Hulan-Degeleten, that is, the people who wear red coats.' (*Successors*, p.34; cf. *ibid.*, p.166; and Doerfer, No.200.) Then follows a description of Tolui's arrival at T'ung-kuan and the ensuing

battle against the Chin troops led by *Qada Sengüm and *Höbegedür (*Successors*, pp.35-38; cf. *History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.192-195) of which mention has been made earlier. In my view, in the *SH* account there has been a conflation of events that took place in the North China campaigns of 1214-1216 and 1231-1232, the confusion being due no doubt to a later editor who meddled with the text of the *SH* and, in particular, with the sections dealing with Tolui. Therefore, I think that the reference to the Red Coats in our passage must be re-examined in the light of the account of the final battle for T'ung-kuan and the cryptic remark by Rashīd al-Dīn concerning the people by that name. (Professor M. Murakami of Tokyo is preparing a study of the Red Coats Army and hopefully will deal also with this problem.) The two Mongol leaders mentioned in §251 are Tolui and Chügü-gürigen, i.e. Chigü-güregen ('Son-in-law Chigü') - the latter having already been mentioned in §202 as the leader of one of the three Onggirat chiliarchies. Chigü is the correct form of the name. The son of Alchi-noyan and grandson of Dei-sechen, Chigü married Chinggis' youngest daughter Tümelün, hence the epithet *güregen* (∿ *gürigen*). On him, see Naka, *op. cit.*, pp.326-327; Murakami, *op. cit.*, II, pp.391-393, n.92 (with genealogical tree); Pelliot, 'Sur un passage,' pp.913-916; Hambis, *Le Chapitre CVIII du Yuan che*, pp.49, n.2; 160, n.2. On *güregen* ∿ *gürigen*, see Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 474. Chigü took part in the first North China campaign and is mentioned in *YS* 1, p.16, in connection with Tolui and the attack on Te-hsing fu in 1213, as well as in Rashīd al-Dīn's work, always in connection with this early campaign and with Tolui. See *Successors*, p.164. His participation in Ögödei's campaign in North China in the early 1230s can only be inferred by the participation of his father, who led the left (= east) wing of the Mongol army, and by the handsome reward that he received for his services from Ögödei in 1236. See *YS* 2, p.35; *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 4, 5b; Abramovski, *op. cit.*, p.132. 'In haste,' lit. 'hasting' (*qurduilan*). The verb *qurduila-* (= Writ. Mong. *qurdula-*) 'to haste' (from *qurdun* 'haste, quick') occurs only once in the *SH*. 'The Kitat troops came to block his passage, saying, "*Our* soil!"': by '*Our* soil!' is meant 'Let us defend our soil!' See Mostaert, pp.175-178. 'Rushing forth from the side' (*köndelen-eche dobtulju*): cf. §§166 and 247. 'Slew the Kitat until they were like heaps of broken logs'; for this expression, see above, n.247. 'Fled out of Jungdu,' lit. 'going out fled from Jungdu.' 'The city of Namging, (*Namging balaqasu*) is Nan-ching 南京, or Southern Capital, of

the Chin, which was then Pien-liang/K'ai-feng in Honan. The city was besieged and eventually captured by General Sübe'etei in May-June 1233. As stated at the outset, Chung-tu was abandoned by Hsüan-tsung *before* Chinggis' resumption of hostilities in the second half of 1214. Hsüan-tsung left Chung-tu on 27 June 1214 and arrived in Pien-liang on 19 August. See the *Sung-shih* 宋史 (*Chung-hua shu-chü* ed., 1977) 39, p.760, and the *Chin-shih* 14, p.305. By the time he reached Pien-liang, Chung-tu was being surrounded by the Mongol army and put under siege. The siege lasted over ten months and the city finally surrendered on 31 May 1215. See the *Chin-shih* 14, p.309. The famine became acute in the last two months and references to cannibalism are found in the Chinese sources. See the *Sheng-wu ...*, 68b; *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 3, 16a. Cf. Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.174; Martin, *op. cit.*, p.177. As already noted by Ligeti, p.181, n.251, a distorted version of this story - one in which the besieging Mongols resort to cannibalism! - is found even in John of Pian di Carpine's *Ystoria Mongalorum*. See Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, p.16. 'Showed both of them his highest favour,' lit. 'very much favoured (*soyurqaba*, here = "rewarded") both Tolui and Chügü-gürigen.'

252 Qosivu = Ho-hsi-wu 河西務, just northeast of Wu-ch'ing hsien 武清縣 in Hopei. This was not a place where Chinggis would have halted during the second campaign against Chin, since he was moving towards Chung-tu/Peking from the north (Yü-erh-po/Dal Nor) and Ho-hsi-wu is situated southeast of Peking. The erroneous mention of Ho-hsi-wu in the present context may be a later interpolation in one of the *SH* manuscripts, as it is not found in the sectional summary which begins as follows: 'When Ch'eng-chi-ssu (Chinggis) reached the territory of Shira-ke'er of Pei-p'ing 北平 (= Chung-tu/Peking), Jebe had already taken Chü-yung kuan ...' (*YCPS* S.I, 17b). It is, however, found in the *AT*, II, 74, line 3 ('Qoi-shiyu'; cf. *SHA*, p.186: 'Qoi-sivu'). Alternatively, as in the case of Mojiu 莫州 in §248, another locality is meant. 'Set up camp at Q., *then* in the Shira-ke'er,' lit. 'Having set up camp at Q., he set up camp in the S.-k.' For the verb *bawu-* governing a noun in the accusative, see above, §250 *in fine*. The Shira-ke'er or 'Yellow Plain' (*ke'er* means both 'plain' and 'steppe, steppe-land'), is the open country north of Peking, 'yellow' no doubt referring to the characteristic colour of the soil (loess). Chinggis' setting up camp in the neighbourhood of Chung-tu and Jebe's capture of

Chabchiyal, i.e. of Chü-yung kuan, are events belonging to the earlier campaign: the capture of the pass is recorded in the *YS* 1, p.16, *s.a.* 1213, in the seventh month (20 July-17 August), and Chinggis' halt 'in the open country north of Chung-tu' in the third month (12 April-10 May) of 1214. See *ibid.*, p.17. Cf. the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 64b (*s.a.* 1213) and 66b (*s.a.* 1214). However, according to both the *YS* and *Sheng-wu ...*, 64b, after the capture of Chü-yung kuan Jebe's army joined the troops of the Mongol generals Ketei and Bocha, not the main army led by Chinggis. Cf. Martin, *op. cit.*, p.160. The sentence *Jebe Chabchiyal-un qālqa ... neyileba* (= *neyilebe*) is discussed in Mostaert, pp.179-180. Regarding the appointment of Qada as *liu-shou* 留守 (Mong. *liushiu*), lit. '*official* left behind to guard *the capital*' (here rendered as 'vicegerent'), nothing is known from other Chinese sources with the exception of the *Sheng-wu ...*, 69a, where it is stated that Ha-ta 哈答 (Qada) and Kuo-ho 國和 , who were *liu-shou* at the time, i.e. when Chung-tu was captured by the Mongols, made obeisance and offered gifts of gold and silk to the three Mongol commanders Quduqu-noyan (= Shigi-qutuqu), Önggür-baurchi and Arqai-qasar who had been sent by Chinggis, then encamped at Huan-chou 桓州 (formerly Dolon-nor in Chahar; present-day To-lun hsien 多倫縣 , Inner Mongolia), to make the inventory of Chin treasures in Chung-tu. (After that follows an account of the story related in the present section of the *SH*.) In the corresponding passage of Rashid-ad-Din (I/2, p.174), Qada and Kuo-ho are called Qada (or Qadai) *liu-su* (= *liushiu*) and Goi (? Qui), and the same story is recounted (*ibid.*, pp.174-175). Cf. Ratchnevsky, 'Šigi-qutuqu, ein mongolischer Gefolgsmann im 12.-13. Jahrhundert,' pp.100-101; Ligeti, p.181, n.252. The vicegerent originally appointed by Hsüan-tsung when he left the capital was the Heir Apparent Shou-chung 守忠 assisted by Chancellor Wan-yen Fu-hsing (the Ongging-chingsang of §248) and the Director of Political affairs (*ts'an-cheng* 參政) Mo-jan Chin-chung 抹然盡忠 . During the siege of Chung-tu, the Heir Apparent escaped and the above two officials were left in charge of the city. Fu-hsing committed suicide before Chung-tu capitulated in 1215, while Chin-chung managed to escape. See the *YS* 1, pp.17-18; *Chin-shih* 101, pp.2223-2230; *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 3, 14a-16a; 14, 11a-b; Martin, *op. cit.*, pp.172, 177-178. Qada and Kuo-ho (alias Goi) were probably two subordinate officials who took over at the end and opened the gates to the Mongols, a fact that would also explain their survival and subsequent action. With regard to the Mongol

reading *liushiu* (= *liu-shou*), cf. the *AT*, II, 74, line 5: *liushiu*, and the recently published Sino-Uighur inscription in honour of the *Ïduq-qut* of Qocho of 1334, where this term occurs also in the form *liushiu*. See Geng Shimin and James Hamilton in *Turcica* 13 (1981), 50a. It should be noted, however, that in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 the same term occurs, but written *liushu*. See Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 66 [39], 90. The duty of the vicegerent was to protect the capital in the emperor's absence. On this office, see *Chin-shih* 42, p.960ff. 'In Jungdu,' lit. 'inside (*dotora*) Jungdu.' 'Before leaving *the city*,' lit. 'and left.' 'Had the inventory taken,' lit. 'made one count' (*to'ola'ulurun*). 'And other things' renders Mongolian *ya'u ke* (Writ. Mong. *yaghu ke*); on this expression, see Mostaert, p.84; Ligeti in *AOH* 24 (1971), 152. On the 'cook' Önggür (Ö.-bawurchi), see above, §§120, 124, 202. As for Arqai-qasar, also called simply Arqai, he was last mentioned in §234. 'As ... were approaching,' lit. 'Saying that ... were approaching.' On Qada see above. 'Went ahead to greet them' (*esergü uqdun*)'; *esergü* is an adverb and postposition meaning 'against, facing, opposite, toward,' thus corresponding exactly to German *entgegen*. Cf. Buck, *Comparative Study of Postpositions*, p.100, no.33; and Poppe in *AOH* 36 (1982), 409. Therefore, *esergü uqdun* (Writ. Mong. *esergü ughtun*) literally means 'going towards *them* to greet *them*.' 'He came out of Jungdu,' lit. 'going out from within J.' 'Did belong to the Altan-qan,' lit. 'was indeed (*aju'u je*) of the Altan-qan (*A.-qan-u'ai*)'; for the suffix *-u'ai*(*-ughai*)/*-ü'ei*(*-ügei*), see Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, p.78, n.243. On the 'great norm' (*yeke yosu*), cf. §220, where it is called 'great principle' (*yeke törö*). This expression designates, essentially, the cardinal principle embodied in the *jasaq* whereby all retainers and subjects are bound to the *qan* by loyalty and are subordinate to him in everything, hence all war booty and captured property belong to the qan, who has the sole right of distribution and reward. Cf. the case of Qulan and Naya'a (above §197 and note), which is a classic example of the enforcement of this principle which governed the relationship between ruler and ruled in medieval Mongol society. 'You shall be ...!', lit. 'Are you not going to be ...?' - a rhetorical question. 'An eye for me to see, /An ear for me to hear!': see above §203, where the same words were also applied to Shigi-qutuqu. Cf. also §138. The entire passage from 'When the Altan-qan moved out of Jungdu' to the end of §252 has been translated by Ratchnevsky. See his 'Šigi-qutuqu,' pp.98-99.

253 As in the previous sections, here too several events are related in wrong chronological order. There is also a muddling up of the personages involved. The submission of the Altan-qan, his offer of a royal princess and substantial tribute to Chinggis-qan, the latter's withdrawal to the north (via Chü-yung kuan), and the Altan-qan's move to Namging, i.e. to Pien-liang/K'ai-feng, were related in §§248, 250 and 251. All these events, as we have seen, took place in the first half of 1214. In the present section, the events described span the period 1214-1216, then they move back into 1213. The reference to a son of the Altan-qan, called Tenggeri, who was sent to serve in the Guard, i.e. as a hostage, together with a hundred companions, is incorrect and due to a confusion with the next entry on Vuqanu. Vuqanu, i.e. P'u-hsien Wan-nu 蒲鮮萬奴(d.1233), was the Chin commander in Liaotung who, at the beginning of 1215, after the transfer of the court to Pien-liang, decided to rebel and established forthwith an independent kingdom in Manchuria. However, before long (end of 1216) he followed the example of the famous Khitan defector Yeh-lü Liu-ko 耶律留哥(1165-1220) and submitted to the Mongols by sending his own son T'ieh-ko 帖哥 - the 'Tenggiri' of the *SH* - to Chinggis as hostage. My interpretation is at variance with that of Naka and other scholars, who prefer to relate the *SH* account to events that occurred during Ögödei's campaign in North China in 1232. See Murakami, *op. cit.*, III, p.167, n.3. On P'u-hsien Wan-nu, see *YS* 1, p.19; *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 31, 4b-5a; Martin, *op. cit.*, pp.180, 200, 216; Murakami, *op. cit.*, pp.167-168, n.4 (for further references). Cf. *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 67b-68a, and the parallel account in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.172-173. See also below. 'Sent ... to serve as day-guard *and hostage*,' lit. 'sent ... saying, "Let him be a *turqaq*."' On *turqaq* 'day-guard' = 'hostage,' see Hsiao, *Military Establishment*, p.41. Qasar's, i.e. Jochi-Qasar's, progress eastwards along the coast of Po Hai - the '*dalai*' ('sea') of the *SH* - took place in the autumn of 1213 and the winter of 1213-1214. According to the Chinese sources, the left wing of the army was led by Qasar, with Alchi-noyan, Jürchedei and Bocha as commanders. They conquered various cities and commanderies west of the Liao River before rejoining the Mongol forces concentrated at Ta-k'ou 大口, just southwest of Chung-tu. See *YS* 1, p.17 (*s.a.* 1213); *Sheng-wu ...*, 65b. Cf. Pelliot, 'Sur un passage,' p.907ff. In the *SH* account, Bocha is replaced by Tolun-cherbi (last mentioned in §213). Buiging = Pei-ching 北京, the Northern Capital of the Chin and former Central Capital (中京)

of the Liao, was the ancient city of Ta-ting (fu) 大定(府), renamed Ta-ning 大寧 in the Yüan and Ming periods. It corresponds to modern Ta-ming ch'eng 大名城(Mongol name: Tsaghan Suburghan) in Liaoning, on the left (west) bank of the Lao-ha. See Gibert, *Dictionnaire hist. et géogr. de la Mandchourie*, pp.484, 737, 831-832, 836 (where 大明 is an error for 大名). Following Pelliot and Ligeti, I have adopted the reading Beiging, which is supported by the *AT* (II, 75 and 76) reading Biigiing. However, the reading Buiging adopted by Cleaves is also possible. During the Yüan, the character *pei* 北 was pronounced *puəi* and *pei* (< *puəi*), and these two pronunciations are reflected in the 13th-14th c. Mongolian transcriptions *bui*, *bue* and *bei* of 北. The Mongol term for 'along' is *gijin*. Further on we find this term again (*Ula Na'u müret gijin*), as well as its related form *giji'ar* (*giji'ar balaqat*). *Gijin* is glossed as *yen* 沿 (= 沿) 'to follow a course; along (= by the road, or coast),' and *giji'ar* as *pien* 邊 'border, frontier; edge, bank.' See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.50. The former corresponds to Writ. Mong. *kija* 'border, edging, hem (of a garment),' and the latter to Writ. Mong. *kijaghar* 'border, frontier' (< *kija*). See Lessing, p.474b. 'If Vuqanu intends to offer resistance (lit. "thinks of rebellion"), etc.'; see Mostaert, p.95. The rivers Ula (a word meaning 'river' in the Jurchen language) and Na'u of the *SH* correspond to the present-day Sungari (Sung-hua chiang) and its chief tributary the Nonni (Nen-chiang). See Gibert, *op. cit.*, pp.698 and 656; Naka, *op. cit.*, pp.456-457. As for the Tawur or Ta'ur, it is the T'ao-erh ho or Tao-ho (Tor, Taor, Toorïn Gol), a right-hand affluent of the Nonni. See Gibert, *op. cit.*, p.848. Thus, according to the *SH*, Qasar and his horsemen were supposed to cross the territory of Liaotung held by P'u-hsien Wan-nu, then ride northwards across the region of the upper Sungari (Kirin province), Nonni and T'ao-erh rivers and, following the course of the latter *upstream* (in this way approaching the river Khalkha [Halhïn Gol]), gain Chinggis' main base-camp, the 'great *a'uruq*,' the location of which is not specified in the text. However, we know that Chinggis-qan did not return to Mongolia until the end of 1215 - beginning of 1216, and that Qasar's campaign of 1213-1214 was a limited raid ending with his return to North China, not to Mongolia (see above). Clearly, we have here a conflation of two campaigns, that of Qasar of 1213-1214 and a subsequent one, of 1214-1215, which consisted of two separate expeditions in Manchuria, one led again by Qasar, and the other by Muqali. On completion of his campaign, Qasar did indeed

return to Mongolia as stated in the *SH*; but the siege and capture of Pei-ching/Ta-ning was actually carried out by Muqali's army in 1215. Muqali himself did not return to Mongolia until September 1217. The submission of Vuqanu, i.e. P'u-hsien Wan-nu, to the Mongols took place in the latter part of 1216 and falls within the context of Muqali's completion of the military operations in western and southern Manchuria. Therefore, the *SH* statements that Qasar 'brought the city of Beijing under subjection' and 'forced Vuqanu of the Jürchet to submit' are incorrect and probably tendentious, insofar as they add undeserved glory to Chinggis' brother. See Naka, *op. cit.*, pp.456-459; *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 3, 14b-15b; Martin, *op. cit.*, p.203ff.

254 With this section begins the narrative of Chinggis-qan's so-called Western Campaign (from Chin. *hsi-cheng* 西征 ; cf. *Hsi-yu chi* A, 29b, 39b) against Muḥammad of Khwarezm. It is preceded by an interesting introduction in which, after recalling the murder of the members of the Mongol embassy - the famous 'Otrar incident' or 1218 - that was the immediate cause of the war, the *SH* records a dramatic dialogue between Chinggis, his wife Yisüi-qatun and his sons on the subject of the succession to the throne in the event of the conqueror's death. The dialogue, couched in epic language, is almost certainly a later interpolation reflecting the views of that section of the Mongol court and nobility which was opposed to the claims of the lines of Jochi and Cha'adai - the two eldest sons of Chinggis. The episode continues, with definite political overtones, in the following section (§255), in which Ögödei's claim to succession is upheld, but in such a way as to foreshadow the eventual replacement of his line by that of Tolui, as indeed happened (see below, n.255 *in fine*). This would indicate, of course, that the spurious section must date after Möngke's accession to the throne in 1251. It is worth noting, in this respect, that the entire episode is missing in the *AT* version. The question has also a bearing, therefore, on the date of composition of the *SH*. See I. de Rachewiltz, 'Some Remarks on the Dating of the *Secret History of the Mongols*' in *MS* 24 (1965), 187ff., where R. Grousset's and other scholars' theories on the subject are discussed. I have since modified my views and, while still of the opinion that the *SH* text covering the origins and life of Chinggis-qan (§§1-268) was first recorded in 1228, I am convinced that the original text was altered in parts and tampered with by later scribes and editors, and that the section comprising §§254 and

255 (the division into paragraphs is an innovation of the Ming editors, the original text being a continuous narrative) was in all probability introduced *after* Möngke's accession. On the whole controversial and still unresolved issue, cf. also Ligeti, pp.182, nn.254, 255; 200ff.; Š. Bira, *Mongol'skaya istoriografiya (XIII-XVII vv.)* (Moscow, 1978), pp.36-74; N.C. Munkuev, 'P.I. Kafarov i nekotoroye problemy izučeniya "Taĭnoĭ istorii mongolov,"' in *P.I. Kafarov i ego vklad v otečestvennoe vostokovedenie (K 100-letiyu so dnya smerti). Materialy konferencii.* Čast' II (Ak. Nauk SSSR, Inst. Vost., Moscow, 1979), pp.15-26. The *SH* statement that Chinggis' envoys led by the Mongol (?) Uquna ('Billy-Goat' - on his name, see Mostaert, p.xviii) were one hundred in number agrees with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's account and is at variance with the figure of 450 given by Juvainī and, after him, by Rashīd al-Dīn. See de Rachewiltz in *MS* 21 (1962), 21, 55, n.89; *History of the World-Conqueror*, p.79; Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.188. In view of the fact that the *SH* account is confirmed by a contemporary and independent witness to these events like Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189-1243), who in 1218 was already serving as scribe-secretary at the Mongol court, the figure of 100 is more reliable than that of Juvainī which has been adopted by the *Cambridge History of Iran*, V, p.304. The 'envoys' sent by Chinggis were actually merchants in charge of a caravan, whose leader or leaders, bearing credentials from the Mongol court, held from the Mongol point of view the status of official envoys or ambassadors (*elchin*). On the composition of the caravan and the controversial account of the massacre of its members by order of Ïnalchïq (or Ïnalchuq), the Muslim governor of Otrar (the former Fārāb, the ruins of which are on the right bank of the Syr Darya, near the mouth of the Arys River and present-day Kok-Saray), see also W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 4th ed. (London, 1977), pp.397-399. On the relations between the Mongols and Khwarezm at the time, see *ibid.*, p.393ff.; *Cambridge History of Iran*, V, p.303ff.; and J.J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (London, 1971), p.53ff. For the expression *jetgüjü alaqdaju*, lit. 'undergoing the arrest and killing,' see Poppe, 'Passive Constructions,' pp.370, 374. The expression 'golden halter' (*altan arqamji*) seems to refer to the bond uniting the Mongol ruler - hence the term 'golden' = 'imperial' - to other rulers who owed him allegiance. See Mostaert, p.209. Thus, 'to break the golden halter' meant 'to reject the bond of allegiance' and, therefore, 'to rebel against Mongol suzerainty.' From these remarks of Chinggis we

may infer that already at the time of the Otrar incident, i.e. in 1218, the Mongol court considered Muḥammad as a ruler who was 'bound' to recognize Mongol authority, in other words a subject (*il*) or vassal king like the rulers of the Uighurs, the Hsi-Hsia, etc. Now, this is certainly not the case, for all the evidence points to the caravan-mission of 1218 as being sent to establish commercial relations with Khwarezm and, no doubt, to gather information on the country, but not to demand, at that stage, its recognition of Mongol suzerainty. The words put by the *SH* into Chinggis' mouth are a *post factum* re-interpretation of events. 'To take revenge, / To requite the wrongs,' lit. 'Exacting vengeance, / Requiting retribution.' See above, §214 and note. On Yisüi-qatun (*qadun* in the text), see §§155-156. 'Respectfully gave the following advice,' lit. 'advising (*or* making a suggestion, petitioning) informed' (*duratqan öchirün*). On *duratqa-* (= *duradqa-*), see Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 472. The entire passage from 'The qahan' to 'Your order (= word) shall decide!' has been translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.180-185. 'Waging a long campaign,' lit. 'campaigning a long campaign' (*urtu ch'aur ch'aurqan*). On this expression, cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 11 (1948), 452, n.13. 'When your body, like a great old tree, etc.'; see §245, and Mostaert, pp.155-159. 'Heroic sons' (*külü'üt kö'üt*), lit. 'heroes-sons,' i.e. 'sons who are heroes.' 'Whom you have begotten,' lit. 'who are born *of you*.' 'Which one,' lit. 'whom of them' (*ken-i inu*). On the pronoun *inu* used for *anu*, see Mostaert, pp.182 and 257, n.244. 'I have given you *this* advice, etc.,' lit. 'I have advised what, when we consider it, has been understood by the sons, the younger brothers, the many common people and also by us "the bad one." Let *your* order decide!' In other words, Yisüi-qatun is suggesting something concerning a state matter that has been of serious concern to Chinggis' immediate family and the people at large, and which requires a prompt decision by Chinggis himself. For the self-depreciatory epithet *mawun* (= *ma'un*, Writ. Mong. *maghun*) 'bad one,' cf. the expression *üchügeṯ mawun* in §245. 'A lady,' lit. 'a lady-person' (*qadun gü'ün*). 'The eldest of my sons' (*kö'üd-ün minu aqa*): cf. §§239, 242. For *aqa* = 'eldest,' see Cleaves in *HJAS* 24 (1963), 70. 'This bastard offspring of the Merkit' renders Mongolian *ene Merkidei chul ulja'ur* (read *chöl olja'ur*). I understand the expression *chöl olja'ur*, which is not glossed in the interlinear version nor rendered in the sectional summary, as meaning literally 'desert acquisition,' i.e. 'something seized or captured in a deserted place and the origin of which is unknown; goods or

possessions of uncertain origin.' By extension, and as an idiom, 'a bastard child or offspring.' I have discussed this expression at length in my paper 'On the Expression *Čul Uljaʼur* (? = *Čöl Oljaʼur*) in §254 of the *Secret History of the Mongols*' in the F.W. Cleaves *Festschrift* (in preparation). I should like to add that the form *chul* (*chūl*, *chůl*, *chŭl*) 'desert, steppe' occurs in several Turkic languages. Moghol has *chůl* and Buriat *sůl* (in the expression *sůl ǧazar* id. See Ligeti in *AOH* 17 (1964), 29. This insulting remark of Cha'adai is an unequivocal allusion to Jochi's doubtful paternal origin. It will be recalled, in fact, that Chinggis' wife Börte had been abducted by Toqto'a-beki and other Merkit chiefs in a raid and had been given to Chilger-bökö, younger brother of that Yeke-Chiledü whose wife Hö'elün had earlier been abducted by Chinggis' father Yisügei. (Toqto'a-beki, who had led the avenging party, was himself the elder brother of Yeke-Chiledü and Chilger-bökö.) Eventually, Chinggis - then still Temüjin - rescued Börte with the help of To'oril-qan and Jamuqa. See the *SH* §§101, 104-111. Börte was pregnant at the time of her rescue and soon after gave birth to Jochi. Chinggis always accepted Jochi as his own son, but doubts about his paternity remained and Cha'adai did not miss this opportunity of raising them in order to discredit his elder brother, whom he then regarded as his major rival to the throne. On this whole question, see Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, pp.23-25. 'At these words,' lit. 'With *his* saying.' 'Grabbing Cha'adai by the collar,' lit. 'laying hold of C.'s collar.' With regard to Cha'adai's obstinacy and unbending character, cf. above §243 and note, and W. Heissig in *Tractata Altaica*, p.287, nn.10, 11. For *hontucha-* 'to shoot arrows at a long distance,' see §244 and note. The entire passage from 'As Jochi and Cha'adai' to 'So he spoke' has been translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.187-208. 'With Bo'orchu pulling Jochi by the arm and Muqali pulling Cha'adai by the arm,' lit. 'When B. was pulling from (= at) J.'s arm and M. was pulling from (= at) C.'s arm.' The Kökö-chos who intervenes at this point is the Kökö-chos of the Ba'arin of §§202, 210 and 216. For the phrase *qan echige chinu kö'üd-ün dotora chimadacha erejü büle'e*, lit. 'among the sons, it was for you that your father the qan had hoped,' see also Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, p.75. 'The starry sky was turning upon itself, / ... The crusty earth was turning and turning,' i.e. even heaven and earth were upset, so great and general was the state of confusion in the world before Chinggis' birth. For the concept of heaven and earth being in disorder, cf. the

phraseology of the Orkhon inscriptions, which often offers interesting parallels with that of the *SH*. See T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Bloomington, 1968), pp.244, 276. 'Crusty earth,' lit. 'earth with epidermis' (*körisütei etügen*); on this expression, see also A. Mostaert, 'A propos d'une prière au feu' in N. Poppe (ed.), *American Studies in Altaic Linguistics* (Bloomington, 1962), p.202; and, also by Mostaert, 'Le mot *Natigay/Nacigay* chez Marco Polo,' in *Oriente Poliano*, ed. by the Is.M.E.O. (Rome, 1957), p.101, n.7. 'It was not her wish,' lit. 'she was surely not desiring *it*' (*güsejü ese yabuba je*); for *yabu-* as an auxiliary verb, see also Mostaert, p.237, n.221. The passage refers to Börte's abduction by the Merkit, so vividly described in *SH* §101. 'When men met,' lit. 'When one *man* met the other *man*.' 'You speak so as to harden, etc.,' lit. 'You speak so as to harden the butter-affection, so as to sour the milk-heart of your mother, the wise qadun (= qatun).' I prefer to render *boqda* (= *boghda*) as 'wise' or 'sage,' rather than as 'saint' or 'holy,' on the strength of the *SH* glosses *hsien-ming* 賢明 'sage, enlightened,' and *hsien-neng* 賢能 'able and good.' See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.16. For the strong, graphic imagery of birth in the poetic passage that follows, cf. §78 and also §244. Kökö-chos, after having stressed the fact that both Jochi and Cha'adai were born from the same mother, warns Cha'adai not to incur the displeasure of his mother by offending her, as he had done indirectly with his insulting words. 'It will be of no avail,' lit. 'It will not do,' i.e. Börte will be so angered with him that he will not be able to soothe her and regain her affection. Kökö-chos then recalls how difficult life had been for Cha'adai's parents and how much Börte had done for her children. 'His black head was bound to the saddle, / His black blood was poured / In a large leather bucket.': the 'large leather bucket' (*nambuqa*) was the bucket normally carried by the Mongol horseman containing mare's milk or water. Kökö-chos means that Chinggis was then constantly in action and so busy that he never got off his horse; so precarious was his life in those conditions that he could lose his head or spill his blood at any moment - as if his head had been attached to his saddle and his blood poured into a bucket. He never rested or slept in a proper bed, and went usually hungry. 'The flesh between his teeth' (*shigi*), i.e. his own gums - in parallel with 'his own saliva.' Cf. Mostaert, p.200. 'He strove fiercely' (*öl*ü*mlen*): the verb *öl*ü*mle-* originally means 'to fight to the death' (see above, n.208); from this primary meaning derive the secondary meanings of 'to fight or strive fiercely; to labour,' especially in

relation to a person's duty to, or in the service of, his master. Cf. what is said in §281 about Doqolqu(-cherbi). This verb was still used in the 17th century. 'It was the time when,' lit. 'At the time when.' 'Pulling firmly her cap, etc.': cf. §64 for the same verses, which apply there not to Börte, of course, but to Mother Hö'elün. The same imagery used in both cases indicates that this was a standard characterization of the dutiful mother in strained circumstances. For the old Mongol headgear or *boqta* (Writ. Mong. *boghtagh*) worn by married women, rather inadequately rendered by me as 'cap,' besides the numerous references cited in Mostaert, pp.201-204, see now also Olbricht and Pinks, pp.80-81. 'She gave you half of it,' lit. 'she gave you her half.' For the expression *qo'olai quchi-*, lit. 'to choke *at* the throat,' cf. §213 *in fine*. 'She *even* gave you all of it,' lit. 'she gave you her all.' 'She herself went hungry,' lit. 'she went empty.' 'Stretching your shoulders, / ... Stretching your necks,': cf. §214 and note. 'Cleaning your whole body' renders Mongolian *buyi tanu arilgaju* (= *arilghaju*). The word *buyi* is not glossed in the interlinear translation and is otherwise unknown in Mongolian. Mostaert, pp.206, 208, left it untranslated. Other scholars have variously interpreted this term as follows: 'gums' (Haenisch), 'body' (Kozin), 'body filth' (Damdinsüren, Murakami), 'skin socks' (Yao Ts'ung-wu, S. Jagchid). I think that *buyi* is Turkish *buy* ∿ *boy*(*/bod*) 'body; the (whole) figure, stature, length.' See Radloff, IV, pp.1639-1640, 1800; E.V. Sevortyan, *Etimologicheskiĭ slovar' tyurkskikh yazykov*, 'B' (Moscow, 1978), p.176. This meaning is listed in E-erh-teng-t'ai 額爾登泰, Wu-yün-ta-lai 烏雲達賚, A-sa-la-t'u 阿薩拉圖, *Meng-ku pi-shih tz'u-hui hsüan-shih* 蒙古秘史詞滙選釋 (Huhehot, 1980), p.158, *s.v. buyi*, but it was not adopted by Daoruntibu in his translation, where (*Meng-ku pi-shih*, p.307) the sentence in question is rendered 'she removed your clumsy walk' (除汝等之笨行), i.e. 'she taught you how to walk' - a totally unacceptable interpretation. (See also D.'s note 19 on p.315.)

255 Continuation of the preceding section. Note the form 'Chinggis-qan' in place of 'Chinggis-qahan (*or* -qa'an)' - an oversight of later editors. See I. de Rachewiltz, '*Qan*, *Qa'an* and the Seal of Güyüg,' p. 276, and below, n.281. 'At his words' (three times in this section), lit. 'to (= at) this word.' 'I shall not dispute Jochi's strength, nor shall I reply to *his claims* of skill,' lit. 'not speaking of J.'s strength and of a reply of (= to) the skill.' The alliterative saying or

proverb quoted by Cha'adai is a reply to Jochi's words in the preceding section, which Cha'adai obviously took as an empty boast. Cf. Mostaert, p.123. 'The eldest sons are Jochi and I,' lit. 'the eldest of the sons are J. and we (excl.).' 'We shall serve,' lit. 'we shall give our strength.' 'We shall split his head open,' lit. 'Shall have *his head* split open' (*dalbaru chabchildusu*) - a 'vertical' action, in poetic contrast to the cutting of the heels across (*kinggürü chabchildusu*), a 'horizontal' action. In §229, towards the end, we find the expression *ekit anu dalbaru ... chabchiju*, which I rendered rather incorrectly as 'I shall smite ... until their heads are crushed.' *Dalbaru chabchi-* means 'to cut splitting open.' *Chabchi-* is 'to cut, chop, hack'; *dalbaru* is an adverb meaning '(split) open along a vertical line,' formed by *dalba* '(split) open (adv.)' + the adverbial suffix of direction *-ru*, on which see Poppe, *Grammar*, p.59, §215; cf. Mostaert, pp.17, n.11; 47. Cf. the verb *dalbara-* 'to split open,' from *dalba-* + suff. *-ra-* forming verbs of adverbial origin (see Poppe, *op. cit.*, p.66, §255). See *Mongghol kitad toli*, p.1134a,c. Cf. Writ. Mong. *darbaghar* 'wide open, gaping, split up' (Lessing, p.232a). For *dalbaru*, cf. Manchu *dalbarame* 'along the side' (Norman, *A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon*, p.53a) and Jurchen *dalbara* (> Manchu *dalba*) 'side.' See W. Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen* (Leipzig, 1896; rep. Peiping, 1936), p.99b. In the *SH*, the Ming translators have rendered the expression *dalbaru chabchi-* once as 'to cut breaking (apart)' (§229: 打破...砍), and twice as 'to cut (split) open' (§§255, 278: 劈開). See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.31. In the sectional summary of §229 it is actually rendered as 'to break, smash' (打破) (*YCPS* 9, 49b). This has misled several translators, including myself. 'Shall have his heels cut across,' lit. 'We shall cut his heels across,' i.e. 'we shall hamstring him.' 'But it is Ögödei *among us* who is steady *and considerate*' renders Mongolian *Ögödei-lü örük bui*. I have adopted the interpretation of *lu/lü* proposed by J. Street in his forthcoming article devoted to this particle (pers. comm. of 1 Dec. 1983). The meaning 'steady *and considerate*' of Mong. *örük* (= *örüg*) is merely an extension of its primary meaning of 'quiet, at rest; calm, unruffled.' Cf. above, n.230. 'Close to,' lit. 'at the side of.' Of Chinggis-qan's sons, Ögödei was apparently the one who spent more time in the company of his father and who was, therefore, closer to him. 'The imposing array of the "teaching of the cap,"' lit. 'the "teaching of the cap" whose appearance is great' (*bara'a yeke maqalai-yin bauliya*). *Bauliya*

(Writ. Mong. *bauliy-a*; cf. *SHA*, p.193) 'training; teaching' is a deverbal noun in *-ya* (∿ *-gha*) from *bauli-* 'to train a hunting falcon; to train, exercise, practise; to teach.' Cf. Kalm. *bül'-* id.; Osm. and Kirg. *baulu-* 'to teach, instruct, train'; Khaz. *baulu-* 'to train; to bring up; to train a hunting bird.' See Ramstedt, *op. cit.*, p.65a; Radloff, IV, p.1567a, *s.a. bavly*; B.N. Shnitnikov, *Kazakh-English Dictionary* (London-The Hague-Paris, 1966), p.47b. The cap (*maqalai* = Writ. Mong. *malaghai*) is a well-known symbol of authority (cf. above, §§103, 244) and the 'teaching of the cap' (= training in the use of the cap) must have been an expression designating the instruction concerning authority, i.e. imperial rule. The reference to its 'appearance' (*bara'a*; cf. n.195) being 'great' does in fact indicate that it pertains to the qan, the epithet 'great' (*yeke*) being normally associated with the supreme ruler. 'This will be fine!', lit. 'it will surely do' (*bolu-je*). 'Why should you *two* go so far as to cooperate with each other?' On this sentence, cf. Mostaert, p.125. Chinggis says that it is not necessary for the two brothers, who are so antagonistic towards each other, to join forces and cooperate (*qolba'ara-*) to help ruling the Mongols, as this would inevitably lead them into further conflict. The world (lit. 'Mother Earth') is big enough for both. Therefore, instead of bringing them together, he will keep them apart by giving them separate domains or principalities (*qari*) to rule over, while the state will be managed by Ögödei. 'Cha'adai and I,' lit. 'C. and we (excl.).' For *ötögen eke* 'Mother Earth' (= *eke etügen* of §113), see Mostaert, 'Le mot *Natigay/Nacigay*,' pp.99, 101, n.8; and 'A propos d'une prière au feu,' p.202. Cf. also above, nn.245 and 254. 'Extending the camps (= grazing grounds) that can be easily divided,' lit. 'Making wide the camps which are such as to be divided (*salqu shitü*),' i.e. by bringing together many nomadic camps or grounds (*nuntuq*) that can then be easily apportioned and turned into separate domains (*qari*). Chinggis also warns his two sons against making empty promises, such as that of serving him, for when they broke them, as Altan and Quchar did (see §§123 and 153), they would become the laughing stock of the people. 'Nor laughed at by men.', lit. 'Do not let yourselves be laughed at by men.' For the expression *üge baraldu-* 'to pledge one's word,' see Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, pp.78-79. For the words *ker kikdelü'ei yambar bolqaqdalu'ai*, lit. 'How were they done by? In what way were they caused to become?', cf. Poppe, 'Passive Constructions,' p.374. 'Seeing them, how can you be remiss *in your duties*?', i.e. 'seeing them will remind you of Altan and Quchar and their

unhappy fate, and this will make you keep your word.' 'When *my* father the qahan, favouring me, tells me to speak,' lit. 'When, father (*echē* = *echige*) the qahan, favouring, I am told, "Speak!".' Ligeti, in his text edition (*Histoire secrète*, p.229), reads *qahan-eche* instead of *qahan echē*, which is incorrect. *Mona qoyina* 'later, in future, a long time from now' = *mono qoyina*. See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.110; Mostaert, p.156. 'Perchance' renders Mong. *maqa*, a term expressing doubt but possibility. 'Even if one wrapped it in fresh grass, etc.' This is an old saying, still living in the dialects, describing something - a person or thing - so inept, worthless and lacking character that even if 'dressed' in fresh grass or in fat it would be rejected by oxen and dogs. See Mostaert, p.168, n.154. To the corresponding saying in modern usage registered by Oyunbilik and Nasundalai and cited by Mostaert, *loc. cit.*, one can add the following, which is no.2801 in the collection edited by Ž. Daščorž and G. Rinčensambuu, *Mongol cecen ügiĭn dalaĭ*, I (Ulan-Bator, 1964), p.62: *övsönd oroovč üxer idexgüi/ööxönd oroovč noxoĭ šinšixgüi* 'Although one wraps it in grass, the ox does not eat it; although one wraps it in fat, the dog does not sniff it.' 'To miss the elk breadthwise, *just as* the rat lengthwise' is another saying applied to an unskilled hunter who, when shooting arrows, would miss a large animal like an elk showing its side to him, hence a very easy target, just as he would miss a difficult target like a 'rat lengthwise,' i.e. a rat showing only its head and back to him. Ögödei expresses concern about the possibility that some of his offspring and descendants who will rule the empire after him may be incompetent and unfit to govern. 'I'll say as much as that,' lit. 'I say this much of mine.' 'I shall remind him of what he has forgotten, / I shall wake him up when he has fallen asleep'; cf. the same words used by Chinggis-qan with regard to Jamuqa in §200. The second line is, literally, 'Waking up *him* who has fallen asleep.' 'I shall become a friend of *the word* "yes,"' i.e. 'I shall keep my oath' - of loyalty and obedience to Ögödei. The ancient Mongols verbally sealed and formalized an oath or promise simply by uttering the word 'yes' (*je*), so that for a Mongol to say 'yes' was tantamount to pledging his word, as clearly stated in §108. 'I shall urge his horse forward (as if I were the whip),' in other words, 'I shall make him advance.' 'Not being remiss in my "yes," / Not being absent from the ranks,' i.e. 'I shall abide by my oath and perform my duty in the army'; cf. §108. 'Descendants of ... appoint one of you to govern,' lit. 'Descendants (*uruq*; see Mostaert, p.168) of ... make one of you

to govern.' In his final and most important pronouncement, Chinggis states - or is made to state by the anonymous author(s) of this passage - the principle of succession to be observed by the cadet branches of his family, viz. that Chinggis' line has priority over the lines of his brothers Qasar (= Jochi-Qasar), Qachi'un (now deceased, hence the mention of his son Alchidai; see above, n.242), Otchigin (= Temüge-otchigin) and Belgütei. What Chinggis says is that each of the cadet branches may indeed choose a member of its own branch as successor if the line of Chinggis fails. However, *even* if the descendants of Ögödei, who has now been appointed successor by Chinggis' will, prove unfit to rule (as foreshadowed by Ögödei himself), it is unlikely that there will not be found among all the descendants of Chinggis-qan, i.e. the descendants of his other three sons, one who will make a good ruler. Chinggis' will (lit. 'decree' or 'order': *jarlig*) must not be disobeyed and rescinded (the verb employed in the text is *hutar-* 'to destroy'), for this would be a punishable crime. 'To err' (*ende-*) and 'to be at fault' (*alda-*) actually signify 'to commit a criminal act or offence entailing retribution.' Cf. above, nn.203 and 224 *in fine*. As stated earlier (n.254), Chinggis' pronouncement would have given legal sanction to the replacement of the line of Ögödei by that of Tolui. However, as already pointed out by Barthold (*Turkestan*, pp.478-479), Rashīd al-Dīn records a different tradition. According to the Persian historian, under Ögödei and Güyük there was an understanding that the imperial succession would remain in the line of Ögödei: 'So long as there exists a piece of flesh from the children of Ögetei-qa'an, and even if you roll it in grass and this grass the cow won't eat, and if you roll it in fat and this fat the dog won't look at, yet we shall elect him to the khanate and nobody else will sit on the throne.' Thus Eljidei of the Jalair (i.e. the Alchidai of *SH* §226, etc.), the younger brother or cousin of Ilügei (*not* his son, as I incorrectly stated in n.226), reminds the princes when Möngke was elected qaghan in 1251. See Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, p.95. Moreover, Güyük had apparently accepted the imperial dignity only on condition that the khanate would be settled in his family. This was agreed by the princes and nobles at the *quriltai* (in 1246): they unanimously pledged that they would not give the khanate to anybody else 'as long as there remains of thy (i.e. Güyüg's - I.R.) race a piece of flesh such as an ox or dog would not accept wrapped in fat or grass.' See *Successors*, pp.181-182 and n.19. Cf. also Ligeti, p.182, n.255; and Ratchnevsky, 'Šigi-qutuqu,' p.117, where the relevant

quotations from §255 of the *SH* are also translated. According to Ratchnevsky the whole section is spurious, a conclusion with which I concur (see above, n.254). It should be emphasized that all the sources - Chinese, Persian and Mongol - agree that Ögödei was the son *formally* designated by Chinggis as his successor, and they refer to a 'decree' or 'will' to that effect. See *History of the World-Conqueror*, p.185; *Successors*, p.30; *Kuo-ch'ao ming-ch'en shih-lüeh* 國朝名臣事略 (1332 ed.; rep. *Chung-hua shu-chü*, 1962), 5, 3a; and below, §269.

256 Resumption of the account of the campaign against Khwarezm interrupted at the beginning of §254. The passage concerning Chinggis' dispatch of envoys to the Hsi-Hsia ruler to remind him of his earlier promise and exact the auxiliary troops which were to form, or rather strengthen, the right or west wing of the Mongol army (see above, n.249) has been translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.208-214. Cf. also Poppe, 'Passive Constructions,' p.374; Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 96, n.19; and Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, p.33. The Hsi-Hsia ruler ('Burqan') in question was Li Tsun-hsü 李遵頊, i.e. Shen-tsung 神宗 (r.1211-1222). Asha-gambu: a Tibeto-Tangut name like Jaqa-gambu, the second element of which is the Tibetan epithet *sgam-po* 'profound.' See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.226-227, and Murakami, *op. cit.*, III, pp.202-203, n.2. This personage was obviously a high official at the Hsi-Hsia court, but is not otherwise known. On him, see also below, §§265, 266. 'Forestalling him said,' lit. 'first ... said.' 'Incapable *of subjugating others*,' i.e. by themselves. 'With haughty words,' lit. 'saying big words.' *Bö'et* here = 'at once' as in §190 *in fine*. 'By detouring in their direction,' lit. 'moving in *their* direction round about (*kelbes*).' *Kelbes* is a word not found in Writ. Mong.; however, it has survived in the dialects. See, e.g., Ordos *k'elbes Ge-* 'pencher un peu sur le côté' (Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.411a). Cf. also *Mongghol kitad toli*, p.609c: *kelbes kelbes* 'staggering, faltering.' In Writ. Mong. we have the related form *kelberis* 'crooked, not straight' (Lessing, p.447a). What Chinggis means, of course, is that his army, now ready to proceed westwards against Khwarezm, should instead change direction ('lean on the side'), i.e. it should turn south and attack the Tangut kingdom. While this would not be difficult in itself, it was not convenient at that juncture, hence Chinggis' pledge to punish the Tanguts after his victorious completion of the Western Campaign. For *je teli* 'enough of this matter, let it pass, let it be, etc.,' and *teli* 'this (*or* that) affair (*or* matter),' see Mostaert, p.173. 'To pull in the reins' (*jilo'a tata-*) means 'to halt the campaign, to return home (after a successful military expedition).' Cf. §275. 'Golden,' as usual, is the attribute of things pertaining to the sovereign. In his 'Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod nach der ostasiatischen Überlieferung' in *AM* 9 (1933), 512-527, E. Haenisch has translated §§256-268 of the *SH*. This translation is, however, superseded by that in the revised (2nd) edition of his *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, pp.128-136.

257 Chinggis-qan left his ordo of the Sa'ari Steppe (Sa'ari-ke'er; see my note to §128) in the fourth month of 1219 (16 May-13 June) and by the fifth month (14 June-12 July) he was on the Eder. Thence the army proceeded across the Altai to the Black Irtysh (Qara-Irtysh), where Chinggis pitched his summer camp. He did not leave the Irtysh until autumn, probably not before October. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp.393ff., 403; de Rachewiltz in *MS* 21 (1962), 46-47, nn.49, 50. The Alai ('Arai' in the text, but correctly 'Alai' in *AT*, II, 79, line 5; cf. *SHA*, p.189) seems to be the same locality (? a pass on the Altai) mentioned in §198 (see my note), but the identification remains doubtful. It seems certain, however, that it was a mountain pass on the way from the Eder to the Irtysh; thus, I would assume, an important pass on the Altai, possibly - as suggested by Perlee (p.4) - the Ulaan Dabaa. On Qulan-qatun, one of the favourite wives of Chinggis-qan, see above, §197 and note. Temüge-otchigin is called here Otchigin-noyan, as in §§190, 195, 245, 269 and 280. Being the youngest brother and, therefore, 'keeper of the hearth,' he remained behind to guard the home patrimony and base-camp in Mongolia, which comprised, of course, the great ordo of Chinggis-qan in the Sa'ari Steppe. When the Taoist patriarch Ch'ang-ch'un (see above, n.248) crossed Mongolia on his way to Central Asia, he reached Temüge-otchigin's camp (on 24 April, 1221), then situated four to five days' ride southeast of the Kerulen at the point where this river flows into the Hulun or Dalai Nor. See the *Hsi-yu chi*, A, 16b; Waley, *op. cit.*, pp.64-65; I. de Rachewiltz and T. Russell in *PFEH* 29 (March 1984), 9. This was Temüge-otchigin's own family domain or appanage. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.178. On the title *otchigin* of the youngest son, besides Vladimirtsov, p.60 *et passim*, and Pelliot-Hambis, pp.176-177, see the *Selected Works of P.A. Boodberg*, comp. by A.P. Cohen (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1979), pp.80-84, and A. Temir in K. Röhrborn and H.W. Brands, *Scholia. Beiträge*

zur Turkologie und Zentralasienkunde. A. von Gabain zum 80. Geburtstag ... (Wiesbaden, 1981), pp.194-200. For *gejige* 'in support,' i.e. as the vanguard, see §170 and note. Regarding the expedition of Jebe, Sübe'etei and Toquchar, see Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp.419-420. Toquchar is mentioned here for the first time and his name reappears in §280 as one of the officials entrusted by Ögödei with the post-stations' administration. He is mentioned by both Juvainī and Rashīd al-Dīn. According to the former, 'Toghachar Küregen (who was the son-in-law of Chingiz-khan)' fell in the attack on Nīshāpūr in November 1220. See *History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.174-175. According to Rashīd, Toquchar (also called Dalan-Turqaq Toquchar, Toquchar-baghadur and Toquchar-noyan) was a Qonggirat. When Chinggis sent him, with Jebe and Sübe'etei, against Muḥammad of Khwarezm, he disobeyed Chinggis' order not to plunder the territory of the governor of Herāt Malik-khān Amīn al-Mulk (the 'Qan-Melik' of the *SH*; see below) and was subsequently killed in an encounter with some mountaineers in Ghur. See Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.217, 222. Cf. the *Sheng-wu* ..., 72a, 77a. Clearly, this personage cannot be the Toquchar mentioned in §280 of the *SH*. For these conflicting reports and the problem of identification, see Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp.423-424; J.A. Boyle in *History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.174-175, n.11; Murakami, *op. cit.*, III, pp.204-205, n.5. The title *sultan* (< Persian *sulṭān*) appears in the *SH* only once in this form; at all other times, alone or in combination, it is written *soltan*. Cf. Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, p.58. The sultan in question is the 'the Soltan of the Sarta'ul people' of §260, who in the *SH* is apparently identified not with Muḥammad, as one would expect, but with his son Jalāl al-Dīn, who became Shāh of Khwarezm upon his father's death at the end of 1220. As is known, the Mongols never made contact with Muḥammad and eventually lost track of him. Barthold comments on this point: 'On the Mongol invasion he played such a pitiful role that the Mongols themselves completely forgot him. Even the Mongol account of the thirteenth century (i.e. the *Secret History of the Mongols* - I.R.) omits all mention of Muḥammad, and speaks only of Jalāl al-Dīn, merging both persons in one, as is apparent from the narrative of the operations of Jebe, Sūbuday and Toquchar.' (*Turkestan*, p.426.) On the other hand, in the three instances in the *SH* in which the title *sultan* ∿ *soltan* occurs alone, this title may well refer to Muḥammad rather than to his son, who throughout these sections is regularly referred to as Jalaldin-soltan. On this name, cf. Poppe, *Mongolian Monuments*, p.116, n.152; see also below. It should

be emphasized here again that the entire *SH* narrative concerning the Western Campaign is fragmentary, i.e. incomplete, confused and inaccurate as to the sequence of events, indication of localities, etc., partly, no doubt, because of textual corruption in the course of transmission, but largely, I think, owing to the work of later editors who, for various reasons, interfered with the original text. 'Attack him from your side' (*qamsatqun*): Jebe, Sübe'etei and Toquchar were to go around the sultan's territory and attack him from the back, while Chinggis, with the main body of the Mongol army, attacked him frontally. On the important military term *qamsa-*, see Mostaert and Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p.28. For the apposition *Jebe tere*, lit. 'Jebe - that one -,' in which *tere* has only the function of drawing attention to the preceding word, see Mostaert, p.89, n.84. Cf. also Cleaves in *HJAS* 22 (1959), 91, n.364. 'Qan-Melik' (in this section the form 'Melik' alternates with 'Melig') is the 'Amīn-malik' of Juvainī (*History of the World-Conqueror*, p.732) and the 'Khān-malik' of Rashīd (Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.220-223), i.e. Amīn al-Mulk, the governor of Herāt in Khorāsān, on whom see Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp.423, 439-443. 'Border towns' (*kiji'ar balaqat*): towards the end of the present section the first word is written *kija'ar*. In the *SH* the form *kija'ar* (cf. 'Phags-pa *k'ija'ar*, Writ. Mong. *kijaghar*) alternates with *kiji'ar*. See my *Index*, p.258a. 'Because his towns had been attacked,' lit. 'Saying, "My towns have been attacked."' With regard to the name Jalāl al-Dīn, in the *SH* it is transcribed phonetically as 'Jalalding,' which is to be read 'Jalaldin,' however, the final *-g* of the Chinese transcription being unavoidable but redundant (Persian *din* can only be transcribed in Chinese as *ting*). Cf. the *AT* transcription 'Jalaljin.' See *SHA*, pp.189-190. The famous defeat of Shigi-qutuqu near Parvān in spring 1221 - the most serious reverse suffered by the Mongols during the whole campaign - is described in detail in Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.221-222. Cf. the earlier account by Juvainī in *History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.406-407. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp.441-445. Ratchnevsky, 'Šigi-qutuqu,' pp.103-107, has translated and discussed the relevant Persian and Chinese sources on these events. 'By so doing, they prevented them from joining forces,' lit. 'Defeating (*or* overcoming) them causing *them* not to join forces.' Buqar is the correct Mongol name of Bukhara (Bukhārā), the great city of Transoxania captured by the Mongols in February 1220. Cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 243, n.27. 'Semisgab,' on the other hand, is a corruption of 'Semisgen,' the Mongol name of Samarqand, which

derives from Turkish Sämizkänd, lit. 'Fat (= Rich) City.' The distortion has occurred as a result of an incorrect reading of the word Semisgen in Uighur-Mongol script. See Pelliot in *TP* 31 (1934-35), 159; Ligeti, p.183, n.257; and Cleaves, *ibid.*, n.28. Samarqand was captured by the Mongols in March 1220. Udarar is Utrār, our Otrar, called Udirar in §258 and Udurar in §259, all distortions of the original form also due to the ambiguity of the Uighur-Mongol script. Otrar was invested by the Mongols in November 1219. On these cities, see Barthold, *op. cit.*, *passim*; and de Rachewiltz in *MS* 21 (1962), 58, n.109; 55-56, nn.87 and 90. 'They pursued them ... in the Shin River,' lit. 'Pursuing them as far as the Shin River, when they were made to go, as they went in throwing themselves into the Shin River, many of the Sarta'ul indeed perished there in the Shin River.' The Shin River (Shin-müren) is the Indus (Shin < Sind). On the Mongols' push to the Indus in pursuit of Jalāl al-Dīn in November 1221, see Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp.445-446. The *SH* account erroneously makes 'Qan-Melik' join Jalāl al-Dīn in the latter's flight to India. After the famous battle on the Indus, which took place probably between 21 August and 19 September 1221, Chinggis did not cross the river and himself pursue further Jalāl al-Dīn and the remnant of his army, but instead advanced northwards along the right (i.e. west) bank of the Indus and spent the following months in 'mopping up' operations and the destruction of mountain forts in the territory of Gībarī and Koh-pāyah, i.e. in the region immediately north of the Kabul River, between Parvān in the west and the Swat Valley in the east. See Jūzjānī in H.G. Raverty (tr.) *Ṭabaḳāt-i-nāṣirī* (rep. New Delhi, 1970), p.1043ff. Rashīd says that after Jalāl al-Dīn's escape across the Indus, in the spring of 1223, Chinggis 'went up the river Sind, and sent Ögetei down the river to subdue those districts. ... That summer Chingiz-khan agreed to stop in the steppe (*or* plain - I.R.) which the Mongols call Parvān, waiting for Bala-noyan (whom he had previously sent with Dörbei-noyan in pursuit of Jalāl al-Dīn - I.R.); [all] the districts which were within those boundaries (i.e. in that region - I.R.) he captured and plundered.' (Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.225.) The *Sheng-wu* ..., 77b, 78a, says: 'In the spring of (the year) *kuei-wei* (1223), the Emperor's (= Chinggis-qan's) troops followed the Hsin mu-lien 辛目連 (= Shin-müren, i.e. the Shin [Indus] River) upstream (i.e. northwards); he ordered the third prince (i.e. Ögödei) to follow the river downstream i.e. southwards).... In the summer, the Emperor escaped the heat in the Pa-lu-wan 八魯灣 (Parvān) Valley.' 'Fled upstream

along it,' lit. 'fled upstream along the Shin River.' The year 1223 given in the above sources is of course an error for 1222. Cf. below, n.259. For Chinggis' immediate movements after the battle on the Indus, see also *History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.135-138; and J.A. Boyle in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, V, p.321. The account by L. Hambis, *Genghis-khan*, p.121, is confused and contradictory. In view of all this, the *SH* statement that Chinggis 'went to plunder Batkesen (Badakhshān)' must be taken *sensu latissimo*. 'Batkesen' (probably written 'Bad-kesen' in the manuscript used by the Ming translators) is a corruption of an original reading 'Badaqshan.' The Eke ('Mother') Brook and the Ge'ün ('Mare') Brook of the *SH* are the Mongol names of two small rivers (*qoroqan*), almost certainly tributaries of the Kabul River, which however cannot be identified with any degree of certainty. The plain or valley (Mong. *ke'er*, Chin. *ch'uan* 川) of Baru'an (< Barvān; see *SHA*, p.190), i.e. Parvān - the Parwan of our maps - lies just north of Kabul, and it is there, on pasture land at the foothills of the Hindu Kush, that by all accounts Chinggis spent the summer of 1222 before returning to the north on his homeward journey. Cf. also the statement by Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 in *Hsi-yu chi*, A, 44a (Waley, *Travels*, pp.98-99) that in March 1222 the imperial encampment was three days' ride south of the Hindu Kush. On Bala's and Dörbei-noyan's expedition in pursuit of Jalāl al-Dīn across the Indus and their attack on Multān, see the above-mentioned sources and, in particular, *History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.141-142 and n.4; Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.225; D'Ohsson, I, pp.309-310. See also J.A. Boyle, '*Iru* and *Maru* in the *Secret History of the Mongols*,' *HJAS* 17 (1954), 406-410. The Dörbei-noyan in question is the same personage called Dörbei-doqshin in *SH* §§240, 261. On Bala, i.e. Bala-noyan, of the Jalair tribe, see §§120, 202 (no.35), and 243. He will reappear again in §§259 and 264. For Jebe's allegiance to Chinggis and the origin of his name, or nickname (designating a particular type of arrow), see *SH* §147. On Toquchar and the contradictory accounts about him in our sources, see above. For the expression *ö'erün dura'ar*, lit. 'by his own will (*or* desire),' see Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 72, n.9. 'Caused him to rebel,' lit. 'caused Qan-Melik to rebel.' 'By decree,' lit. 'by enforcing the *jasaq*' (*jasaq bolqan*), which decreed that such infringements of discipline should be punished with death. 'Severely,' lit. 'exceedingly.'

258 Continuation of the account of the Western Campaign. In this section the chronology of events and the nomenclature are

particularly bad. 'Barula' is an error for 'Baru'an,' i.e. Parvān. See above, n.257. The Amui-müren, or Amui River, is the Amu-Darya (Amū-Daryā, i.e. the Oxus). The form found in *AT*, II, 81, line 8, is 'Amur-mören' - clearly a scribal error for 'Amui-mören.' Cf. *SHA*, p.191. The form Amui itself is probably due to a graphic error (final *yod* for *waw*). The original correct form must have been Amuu, corresponding to Persian Amū. Alternatively, Amui is simply a variant form of Amuu. Cf., e.g., *aghui* ∿ *aghuu* (*aghū*) 'vast.' Ürünggechi (Örünggechi in §260) = Urgench, the name employed by the Mongols for Gurgānj, the capital of Khwarezm, situated then on both banks of the Amu-Darya. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, p.457 and n.3; Murakami, *op. cit.*, III, pp.224-225, n.3; de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*, p.60, n.117; and Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 243, n.29. On the operations of Jochi, Cha'adai and Ögödei, and the siege and capture of Gurgānj (end of 1220 - April 1221), see Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp.433-437. Iru = Herāt, and Isebür = Nīshāpūr. Contrary to Boyle's opinion ('*Iru* and *Maru*,' p.403ff.), I think that phonetically 'Iru' can only represent 'Herāt,' the identification earlier proposed by Haenisch and adopted also by Ligeti (p.183, n.258). The identification of Iru with Merv, first proposed by Grønbech (see Boyle, *op. cit.*, p.410, n.35), is unlikely in view of the fact that Merv is mentioned further on (§261) as 'Maru.' The form 'Isebür' for 'Nishabur' is simply due to the ambiguity of the Uighur-Mongol script, as already pointed out by Ligeti, *loc. cit.*, Herāt was conquered by Tolui *after* Merv and Nīshāpūr (see Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp.446-449; Boyle, *op. cit.*, p.404), but as noted earlier this entire section is chronologically unreliable. Udirar = Utrār; cf. above, n.257. In this and the following section there is an anachronistic reference to Chinggis' advance on, and capture of, Otrar. See below, §259. On the expression *üge'er yabu-* 'to act according to the words (of someone), to obey the command of,' see Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 475, and Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 78-79, n.8. 'Ordering that they should act according to the words of Ögödei,' lit. 'ordering, "Act according to the words of your *brother* Ö."' In the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 75b-76a, it is stated that in the autumn of 1221 Chinggis sent Jochi and Ögödei (there is no mention of Cha'adai) as leaders of the right wing to conquer Urgench, i.e. Gurgānj, and that after the army had assembled he ordered that it should be under Ögödei's command. According to Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.216, the reason for this action was the disaccord between Jochi and Cha'adai.

259 As we have seen (n.257), Otrar, i.e. Utrār (> Udurar ∿ Udarar ∿ Udirar) was invested by Chinggis at the very beginning of the Western Campaign, almost certainly in November 1219; Bukhara and Samarqand were taken in February and March of the following year. Bala is Bala-noyan of the Jalair, already mentioned in §257 in connection with the pursuit of Jalāl al-Dīn beyond the Indus in 1221-1222. While Bala-noyan and Dörbei-doqshin were busy in pursuit, Chinggis was in the Baru'an (Parvān) plain, or valley, north of Kabul. Therefore, one would assume that it was here, in the foothills of the Hindu Kush, that the summer quarters or residence (*jusalang*) of the 'Soltan' must have been situated, this being the place, too, where Chinggis spent the summer of 1222. (Here 'Soltan' refers no doubt to Muḥammad rather than to Jalāl al-Dīn; see above, n.257.) However, as we shall see below, this was almost certainly not the case. The ridge (*niri'un*) of Altan-qorqan ('Golden [= Yellow] Creek'), where the sultan's palace was situated, cannot be identified. On the term *niri'un*, lit. 'backbone,' from which 'ridge,' cf. n.147. 'The weather has become warm,' lit. 'the year has become warm (*or* hot).' For Iru = Herāt, see above, n.258. Sisten (a faulty transcription for Sistan) = Sīstān, the capital of which province was Zaranj, near the modern town of Zabul. Chuqcheren (also an erroneous transcription for Choqcharan) = Chokhcharān, another name of the river Herirūd just south of Herāt. See Boyle, *op. cit.*, pp.404-405, and Ligeti in *AOH* 1 (1950-51), 179, n.37. This river is actually mentioned by Rashīd in connection with Tolui's capture of Herāt in 1221. The relevant section reads as follows: 'He (i.e. Tolui - I.R.) subjugated all this region and captured Merv.... He also captured the city of Nīshāpūr. By the end of spring of the [above-]mentioned year (1221) he had already subjugated all these cities and districts. [Then] Chingiz-khan sent a message from Ṭālaqān to the effect that [his] son Tolui should return before the coming of the [summer] heat. In accordance with the order he (Tolui - I.R.) came back. On the way he made a raid in the province of Quhistān, crossed the river Jūqjarān (corr. Choqcharān owing to the confusion in Persian between *ch* and *j* - I.R.) and captured the city of Herāt and its district, and from there he joined [the army] of Chingiz-khan.... After that, Chingiz-khan together with [his] sons and armies spent the summer at the foothills of Ṭālaqān.' See Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.219. In the *Sheng-wu* ..., 75b-76b, it is recorded that in 1221 Chinggis and Tolui attacked and captured Bukhara, Samarqand and other cities. In the summer, Chinggis 'escaped the heat in the place where

the sultan of the Western Regions used to escape the heat.' In the autumn, he 'ordered Tolui to attack Yeh-li (*Eri = Herāt), Ni-sha-wu-erh (*Nishawur = Nīshāpūr) and other cities.' Chinggis himself took the cities of Tirmiz̲ and Balkh, then besieged the fortress of Ṭālaqān. In the winter Tolui 'also conquered Mu-lu-ch'a-yeh [*read* -k'o] (*Maruchaq, or 'Little Merv,' on the Murghab), Yeh-k'o Ma-lu (*Yeke-Maru = Merv the Great), Hsi-la-ssu (*Sira[q]s = Sarakhs) and other cities. He made his army advance further.' Always according to this source (76b-77a), in 1222, in the spring, Tolui again conquered Tūs, Nīshāpūr and other cities, but 'since the heat was then about to reach its peak, the Emperor (i.e. Chinggis-qan) sent a messenger to instruct the fourth prince (i.e. Tolui) to return in haste. On the way through the country of the Mu-la-hsi (*Mulaχi[d] = Mulāḥid, lit. 'heretics, infidels' [< Arab.], i.e. the Ismailians: this must refer to Quhistān; cf. Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, I, pp.115, 133; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, II, pp.785-787; and Ligeti, *loc. cit.*), he greatly ravaged it and, crossing the Cho-cho-lan (*Jo[q]joran) River, he conquered Yeh-li (= Herāt) and other cities. At that time, the Emperor was attacking the fortress of T'a-li-han (*Taliqan = Ṭālaqān). After the audience (with Tolui) was over, the [two] armies together captured it (i.e. Ṭālaqān).... That summer [the Emperor] escaped the heat in the plain of the fortress of T'a-li-han (= Ṭālaqān).' With regard to Tolui's movements, the chronology of the *YS* (1, pp.21-22) account agrees with that of the *Sheng-wu ...*, and we also find in it a reference to the crossing of the Cho-cho-lan River and the capture of Yeh-li (Herāt) in the spring of 1222. Juvainī has an entire chapter devoted to Tolui's conquests in Khorāsān in the spring of 1221; among the many cities and towns mentioned are of course Merv, Herāt and Nīshāpūr, as well as 'the country of Sijistān,' i.e. Sīstān, mentioned also in the present section of the *SH*. See *History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.151-152. There is no mention, however, of the ridge of Altan-qorqan and of Chuqcheren. As we have seen, the latter is a river and the *SH* is at fault in referring to it as a city (*balaqasu*). I agree with Ligeti that this is a straightforward error and not to be understood, as Boyle does, as 'the town of C.' or 'the C. town' (= the town on the C. River) meaning Herāt, since Herāt has just been mentioned. See '*Iru* and *Maru*,' p.405. As for the ridge of Altan-qorqan and the place where Muḥammad of Khwarezm used to spend the summer, its location is also not clear because of the confused chronology of events. Tolui's conquest of Khorāsān, including

the crossing of the Chokhcharan/Herirūd, took place in 1221, not 1222 as incorrectly stated by the *Sheng-wu ...* and the *YS*. (For this one-year discrepancy, see Wang Kuo-wei, *Yeh-lü Wen-cheng Kung nien-p'u* in *Hai-ning Wang hsien-sheng i-shu, ts'e* 32, '*yü-chi*,' 5b; cf. also above, n.257.) The fortress of Ṭālaqān besieged and conquered by Chinggis in 1221 was the fortress of Nuṣrat-Kūh between Balkh and Marv-ar-Rūd in Khorāsān, whereas the place also called Ṭālaqān, in the neighbourhood of which - i.e. in the northern foothills of the Hindu Kush - both Chinggis and Tolui spent the summer of the same year, was a town in Badakhshān (N.E. Afghanistan), now called Talikhan. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp.439 and n.2; 444; *History of the World-Conqueror*, p.118, n.2; Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.219 and n.1. It was in all probability here, and not in the plain of Pervān on the other side of the Hindu Kush, that the sultan's summer residence and the unidentified Altan-qorqan ridge must have been situated. In the *SH* the confusion is compounded by the reference to Chinggis' waiting for Bala *before* the mention of Tolui's joining his father.

260 This section deals with a particular incident following the capture of Gurgānj/Urgench in April 1221 which, to my knowledge, is not recorded elsewhere. Örünggechi = Ürünggechi. Initial *ö* and *ü* are identical in Uighur-Mongol script, hence the confusion. Medial *t* and *d* are also identical, thus we have here Shigi-quduqu instead of Shigi-qutuqu. All these discrepancies in proper names are purely orthographical in nature. 'Who had refused to submit' renders *öchin meljen aqsat*, lit. 'who had refused to petition *Chinggis-qahan* (i.e. to address him as a superior),' in other words, 'who had refused to acknowledge themselves as subject.' For *melje-* 'to dispute, deny, repudiate, etc.,' see Lessing, p.535a. The verb *doroyita'ul-* (causative of *doroyita-* 'to decline') meaning 'to cause to lower (i.e. to force to come down from a higher position); to degrade, abase,' corresponds to Writ. Mong. *doroyitaghul-*. See Lessing, p.263a. This verb appears also in the form *doroyitda'ul-* in the same passage - a purely orthographic variant. I think that *balaqat irgen anu* refers to the cities and peoples of the sultan, thus *anu* 'their' = *inu* 'his.' Cf. the *Hsiao-ching* in Mongolian (Yüan), where the same usage is found. See de Rachewiltz, 'The Preclassical Mongolian Version,' pp.30 (8a7), 43, and 63, n.91. 'All belong to Chinggis-qa'an,' lit. 'are all of C.-q.' 'Now that ... we have caused the Sarta'ul people to abase themselves like this,' lit. 'At the moment when ... we have caused, etc.' On the

'increase of strength (*or* might: *güchü*)' by Heaven and Earth, see de Rachewiltz in *PFEH* 7 (March 1973), 27ff. 'We - *the men of* your entire army -,' lit. 'we - your many men and geldings -.' Like *eme kö'ü*, the expression *ere aqta* 'men *and* geldings' can be taken literally (as in §§239 and 248), or as a 'mot couple' meaning 'the army.' Cf. Chin. *jen ma* 人馬 id. From the context it is in the latter sense that this expression must be understood here. 'Are rejoicing and are content with ourselves,' is a tentative interpretation of the expression *bayaschu maqaiju amui*. *Bayaschu*, imperfect converb of *bayas-*, means 'rejoicing'; *maqaiju*, the imp. converb of *maqai-*, a verb not attested elsewhere to my knowledge, is not glossed in the Chinese interlinear translation. The sectional summary merely says: 'We the people are all happy' (俺衆人皆歡喜), rendering the general meaning of the Mongolian. In his *Mangḫol un niuca tobca'an* (1937), Haenisch wrote (p.122, n.260[5]): 'Das Wort muß soviel wie einen Ausruf des Frohlockens bedeuten: "*maḫai*" rufen.' In his *Wörterbuch*, p.106, he rendered this verb as 'frohlocken?'. Finally, in his *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, pp.130-131, he translated the sentence in question as 'Darüber sind wir, dein ganzes Heer, voll freude und frohlocken.' Kozin (*Sokr. skaz.*, pp.571, 609) was the first to refer to Writ. Mong. *maghayicha-* 'to play at knuckle-bones' and to suggest for it a (? secondary) meaning of 'to make merry' - an interpretation he adopted in his translation (*ibid.*, p.188: 'we rejoice and exult'). In this he was followed by Yao/Jagchid, Ligeti and others. It is true that in Writ. Mong. there is a verb *maghayicha-* which Kowalewski (p.1981a) renders as 'jeter l'osselet, frapper sur l'osselet.' Cf. M. Haltod a.o., *Mongol-English Practical Dictionary*, The Evang. Alliance Mission (1949-53), p.490b: 'to play a game with knuckle bones.' More specifically, as explained by Golstunskiĭ (III, p.205c), this verb means 'after hitting and dislodging the first knuckle-bone, to hit another knuckle-bone from a further distance,' i.e. to earn a second throw after 'knocking out' the first knuckle-bone, a meaning retained in Khalkha Mongolian. See Cevel, p.325b, *s.v. maaxaĭcax*. *Maghayicha-* is the cooperative form in *-cha-* (on which see Ramstedt, 'Zur Verbstammbildungslehre,' pp.29-30, §§34-35) of **maghayi-*. In the old language, this verb *may* have had also the meaning of 'to make merry'; this, however, is unlikely because such a meaning would undoubtedly have been known to the Ming translators. (Incidentally, in the *SH* §116 the term for 'to play together with knuckle-bones' is *shi'alja-*, corresponding to Writ. Mong. *shighalja-*.) It is

more likely, in my view, that the text was corrupt at this point, as one can also infer from the *AT*, II, 82, line 12 (= *SHA*, p.192), which in the corresponding passage gives *bayaschu erüjü* instead of *bayaschu maqaiju*. From the context it is clear that the corrupt word must have had a meaning similar to *bayas-*, i.e. 'to be happy, merry, etc.' The only possible candidate is *maghasayi-* 'to smile happily, to have a contented air, to be self-satisfied or content.' See *Mongghol kitad toli*, pp.808c-809a; Cevel, p.325b, *s.v. maasaĭx*. I think that the original text had *bayaschu maghasayiju amui* 'are rejoicing and self-satisfied (i.e. content with ourselves),' and that, in the manuscript used by the Ming translators, the letters *s* and *a* (*sa*) of *maghasayiju* were somehow damaged and/or obliterated with the result that the translators could only make out a meaningless word *maghayiju*, which they transcribed and left untranslated. I find this interpretation more satisfactory than those of Haenisch and Kozin. As for the interpretations of Damdinsüren (= Mong. *baxdaž* 'being delighted'), Murakami (= Jap. *inanaite* 'neighing'), and Daoruntibo (= Mong. *baqaju*, explained by him as 'seething with activity'), the former two are unsupported and the third one is unsound. More recently, the authors of '*Meng-ku pi-shih tz'u-hui hsüan-shih* (p.222) have proposed two interpretations for '*mahaihu*' (= *maqai-*), viz.: 1) = '*mahashu*' 'to do all one can, spare no effort, exert oneself'; and 2) = '*mahaičamui*' '(to produce) the sound of cymbals, gongs and other musical instruments; to produce a sound of astonishment when catching sight of something unusual; (to groan because of) pains at the joints; and other meanings.' I find none of these interpretations convincing, also in terms of lexical definitions. The problem, therefore, is still not definitively solved. 'Let *this* be a lesson for their future *behaviour*!', lit. 'Let them learn their future *behaviour from this*!' 'We fear lest the sons' natural *ardour* may be diminished *as a result of this*,' lit. 'We fear lest the sons may dissipate their natural virtue (*aburi-yan alqasa'ujai*)' - by which is meant that Chinggis' excessive severity may have a demoralizing effect on his sons by weakening their innate qualities of courage and boldness. See also below. 'Will you not ...,' lit. 'Will it do if you ...' On *jalira-* 'to become appeased, to calm down,' see Mostaert, p.231. 'Quoting ancient words, / Citing old sayings,': cf. §78 (where, however, following Pelliot I rendered *ötögüs üges* incorrectly as 'the words of the elders'; furthermore, *qadalun* should be rendered 'citing' rather than 'choosing' as I did). Cf. also §244 and note. For the passage 'To the point ...

their brow,' see Mostaert, pp.214-216. 'Just as he was addressing them with reprimands and admonitions' renders *chimar-i'ar söyü'er du'ulqan büküi-tür*, lit. 'at the moment when he was letting *them* know by means of reprimands and admonitions.' For *du'ulqa-* (= Writ. Mong. *dughulgha-*) 'to let know, inform,' see Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 461. As to *söyü'er*, this word poses a problem. In §§22 and 277 we find the expression *söyü'er üge* 'word(s) of admonition.' *Söyü'er* in these instances corresponds to Preclassical (Written) Mongolian *söyüger* 'admonition, instruction, teaching, precept,' this word being a deverbal noun in *-ger* from *söyü-* (= Writ. Mong. *soyu-*) 'to instruct.' See Mostaert, p.243, n.227; Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 115, n.122. However, in our passage the words *chimar-i'ar* 'with reprimands' and *söyü'er* 'with admonitions' are both in the instrumental case. This means that, morphologically, the latter word is actually *söyü* + instr. suff. *-'er*, i.e. *söyü-'er*. Now, *söyü-* is of course a verbal stem and cannot take a case suffix; therefore, we would have to regard *söyü* as being a deverbal noun **söyün* (*söyü-* + *-n*), with the final *-n* dropped. This explanation is not satisfactory on grammatical grounds. The *AT* has *söyüger*. See *SHA*, p.193. I think that we have here a scribal error: the correct reading of the word in our passage should be *söyü'er-i'er*, but owing to the same ending of the word and of the instrumental suffix, the latter was inadvertently dropped at an early stage, witness the *AT* form *söyüger*, also without suffix. Qangqai-qorchi of the Adargin (on which see Pelliot-Hambis, pp.57-58) is not otherwise known, and this is also the case with Qongtaqar-qorchi of the Dolonggir (a sub-tribe of the Jalair; see *ibid.*, pp.164-165, 255-256). Chormaqan-qorchi, on the other hand, is well known. At the end of §260 he is called Ötegedei Chormaqan, i.e. Chormaqan of the Ötegen tribe. However, Pelliot has suggested that 'Ötegedei' is an error for 'Ötegüdei,' the ethnicon derived from the term *ötegü boghol* 'ancestral slave' which, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, had eventually become a tribal name. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.86. Chormaqan was, in fact, a Sünit. He belonged to a Christian Nestorian family which played an important role in Iran under Ögödei. He became the commander-in-chief of the Mongol forces in Western Asia in 1231 and, following an incapacitating illness, was replaced by Baiju-noyan in 1242. In the Persian sources he is usually called Chormaghun-noyan. He is repeatedly mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn, and in Armenian and European medieval sources. On him, see Pelliot-Hambis, p.86 (and the references to Pelliot's *Les Mongols et la Papauté* contained

therein); Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 419-420; J.A. Boyle, *The Mongol World Empire*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1977), Index, p.2. 'That have just begun training,' lit. 'that are just to enter into training.' For *bauliya* 'training,' see above, n.255. The Mongol expression for 'to train birds (= falcons) (for hunting)' occurring in §249 is *shibawun surga-* (= Writ. Mong. *shibaghun surgha-*). 'The sons are barely learning *how* to wage a military campaign,' lit. 'The sons are learning to wage a military campaign just as much as this.' 'Ceaselessly, discouraging the sons' renders *kö'ud-i shingtalun mene metü*, lit. 'discouraging the sons as if at *every* moment (*mene metü*),' i.e. by incessantly piling up abuse on them. *Shingtal-* 'to discourage' corresponds to Writ. Mong. *shintala-* id. (Lessing, p.713a). 'We fear lest the sons, being afraid, will lose heart': for the words *setkil-iyen alqasa'ujai*, cf. the words *aburi-yan alqasa'ujai* above. For the expression *naran shinggegü-eche urququ-da gürtele*, lit. 'from the sun setting as far as *its* rising,' see Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, pp.72-73. 'Tibetan dogs' (*töbödüt noqot*): *töbödüt* is the plural of *töböt* 'Tibet(an)' = Writ. Mong. *töbed*. Cf. Ordos *t'öwöt* 'Tibetan' (Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.676a). The large Tibetan mastiffs were known for their fierceness and were, therefore, highly prized - and feared - by the Mongols, who used them for hunting and as watchdogs. They are mentioned by Marco Polo, who brought one back to Venice. See Moule and Pelliot, *Marco Polo*, I, pp.271-272; cf. also *ibid.*, pp.228-229; Yule (ed.), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, pp.45, 49, 52, n.5; 400-401 and 401-402, n.1; 483, n.3; for this breed of dogs, see E.H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarqand* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), p.77. See also Yisügei's words on the subject of fierce dogs in §66, as well as the other references to hounds in the *SH*. Indeed, the dog-lore of the Mongols deserves special study. *Tabar* 'goods, possessions' is a synonym of *et* (Writ. Mong. *ed*), with which it is often combined. See above, §248 and note. In §252 we find the words *altan mönggün et a'urasun ya'u ke* 'gold, silver, goods, satin and other things.' *Irgen organ* means 'people' in general (on this expression see Mostaert, pp.230-231); here, however, the 'subject people' are obviously meant. 'Here in the west,' lit. 'This *here* west' = 'In this western region.' Qalibai-soltan = Khalīfa-sulṭān, i.e. 'Sultan Caliph' - two titles used here as the ruler's name. Baqtat = Baghdad (Baghdād). The 'Abbāssid caliph of Baghdad at the time was al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225); however, his grandson and second successor al-Mustanṣir (623-640/1226-1242) is clearly the

caliph in question, since Chormaqan's expedition against Jalāl al-Dīn in Western Asia took place in 1230/31, and it was not actually until 1238 that a Mongol army attacked the neighbourhood of Baghdad, where it was repulsed by al-Mustanṣir's forces. See *Successors*, pp.46ff., 190-191, 232-233; Boyle, *Mongol World Empire*, VIII, p.335. Chormaqan's campaign during Ögödei's reign is, in fact, mentioned in §274. This is yet another anachronism of the *SH*.

261 This section, too, is confused and anachronistic. Dörbei-doqshin (Dörbei-noyan) was mentioned above, n.257, in connection with his and Bala-noyan's expedition against Jalāl al-Dīn beyond the Indus in 1221-1222. However, Merv and Herāt and the other cities in Khorāsān had already been conquered by Tolui earlier in 1221, as we have already seen (n.259), apparently without Dörbei's participation. In the present section several places are mentioned, and of these the first two, i.e. Aru and Maru, no doubt correspond to Herāt ('Aru' being an error for 'Iru') and Merv. See above, nn.258 and 259. For Maru = Merv, see also Boyle, '*Iru* and *Maru*,' p.410, n.35. It is possible that Dörbei was one of the generals stationed at Nakhshab (Nasaf) who took part in quelling a revolt at Merv in the latter part of 1222. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp.448-449; Boyle, *op. cit.*, pp.409-410. In this case, Aru(= Iru)/Herāt has been inserted here by mistake, probably because 'Iru and Maru' formed, as it were, a regular pair for the Mongols. As for 'the city of Abtu of the Madasari people,' Murakami has proposed the identification of 'Abtu' with Alamūt, the famous stronghold of the Ismailians or Assassins in Māzandarān, and 'Madasari' with Māzandarān itself - both Abtu and Madasari being approximate and metathetical forms (Alamūt > *Amtu > Abtu, and Māzandarān > *Madanzaran > *Madazari > Madasari). See Murakami Masatsugu 村上正二, '*Mongoru hishi* no dai-261 setsu ni mieru "Madasari" to "Abuto-jō" ni tsuite'「モンゴル秘史」の第二六一節に見える「馬答撒里」と「阿孛城」について ('Concerning "Madasari" and "the city of Abtu" Found in §261 of the *Secret History of the Mongols*'), in *Namio Egami kyōju koki kinen ronshū*. 江上波夫教授古稀記念論集 (*Studies Dedicated to Professor Namio Egami on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*) (Tokyo, 1977), pp.263-278; and, by the same author, 'On the Madasari Irgen and Abtu Balaghasun Appeared in the 261 Paragraph of the Secret History of the Mongols,' in *The Third International Congress of Mongolists*, III (Ulan-Bator, 1978), pp.344-346; and *Mongoru hishi*, III,

pp.238-239, n.4. I think that Murakami is correct in identifying Madasari with Māzandarān, but I am not convinced by his argument that Abtu derives from Alamūt, not only on philological, but also on historical grounds, since there was no question of a Mongol attack on Alamūt at this time. I think that Abtu is a corrupt form of the name of another town in Māzandarān, possibly Āmul, which we know was sacked by the Mongols at the end of 1220, or early in 1221. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp.424-425. A form like *Amulu for Āmul could, in a Mongol manuscript, be easily confused with 'Abtu.' Poucha's identification of Madasari with Majarat, i.e. the Hungarians (*AOH* 4 [1954], 171-174), is incorrect, as already pointed out by Ligeti, p.183, n.261. In any case, this short section seems to be a conflation of two separate events - a campaign by Dörbei-doqshin and an attack on towns in Khorāsān and Māzandarān - arbitrarily inserted at this point of the narrative, the only connecting link with the preceding section being, it seems, a reference to the 'Baqtat people.' For *hindus*, pl. of *hindu* (written form *indu*) 'Northern Indian,' see Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 93-94, n.4.

262 This section is a very brief notice concerning the immense reconnaissance raid of Jebe and Sübe'etei around the Caspian, across northern Iran, Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Caucasus and south Russia. The raid followed the two Mongol generals' unsuccessful pursuit of Muḥammad of Khwarezm in Māzandarān in the winter of 1220-1221, and ended with their return to Central Asia, where they rejoined Chinggis' main army some time in 1223. See Grousset, *L'empire mongol*, pp.257-261, 515-521; *idem*, *L'empire des steppes*, pp.306-308; Hambis, *Gengis-khan*, pp.122-123. In the present section of the *SH*, the raid of 1221-1222 is, however, confused with the great campaign of Ögödei against the West (1236-1242) led by Batu and Sübe'etei, in the course of which Kiev - the 'Kiwa Men-kermen' of the *SH* (see below) - was taken and destroyed (6 December 1240). See §§270 and 274, where this campaign is mentioned with many of the names of peoples and places in §262 repeated again. As pointed out by Ligeti, p.186, n.270, some of these names, viz. those referring to the Hungarians, could have only come the Mongols' way during the campaign of 1237. 'Northwards' is an error for 'eastwards.' The names of the countries (*qarin*) and peoples (*irgen*) of the eleven tribes (*ayimaq*) listed in this section have been discussed and identified by Pelliot in his *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, pp.115-162, esp. pp.128-130. They are the

following: 1) Qanglin = the Qangl'i of Turgai, see above, n.198; 2) Kibcha'ut, pl. of Kibchaq, called Kimcha'ut in §198 = the Q'ipchaq, on which see also n.198; 3) Bajigit, pl. of *Bajigir - the Bashgh'ird, i.e. the Bashkirs, of the Urals; 4) Orusut, pl. of Orus - the Rus, or Russians; 5) Majarat, pl. of Majar = the Magyar, or Hungarians; 6) Asut, pl. of As, i.e. the Alans or Ossets of the Caucasus; 7) Sasut, pl. of Sas (in §§270 and 274 this name appears in the form Sesüt, pl. of Ses), either the Saxons of Transylvania or the Saqsh'in of the lower Volga, but almost certainly the former; 8) Serkesüt, pl. of Serkes = Cherkes, i.e. the Circassians; 9) Keshimir = Kashmīr; 10) Bolar (in §270 erroneously written Buqar) = Bolghar, i.e. the Volga Bulgars; 11) Kerel (erroneously written Raral), another name for the Hungarians, from Hung. *király* 'king.' Most of these names appear also in Rashīd al-Dīn's account of Ögödei's western expedition and in his chapter on the princes of the Q'ipchaq Steppe. See *Successors*, pp.55, 69-70. These and other relevant passages in Rashīd's and Juvainī's works have also been discussed by Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp.122-128. It should be noted that the Hungarians are mentioned in the above list twice, once as Majarat and once as Kerel; it is possible, however, that the name Kerel in the *SH* may not refer to the Hungarians, but to another people, the identity of which cannot at present be established with certainty. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp.141-142; de Rachewiltz in *MS* 24 (1965), 191, n.30; and, more recently, the important discussion by P. Aalto in *AOH* 36 (1982), 5-15. According to K. Jahn, the 'Keler and Bashgh'ird' mentioned by Rashīd in his version of the Oghuz-nāma definitely refer to the Hungarians. See his *Die Geschichte der Oġuzen des Rašīd al-Dīn* (Vienna, 1969), p.22, n.1. The name Keshimir, i.e. Kashmīr, is misplaced here, as it refers to a separate expedition launched soon after against northern India and Kashmir under the command of Oqotur (or Hoqotur). See *Successors*, p.55 and n.216. On the name Orusut, with prothetic *o*, cf. Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, p.23. As for the geographical names mentioned in the present section, the Idil (§270: Adil; §274: Ejil; all from Turkic Etil ∿ Itil) is the Volga; the Jayaq is the river Ural; and Kiwa Men-kermen is Kiev. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp.129 and n.4; 114, n.1; 227. Kiwa Men-kermen (the second element, Men-kermen, is the Turkic name of this city) is called Men-kermen Keyibe in §270 and Kiwa in §274. Keyibe is another form of Kiwa (< Kiiwa < *Kiewe < *Kiyewe > Keyibe). Kiva, as the name of Kiev, appears also in the *Josippon*, a Hebrew book whose first version

was written in the tenth century. See D. Flusser (ed.), *The Josippon* (*Josephus Gorionides*) (Jerusalem, 1978), §1, line 18 and n. (in Hebrew). (I owe this reference to Prof. M. Erdal of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.) In the *AT*, II, 84, in the section corresponding to §262 of the *SH*, the same names appear in forms more or less corrupt. Unfortunately, both *AT* and Prof. Ligeti's edition of the *Altan tobchi* (*SHA*, p.194) have arbitrarily altered the readings of the Ulan-Bator MS. Thus, e.g., the river Idil of the *SH* is written Ajil in the Ulan-Bator MS, as can be clearly seen in the reproduction of f.117b in W. Heissig, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen*, I (Wiesbaden, 1959), Tafel III facing p.64, line 17, *not* Ijil, as given in the *AT* and *SHA*. Shastina (p.228) also follows *AT* instead of the Ulan-Bator MS (which makes one doubt whether she actually made use of the photocopy of the Ulan-Bator MS in the possession of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow). The correct reading is found in Kozin's edition (Kozin, *op. cit.*, p.396) and in the Bibliothèque nationale MS (f.165b, line 7).

263 This historically important section has been translated in full and annotated by Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 241-244 (where, however, the words *Ürünggechi-balaqasun-acha* have inadvertently been left untranslated). 'In the various cities,' lit. 'in the cities and cities' (*balaqat balaqat-tur*). Cf. §247: *qotot qotot balaqat-tur* 'to various towns and cities.' *Daruqachin* and *daruqas* are the plurals of *daruqachi* (= Writ. Mong. *darughachi*) and *daruqa* (= Writ. Mong. *darugha*) respectively, both terms meaning 'chief local administrator *or* controller, resident commissioner, governor; overseer, chief (of an office).' Both derive from *daru-* 'to press (down),' hence 'to hold under (= in subjection); to control.' Thus, the two terms literally mean 'one who presses down,' and therefore 'one who holds people in subjection,' 'one who controls subject people.' 'Oppressor' would be a fair rendering, semantically as well as in terms of the official's actual role, his principal functions being tax-collection and the recruitment of people for service and corvée. The term *darughachi* does not mean, as I earlier believed (following the majority of scholars), 'the one pressing the seal,' = 'the (local) official in authority.' A detailed discussion by Cleaves of both *darugha* and *darughachi* is found in *op. cit.*, pp.237-255. There is a vast literature on the *darughachi* (∿ *darugha*) and their role in the Mongol empire. Besides the books and articles cited by Cleaves, see Murakami, *Mongoru hishi*,

III, pp.248-250, n.13; and the references cited by me in *PFEH* 23 (March 1981), 41, n.8. See also P. Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*, III: *Index*, prep. by P. Ratchnevsky and F. Aubin (Paris, 1977), p.124; Yang P'ei-kuei 楊 培 桂, *Yüan-tai ti-fang cheng-fu* 元 代 地 方 政 府 (Taipei, 1975), pp.67ff., 100ff., 109ff., 117ff.; Hsiao, *Military Establishment*, p.154, n.105; P.D. Buell in *Journal of Asian History* 13 (1979), 122ff., 131ff.; I. de Rachewiltz in M. Rossabi (ed.), *China Among Equals. The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1983), p.300, n.20. One of the first such officials appointed by Chinggis in Central Asia was Ch'üeh-li-pieh Wo-ch'ih 闊 里 別 斡 赤, a Nestorial Uighur who became *darughachi* of K'un-lü ch'eng 坤 閭 城. See *YS* 134, p.3246. Yalawachi (d. c.1254) is the famous administrator, originally a merchant, Maḥmūd Yalavach (Tu. 'the Envoy'), well-known from the Persian and Chinese sources. See *History of the World-Conqueror*, p.746b; Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.188; II, p.224a; *Successors*, p.360a; Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp.554a, 572a; Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p.149; Naka, *Chingisu-kan jitsuroku*, pp.535-536; *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 46, 2b-4a; Murakami, *op. cit.*, III, pp.239-241, n.6; H.F. Schurmann in *HJAS* 19 (1956), 361, 369ff.; J.W. Dardess in *MS* 30 (1972-73), 133; Buell, *op. cit.*, p.142ff.; Ho Kao-chi 何 高 濟 and Lu Chün-ling 陸 峻 嶺 in *Yüan-shih lun-ts'ung* 2 (1983), 225-231; and Th.T. Allsen, 'Maḥmūd Yalavach,' in I. de Rachewiltz, H.L. Chan and C.C. Hsiao (eds), *Yüan Personalities*, I (in preparation). On his son Masqut, i.e. Mas'ūd-Beg, also a well-known official, see the references to him in the above-mentioned works. The *SH* states that they were Mohammedans (*sarta'ul*) of the 'Khwarezm clan' (*Qurumshi obogtan*), i.e. of Khwarezmian stock. Maḥmūd Yalavach is, in fact, called Maḥmūd (Yalavāch) Khwārazmī, i.e. 'the Khwarezmian,' in the Persian sources, and the *SH* specifically mentions that both father and son came from Urgench (Gurgānj). On *Qurumshi* (for *Qurusmi*) = *Khwārazmī*, ethnic of Khwārazm, see Pelliot in *TP* 34 (1938-39), 150; Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 433-435. 'Father and son,' lit. 'father and sons' - the plural here being a plural by attraction. See Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p.242, n.21. Below we have also once 'his sons' = 'his son.' The term 'Mohammedan' is rendered in this section with two words: *sarta'ul* and *sartaqtai* (= *sartaghtai*), much as we would say 'Mussulman' and Muslim,' hence my rendering. See above, §§152 and note, 182 and note; Cleaves, *op. cit.*, pp.241-242, n.19. 'Laws and customs,' lit. 'customs and laws' (*yosu dörö*); cf. *törö yosun*, id., further down. 'Being adequately informed as to *these* customs,' lit.

'being told so as to know (= being informed) in a way similar to the *actual* customs.' On Udan = Khotan, see Pelliot in *TP* 22 (1923), 127; Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p.243, n.30. Kisqar is an erroneous reading for *Kashqar or *Qashqar (= Tu. Kashghar or Qashghar). Cf. *ibid.*, n.31. Uriyang is also an erroneous reading for *Yarqand (= Tu. Yarkänd). Cf. *ibid.*, n.32. Güsen-Daril: Güsen = Küsen = Kucha; Daril = Darim = Tarim. This rather puzzling compound place-name seems to be a general designation of the region of Kucha and the Tarim. Cf. *ibid.*, pp.243-244, n.33. With regard to these localities, Khotan, Kashgar, Yarkand and Kucha were all towns formerly in the Qara-Khitai kingdom usurped by the Naiman prince Küchlüg (the Güchülük of the *SH*). The whole area became subject to the Mongols after his death in 1218. See *History of the World-Conqueror*, p.68. 'He brought *back with him*,' lit. 'bringing ... he brought.' 'The city of Jungdu of the Kitat' is, of course, Chung-tu, i.e. Peking. See above, n.247. Maḥmūd Yalavach's appointment as chief administrator of North China is anachronistic, as he was first appointed to this position in 1241, and there is no evidence that his son Mas'ūd was ever associated with him in the government of China.

264 'Spent seven years,' lit. 'going seven years.' The years in question are 1219-1225. Cf. the beginning of §257 where it is stated that Chinggis set out against the Sarta'ul people in the Year of the Hare (=1219). In the present section the narrative goes back to the time when Bala-noyan of the Jalair, having crossed the Indus (Shin) River, unsuccessfully pursued Jalāl al-Dīn (1221-1222); as before, the *SH* account does not mention Dörbei-noyan in conjunction with Bala, and erroneously includes Qan-Melik, i.e. Amīn al-Mulk. See above, §257 and note. 'As far as the middle of *the country of* the Hindus,' i.e. as far as the middle of Northern India - a statement to be taken figuratively, since the Mongols did not go much further than Multān and Peshāwar before turning back. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp.445-446; Boyle, '*Iru* and *Maru*,' pp.406-409 (esp. p.408ff. with regard to §264 of the *SH*). On Chinggis' homeward journey there is a chapter devoted to it in Juvainī's work (*History of the World-Conqueror*, Chap. XXIII, pp.138-141); cf. also Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.229-230. Chinggis had begun withdrawing his army from Afghanistan already in the latter part of 1222, and the entire Mongol army, i.e. including Jebe's and Sübe'etei's forces, gradually withdrew from Central Asia in 1223-1224. Chinggis was again on the Irtysh in the summer of 1224, almost certainly in the same

area where he had encamped in the summer of 1219. All our sources, except the *SH*, agree that he was back at his ordos of the Qara-Tün ('Black Forest') on the Tūla in the spring of the following year (1225). As I have already explained, the word *namur* 'autumn' in the present section must be a clerical error for *qabur* 'spring,' these two words being easily confused when written in Uighur-Mongol script. The same mistake occurs also at the beginning of §153, and both Haenisch and Pelliot (but not Kozin and Ligeti) have tacitly corrected it in their translations. Se de Rachewiltz in *MS* 21 (1962), 63-64, n.138. Chinggis' 'palaces (*ordos*) in the Black Forest of the Tūla' must be his principal encampment in the Sa'ari valley, the so-called Sa'ari Steppe (Sa'ari-ke'er), in the basin of the upper Kerulen, between this river and the Tūla - a vast wooded area known as the Black Forest extending east of the great bend of the Tūla. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.260, and above, nn.96 and 128. In *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.309, Pelliot refers to these ordos, stating that they were 'probably outside the south-eastern bend of that river (i.e. of the Tūla - I.R.).' Cf. also below, n.271.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz

Chapter Twelve (= Suppl. II)*

265 After spending the winter *there*, Chinggis-qahan said, 'I shall set forth against the Tang'ut people.' He counted his troops anew and, in the autumn of the Year of the Dog, Chinggis-qahan set forth against the Tang'ut people. From among the ladies, he took with him Yisüi-qatun.

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* The translation of Chapters I and II appeared in *PFEH* 4 (September 1971), 115-163; Chapter III in *PFEH* 5 (March 1972), 149-175; Chapter IV in *PFEH* 10 (September 1974), 55-82; Chapter V in *PFEH* 13 (March 1976), 41-75; Chapter VI in *PFEH* 16 (September 1977), 27-65; Chapter VII in *PFEH* 18 (September 1978), 43-80; Chapter VIII in *PFEH* 21 (March 1980), 17-57; Chapter IX in *PFEH* 23 (March 1981), 111-146; Chapter X in *PFEH* 26 (September 1982), 39-84; and Chapter XI (= Suppl. I) in *PFEH* 30 (September 1984), 81-160. As ever, I am greatly indebted to Prof. N. Poppe (Seattle) for his constant help with textual and other problems.

On the way, in the winter, Chinggis-qahan hunted the many wild asses of Arbuqa, riding *his steed* Josotu-boro ('Reddish-Grey'). When the wild asses passed *close* by them, Josotu-boro took fright. Chinggis-qahan fell off the horse and, his body being in great pain, he halted at Cho'orqat.

He spent that night *there* and the following morning Yisüi-qatun said, 'Princes and leaders, consult each other *on what to do*: the qahan has spent the night, his body hot *with fever*.' Thereupon, the princes and leaders assembled, and Tolun-cherbi of the Qongqotan advised as follows:

'The Tang'ut people

Are *people* who have towns with beaten earth *walls*,
Are *people* who live in permanent camps.
They won't leave, carrying off their towns with beaten earth *walls*;
They won't leave, abandoning their permanent camps.

Let us withdraw, and when the qahan's body has cooled down we shall set out again!'

When he spoke *thus*, all the princes and leaders agreed with his words and petitioned Chinggis-qahan *accordingly*, but Chinggis-qahan said, 'The Tang'ut people will say that we turned back because we lost heart. However, if we send envoys to them and watch right here at Cho'orqat which turn my illness takes, and were we to withdraw after considering their reply, then that would be fine.' And so he sent envoys to carry the following message: 'In the past, you, Burqan, said, "We, the Tang'ut people, shall be your right (= west) wing." Although told so by you, when I sent you a request *for troops*, saying that I was going on a campaign because the Sarta'ul people had not agreed to my proposal, you, Burqan, did not keep your promise and did not give me troops, but came out with mocking words. As I was moving in a different direction at the time, I said that I would call you to account later. I set out against the Sarta'ul people and, being protected by Eternal Heaven, I brought them duly to submission. Now I have come to call Burqan to account for his words.'

Burqan said, 'I did not speak the mocking words.' Thereupon Asha-gambu said, 'I spoke the mocking words. As for now, if you Mongols, who are used to fighting, say, "Let us fight!", *then* turn towards the Alashai and come to me, for I have an encampment in the Alashai,

I have tents of thin woollen cloth,
I have camels laden *with goods*.

Let us fight there! If you need gold, silver, satin and *other* goods, turn towards Eriqaya (= Ning-hsia) and Erije'ü (= Hsi-liang).' He sent this message to Chinggis-qahan.

When his words were conveyed to Chinggis-qahan, his body was *still* hot with fever. Chinggis-qahan said, 'This is enough! When one lets oneself be addressed so boastfully, how can one withdraw? Even thought we may die let us challenge their boasts!' And, saying, 'Eternal Heaven, you be the judge!', he moved in the direction of Alashai.

He arrived *there* and fought with Asha-gambu. He overcame Asha-gambu and forced him to barricade himself up on the Alashai. He captured Asha-gambu and plundered his people

Who had tents of thin woollen cloth,
Who had camels laden *with goods*,

until they were blown to the winds like ashes.

He *then* gave the following order: 'Kill the valiant, the bold, the manly and the fine Tang'uts. For the men in *our* army, take as

many as you can hold.'

266 Chinggis-qahan spent the summer on Chasutu ('Snowy') *Mountain*. He sent troops against the Tang'uts

Who had tents of thin woollen cloth,

Who had camels laden *with goods*,

and who, with Asha-gambu, had made for the mountains and were offering resistance. He caused *his troops* to plunder them until they were duly and utterly finished.

Then, showing favour to Bo'orchu and Muqali, he ordered that they should take as much *booty* as, in their judgement, their strength *enabled them to carry*.

Further, Chinggis-qahan gave the order granting favour to Bo'orchu and Muqali as follows: 'Since I did not give you *a share* of the Kitat people, the two of you take and divide equally between yourselves the Jüyin of the Kitat people. Go and make their fine sons follow you, holding your falcons. Bring up their fine daughters and make them arrange the hems of your wives' skirts. The trusted friends of the Altan-qan of the Kitat people are the Qara-Kitan Jüyin people who have exterminated the fathers and forefathers of the Mongols. Now, my trusted friends are you two, Bo'orchu and Muqali.' So he ordered.

267 Chinggis-qahan moved away from Chasutu *Mountain* and set up camp at the city of Uraqai. After setting out from the city of Uraqai, while he was destroying the city of Dörmegei (= Ling-chou), Burqan came to pay homage to Chinggis-qahan.

Burqan then paid homage bringing *such gifts as*, in the first place, golden images of Buddha; *then* golden and silver bowls and vessels, nine of each *kind*; boys and girls, nine of each; geldings and camels, nine of each; and all sorts *of other objects*, arranged in nines according to their colour and form. *Chinggis-qahan kept* the

door closed and made Burqan pay homage *outside the tent*.

On that *occasion*, when Burqan paid homage, Chinggis felt revulsion within his heart. On the third day, Chinggis-qahan issued an order giving Iluqu Burqan the name Shidurqu ('Upright'). Being *thus* visited by Iluqu Burqan Shidurqu, Chinggis-qahan then ordered that Iluqu be put to death, and that Tolun-cherbi seize and execute him.

Afterwards, when Tolun-cherbi reported that he had seized Iluqu and done away with him, Chinggis-qahan ordered as follows: 'When I approached the Tang'ut people to call *Iluqu Burqan* to account for his words, and on the way hunted the wild asses of Arbuqa, my body being in pain, it was Tolun who, concerned about my life, spoke words of advice and said, "Let it heal!" We came *here* on account of the poisonous words of an enemy and, with our strength increased by Eternal Heaven, who gave him into our hands, we took our revenge. Tolun shall take *for himself* this movable palace (= palatial tent) that Iluqu has brought with him, together with the bowls and vessels.' So he ordered.

268 After he had plundered the Tang'ut people and, making Iluqu Burqan *change his name* to Shidurqu, had done away with him; and after he had exterminated the Tang'ut people's mothers and fathers down to the offspring of their offspring, maiming and taming (?), *Chinggis-qahan* gave the following order: 'While I take my meals, you must talk about the killing and destruction *of the Tang'ut*, and say, "Maimed and tamed, they are no more."'

Because the Tang'ut people gave their word but did not keep it, Chinggis-qahan for the second time took the field against them. Having destroyed the Tang'ut people, Chinggis-qahan came *back* and, in the Year of the Pig (1227), he went to Heaven (i.e. he died). After he had gone *to Heaven*, a great part of the Tang'ut people was given to Yisüi-qatun.

69 In the Year of the Rat (1228), the princes of the right hand (= the West) headed by Cha'adai and Batu; the princes of the left hand (= the East) headed by Otchigin-noyan, Yegü and Yisüngge; the princes of the centre headed by Tolui; the princesses, the imperial sons-in-law, the leaders of ten thousand and *those* of a thousand, all assembled in full force at Köde'ü-aral on the Kelüren *River*. In accordance with the very decree by which Chinggis-qahan had nominated him, they installed Ögödei-qahan as qan.

Elder Brother Cha'adai installed his younger brother Ögödei-qahan as qan. The night-guards, the quiver-bearers and the eight thousand day-guards who had been protecting the precious life of their father Chinggis-qahan; the hereditary slaves; and the ten thousand guards who had been in close attendance on the person of my father the qan were *all* handed over by Elder Brother Cha'adai and Tolui to Ögödei-qahan. The domain (*ulus*) of the centre they handed over to him in the same manner.

70 Ögödei-qahan, having concluded the installation of himself as qan and the transfer of the ten thousand guards on internal duty *together with* the domain of the centre to himself, held first *of all* a consultation with Elder Brother Cha'adai, *whereupon* he sent Oqotur and Mönggetü on a campaign in support of Chormaqan-qorchi who had taken the field against the Qalibai-soltan of the Baqtat people - a people not dealt with by his father Chinggis-qahan.

Earlier on, Sübe'etei-ba'atur, compaigning against Meket (= Magas), Men-kermen, Keyibe and other cities, had crossed the rivers Adil and Jayaq rich in water, and had reached as far as the Qanglin, Kibcha'ut, Bajigit, Orusut, Asut, Sesüt, Majar, Keshimir, Sergesüt, Buqar (*read* Bolar) and Keler peoples.

As Sübe'etei-ba'atur had been put in a difficult situation by these peoples, *Ögödei-qahan* sent forth Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge and

several other princes in support of Sübe'etei. He ordered that Batu should be in command of all those princes who went on the campaign; and he ordered that Güyük should be in command of all *the troops* from the centre (i.e. of the main body of the army). He *further* ordered, with regard to those who went on the campaign, that the princes in charge of a domain should send the eldest of their sons into the field; and that the princes who were not in charge of a domain, the leaders of ten thousand, of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, and any commoners, whoever they might be, should *also* send the eldest of their sons into the field; and, likewise, the princesses and imperial sons-in-law should send the eldest of their sons into the field.

Further, Ögödei-qahan said, 'This principle whereby one sends the eldest son on a campaign originates from Elder Brother Cha'adai. Elder Brother Cha'adai came and said to me, "I shall send Büri, the eldest of my sons, on the campaign in support of Sübe'etei. If the eldest of the sons go into the field, the army will be larger *than before*. If the troops who set forth are numerous, they shall go *to fight* looking superior and mighty. The enemy people beyond consist of many states, and there, at the end *of the world*, they are hard people. They are people who, when they become angry, would rather die by their own swords. I am told they have sharp swords." So he said when he came.' *Then* Ögödei-qahan said, 'By these words and by the zeal and strength of Our elder brother Cha'adai, let Us send out the eldest of the sons.' And he proclaimed *this order* everywhere. Such is the way in which he sent Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge and the other princes into the field.

271 Further, Ögödei-qahan sent *the following message* to Elder Brother Cha'adai asking for advice: 'I have sat on *the throne made* ready by my father Chinggis-qahan. Will *people not* say of me, "By what merit has he sat on it?" If Elder Brother Cha'adai agrees,

since our father the qahan has left *matters* with the Altan-qan of the Kitat people unfinished, I shall now move against the Kitat people.' So he sent *this message* asking for advice.

Elder Brother Cha'adai sent *a message in reply*, expressing his agreement as follows: 'What obstacles are there? Place a capable man in charge of the main base-camp and set forth. I shall send out troops from here.'

Having put Oldaqar-qorchi in charge of the great (= imperial)
72 palaces, in the Year of the Hare (1231) Ögödei-qahan moved against the Kitat people. He sent forth Jebe as vanguard. Thus he crushed the Kitat troops, slaying them until they were like heaps of broken logs. He crossed Chabchiyal and ordered his troops to advance and attack their (i.e. the Kitat's) towns and cities in every direction. *Then* Ögödei-qahan pitched camp at Shira-degtür.

There Ögödei-qahan fell ill. When he lost his speech and was in *great* distress, various shamans and soothsayers were ordered to divine *the nature of the illness*. *They said*, 'The lords and rulers (i.e. the powerful spirits) of the land and rivers of the Kitat are raging violently *against the Qahan now* that their people are plundered and their cities are destroyed.' When they divined by inspecting the entrails of victims and said *to the lords and rulers of the land and rivers*, 'We shall give, as substitute *for the Qahan*, people, gold and silver, cattle and food,' *the illness* did not abate and they (i.e. the lords and rulers of the land and rivers) raged even more violently. When they divined *further* by inspecting the entrails and said, 'Could a person from the *imperial* family serve *as a substitute*?', the Qahan opened his eyes, requested water, drank it and asked, 'What has happened?'

The shamans *then* reported to *the Qahan* as follows: 'The lords and rulers of the land and rivers of the Kitat people are raging violently *now* that their land and waters are destroyed and their people plundered. When we divine by inspecting the entrails of victims and say, "We shall give anything as substitute," with renewed anger they rage even more violently. When we say, "Could a person from the *imperial* family serve *as a substitute*?", *the illness* abates. Now your order (= word) shall decide!'

After they had made their report, *the Qahan* said, 'Who is at my side from among the princes?' To these words Prince Tolui, who was at his side, said, 'Even though there were elder brothers above you and younger brothers below you, our fortunate father Chinggis-qahan chose you, elder brother the Qahan, as one would *choose* a gelding, feeling you as one would *feel* a wether *to make sure it is right*. To your person he showed the great (= imperial) throne and upon you he placed the burden of many people for you *to govern*. As for myself, I was told by him, "Being at the side of *your* elder brother the Qahan,

Do remind him of what he has forgotten,
Do wake him up when he has fallen asleep."

Now, if I lose you, my elder brother the Qahan,
Whom shall I remind of what he has forgotten,
Whom shall I wake up when he has fallen asleep?

In truth, if my elder brother the Qahan dies,
The numerous Mongol people
Would be left orphans;
The Kitat people
Would rejoice at their good fortune.

I shall take the place of my elder brother the Qahan.
I have cleft the back of trout,
I have rent the back of the sturgeon;
I have conquered those in the fore,

I have pierced those afar.
And fair of face
And tall of stature

am I. Shamans, cast your spells and make your incantations!'

Thus he spoke and, as the shamans made their incantations, Prince Tolui drank the magic water. *Then* he sat for a moment and said, 'I have become drunk. While I recover from my drunkenness, let my elder brother the Qahan decide *how best* to take care of his younger brothers, who are orphaned and young, and of his younger sister-in-law Berüde, who is widowed, until they are able to look after themselves. I have said all I have to say. I have become drunk.' On that, he passed out. Such is the manner in which he died.

273 Then *Ögödei-qahan* destroyed the Altan-qan and gave him the name Seüse ('Little Slave'). He despoiled him of his gold, silver, gold-*embroidered* and patterned satin, possessions, piebald (?) horses and young slaves. Having established scouts and garrison troops, and having appointed resident commissioners in Nanging, Jungdu and in cities everywhere, he peacefully returned *home*, pitching camp at Qara-qorum.

274 Chormaqan-qorchi brought the Baqtat people under subjection. When Ögödei-qahan learned that the land was reputedly good and that the things *therein were also reputedly* good, he ordered as follows: 'Chormaqan-qorchi shall reside at that very place *as chief of* the garrison troops. Every year he shall cause *people* to deliver yellow gold, nakh-fabrics*, brocades and damasks of gilded *thread*, small and large pearls, fine western (= Arab) horses with long necks and tall legs, dark brown "elö'üt" (? Bactrian) and humpback "kichidut"

* A type of gold brocade fabric produced in Western Asia.

(? Arabian) *camels*, pack-mules and *riding* mules, and he shall send them *to Us*.'

Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngke and several other princes who had gone on a campaign in support of Sübe'etei-ba'atur brought the Qanglin, Kibcha'ut and Bajigit *people* to submission; *they crossed the rivers* Ejil and Jayaq, destroyed the city of Meget, slew the Orusut and plundered them until they were utterly finished. They ravaged and brought under subjection the peoples of Asut, Sesüt, Bolar, Mankerman, Kiwa and other cities. Having established garrison troops and resident commissioners, they returned *home*.

Ögödei-qahan sent Yisüder-qorchi on a campaign in support of Jalayirtai-qorchi who had earlier on been campaigning against the Jürchet and the Solangqas. He ordered that he reside *there as the chief of* the garrison troops.

275 From the Kibchaq campaign Batu sent, through messengers, the following report to Ögödei-qahan: '*Relying* on the strength of Eternal Heaven and the good fortune of *my* uncle the Qahan, I have destroyed the city of Meget, I have ravaged the Orusut people and brought eleven countries and peoples duly to submission. When we turned back, pulling in the golden reins, we decided to hold a parting feast. A large tent was set up and, as we began feasting, since I was quite the eldest among those princes who were present, I was the first to drink one or two bowls of the ceremonial wine. Büri and Güyük got angry with me *because of that*, they refused to join the feast and rode off. As they rode off, Büri said, "Since Batu, then, is equal *to us*, why should he have drunk first?

Old women with beards *like him*,
Who pretend to be one's equal,
One should push with one's heels,
One should trample with one's feet."

On that Güyük said, "Those old women with quivers *like Batu* - let us also strike their bosoms with a stick of *burning* wood - those ones!" And Eljigidei's son Harqasun said, "Let's attach a wooden tail to them!" So, just at the time when, having been sent to ride against a rebellious people of a different race, we were asking ourselves whether we had been successful, Büri and Güyük spoke to us in this way and we parted in disaccord. Now, the order (= word) of *my* uncle the Qahan shall decide *the matter*!' Thus he reported.

276 At these words of Batu, the Qahan became very angry. He did not allow Güyük into his presence, but said, 'Following whose counsel does this mean *creature* fill his mouth with talk against a person who is senior to him? May he *and he* alone rot as an egg! He has turned against the bosom of a person who is senior to him. *Therefore,*

We shall place him in the vanguard:
We shall make him climb the city walls
Which are as high as mountains
Until the nails of his ten fingers are worn off;
We shall place him in the garrison army:
We shall make him climb the city walls
Which are made of hard-beaten *earth*
Until the nails of his five fingers are ground away.

And you, wretched, wicked, mean Harqasun, in imitation of whom have you filled your mouth with *such* boastful talk against Our family? Let us send Güyük and Harqasun *away* together. We could cut down Harqasun, but you would *then* say that We showed partiality. As for Büri, tell Batu to send him to Elder Brother Cha'adai, informing him *of the matter*. Let Elder Brother Cha'adai decide on it!'

277 *Then* Mönggei from among the princes, and Alchidai, Qongqortai,

Janggi and other leaders from among the leaders, respectfully advised *the Qahan* as follows: 'A decree of your father Chinggis-qahan *stated that* field matters should be decided in the field, just as domestic matters should be decided in the tent. *Now*, the Qahan is angry with Güyük. This is a field matter: will the Qahan not show favour and send *Güyük* to Batu, entrusting *him with the decision*?' So they advised him.

The Qahan approved their words and, agreeing *to their request* allowed Güyük into his presence. He rebuked him with the following words of admonition: 'It is said about you that when you went on the campaign, in the course of it,

You did not leave *unlashed* the buttocks
Of *any* man with buttocks;

and it is *also* said about you that

You crushed the mien (= spirit)
Of every man in the army.

Do you believe that the Orusut people have submitted out of fear of your anger and fury? And thinking as if you alone have brought the Orusut people under submission do you *now* go on, with pride in your heart, rebelling against a person who is senior to you? It is in the pronouncements of Our father Chinggis-qahan: was he not accustomed to say that

"The multitudes *of people* make one afraid,
The depth *of water* makes one die"?

You pretend that you have accomplished it alone, whereas you went under the shelter of Sübe'etei and Büjek, and with the full force *of the army*, to bring the Orusut and Kibcha'ut under submission. You took one or two Orusut and Kibcha'ut, but while you haven't yet acquired *as booty* even the hoof of a kid, you make yourself into a hero; having but once left home, you pretend that you alone have

accomplished everything, and come out with *such* abusive and provocative language. *But now,* owing to Mönggei, Alchidai, Qongqortai, Janggi and the others, who

Being at my side as *faithful* companions
Have restrained my agitated heart,
Being *like* a broad ladle
Have calmed the overboiling cauldron,

I say, "Enough of it! This is a field matter. They have said that it is Batu's *concern.* Let *then* Batu decide on Güyük and Harqasun."' He sent *them both to him,* and he said, 'Cha'adai shall decide about Büri.'

278 Further, Ögödei-qahan ordered: 'In proclaiming the *present* order, which announces anew the duties of all the guards - night-guards, quiver-bearers and day-guards - who have served my father Chinggis-qahan, I command that in whatever capacity they previously acted in accordance with the order of *my* father the qahan, so shall they act in the same capacity now. The quiver-bearers and the day-guards shall, in accordance with the previous *order,* carry out their day *duties,* each at his post; while there is *still* sun*light,* they shall retire *so as to be replaced* by the night-guards and they shall spend the night outside.' So he ordered.

And he ordered: 'At night, the night-guards shall spend the night beside Us. The night-guards shall stand at the door and around the *Palace* tent. The night-guards shall patrol the rear and front of the Palace. The night-guards shall seize people who move about at night - after sunset - and shall hold them *in custody* for the night. After the multitude *of men* has dispersed, the night-guards shall seize *any* people, other than the night-guards who have spent the night *on duty and are to be relieved,* who by mingling with them have entered inside *the Palace;* they shall split their heads open and shall cast them away. If at night a

person comes with an urgent message, he must report to the night-guards and communicate *the message to me* while standing together with the night-guards at the rear (= northern side) of the tent. The supervisors (*jasa'ul*) Qongqortai, Shiraqan and others, together with the night-guards, shall supervise *all* comings and goings at the Palace tent. And, because Eljigidei, even though he was a trustworthy *person,* was arrested by the night-guards when, in the evening, he happened to walk up beyond them, the night-guards *too,* who *like those who arrested Eljigidei* do not contravene the orders, are worthy of confidence.' Thus he spoke, and issued the following order: 'One must not ask the number of night-guards. One must not walk beyond the place of the night-guards. One must not walk between the night-guards. The night-guards shall arrest persons who walk beyond or between them. With regard to the person who asks their number, the night-guards shall seize the gelding that he was riding that day, with saddle and bridle, together with the clothes that he was wearing. No one is to sit above the place of the night-guards. The night-guards shall take care of the banners and drums, and of the spears, bowls and vessels *arranged* beneath *them.* The night-guards shall supervise drink and food - the uncut meat.'

And he ordered: 'The night-guards shall take care of the tent-carts of the Palace. If We Ourselves do not go on a military campaign, the night-guards must not take the field separately and without Us. When We go falconing or hunting, exactly one half of the night-guards shall stay at the tent-carts of the Palace, and the *other* half shall go with Us. The camp-masters from *among* the night-guards shall go *before* and set up the Palace. The door-keepers *from among* the night-guards shall stand right next to the door. Qada'an shall be in charge of all the night-guards.'

Further, when he appointed the leaders of the various companies

of the Guard, he said, 'Qada'an and Bulaqadar, forming one company, shall consult together; when taking the same turn of duty, they shall stay on the right (= west) and left (= east) side of the Palace respectively, and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Amal and Chanar, consulting together, shall form one company; when taking *the same* turn of duty, they shall *stay* on the right (= west) and left (= east) side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Qadai and Qori-qachar shall consult together and, when taking the same turn of duty, they shall stay on the right (= west) and left (= east) side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Yalbaq and Qara'udar, consulting together, shall form one company; when taking *the same* turn of duty, they shall stay on the *right* (= *west*) *and* left (= east) side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Further, the company of Qada'an and Bulqadar, and the company of Amal and Chanar - these two companies - shall encamp on the left (= east) side of the Palace and take their turn of duty *there*. The company of both Qadai and Qori-qachar and the company of both Yalbaq and Qara'udar - these two companies - shall encamp on the right (= west) side of the Palace and take their turn of duty *there*.'

And he ordered: 'Qada'an shall be in charge of these four companies of night-guards. Further, the night-guards shall stand around the Palace right next to my person, and they shall lie down guarding the door. Two men from the night-guards shall enter into the Palace and be in charge of the large *kumis* pitchers.'

Further he ordered: 'As to the quiver-bearers, Yisün-tö'e, Bükidei, Horqudaq and Labalqa (= Lablaqa), forming four separate companies and marshalling their quiver-bearers of the bodyguards, shall respectively join the four separate companies of the day-guards to carry quivers.'

Further, when he appointed elders of the day-guards' companies from among the offspring of those who had earlier been in charge of them, *he ordered*: 'Alchidai and Qongqortai, who were earlier in charge of them, after consulting together and having marshalled one company of day-guards, shall join *the day-guards' service*. Temüder and Jegü after consulting together and having marshalled one company of day-guards, shall join *the day-guards' service*. Mangqutai, who had been in charge of the reserve, shall marshal one company of day-guards and join *the day-guards' service*.'

Further, the Qahan ordered as follows: 'Eljigidei shall be the commander *of the Guard* and all the leaders *of companies* shall act according to Eljigidei's words.'

Further, he ordered: 'If a member of the Guard, when *called* on duty, fails to take his turn, in accordance with the previous order he shall be disciplined with three strokes of the rod. If the same member of the Guard fails again - for the second time - to take his turn of duty, he shall be disciplined with seven strokes of the rod. If, once more, the same man, without sickness or *other* reason, and without having *first* consulted the elder (= senior officer) of the company, for the third time fails to take his turn, *thus* regarding his service by Our side as *too* difficult, he shall be disciplined with thirty-seven strokes of the rod and shall be sent to a distant place, out of *Our* sight. Further, if the elders of the companies do not muster the guards who are to serve on roster with them and fail to take their turn of duty, We shall punish the elders of the companies. Further, the elders of the companies shall proclaim this order to the guards at the time when they (i.e. the guards) take every third turn of duty (= every third shift) and at the time when they are relieved. When the guards have heard the order, if they fail to take their turn of duty, We shall punish them according to

the order. But if the elders of the companies do not proclaim this order to the guards, they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*. Further, elders of the companies, without permission from Us, shall not on the grounds of seniority punish my guards, who have enrolled as *guards* equal *to them*. If *any of them* violates the law, let it be reported to Us. Those liable to death, We shall certainly put to death. As for those liable to punishment, We shall certainly discipline them. If, without informing Us, they themselves (i.e. the elders of the companies) on the grounds of seniority lay hands on *my guards*, as requital for fists they shall be repaid with fists, and as requital for strokes of the rod they shall be repaid with strokes of the rod.' Thus he spoke.

Further, he ordered as follows: 'My guards are higher *in rank* than the outside leaders of thousands; the attendants of my guards are higher *in rank* than the outside leaders of hundreds and of tens. If the outside leaders of thousands quarrel with my guards, We shall punish the commanders of thousands.'

279 Further, Ögödei-qahan said, 'We shall not cause suffering to the nation that Our father Chinggis-qahan established with *so much* toil. We shall make *the people* rejoice, causing them to rest

Their feet upon the ground,
Their hands upon the soil.

Sitting *now* on *the throne made* ready by Our father the qahan, so that people do not suffer, every year from these people one two-year-old sheep out of *every* flock shall be given *as levy* for *Our* soup (i.e. for the support of the Qahan). They shall *also* provide one sheep out of *every* hundred sheep and give it to the poor and needy within the same *unit*. And when the *imperial* brothers and the numerous troops (= officers) and guards gather together *at feasts and meetings*, how could the drink *for all* be levied every time from the

people? From the various chiliarchies of different areas, mares shall be provided and milked, and the mare-milkers shall be the ones to tend them; the camp-masters shall constantly provide replacements *of mares* and shall *in turn* be herders of the milch mares. And when the *imperial* brothers gather together, We shall give them gifts and rewards. Conveying satins, *gold and silver* ingots, quivers, bows, breastplates, weapons, and the land-tax grains (*sang'ut*) into the storehouses, We shall have *people* guarding them: storemen and grain-keepers must be selected from different areas and made to guard *the storehouses*. And, dividing camps (= grazing grounds) and waters, We shall give them to the people. If We select camp-masters from the various chiliarchies to reside in the camps, that will surely be fitting.

Moreover, as there is nothing but wild animals in the Chöl (= the Gobi) country, Chanai and Ui'urtai, being put in charge of the camp-masters, shall make them dig wells in the Chöl for the people *scattered* over a wide *area*, and they shall build brick walls *around the wells to protect them from the wild animals*.

Further, when the couriers ride in haste, We allow them to ride, moving freely among the population and, *as a result*, the pace of *these* riding couriers is slow and they are an affliction on the people. Now We shall settle the matter once and for all by providing post-station masters (*jamuchin*) and post-horse keepers (*ula'achin*) from the various chiliarchies of different areas, by setting up a post-station (*jam*) at every stage, by not allowing the couriers to move freely among the population unless on urgent business, but *instead* by having them ride in haste through the post-stations. If we do this, it will surely be fitting.

When Chanai and Bolqadar, being well informed, proposed these measures to Us, We considered that they were indeed right *and said*,

"Elder Brother Cha'adai should decide. If the measures in question are appropriate, and he approves them, it shall be according to *the decision* of Elder Brother Cha'adai."'

After *Ögödei-qahan* had sent this message, *a reply* came *from* Elder Brother Cha'adai, saying, 'I agree to all these measures about which you have asked me in your message. Thus, do *as proposed*!'

Further, Elder Brother Cha'adai's word came, saying, 'From here I shall have post-stations connecting with *yours to facilitate communications*. Also, from here I shall send messengers to Batu, and Batu shall have his post-stations connected with *mine*.' And he said further, 'Of all the measures, the one *concerning* the establishment of post-stations is the most appropriate that has been proposed.'

280 Thereupon, Ögödei-qahan said, 'Elder Brother Cha'adai and Batu, and the other brothers, princes of the right hand (= the West); Otchigin-noyan and Yegü, and the other brothers of the left hand (= the East) - all of them; all the princes, princesses and sons-in-law of the centre; and the leaders of ten thousand, of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, have unanimously approved the following: "If, for the soup (= support) of the Universal Ruler (*dalai-yin qahan*), one provides *every* year one two-year-old wether out of *every* flock, *this* won't be much *of a burden*. To provide one one-year-old sheep out of *every* hundred sheep and give it to the poor and needy is good. If we have post-stations set up and provide post-station masters and post-horse keepers *to manage them*, there will be peace for the people at large, and for couriers, in particular, convenience in travelling." They unanimously approved this.'

So, having taken counsel with Elder Brother Cha'adai regarding this order of the Qahan, and this having been approved by Elder Brother Cha'adai, all the people from the various chiliarchies of different areas according to the Qahan's order were made to provide

every year one two-year-old wether out of *every* flock for the soup (= support) *of the Qahan*, and one one-year-old sheep out of *every* hundred sheep *for the poor and needy*. They were made to provide mares and herders of milch mares were *also* appointed. They were made to provide herders of milch mares, storemen and grainkeepers. They were made to provide post-station masters and post-horse keepers and, measuring the distance between each stage, they had post-stations set up. Arachan and Toquchar were put in charge of them. At a single stage of the post, there had to be twenty post-horse keepers, and at every stage there had to be *a post-station with* twenty post-horse keepers each.

The Qahan ordered: 'With regard to the geldings to be used as post-horses, the sheep to be used as provisions, the milch mares, the oxen to be harnessed to carts, and the carts, from the amount fixed by Us from now on,

If one causes *even* a piece of string to be lacking,
He shall be guilty *and liable*
To "splitting in half along the top of the
head" (= confiscation of half his goods);
If one causes *even* a spoon-shaped spoke of a wheel
to be lacking,
He shall be guilty *and liable*
To "splitting in half along the nose"
(= confiscation of half his goods).'

281 Ögödei-qahan said, '*This* I have done after I sat on the great (= imperial) throne of my father:

I campaigned against the Jaqut people (i.e. the North China people) and I destroyed them.

As my second deed, I had post-stations set up so that our couriers could ride in haste *all* along the way; and, for that

purpose, I had all necessities conveyed *to the post-stations*.

As to the next (i.e. the third) deed, I had wells dug in places without water, and had *the water* brought forth, thus providing the people with water and grass.

Further (i.e. as the fourth deed), I established scouts and garrison troops among the people of cities everywhere, and so I let the people live *in peace*, causing them to rest

Their feet upon the ground,

Their hands upon the soil.

After my father the qahan, I have indeed added four *good* deeds *to his*.

But, being placed on the great (= imperial) throne by my father the qahan and being made to take upon myself the burden of his many peoples, I was at fault to let myself be vanquished by wine. This was, indeed, one fault of mine.

As to my second fault, to listen to the word of a woman without principle and to have the girls of my uncle Otchigin's domain (*ulus*) brought to me was surely a mistake. Even though I was the Qahan and lord of the nation, to participate in wrong and unprincipled actions, this was, indeed, one fault of mine.

To secretly harm (= poison?) Doqolqu was also a fault *of mine*. And why was it a fault? *Because* to secretly harm Doqolqu, who strove fiercely in the service of his rightful *master*, my father the qan, was a fault and a mistake. Who will now strive so fiercely in my service? *Therefore*, I have myself acknowledged the fault of having secretly injured, without discernment, a person who diligently observed the principle *of loyalty* in the service of my father the qahan and *in the service* of all.

Further, being greedy and saying *to myself*, "What if the wild animals born with their destiny *preordained* by Heaven and Earth go

over to *the territory of* my brothers?", I had barriers and walls built of beaten earth *to prevent the animals from straying*. As I was thus confining them, I heard resentful words *coming* from my brothers. *This*, too, was a fault *of mine*.

After my father the qahan, I have indeed added four *good* deeds *to his*, and four deeds *of mine* were surely faults.' Thus he spoke.

282 The writing *of this book* was completed at the time when the Great Diet was assembled and when, in the Year of the Rat, in the month of the Roebuck, the Palaces (*ordos*) were established at Dolo'an-boldaq of Köde'e-aral on the Kelüren *River*, between Shilginchek and ...

COMMENTARY

For the abbreviations used in the Commentary see *PFEH* 4 (September 1971), 151-152, and 5 (March 1972), 175. To these must now be added the following: Cleaves *SH* = F.W. Cleaves, *The Secret History of the Mongols, For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with an Exegetical Commentary*, Vol.1. (Translation), (Cambridge, Mass.; London, 1982).

265 Chapter Twelve (= Suppl. II) of the *SH* begins with the account of Chinggis' last campaign against the Tangut state of Hsi-Hsia. As described earlier (§§249, 250, 256), the Tangut court had at first submitted to the Mongols, but later, at the time of the confrontation with Khwarezm (1218-1219), the minister Asha-gambu had persuaded the Hsi-Hsia ruler Shen-tsung ('Burqan') not to comply with Chinggis' request for Tangut troops in the forthcoming campaign. Chinggis did not take any punitive action then, but pledged to deal with the matter on his return from Central Asia. He is now proceeding to do this after a brief halt in Mongolia to plan the campaign and mobilize the troops. With regard to the date of the start of the expedition against Hsi-Hsia, the sources are not in full agreement. See de Rachewiltz in *MS* 21 (1962), 64, n.140. However, it can be established that while the mobilization of troops began in the latter part of 1225, the actual attack on Hsi-Hsia was launched in the spring of the following year. The *SH* is one year late in describing the sequence of these events. On this question, see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.316. The best account of the Hsi-Hsia campaign in English is found in Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 283-308. See also, by the same author, 'The Mongol Wars with Hsi-Hsia (1205-1227)' in *JRAS* (1942), 195-228; and E.I.Kychanov, *Ocherk istorii tangutskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1968), pp.306-315. 'He counted his troops anew,' lit. 'He newly counted his number (i.e. the number of effectives in his army)'; cf. above, §191. On Yisüi-qadun (= qatun), see §254. 'The many wild asses of Arbuqa': Arbuqa was obviously an area rich in wild asses (*qulan* = *Equus hemionus*). Although this place has not been identified, several scholars, including Grousset (see *Conqueror of the World*, p.278) and, more recently, Perlee (p.10), have situated it in the Alashan Desert in southeastern Ninghsia. This localization goes back to Shih Shih-chieh 施世杰 who, in his *Yüan pi-shih shan-ch'uan ti-ming k'ao* 元秘史山川地名考 (1897 ed.) 12, 47b-48a, attempted to identify Arbuqa and Cho'orqat - the place where Chinggis halted after his fall from the horse - with two localities with similar names in the Ordos. In this he was rather uncritically followed by other Chinese scholars like Ting Ch'ien and Kao Pao-ch'üan. These identifications are, however, arbitrary and unconvincing not only on linguistic and geographical grounds (see Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp.316-317), but also for chronological reasons. If the accident occurred in the winter of 1225 and the invasion of Hsi-Hsia took place in the spring of the following year, it is unlikely that Chinggis was *already* as far south as the Alashan, i.e. in Tangut territory, in the winter as assumed by the above authors. On the other hand, the *SH* narrative definitely indicates that Chinggis was 'on the way' to Hsi-Hsia when he fell from the horse. I think, therefore, that Martin (*The Rise of Chingis Khan*, p.289), following F. Grenard (*Gengis Khan*, pp.173-174), is probably correct in stating that the accident occurred when the Mongol army had left the Tūla on the first stage of the expedition and had temporarily halted on the Ongin, almost certainly in November, to hunt the wild asses at Arbuqa. (Martin says 'November' following T'u Chi, this being of course the most likely month.) Thus, Chinggis was then still in Mongolia, albeit well on his way to Hsi-Hsia in the south and, no doubt on account of the serious injury, or injuries, he suffered, the military operations were deferred to the spring while a diplomatic settlement with the Hsi-Hsia ruler was sought to avert the hostilities without loss of face. The details of this embassy and of the Tanguts' negative response are found only in the *SH*. Josotu-boro ('Reddish-Grey') was the name of Chinggis' horse which bolted when the wild asses rushed past them. 'His body,' lit. 'his flesh.' Cho'orqat, a plural of *cho'orqan* (Writ. Mong. *choghorghan*), means 'the Locks.' Pelliot, *op.cit.*, p.317, says: 'it may have applied figuratively to some strong position, and may actually refer to the same place as the *Quncui Mountain of the *YS*.' I think Pelliot is wrong. The Hun-ch'ui Mts. 渾垂山 of *YS* 1, p.23, are almost certainly the Ch'i-lien Mts. 祁連山 south of Su-chou 肅州 in Kansu, as already noted by Martin, *op.cit.*, p.291, no.17, whereas Cho'orqat must be a locality near Arbuqa in Mongolia (see above). It seems, then, that the Hun-ch'ui Mts. of the *YS* correspond to the Chasutu ('Snowy') of the *SH* §§266, 267, where Chinggis 'escaped the summer heat' in 1226. Tolun-cherbi of the Qonggotan had last been mentioned in §253 in connection with the Mongol

operations in northeast China in 1213-1214. The Tangut had already been referred to as a sedentary population living in permanent towns and thus unable to move. See above, §249. Cf. also Belgütei-noyan's words in §190 about the Naiman people being burdened with palatial tents, and having to leave them behind when they fled. For the words 'The Tang'ut people ... that would be fine,' see Mostaert, pp.217-220, where the passage is discussed in detail. 'Their reply,' lit. 'their word(s).' 'In the past': for this usage of the word *nidoni*, see *ibid.*, pp.41-42, n.40; and Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, pp.24-25. For the Hsi-Hsia ruler's earlier promise to form with his troops the right wing of the Mongol army, see above, §249. (When the latter advanced southwards from Mongolia against the Jurchen kingdom, the Hsi-Hsia, being in the west, would naturally supply forces to the west, or right, wing.) For the words 'because the Sarta'ul people had not agreed to my proposal,' see Mostaert, p.209. The 'proposal' (*eye*) in question was the request for reparations sent by Chinggis-qan to Muḥammad of Khwarezm after the Otrar incident in 1218. See Barthold, *op.cit.*, pp.399-400. 'Came out with mocking words,' lit. 'came mocking with words.' See above, §256, where the words in question - spoken by Asha-gambu, however, not by Burqan - are reported. 'I brought them duly to submission,' lit. 'I caused them to enter (= forced them) into the right (*or* into righteousness),' i.e. 'I overcame them and subjected them to Mongol rule' - this (the rule) being, of course, the 'right' (*jük*) order of things. 'As for now,' renders *edö'e ber bö'esü*, on which idiom see Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 73, n.13. 'For I,' lit. 'as for me' (*bi bürün*). In the interlinear version, Alashai is glossed as 'name of the Ho-lan Mountains.' The Ho-lan Mts. (i.e. the Holanshan or Helanshan 賀蘭山 of our maps) are the Alashan Mts., viz. the mountain range extending parallel to the Huang-ho due west of Ning-hsia, now Yin-ch'uan 銀川 , then the capital of the Hsi-Hsia state (its Chinese name at the time was actually Chung-hsing fu 中興府 ; the native Tangut name was Irghai, from which derives the Mongolian form Eriqaya [= Erighaya]; see below). Pelliot, following Palladiĭ, is of the opinion that the 'encampment in the Alashai' (*Alashai nuntuq*) of our passage corresponds to the 'Calacian' of Marco Polo, which can probably be identified with the 'temporary residence' built by Li Yüan-hao 李元昊 (= Ching-tsung 景宗 , r. 1038-1048) in 1047 at the foot of the Ho-lan Mts., 60 *li* (= c. 33.5 km.) west of Ning-hsia. See Pelliot, *op.cit.*, p.133, and the whole discussion, *ibid.*, pp.132-137. 'I have tents of thin woollen cloth' renders

Mongolian *terme gertü*, lit. 'having *terme* tents.' The term *terme* occurs also in §184 in the combination *altan terme* which I have inadequately rendered as 'golden tent.' On *terme* see the references given in my note 184. The word is of Tibetan origin (< Tib. *ther-ma*) and properly designates 'thin woollen textile, flannel-like fabric,' as well as 'the wooden grate of the walls of a felt tent' (Lessing, p.806a). Cf. Kowalewski, p.1774b: 'stamade, stamette, étoffe de laine'; Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.661a: 'tissu de laine, flanelle (de provenance tibetaine).' 'Camels laden *with goods*,' lit. 'camels' loads.' For the passage 'If you need ... Erije'ü,' cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 18 (1955), 29, n.9. 'Eriqaya and Erije'ü' - the two principal and, therefore, richest cities of Hsi-Hsia. As stated earlier, Eriqaya (Writ. Mong. Erighaya) was the capital of the state and corresponds to present-day Yin-ch'uan hsien. It is the 'Egrigaia' of Marco Polo. On it, see the important notice by Pelliot, *op.cit.*, II, pp.641-642; and Cleaves in *HJAS* 27 (1967), 96-99, n.4. Erije'ü is the Mongolian form of *Erji'ü or *Erjü, the native Tangut name of Hsi-liang 西涼 , present-day Wu-wei hsien 武威縣 in Kansu. It is the 'Ergiuul' of Marco Polo, on which see *ibid.*, pp.646-647. Cf. also Kychanov, *op.cit.*, p.348a. 'This is enough!' (*je teli*): on this expression see Mostaert, p.173 and n.156. 'Let us challenge their boasts!,' lit. 'let us go and press against *their* big words!' 'You be the judge!' lit. 'You decide *who is right*!' 'Until they were blown *to the winds* like ashes'; cf. §112 for the same image. 'The common Tang'uts,' lit. 'such and such (*or* this kind and that kind of) Tang'uts' (*eyimün teyimün Tang'udud-i*). Cf. the Chinese sectional summary (*YCPS* S.II, 7a) 'the rest of the (Tangut) people.' Chinggis' draconian order had far-reaching consequences, as it was responsible for the large-scale slaughter of the Tangut population before and after his own death. With regard to the movements of the Mongol army, it should be noted that from the encampment on the Ongin, where Chinggis presumably spent the winter of 1225-1226, the army moved across the western Gobi in the first (lunar) month (30 January - 27 February) of 1226. The Mongols reached the Etsin-gol (Hei-shui 黑水 , now the Jo-shui 弱水 /E-chi-na ho 額濟納河) and captured the Tangut outpost of Hei-shui ch'eng 黑水城 (in Mongolian Qara-qoto, 'Black City' - the 'Etzina' of Marco Polo) in the second month (28 February - 30 March). Following the course of the Etsin-gol upstream, they reached Su-chou (present-day Chang-yeh hsien 張掖縣) and Kan-chou 甘州 (present-day Chiu-ch'üan hsien 酒泉縣), which they captured in the summer (May - June). Chinggis-qan

'escaped the heat' by camping on the Hun-ch'ui Mts., which seem to be the same as the Chasutu of §266 (see above). The defeat and capture of Asha-gambu, which is not recorded in the Chinese sources, according to the *SH* occurred before the summer in the 'Alashai,' where Chinggis had forced him to 'barricade' himself up, i.e. in a stronghold on the Alashan/Ho-lan Mts. This is, of course, impossible since before the summer Chinggis was campaigning in the Etsin-gol - Kan-chou ho 甘州河 region and his army did not move into the Alashan until the end of the year. Cf. Pelliot, *op.cit.*, I, p.309ff.

266 As stated above (n.265), the Chasutu Mountain(s) mentioned in this and the following section (§267) are the mountains called Hun-ch'ui 渾垂 in the *YS*, which probably correspond to the Ch'i-lien range south of Su-chou. These mountains are also referred to in Chinese sources as Hsüeh-shan 雪山, i.e. 'Snowy Mountains,' and this is also the way the name is glossed in the interlinear translation. The location makes perfect sense both chronologically and geographically. 'He sent troops against the Tang'uts...' In translating this passage I had to change the structure in English for the sake of readability. The Mongol text has 'C.-q. ... sent troops and caused them to plunder, until they duly and utterly destroyed the Tang'uts...' 'Were offering resistance,' lit. 'had revolted.' 'Until they were duly and utterly destroyed' renders Mongolian *onoqsa'ar ülittele*, lit. 'until they annihilated *them* by reckoning (i.e. as due to them, fittingly).' 'As much *booty* as, in their judgement, their strength *enabled them to carry*,' lit. 'until they judge by *their* strength (how much they can take and carry with them).' Cf. above, §248. 'The Jüyin of the Kitat people' and, later, 'the Qara-Kitat Jüyin people' were the Khitan and other auxiliary forces in the service of the Jurchens. See above, n.247. 'Make their fine sons follow you ... Bring up their fine daughters and make them arrange (*or* fix, repair) the hems of your wives' skirts,' i.e. take possession of them and turn them into your servants. 'Trusted friends' renders *itegelten ina'ut* (pl. of *inaq*). The term *inaq* (Writ. Mong. *inagh*) means 'bosom friend, favourite, personal attendant.' See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.82; Lessing, p.409b. 'Who have exterminated the fathers and forefathers of the Mongols (*Monggol* in the text)' - a reference to the capture of Ambaqai-qan by the Tatar Jüyin, who then delivered him to the Altan-qan of the Kitat, i.e. the Jurchen sovereign, as narrated in *SH* §53. Note, however, that in §53 the Jüyin people in question are of Tatar, not Khitan, stock.

267 Uraqai (ᵓOroqai, cf. *YS* 1, p.14) was a town in Kansu, north of the Huang-ho, which has not yet been identified. It had been captured twice by the Mongols (in the raids of 1207 and 1209) and it appears to have been one of the northernmost strongholds of the Hsi-Hsia; however, it can hardly be identified with Qara-qoto as suggested by Murakami, *op.cit.*, III, p.269, n.12. Martin, following T'u Chi, has situated it in the Alashan, northwest of Chung-hsing (i.e. Ning-hsia/Yin-ch'uan), which is plausible, even though T'u Chi's phonetic analogy (see *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 3, 7a) is worthless, as already noted by Pelliot (*Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.315). See the map 'Chingis Khan's Campaigns in China, 1209-1227' in Martin, *The Rise of Chingis Khan*; see also *ibid.*, p.359, for references to this city. Cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 17 (1954), 440-441, n.67. It seems then more likely, as other scholars have already pointed out, that Chinggis attacked it *after* conquering Dörmegei (the Mongol name of Ling-chou 靈州, present-day Ling-wu hsien 靈武縣 in Ninghsia), and not before as stated in the *SH*. Since Ling-chou fell late in November (1226), Uraqai must have been conquered in December or early in the following year. See *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 3, 30b; Martin, *op.cit.*, pp.295-296. Cf. Pelliot, *op.cit.*, pp.315-316. The '(Iluqu) Burqan' who, according to the *SH* account, submitted to Chinggis when Ling-chou was about to capitulate, was the newly enthroned Tangut ruler Li Hsien 李睍 (1226-1227). However, the *SH* account of the time and place of Li Hsien's submission is contradicted by all other accounts, Chinese and Persian, of this event. See Pelliot, *op.cit.*, p.310ff. Li Hsien almost certainly surrendered when his capital, Ning-hsia, was under Mongol siege and about to capitulate. This occurred in the summer of 1227, when the now fatally ill conqueror was 'escaping the heat' south of Liu-p'an shan 六盤山; thus, the last Hsi-Hsia ruler (and his family) may have been executed either shortly before, or very soon after Chinggis' death, which occurred towards the end, or at any rate in the second half, of August. In either case, the execution was carried out in accordance with his final instructions. I am convinced that the execution of the Tangut royal family, as well as the large-scale massacre of the civilian population that followed, excessive even by Mongol standards, were meant to provide Chinggis with a suitable escort in the afterlife (see below). On the (doubtful) etymology of the name Dörmegei, cf. Pelliot, *op.cit.*, II, p.642. Cf. also Mostaert, p.222. 'Bringing,' lit. 'with.' 'Nine of each' (*yisün yisüt*, lit. 'nine and nine [pl.]'): as noted earlier (see above, n.99), the number nine had a symbolic value. For further references, see my 'Sino-Mongol Culture Contacts in the

XIII Century,' pp.248-250, n.116; Ligeti, p.185, n.267. The passage from 'While he was destroying' to '*outside the tent*' is translated and discussed in Mostaert, pp.220-225. 'Felt revulsion within his heart,' lit. 'the inside feelings revolted.' *Shidurqu* (written form *shidurghu*) means 'straight, honest, upright, sincere, loyal' (see Lessing, p.698a); however, the verb *shidurqutqa-* (=*shidurghudgha-*) 'to make right *or* straight' is used in the *SH* (§§202, 224) with the meaning of 'to bring to allegiance, subdue.' Cf. Chin. *p'ing* 平 , lit. 'to make even > to pacify' = 'to subdue, subjugate.' Cf. also §265 above, where 'to force into righteousness' (*jük-tür oro'ul-*) = 'to force into submission.' Ligeti, p.129, has therefore inferred that the word *shidurqu* means here 'the one who has surrendered' (or 'the one who has been brought to allegiance'). Haenisch (*Die Geheime Geschichte*, p.166, n.267) has already pointed out that this epithet characterizes the defeated enemy as the actual servant of the victor; and that it was given to the Tangut ruler in place of 'Burqan' (< Buddha). Haenisch claims that it would have been disrespectful to retain the latter, i.e. a name holy to Buddhists as well as to the Mongols (who used it as an attribute of their sacred mountain Burqan-qaldun), for an enemy about to be executed. This consideration may have certainly played a part; however, I think that the main reason for giving this name to the condemned sovereign has to do with the medieval Mongols' conception of the afterlife. According to their beliefs, the 'virtue' of an enemy of noble birth could, after his death, exercise a beneficial influence on the victor and his descendants. The former enemy, in other words, would become a protective spirit or genius. See above, n.201. It is, I believe, to propitiate this spirit and invest it, as it were, with a name-quality of loyalty to his master that an appropriate designation was called for. The concept of 'surrender' is, of course, implicit in it, since the operation of the enemy's 'virtue' is based upon the continuous subservience to the victor after the enemy's death. For Tolun-cherbi's role at Cho'orqat after Chinggis' fall and injury, see §265. 'The poisoned words of an enemy,' lit. 'at the poison word of a "companion-person" (*nökör gü'ün*).' For 'companion' (*nökör*) = 'enemy,' cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.119; Mostaert, p.112. 'Gave him into our hands,' lit. 'caused him to enter into our hands.' The 'movable palace' (*newügü qarshi*) refers to Li Hsien's royal pavilion.

268 'After he had exterminated ... maiming and taming,' lit. 'Causing the mothers and fathers of the Tang'ut people reaching

to the offspring of the offspring to disappear *muquli musquli*.' The two words *muquli musquli* are puzzling. They clearly form a binome of the *sachuli öchi'üli* (§103) and *bura tara* (§213) type, the meaning of which was no longer understood by the translators of the *SH*, who left a blank in both places where this expression occurs in the present section. The authors of the sectional summary rendered only the general meaning of the sentences in question. The *AT* is also of no help as it merely distorts *muquli musquli* into *muqali müsküli* without providing any interlinear gloss (the value of which would, in any case, have been doubtful). See *SHA*, p.197. There is little doubt, however, that these words are descriptive of the way in which the Tanguts were destroyed. Several of the earlier translators, including Haenisch, Temir, Ligeti and Murakami, basing themselves on the expressions *mieh* 滅 'obliterated' and *chin chüeh liao* 盡 絶 了 'completely extinguished' of the sectional summary (*YCPS* S.II, 13a; cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.111), took the expression *muquli musquli* to mean ' completely, utterly, to the last member' and the like. Kozin (*Sokr. skaz.*, pp.191, 573, 610) related *muquli* to Kalm. *muχuli* 'serf, slave' and rendered *m. m.* as 'to the last slave.' (For *muquli* 'slave,' cf. Pelliot-Hambis, p.361.) Damdinsüren rendered *m. m. ügei bolqan* (= *bolghan*) as *moxol mušgilgüĭ bolgož* (= *moqoli mushkili ügei bolghaju*). See *Mongolyn nuuc tovčoo* (1976 ed.), p.227; *Mongghol-un nighucha tobchiyan* (1947 ed,), p.265. Damdinsüren's interpretation was rendered into Chinese by Hsieh Tsai-shan as 斬草除根地都殺戮了 'he slaughtered them all, destroying root and branch (i.e. stamping them out completely)' (*Meng-ku pi-shih*, p.263). Shastina, p.371, n.79, understood Damdinsüren's interpretation as 'they were driven to extremity,' i.e. 'he completely ruined them.' It appears that Damdinsüren relates *muquli* to the verb *moxox* (= Writ. Mong. *muqu-*, *moqo-*) 'to be blunt or dull; to get tired, weaken, exhaust one's strength,' from which derives the noun *moxol* (= *moqol*) designating the act or state of *moxox*. See Lessing, p.544a. Damdinsüren relates *musquli* to *muškix* (= *mushki-*) 'to turn, twist, coerce.' See Lessing, p.552b. Jagchid, on the other hand, relates *m. m.* to the verb *mükü-* 'to exterminate, destroy, push to the limit,' and translates our sentence 'he exterminated all, wiping them out completely' (都滅絶一乾二淨). See *Meng-ku pi-shih, hsin-i ping chu-shih*, p.421 and n.1. However, the verb in question is not *mükü-*, but *mökö-* (Khalkha *möxöx*) 'to become extinct, die out; to collapse.' See Lessing, p.545b. Moreover, even though this would not be an insurmountable problem, *mökö-* is a front vocalic word, whereas *muquli* is back vocalic. Daoruntibu, for his part, takes *muquli*

as being a nominal form of the verb 'to exterminate' (滅之), and *musquli* as meaning 'edge, hem' (边剌 is a mistake for 边幅), so that the whole sentence should be understood literally as 'he exterminated them without even leaving their edge (i.e. completely)' (消滅他連邊幅也不留). In the translation his rendering is 'he exterminated them to the very last' (盡殄無遺). See his *Meng-ku pi-shih*, pp.355, 358, n.10. Thus, Daoruntibu relates *muquli* also to *mökö-*, and *musquli* to *möskiyeri* 'hem, trimming, border (of garment).' See Lessing, p.550b. Such a far-fetched derivation is, I think, unlikely. More recently, Erdemtei a.o. have also attempted to explain this problematic expression. They claim that 'in Buddhist sutras, the fragments left over after removing a broken object are called *m. m.*' (*Meng-ku pi-shih tz'u-hui hsüan-shih*, p.230). Unfortunately, this statement is not supported by any authority and no references to the relevant sources are given in this case. In my view, Damdinsüren's interpretation is basically sound. We must not forget, however, that, from the context, the expression *m. m.* seems to indicate the manner in which the destruction of the Tangut was carried out, and as such it qualifies both *ügei bolqan* and *ügei* (in the second occurrence). *Muquli* is a deverbal noun in *-li* (see Poppe, *Grammar*, p.47, §162) from *muqu-*. This verb does not appear as such in the *SH*, where we find only *muqutqa-* 'to destroy, bring to an end' (see Haenisch, *op.cit.*, p.111), which is the causative of *muqut-* 'to be finished, to come to an end.' *Muqu-* and *muqut-* are obviously cognate. The basic idea of *muqu-* is 'to be dull or blunt,' i.e. deprived of organs that make one vital and strong, hence the secondary meanings of 'to be exhausted or powerless, to come to the end of one's resources; etc.' From it derives *muqur* 'blunt, blunted; cropped; hornless; amputated, maimed; incomplete.' See Lessing, p.553b; and also Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.474b, for interesting examples of its use. In my opinion, *muquli* and *muqur* - both deverbal nouns from *muqu-* - are virtually identical in meaning. As for *musquli*, I think with Damdinsüren that it derives (also as a deverbal noun in *-li*) from **musqu-*, corresponding to Writ. Mong. *muski-* (= *mushki-*) 'to turn, twist; to coerce, put pressure on; to hold down, subdue.' See Lessing, p.552b. In Yakut, a language that has preserved many archaic features, including not a few forms found only in the *SH*, we find the verb *muskuï-* 'to turn, twist; to break, distort, wear out; etc.,' corresponding to Mong. *muski-*, in which the *u* of the second syllable has been preserved. See Pekarskiĭ, *op.cit.*, p.1641; Slepcov, *op. cit.*, p.246a. Thus, the expression *muquli musquli* would mean 'blunting and twisting' or 'maiming and coercing.' To retain

some of the homophonic quality of the original, in my translation I have rendered it with 'maiming and taming' and 'maimed and tamed.' 'But did not keep it,' lit. 'did not keep to the word.' 'For the second time,' the first time being, according to the *SH* account of events, the one described in §249 - in actual fact, the 1209 campaign. See above, n.249. 'Took the field against them,' lit. 'campaigned against the Tang'ut people.' 'Chinggis-qahan came *back* and, in the Year of the Pig (1227), he went to Heaven.' As is known Chinggis-qan did not return to Mongolia, but died at Liu-p'an shan in Kansu some time in the latter part of August 1227, almost certainly as a result of the internal injuries caused by the fall from his horse and the strain of the military operations. His body was taken to Mongolia and buried on Burqan-qaldun, at the sources fo the Onon and Kerulen rivers. The mention in the *SH* of his return (*irejü*) was, presumably, to enhance his figure by making him return home as a victor, for we know that the war against Hsi-Hsia was far from concluded at the time of his death. However, Pelliot (*Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.326) links *irejü* with *nökö'ete* and understands that 'Chingiz "came" for a "second" campaign against Tangut.' Pelliot's interpretation, adopted also by Ligeti, p.129, is contradicted by 1) the Chinese sectional summary which says (*YCPS* S.II, 13a) 至是回來 'thereupon he returned *home*,' and 2) by the verb *muqutqaju*, lit. 'destroying,' which precedes *irejü*, i.e. Chinggis-qan 'campaigning a second time ... destroying ... coming *back* ... went to Heaven.' See Cleaves *SH*, p.209, §268. His return home is immediately followed by the mention of his death, which is referred to as going (= ascending) to Heaven. Pelliot, *op.cit.*, p.305, has suggested that this may be due to the subject of his death being regarded by the Mongols as taboo. This is not necessarily so. As J.-P. Roux has pointed out, among the ancient Turks there was a belief that the souls or, at any rate, one of the souls, of their heroic chiefs ascended to Heaven at death. In the Orkhon inscriptions, the expressions 'to go flying' and 'fly' - i.e. to Heaven - mean 'to pass away' when used with reference to the death of a qaghan or a prince of the blood. See Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux*, p.99ff. Cf. also E. Tryjarski in *CAJ* 25 (1981), 157. This belief, like many others, was shared by the ancient and medieval Mongols, and it would have especially applied to an exalted personage like Chinggis-qan. The author(s) of the *SH* would have then employed the expression 'he went to Heaven' much in the same way as, *mutatis mutandis*, a Christian medieval author like Paul the Deacon would say 'ad regna caelestia migravit.' In other words,

it was a euphemistic conventional expression. In the *SH* we find that the death of Chinggis-qan is referred to both indirectly, i.e, metaphorically, and directly. See Yisüi-qatun's words in §254: 'When your body, like a great old tree,/ Falls down .../ When your body, like the stone base of a pillar / Collapses ...'; and Chinggis' own words in the same section: 'I forgot, / As if I would not follow the forefathers; / I slept, / As if I would not be caught by death (*üküleng*).' On the complex question of the date and place of his death, and of the location of his grave, see the fundamental discussion by Pelliot, *op.cit.*, pp.305-363. Regarding the location of the conqueror's grave on the sacred mountain Burqan-qaldun, see Schubert, *Ritt zum Burchan-chaldun*, pp.91-102. Burqan-qaldun is beyond doubt to be identified with Kentei Qan (Xentiĭ Xan) in the Kentei Range (XentiĬ Nuruu) at 48°50 N. lat. and 109° E. long. The ancient 'great (= imperial) forbidden precinct' (*yeke qorigh*) where Chinggis-qan and other Mongol emperors and princes (among them Tolui, Möngke, Ariq-böke and, possibly, Qubilai too) are still presumably resting is, apparently, on the southeastern side of the mountain overlooking the sources of the Onon and Kerulen. I have reason to believe that the broad area of the old precinct has been known to the archaeologists of the MPR with reasonable accuracy for quite some time. On the *yeke qorigh*, cf. J.A. Boyle in *Mongolian Studies* 1 (1974), 8-9; H. Serruys, *ibid.*, pp.76-79. With regard to the age of the conqueror at the time of his death, although the controversial problem of his birth date is not yet solved, see the recent contribution by Katsufuji Takeshi 勝藤猛 'Jingisu-kan no seinen ni tsuite' ジンギスカンの生年について ('Concerning the Year of Birth of Jinghis-kan') in *Studies Dedicated to Professor Namio Egami* ... (see above, n.261), pp.279-295, in which the various dates (1154, 1155, 1161, 1162, 1163 and 1167) discussed by Pelliot are again critically reviewed. Ligeti (p.185, n.268) has already drawn attention to the substantial discrepancy between the *SH* account of Chinggis' last campaign against Hsi-Hsia and the other sources, especially Rashīd al-Dīn's work. It should be emphasized that the *SH* gives only a very brief sketch of the campaign, totally ignoring most of the military operations carried out by Chinggis-qan and the Mongol army in 1226-1227. This is either due to later editorial work, or, as I am now more inclined to believe, to the author(s) of the *SH*, who preferred to cut a narrative that would have otherwise inevitably led him (or them) to mention the conqueror's demise in the course of the campaign - an event which he (or they) evidently wanted to gloss over, not (in my opinion) because the subject was taboo, but

because it may indicate that Heaven's 'protection' (*ihe'el*) had been withdrawn, at least insofar as the life of Chinggis-qan was concerned. 'A great part of the Tang'ut people was given (lit. "one gave") to Yisüi-qatun,' i.e. as slaves. Yisüi was the wife Chinggis had taken with him in his last campaign and, of course, the one who looked after him in his final illness. Her reward was, therefore, commensurate to the favour she had been shown by the defunct emperor. On the presence of a 'Tangut' clan among the Ordos Mongols in the 20th century which may originate from the Hsi-Hsia slaves granted to Yisüi-qatun, see A. Mostaert, *Ordosica*, repr. from *Bulletin No.9 [1934] of the Catholic University of Peking*, p.45 (161, 162). At the end of §268, Damdinsüren (*Mongolyn nuuc tovčoo*, 1976 ed.), pp.227-229, adds a long passage of epic character from the *AT* (II, 102-105). See Shastina, pp.240-242. This, however, seems to be part of a later *remaniement*.

269 Although the *quriltai*, or general assembly, that elected Ögödei was convoked in 1228, Ögödei was not actually 'raised' (*ergübei*) as the supreme ruler and successor of Chinggis-qan until the following year (13 September 1229), which was a Year of the Ox. His election is vividly described by both Juvainī (*History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.183-188) and Rashīd al-Dīn (*Successors*, pp.30-31). The Chinese sources also refer to the division within the assembly between the supporters of Cha'adai - the eldest son of Chinggis after the premature death of Jochi in 1227 - those of Tolui, the youngest son, now acting as regent of the empire, and of course those of Ögödei, who, as we have seen (§255), had been chosen by Chinggis himself as his successor to the throne. The same sources emphasize the role of Chinggis' former secretary and astronomer-astrologer Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in persuading the assembly to carry out Chinggis' will. See I. de Rachewiltz, 'Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189-1243): Buddhist Idealist and Confucian Statesman,' in A.F. Wright and D. Twitchett (eds), *Confucian Personalities* (Stanford, 1962), pp.199-200. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p.463. The whole issue of Ögödei's election is a very complex one, bound as it is with Mongol inheritance customs, Chinggis' (? written) will, and the thorny question of rivalry between the family of Ögödei and that of Tolui (on which cf. above, nn.254 and 255). See, provisionally, Ligeti, p.212; Yao Ts'ung-wu in *Wen shih chih hsüeh-pao* 13 (1964), 1-30 (esp. pp.18-27); and Murakami, *op.cit.*, III, pp.291-293, n.1. Jochi's son and heir Batu (d. ? 1255) is mentioned here for the first time. On him, see Pelliot, *op.cit.*, I, pp.88-89; Idem, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, pp.28-29; B. Spuler, *Die*

Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp.10-32. On Jochi-Qasar's sons Yegü and Yisüngge, see above, §183. As is known, the domains (*ulus*) of Jochi (and subsequently, Batu) and Cha'adai were in the west (Qïpchaq Steppe and Central Asia); this is why they are called here 'the princes of the right (= west) hand' - the 'right hand' corresponding in the military organization of the Mongols to the west wing of the army. Otchigin-noyan, i.e. Temüge-otchigin (Chinggis' younger brother), had his domain in northeastern Mongolia, near the border with Manchuria (see Pelliot-Hambis, p.178); and also in the northeast, in the basin of the Argun, was the apanage of Jochi-Qasar. See I. de Rachewiltz, 'Some Remarks on the Stele of Yisüngge' (above, n.183), p.491ff. Hence the definition of 'princes of the left (= east) hand' applied to Otchigin-noyan, Yegü and Yisüngge. Tolui, being the youngest son and 'keeper of the hearth,' retained, following the ancient custom, the Mongolian homeland, and was therefore a 'prince of the centre' - the 'centre' (*qol*) corresponding in military terms to the main body of the army (see below). See Doerfer, No. 307. Cf. Buell, 'Tribe, *Qan* and *Ulus*,' pp.28ff., 36. 'All assembled,' lit. 'assembled in *their* entirety.' For Köde'ü-aral (written Ködö'e-aral in §136 and Ködë'e-aral in §282), see above, n.136. 'On the Kelüren,' lit. 'of the Kelüren.' 'They installed Ögödei-qahan as qan': the term used for 'installed (= elected)' is, literally, 'raised, lifted up' (*ergübei*), which derives from the ancient Altaic custom of enthroning the elected qan by actually lifting him up on a felt carpet. See P.A. Boodberg in *HJAS* 4 (1939), 245. Cf. D'Ohsson, II, pp.528-529; L. Olschki, *The Myth of Felt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), p.21ff.; Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society*, pp.223, 274 n., 275 and n. With regard to the two titles *qan* and *qahan* (= *qa'an*) assumed by Ögödei, cf. the statement of Juvainī (*op.cit.*, p.187) that at the enthronement ceremony, Ulugh-Noyan, i.e. Tolui, took a cup and all those present 'uttered prayers, saying, "May the kingdom prosper by his being Khan!"... And they named him Qa'an.' Rashīd al-DIn (*op.cit.*, p.31) follows Juvainī almost verbatim. Ögödei 1) was elected *qan*, i.e. ruler of all the Mongols, and 2) was given at the same time - according to Juvainī - the name (or epithet) Qa'an, which is actually the old Turkish title of the supreme ruler. Juvainī was writing a generation later, when Ögödei was normally referred to as 'the Qa'an,' i.e. the Qa'an *par excellence*, Ögödei having been the first Mongol qan to use this title. (In my opinion, 'the Qa'an' had, almost certainly, become the current appellation of Ögödei already in his lifetime. Cf. the use of the single epithet

below, §272.) The additional Turkish title *qa'an* (written form: *qaghan*) was probably conferred on Ögödei in 1229 because the Mongol tribal chief or leader (*qan*) was now the supreme ruler of a vast empire beside Mongolia - an empire in which the élite was largely, if not predominantly, Turkish-speaking. Turkish was also the language of the Nestorian Christians and, of course, of the Uighur advisers and dignitaries at court; indeed it was the *lingua franca* in Inner Asia at the time, more so than Persian. It is no surprise, therefore, that the Mongols, having adopted by then (c. 1230) many cultural elements from the Turks (especially the Uighurs), including their script, also took over their royal title, this title being now more appropriate to the ruler of a world-empire than the essentially tribal title of *qan* borne by Chinggis. On the whole question, see I. de Rachewiltz, '*Qan*, *Qa'an* and the Seal of Güyüg' (see n.249 above), pp.272-281; cf. also Idem, 'Turks in China under the Mongols,' in M. Rossabi (ed.), *China Among Equals* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983), pp.292, 308, n.76. 'Precious life,' lit. 'golden life.' 'The ten thousand guards who had been in close attendance on (lit. "who had been acting [= performing their duties] close to") the person of my father the qan.' This sentence is very puzzling because of the words 'of my father the qan' (*qan echige-yin minu*), in place of which one would expect 'of their (i.e. Cha'adai's and Tolui's) father the qan' (*qan echige-yü'en* or *qan echige-yin anu*), or 'of his (i.e. Ögödei's) father the qan' (*qan echige-yin inu*). In view of the closeness in sound between *inu* and *minu*, it is possible that the latter is simply a scribal error. Cleaves is of this opinion. See Cleaves *SH*, p.209, n.24. On the other hand, Ratchnevsky may be right in supposing that *minu* is the correct original reading (especially in view of the fact that the interlinear gloss renders it as 'my'), and that the word betrays the hand of the author of the *SH*. It is, indeed, plausible to infer, assuming that *minu* is not an error, that the author was a person who regarded Chinggis-qan as his father, as, e.g., Shigi-qutuqu did, and that he (inadvertently ?) referred to him in this way in the present passage. This would then be an argument supporting the theory that Shigi-qutuqu was the author of the *SH* or, at any rate, that he had something to do with its composition. See Ratchnevsky, 'Šigi-qutuqu,' pp.119-120. At present it is impossible to give a satisfactory answer to this problem, but on purely stylistic grounds I am inclined to the view that the original text had *minu* and not *inu*. Cf. Ligeti, pp.206-208. 'The domain of the centre' (*qol-un ulus*), i.e. the people and territory belonging to the central portion of the empire, this being the native territory in Mongolia

proper. In terms of Mongol military organization, this corresponded to the 'army of the centre' (*qol cherik*), i.e. to the main body of the army. As we have seen, the heart of this domain was traditionally situated in the region of the Onon and Kerulen (in the *SH*: Onan and Kelüren) rivers, where Chinggis had his principal encampments or ordos, but already in Chinggis' time the centre of gravity had begun to shift to the region of the Orkhon (Orqon) basin further west, in the former Naiman territory, where a new important encampment was established which, under Ögödei, became the capital of the Mongol empire. It is likely, as Pelliot has suggested, that Chinggis had first made Qara-qorum his *oghrugh* (*SH*: *a'uruq*; see above, n.136), i.e. his main base camp, at the time of the Western Campaign, c. 1220. This, then, became increasingly important until it was walled in 1235 by Ögödei and turned into a permanent settlement and imperial residence, with palaces, temples, etc. See *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.166-167, and below, n.273. It seems, in effect, that Qara-qorum acquired importance for the Mongols only after 1218, for there is indirect evidence that the large encampment where Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai first met Chinggis-qan in 1218, and which could have only been Chinggis' ordos, was the one in the Sa'ari Steppe, not the one in Qara-qorum. See I. de Rachewiltz in *MS* 21 (1962), 45-46, n.47. Ögödei's ulus was not in Mongolia proper, but in the region of the Imil and Qobul, and in the basin of the upper Irtysh (see Barthold, *op.cit.*, p.393) - hence the 'handing over' to him of the central ulus at the time of his enthronement. Regarding the handing over to Ögödei of Chinggis' bodyguard, see the important remarks by T. Allsen in his forthcoming contribution to the *Cambridge History of China*.

270 'The transfer of ... to himself,' lit. 'making ... to be for himself.' The expedition of Oqotur and Mönggetü at the head of auxiliary forces for the army of Chormaqan-qorchi is the one that took place in 1236, and not immediately after Ögödei's enthronement in 1229 as the *SH* leads one to believe. According to the Persian sources, Mönggetü (not 'Mönggetei' as in Boyle, 'The Mongol Commanders in Afghanistan,' p.242 [rep. in *The Mongol World Empire*, IX]) was put in charge of two myriarchies (*tümen*) in the Baghlān-Qunduz-Badakhshān area on the frontiers of India; upon his death, the command passed to Oqotur (called Hoqotur by Rashīd al-Dīn). See Boyle, *loc.cit.*; *Successors*, p.55 and n.216; and above, n.262. On Chormaqan's expedition to the West, which is of 1230/31, see above, n.260, and below, n.274. On the Qalibai-soltan, i.e. the sultan (= caliph) of Baghdad, see also n.260. The *SH* account has confused the

earlier expedition of Chormaqan against Jalāl al-Dīn with the later (1238) attack on Baghdad (on which see §274) and the Mongol expedition against northern India, which took place at about the same time. 'A people not dealt with by his father Chinggis-qahan,' lit. 'of a people left unfinished (*dorqut*).' The word *dorqut* is a plural of *dorqun* (= Writ. Mong. *dorghun*) 'lacking, incomplete, insufficient.' See Lessing, p.262b. The beginning of the account of Ögödei's campaign against Western Asia and Europe (1236-1242) is somewhat ambiguous. The Mongol princes (Batu, Büri, Güyük and Möngke) are sent, according to the *SH*, 'in support' of the army of Sübe'etei-ba'atur who, earlier on (*urida*) had run into difficulties during his campaign in the West. In §262, the *SH* had mentioned Sübe'etei's campaign against the eleven tribes (Qanglin, Kibcha'ut, etc.) in the north, his crossing of the rivers Idil (Volga) and Jayaq (Ural) 'rich in water' (*usutan*), and his reaching the city of Men-kermen (Kiev). The same places and phraseology are repeated, with regard to Sübe'etei's campaign, in our present section, showing that the 'earlier on' to which the latter refers is clearly the campaign mentioned in §262. Now, as already noted, §262 refers to the great Mongol raid of 1221-1222/3 (the one led by Jebe and Sübe'etei), which is however confused in the *SH* with the great expedition of 1236-1242, as some of the place names indicate. When Ögödei's Western Campaign was launched in the spring of 1236 (on this date, see Pelliot in *JA* 1920, 166-167), Sübe'etei was indeed the senior commander of the Mongol army. The *SH* statement that he had been put in a difficult situation (*berkeldüktejü*) earlier on may then refer to the few reverses and the human losses suffered by the Mongols, during the 1221-1222 raid, in their engagements with the Georgians, with the coaliation of the Lesghians, Circassians, Alans and Qïpchaqs, and, lastly, with the Volga Bulgars on their way back. See Ed. Dulaurier in *JA* 1858, 200, 203; 1860, 278-279; R.P. Blake and R.N. Frye in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 295; Grousset, *L'empire mongol*, p.517; and G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1948), p.238. On the other hand, it is more likely that the memory of these earlier reverses coalesced with that of the rebellion of the Qïpchaq leaders Bayan and Chïqu in 1237, the despatch of Sübe'etei to subdue them and the subsequent manoeuvre of the Mongol princes culminating with the capture of Bachman. In Rashid's account of these operations in 'the country of Ās (= Alans) and the region of Bulghar,' it is specifically mentioned that Sübe'etei was sent there 'for the second time' (*Successors*, p.57; cf. *History of the World-Conqueror*, p.269). On Ögödei's accession, a major problem confronting the Mongol

court was the fact that after the early daring, but ephemeral raid of Jebe and Sübe'etei, the various populations inhabiting the vast area forming the ulus of Jochi (and, later, his son Batu) had failed to submit to Mongol suzerainty relying on their distance from Mongolia and the size of their territory. It was chiefly this political consideration that prompted the expedition of 1236, as we indeed learn from Juvainī. See *ibid.*, p.199; and Th. T. Allsen in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 3 (1983), 14ff. The section in §270 dealing with the names of the peoples against whom Sübe'etei had been campaigning (cf. §§262 and 274) has been discussed by Pelliot in his *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, p.128ff. The name Meket (Meget in §§274 and 275) appears here for the first time. Pelliot, *op.cit.*, p.129, n.6, reversing an earlier correct assumption, stated that 'le contexte suggère qu'il s'agisse de Moscou.' However, V. Minorsky has conclusively shown, in my opinion, that it must be the Alan capital Magas in the Caucasus, destroyed by the Mongols in 1239. See *BSOAS* 14 (1952), 221-238. Cf. Pelliot's reservations in *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.19; and the long discussion by Kobayashi Takashirō (*Genchō hishi no kenkyū*, pp.178-187) in which the problem of the identification of Meket is examined in relation to the date of composition of the *SH*. For the identification of Men-kermen (= Kiwa Men-kermen; in our passage Meket is erroneously joined to the Men of Men-kermen), Keyibe, Adil (for Edil or Idil) and Jayaq, see above, n.262. In our passage we also find Asut, as in §§262, 274; Sesüt, as in §274 (§262: Sasut); Majar, in the singular (instead of Majarat, as in §262); Sergesüt (§262: Serkesüt); and Buqar, an orthographic error for Bolar. For all these names, see also above, n.262, and below, n.274. With regard to the princes who were sent into the field, the *SH* mentions Batu, the second son of Jochi; Büri, the eldest son of Mö'etüken, second son of Cha'adai; Güyük, the eldest son of Ögödei; and Möngge (= Möngke), the eldest son of Tolui. Of these four, Batu was not an eldest son (Orda was the eldest son of Jochi); however, being Jochi's heir and successor, Batu was regarded as the senior of all Chinggis-qan's grandsons after the latter's death (see *Successors*, p.107), hence his appointment as leader of all the princes participating in the campaign who are mentioned in the *SH*. Cf. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p.16; on Orda, see Pelliot's remarks in *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, pp. 29-34. As to Büri, a grandson of Cha'adai, see below. Güyük and Möngke are mentioned here for the first time. On Güyük (1206-1248), the third Mongol emperor (r. 1246-1248), see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, p.570; on Möngke (1208-1259), the fourth emperor (r. 1251-1259), see *ibid.*, III, p.184b-c;

Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 423. On the roles of these princes during the campaign, see *Successors*, p.55ff. 'Princes in charge of a domain,' i.e. possessing an apanage consisting of land and people (*ulus*). 'Any commoners, whoever they may be,' lit. '*and* the many *common* people, whoever they may be.' This sentence is somewhat ambiguous and could be interpreted differently. See Mostaert's remarks in Cleaves *SH*, p.210, n.33. 'Originates from Elder Brother C.,' lit. 'is from Elder Brother C.' 'Büri, the eldest of my sons,' is, strictly speaking, an incorrect statement, for Büri was the eldest grandson of Cha'adai. However, the term *kö'üd* must be understood here *sensu lato*. 'Looking superior and mighty,' lit. 'with a superior and might appearance (*chirai*).' The pronouncement of Cha'adai is a good illustration - and probably meant to be so - of the 'zeal and strength,' i.e. of the legalistic approach and forcefulness by which Chinggis' second son largely owed his reputation. It is to be noted that Ögödei accepted his decisions as final and binding. Cf. also §271.

271 Introduction to the launching of the final campaign against Chin, indicating that it was again Elder Brother Cha'adai who sanctioned Ögödei's proposal to proceed with it, a fact which is not mentioned in the Chinese and Persian sources. 'I have sat on *the throne made* ready by my father Chinggis-qahan,' i.e. 'By assuming the imperial dignity, I have inherited a ready-made situation (*belen*) which I owe to my father and not to my own ability.' See Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 457, n.43; Idem, *Lettres*, pp.63-64. Cf. also Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 66, n.5. 'Will people *not* say of me?', lit. 'Will I be spoken of?' Cf. Mostaert, p.238, n.221. 'What obstacles are there?', lit. 'What hinders *it*?' On the expression *ya'u aljaqu*, cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 22 (1959), 88, n.318. The Oldaqar-qorchi of the *SH* is no doubt the same person called Olduqur-noyan (Oldūqūr-nōyān) in *Successors*, p.312. According to Rashīd he was a Jalair. Elsewhere, Rashīd calls him Aūldūr(~Ūldūr)-qōrchī and refers to him as the commander of the four (great) ordos. See Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.267; Berezin, *T.V.O.I.R.A.O.* 15 (1888), p.133. In view of this statement, it would appear that the term *a'uruq* (= *oghrugh*), as employed here by Cha'adai, refers to the four great ordos established by Chinggis-qan, i.e. his main encampment and those of his wives situated in the Sa'ari Steppe and the Onon-Kerulen region, that were inherited by Ögödei and to which the latter repaired at the beginning of 1233. See Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.328, 350. The names of the ordos and of Chinggis' wives in charge of them are given in *AT*,

II, 107, lines 5-7. See Shastina, p.244. (For the Qara-qorum *oghrugh*, cf. Pelliot, *ibid.*, pp.166-167, and above, n.269.) This is the only reference in the *SH* to the 'great ordos' (*yekes ordos*). On Ögödei's return to Mongolia in 1232-1233, see below, nn.272 and 273.

272 Ögödei decided to launch the final campaign against the Chin kingdom immediately after his enthronement in the autumn of 1229. After the failure of diplomatic moves on the part of the Chin court, Mongol military operations in north China began in earnest the following year. For the various accounts of this campaign, see *YS* 2, pp.29-33 (cf. W. Abramowski in *ZAS* 10 [1976], 124-130); *CS* 17, p.382 - 18, p.403; *MWESC* 4, 3a-9b; *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 79b-84b; *Successors*, pp.33-42; E. Haenisch, *Zum Untergang zweier Reiche*, ed. P. Olbricht (Wiesbaden, 1969), pp.1-26; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, pp.321-323. As already noted, in the *SH* the first invasion of Chin (1211) is confused with the final campaign. In the present section the opening paragraph is nothing but a rephrasing of the beginning of §247 and is, therefore, totally anachronistic. As for the interesting episode of Ögödei's illness and Tolui's sacrifice, it is a story with epic overtones which had obviously gained wide acceptance, for it is also recorded with some variations in the Persian and the Chinese sources. Furthermore, Rashīd al-Dīn himself says that 'this story is well known.' See *Successors*, pp.38-39, 167-168; *YS* 115, p.2887. Cf. D'Ohsson, II, p.58 and n.1. According to Juvainī, no doubt a more reliable authority on this point, Tolui died of alcoholism. See his *History of the World-Conqueror*, p.549. For the version of Tolui's death in the *AT*, II, 77-78 (after the passage corresponding to *SH* §253), see Shastina, pp.223-224. Cf. Ligeti, pp.186-187, n.272. See also below, end of the present note. For the expression *ebedchin gürte-*, lit. 'to receive illness,' cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 12 (1949), 110, n.80. For the entire section from 'There Ö.-q. fell ill' to 'Now your order (= word) shall decide!,' see the translation and commentary in Mostaert, pp.226-233. 'When he lost his speech and was in *great* distress,' lit. 'When he was distressed losing mouth and tongue (= speech).' Cf. Poppe, 'Passive Constructions,' p.372. 'Various shamans and soothsayers were ordered to divine,' lit. 'When one caused to divine by all kinds of shamans (*bö'es bö'es*) and soothsayers (*tölgechin*).' Whereas the term *bö'e* (Writ. Mong. *böge*) is the standard designation of the Mongolian shaman, *tölgechi* seems to have been a general term for diviners practicing different forms of prognostication involving 'signs,' such as marks on burnt shoulder blades (scapulimancy), flights

of birds (augury), dreams (oniromancy), etc. See Pelliot in *JA* 1913, 446, and *TP* 37 (1944), 93, n.1; Mostaert, pp.227-228; J.P. Roux in *Anthropos* 53 (1958), 135ff.; C.R. Bawden in *CAJ* 4 (1958-59), 1ff.; and, especially, the important remarks by A. Róna-Tas in *AOH* 25 (1972), 232ff. See also above, n.201. 'The lords and rulers (*ejet qant*) of the land and rivers,' i.e. the powerful nature deities in the Altaic (shamanistic) conception of the world. Here is meant, in particular, the indwelling spirits of natural features of the areas in north China affected by the Mongol invasion. As stated in the passage in question, the cause of their violent rage was the destruction and (concomitant) death - hence the pollution - caused by Ögödei's armies. On the form *qant* = *qat*, see Mostaert, p.230. For the use of *qan* in this connection, see I. de Rachewiltz, '*Qan*, *Qa'an* and the Seal of Güyüg,' p.273. With regard to *qajar usun* 'land and rivers (lit. "water[s]"),' the same expression in Ordos designates a place considered from the point of view of its good or bad influence when building a house. See Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.285b. Cf. Chin. *feng-shui* 風水 'geomancy,' lit. 'wind and water.' 'Of the Kitat,' lit. 'of the Kitat people.' 'Divined by inspecting the entrails of victims': this interpretation is by no means certain, for it is possible that the verb *abidla-* meant (as surmised by Pelliot and Ligeti) 'to divine by burning the shoulder-blade of a sheep,' i.e. by practicing scapulimancy. See *TP* 37 (1944), 92-93, n.1; Ligeti, p.187, n.272. Cf., however, Mostaert's remarks to the effect that the former interpretation (which I have followed) is more likely to be the correct one. See Mostaert, pp.228-230. On the verb *talbira-* 'to relax,' hence '(for an illness) to abate,' besides the remarks in Mostaert, pp.231-232, cf. Bosson, *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels*, p.358, n.387. 'Could a person from the *imperial* family serve *as a substitute*?', lit. 'Will one from the persons of the family do?' Cf. Mostaert, p.238, n.221. On the influence of local genii, their connection with sickness and death, and the concept of a substitute offering, see Bawden in *AM* 9 (1962), 155-157. 'The Qahan opened his eyes': note the use of the single epithet 'the Qahan' for 'Ögödei-qahan' in this and the following sections. Cf. above, n.269. 'What has happened?' (*ya'un bolbi*). On this expression, see Mostaert, p.193 and n.177. 'Our fortunate father C.-q.': on the expression *sutu* 'endowed the Good Fortune,' i.e. with the Fortune conferred by Heaven, cf. Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, p.22. 'Feeling you as one would *feel* a wether,' i.e. as one would feel a wether to make sure that it is fat. See Cleaves *SH*, p.212, n.39. 'The great (= imperial) throne': cf. above, n.248. For the

expression 'the numerous Mongol people,' cf. Cleaves, p.532-533. 'Do remind him...,' cf. §§200 and 255. 'If ... dies,' lit. 'if ... becomes not right.' On the expression *job ese bol-* = 'to die,' see Cleaves in *HJAS* 11 (1948), 311-320 (esp. pp.317-318, where the present passage is translated and discussed). 'Would rejoice at their good fortune' renders Mongolian *kibqangqun*. Although written as one word, this expression is actually made up of two words, i.e. *kib* and *qangqun*. Mostaert *apud* Cleaves, *op.cit.*, p.311, n.14, has suggested that *qang-* is the verb *qanu-* ∿ *qang-* (before a suffix with an initial velar consonant) 'to be satisfied,' and that the expression *kib qang-* corresponds to Ordos *tᵉawaḵ χan-* ∿ χaŋ- 'to rejoice at somebody's misfortune' (= mo. *tabala-*). I am of the opinion that *kib* <**qib* = Uighur Turkish *qïv* 'good fortune, luck.' See *Drevnetyurkskiĭ slovar'*, p.449a; Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p.579a-b. This correspondence was first suggested by Vladimircov, *Sravnitel'naya grammatika*, p.272. The expression *kib qang-* would then mean 'to rejoice at one's own good fortune.' 'I shall take the place of,' lit. 'I shall be in the place of,' i.e. 'I shall substitute.' *Tulu* is the Siberian salmon (*Salmo taimen*), according to Lessing, p.841b. The Ch'ing pentaglot (*Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wen chien*, p.4461.1) renders *tulu* with Manchu *jelu*, which Norman (*A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon*, p.157b) translates as 'salmon trout (*Hucho taimen*).' Cf. E. Hauer, *Handwört. der Mandschusprache* (Tokyo-Wiesbaden, 1952), p.528 'Lachsforelle.' Actually, *tulu* is the taimen, a fish of the genus *Hucho*. See Cheremisov, *Bur.-rus. slovar'*, p.434b. The incorrect definition 'salmon trout' for the *Hucho taimen* is simply due to the fact that in Russia the salmon trout (*Salmo trutta*) is also referred to as *taimen* (both the salmon trout and the *Hucho* are fishes of the family *Salmonidae*). However, in my translation I have employed the word 'trout' (like Haenisch and Ligeti) for the sake of poetry. *Kileme* = Writ. Mong. *kilime* 'sturgeon' (*Acipenser sturio*). The verbs *tulbal-* and *kinggül-* according to the Chinese gloss mean 'to split *or* cut in half' (劈破) and 'break through *or* cut across'(橫斷) respectively. For the latter term, cf. *kinggüri-* to cut (off)' in §124 (Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.102). As for *tulbal-*, this word is possibly related to *tulbas* 'overturning,' on which see Mostaert, pp.156-157. 'I have conquered those in the fore, / I have pierced those afar,' lit. 'I have conquered the visible, / I have pierced the outside.' The meaning is: 'I have defeated and killed the enemies who came forward and were near, as well as those who stayed back and out of sight,' 'Tall of stature,' lit. 'long of spine.' 'Cast your spells and make your incantations!' renders Mongolian *arbatqun jügerütkün*.

Arba- is glossed in Chinese as *chou* 呪 'to curse; to recite incantations or magic formulas.' This term is a direct borrowing from Turkish *arba-* 'to charm, bewitch, cast a spell over; to conjure, exorcize, invoke.' See E.V. Sevortyan, *Etim. slovar' tyurk. yazykov* (Moscow, 1974), pp.168-169. For *jüger-*, glossed as *tsu* 詛 'to curse, imprecate; to invoke the spirits,' cf. the noun *jügeli*, meaning 'the sacrifice in which meat is hung on a pole and offered to Heaven,' in §§42, 43. In Kowalewski, p.2424a, we find *jüküli* 'mouton suspendu au bout d'une perche par les chamans: [2]des paroles obscènes, des jurements, imprécations,' which corresponds to *SH jügeli*, and clearly derives from *jükü-* ∿ *jüke-* 'dire des obscénités, maudire, injurier' (Kowalewski, *loc. cit.*). Cf. Lessing, p.1084b. The Writ. Mong. verb *jükü-* ∿ *jüke-* corresponds to *SH jüger-*. For *-r* ∿ -zero, cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 101, n.122; and *ibid.* 20 (1957), 550, n.37. 'The magic water,' lit. 'the water of incantation.' This whole passage needs explaining. As already noted by Ligeti (pp.186-187, n.272), in Rashīd al-Dīn's work (*Successors*, pp.38-39, 167) Tolui is made to declare that if Ögödei's sickness is due to sins, his own sins are even greater because, in all the lands, he himself slayed more men in battle, carrying off their wives and children, and enslaving their mothers and fathers. If, on the other hand, Heaven wants Ögödei because of his fairness of face, elegance of stature and many accomplishments, Tolui is equally as handsome and accomplished, indeed more fitting and suitable. So Tolui earnestly begs Heaven to take him instead of his elder brother. In our passage, the trout, or, better, the taimen (see above) and the sturgeon are poetic images of Tolui's helpless victims; and the rest is clear in the light of Rashīd's text. 'His younger brothers': this expression actually refers to the nephews - not the younger brothers - of Ögödei, i.e. the sons of Tolui by his wife Berüde. Berüde is probably another name of Sorqaqtani-begi (see §186) and the sons in question are, therefore, none other than Möngke, Qubilai, Hülegü and Ariq-böke, whom Tolui, about to die, entrusts to the care of Ögödei together with his wife: the orphans and the widow. For the correct understanding of this passage, see Mostaert, pp.234-235. 'Until they are able to look after themselves,' lit. 'until they attain understanding.' By 'understanding' (or 'intelligence': *oyun*) is meant the ability to cope with a situation and be independent. See *ibid.*, pp.235-237. 'I have said all I have to say,' lit. 'I have said my whatever words.' Regarding the year of death of Tolui, our sources are conflicting. The *SH* gives 1231, but *YS* 2, p.32, gives the ninth month (16 Sept. - 15 Oct.) of 1232. However, in the biography of Tolui (*ibid.* 115, p.2887) it is

stated that in the fifth month (22 May - 19 June) Ögödei fell ill; in the sixth month (20 June - 19 July) his condition deteriorated. Then Tolui offered himself as expiatory victim and drank the magic water. After a few days Ögödei recovered and Tolui returned with him to the north, i.e. to Mongolia. The text then says: 'When he (Tolui) reached the territory of A-la-ho-ti-ssu 阿剌合的思 (?Alaq-tash, "Motley Rock[s]") he became ill and died, aged forty ... (*lucuna* in the text).' The rare *T'ung-chien hsü-pien* (Yüan ed.) 21, 29a, gives the tenth month (14 Nov. - 13 Dec.) of 1232 for his death. Rashīd al-Dīn (*op.cit.*, p.168), gives the Year of the Snake (= 1233), but since he says that his death occurred while Ögödei was on his way back to Mongolia (*ibid.*, pp.38, 167), the year in question must be 1232. The inference is that he must have died towards the close of the year and that the news of his death became known in 1233. Nevertheless, the account in Tolui's biography, which mentions also the locality where Tolui is supposed to have died, seems to be the most reliable as far as this event is concerned. On the problem of Tolui's name after his death, see J.A. Boyle's perceptive remarks in *HJAS* 19 (1956), 146-154 (rep. in *The Mongol World Empire*, XVII). Cf. also Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, p.11, n.2.

273 The end of the Altan-qan, i.e. the last Chin emperor Ai-tsung 哀宗 (r. 1224-1234), came in February 1234, with the fall of Ts'ai-chou 蔡州, his last refuge in Honan. The name Seüse (< Chin. *hsiao-ssu* 小廝) 'Little Slave' was in all probability given to Ai-tsung by Ögödei before the former's demise in 1234. This name is also mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn in the forms 'Shose' (*Successors*, p.34), 'Suse' (Rashid-ad-Din, II, p.21), or 'Säwsä' (the reading proposed by Ligeti in *AOH* 9 [1959], 243), as the actual name of the Altan-qan. We know, in fact, that the Chinese personal name of the Chin sovereign was Shou-hsü 守緒 (*CS* 17, p.373), which accounts for Rashīd's statement. The re-naming by Ögödei is, in my view, nothing but a re-interpretation of the Chin emperor's original name based on the phonetic resemblance between it and the Sino-Mongolian term *seüse*. On the origin and use of this interesting term, see Ligeti, *op.cit.*, p.243 and n.11; H. Serruys, *ibid.* 28 (1974), 319-325. Contrary to what is stated in the present section of the *SH*, Ögödei had by then (1234) left north China after entrusting his generals with the continuation and completion of the campaign against Chin. He himself had already begun his return journey to Mongolia in 1232. See above, n.272, and below. (One may justifiably assume that this sudden withdrawal from the field

was actually prompted by Ögödei's illness and his fears that the powerful, and hostile, spirits of the 'land of the Kitat' would eventually destroy him. The death of Chinggis-qan in north China only five years before, and his own narrow escape, must have given him ample cause for concern.) The appellation Seüse, like that of Shidurqu given by Chinggis-qan to the Hsi-Hsia ruler, had of course religious significance. It meant that, in the afterlife, the spirit of the former Chin sovereign would serve Ögödei as a slave. Cf. above, n.267. 'He despoiled him of his ...,' lit. 'He plundered their ...'. However, in the present instance *anu* 'their' is apparently used in place of *inu* 'his,' as is occasionally the case in the ancient language. Alternatively, it may refer to 'the Kitat people.' 'Piebald (?) horses' renders *alashas* (pl. of *alasha*), which the interlinear gloss translates as 'Huai horse(s)' (淮馬). This does not make much sense, and both Dr W. Hung (*apud* Cleaves *SH*, p.214, n.46) and the compilers of the *Meng-ku pi-shih tz'u-hui hsüan-shih*, p.94, rightly suggest that in the present instance the gloss must be wrong. The previous renderings ('Alashas horses' [Haenisch]; 'horses' [Kozin]; 'geldings' [Damdinsüren]; etc.), or the mere adoption of the gloss (Yao, S. Jagchid) are not satisfactory. Unfortunately, the sectional summary is of no help, since it refers to the *alashas* in general terms as 'domestic animals' (頭畜). See *YCPS* S.II, 26a. *Alasha* is a Turkish word. Although in most Turkish languages its meaning now is 'gelding; horse,' originally it meant 'motley, speckled.' See Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.135-136; Sevortyan, *Etim. slovar'*, pp.136-137. In 13th century Kuman *alacha* (> *alasha*) still meant 'speckled.' See K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (Copenhagen, 1942), p.34. I think this affords the clue to the mysterious *Huai-ma* of the *SH*. The character 淮 is almost certainly a scribal error for *chui* 騅 'piebald horse.' For the expression *chui-ma* 騅馬, cf. *P'ei-wen yün-fu* [*Wen-yu wen-k'u* ed.; 1937], III, p.2040a.) *Alasha* is clearly a Turkish loan-word and, in my view, it designated a particular type of piebald horse, possibly a small one. Cf. Ligeti's 'multi-coloured horses' (Ligeti, p.132). On the term *alasha*, cf. also Poppe in *CAJ* 1 (1955), 38; Murakami, *op.cit.*, III, p.325, n.12; the important entry on *ālaša* in Doerfer, No. N20=1965; and Cincius, *Sravn. slovar' tunguso-man'čž. yaz.*, I, p.30a. 'Garrison troops' renders *tammachi*, a special term designating an important institution going back to pre-Mongol times. It is made up of *tamma* (< Chin. *t'an-ma* 探馬 'scout horse') + name of agent suff. *-chi*. *Tammachi* were thus 'mounted scouts' or 'vanguard troops,' i.e. a specially selected corps of an advancing army. In the

early Mongol period, however, this term was used to designate 'garrisoning troops' because, as military outposts, they too performed a 'watching' or 'spying' function similar to that of scouts reconnoitring enemy territory. *Tammachi* troops were, therefore, deployed in border areas and in newly conquered territories. With progressive feudalization and the parcelling of the countries subject to Mongol rule, the term *tammachi* during the Yüan period came to be employed for the private armies - often used by the court as auxiliary troops - belonging to the Mongol apanage-holders and leaders of entrusted territories (Chin. *t'ou-hsia* 頭下, Mong. *ayimaq*), which were largely composed of members of their clans and their dependants and subjects. In this way, it gradually acquired both ethnic and territorial connotations the understanding of which is still imperfect and controversial. On *tamma* and *tammachi* there is a comparatively vast literature. See the references in Hsiao, *Military Establishment*, pp.137, n.119, and 310-311; Doerfer, No.130; P.D. Buell in *Mongolian Studies* 6 (1980), 41-59; Yang Chih-chiu 楊志玖 in *Chung-kuo Meng-ku shih-hsüeh-hui lun-wen hsüan-chi* 中國蒙古史學會論文選集 (Huhehot, 1981), pp.371-379; and Chia Ching-yen 賈敬顏 in *Yüan-shih lun-ts'ung* 2 (1983), 23-42. On the *t'ou-hsia*, with which the *tammachi* are intimately related, see Hsiao, *op.cit.*, pp.16, 132-133, n.69, 137, n.119; H.F. Schurmann, *Economic Structure of the Yüan Dynasty. Translation of Chapters 93 and 94 of the Yüan shih* 元史 (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), p.63, n.46; Idem, in *HJAS* 14 (1951), 304-305. Namging and Jungdu are Pien/K'ai-feng and Chung-tu/Peking respectively. In Chung-tu a resident commissioner (*darughachi*; see above, §263) was appointed by the Mongols as early as 1215. See I. de Rachewiltz in *JESHO* 9 (1966), 114, n.5, 116, 135, n.3. On Ögödei's return to Mongolia, see above, n.272. See also *YS* 2, p.32, where it is stated that he returned to the imperial court in the ninth month (16 Sept. - 15 Oct.) of 1232; he hunted in the steppe of Na-lan Ch'ih-la-wen 納蘭赤剌溫 (*Naran-chilawun) in the eleventh month (14 Dec. 1232 - 11 Jan. 1233); and he reached Chinggis-qan's ordo(s) in the twelfth month (12 Jan. - 10 Feb. 1233). On Chinggis' ordos, see above, n.269. Here the camp in question is, on the testimony of the *SH*, that situated at Qara-qorum (Chin. Ho-lin 和林 < Qorum). This is the first and only reference in the *SH* to this famous place near the right (= east) bank of the Orkhon, which, after being walled by order of Ögödei in 1235, became the capital of the Mongol empire. On Qara-qorum, see *YS* 58, pp.1382-1383; Ts'en Chung-mien 岑仲勉 in *CYYY* 5, 4 (1935), 461-463; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.165-169 *et passim* (see *ibid.*, III,

p.220c); Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 24-26; Mostaert, p.27, n.20; Murakami, *op.cit.*, pp.326-327, n.14; S.V. Kiselev a.o., *Drevnemongol'skie goroda* (Moscow, 1965), pp.123-322; E.D. Phillips, *The Mongols* (London, 1969), pp.94-103; A. Egly in *Etudes mongoles* 10 (1979), 8-12.

274 For Chormaqan-qorchi's campaign against the 'Baqtat people,' i.e. the people of Baghdad, see §260, where it is first mentioned, albeit anachronistically. Chormaqan's expedition was originally (1230/31) directed against Jalāl al-Dīn. After the latter's death (1231), Chormaqan remained in Western Asia as commander-in-chief of the Mongol forces. The Mongols' unsuccessful attack on Baghdad took place in 1238. See above, nn.260 and 270. On *tamma*, see above, n.273. 'Nakh-fabrics' renders Mongolian *naqut*, plural of *naq* < Persian *nakh* (*nax*), a word designating a kind of gold brocade, also known in Europe in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance under various names related to *nakh*. See Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II, p.124; Pelliot in *JA* 211 (1927), 269-271, n.1; Idem, in *TP* 27 (1930), 200; Idem, *Recherches sur les chrétiens*, p.161; B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919; rep. Taipei, 1967), pp.495-496. 'Of gilded *thread*' renders Mongolian *shiramal altatan*. This expression is glossed in the interlinear translation as *huang-chin yu-ti* 黃金有的 'having yellow gold,' the Ming translator(s) evidently having taken *shiramal* as a synonym of *shira* 'yellow.' The expression *shira altan* occurs, in fact, immediately before, and this must have misled them. *Shiramal* is a deverbal noun in *-mal* (see Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, p.48, §168) from *shira-* 'to roast; to gild.' See Lessing, p.714b. Cf. Ordos *šaramal alt'a* 'dorure' (Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.609a). 'Brocades and damasks of gilded thread' refers to brocades and damasks embroidered with gilded silver thread. On the 'brocades' (*nachidut*), 'damasks' (*dardas*), 'small pearls' (*subut*) and 'large pearls' (*tanas*), cf. above, §238; and Murakami, *op.cit.*, pp.331-333, nn.4-7. *Tobicha'ut* is the plural of *tobichaq* (= *tobichagh*; < Turkish *topchaq*) 'a fine horse from the West.' In the *Mukaddimat al-Adab*, p.350a, *tobchaq morin* is glossed 'Arab horse.' For many references to this term, see Doerfer, No.949. *Güring elö'üt* and *da'usi kichidut* according to the Chinese interlinear gloss are designations of different kinds of camels. *Güring* must correspond to Writ. Mong. *küreng* (∿*kürin*) 'dark brown.' See Lessing, p.505a. The words *elö'üt* (pl. of **elö'ür* ?) and *kichidut* (a double pl. of **kichir* ?) cannot at present be identified. *Da'usi* (? orig. *ta'usi*), the written form of which was **daghusi* or, better, **taghusi*, is almost certainly derived

from Chinese *t'o-tzu* 駝子 'humpback.' Cf. *lausa* (Writ. Mong. *luusa, laghusa*) < Chin. *lo-tzu* 騾子 'mule.' For the rendering of Chin. *tzu* 子 with the Mongol syllable *si*, see Pelliot-Hambis, p.150. For the renderning with *sa*, cf. Chin. *t'ao-tzu* 絛子 'braid, ribbon' > Mong. *tuuza*. I think that the 'dark brown *elö'üt*' are Bactrian camels, i.e. the double-humped *Camelus bactrianus*, and the 'humpback *kichidut*' are the Arabian camels, i.e. the single-humped *Camelus dromedarius*. Cf. Murakami, *op.cit.*, III, pp.333-334, n.9. For the camel in China in the Mongol period, see E.H. Schafer in *Sinologica* 2 (1950), 190-192. Cf. also Bretschneider, *op.cit.*, I, pp.150-151, n.404. *Qachidut* and *lausasut* are also double plurals of *qachir* (< Turkish) and *lausa* (< Chinese) 'mule' respectively. See Pelliot in *JA* 211 (1927), 271, n.1. The campaign of Batu, Büri, Güyük and Möngke had already been mentioned in §270 in connection with Sübe'etei-ba'atur's expedition, and all the names of peoples and places in the present section are repetitions of those found in §§262 and 270. The word *ketüljü* 'they crossed' after the names of the two rivers 'Ejil and Jayaq' has been inadvertently omitted in the text (see Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, pp.129-130, 130, n.1), and 'Ejil' is another form of the name of the Volga (Idil in §262 and Adil in §270). Cf. the form 'Ajil' in the Ulan-bator MS. of the *Altan tobchi* (*nova*). See above, n.262. For Meget (same reading in §275; Meket in §270) = Magas, see above, n.270. As already noted by Pelliot, *op.cit.*, p.130, n.2, and Ligeti, p.187, n.274, Asut, Sesüt and Bolar are not names of towns (they are properly referred to as 'tribes' and 'peoples' in §§262 and 270). Man-kerman = Men-kermen of §§262 and 270. The text actually has 'Bolarman Kerman' - an obvious error for 'Meket Men-kermen'; cf. 'Meketmen Kermen' for 'Meket Men-kermen' in §270 (note). From the list of peoples mentioned in this section four names are missing: Majar, Kerel, Sergesüt and Keshimir - probably by accident, as suggested by Ligeti (p.187, n.275, where however '264' is an error for '274'). The *SH* notice on the campaign against the 'Jürchet' (see below) and the 'Solangqas,' i.e. the Koreans, is totally anachronistic, the events in question having occurred much later, during the reign of Möngke (1251-1259). In 1253, Jalayirtai-qorchi was appointed commander of the Mongol expeditionary forces against Koryŏ and he was active in Korea until his death in 1258/9. Yisüder-qorchi was sent 'in support' of Jalayirtai, i.e. as reinforcement, in 1258. Details of the activity of these two commanders are found in the Korean and Chinese sources, and have been discussed by various scholars, in particular Kobayashi Takashirō, *Genchō hishi no kenkyū*, pp.187-190; G. Ledyard in *CAJ* 9 (1964),

1-10; and W.E. Henthorn, *Korea. The Mongol Invasions* (Leiden, 1963), pp.127-151, 153. The name 'Jürchet' associated with 'Solangqas' in our text has, of course, nothing to do with the defunct Chin dynasty or the Jurchens of north China. It refers to the so-called 'Eastern Jurchens' of Manchuria, of the region north of the Koryŏ Long Wall (corresponding to the northeastern part of present-day North Korea), whose territory the Mongol forces had to cross in order to penetrate into eastern Koryŏ, and whose sudden raids were a constant source of harassment for the invaders. See Henthorn, *op.cit.*, p.6 *et passim*. In the Mongol period, owing to the close proximity of the 'Eastern Jurchens' and of Koryŏ, the expression 'Jürchet and Solangqas' became a general designation for the whole area of southeastern Manchuria and northern Korea. See Ledyard, *op.cit.*, p.9 and n.37; *Successors*, pp.33, 281 and n.149. For the etymology of the name Solangqas ∿ Solongqos (= Solangghas ∿ Solongghos), plural of Solangqa ∿ Solongqo (= Solanggha ∿ Solonggho), applied to the Koreans, see Ledyard, *op.cit.*, pp.17-19; Pelliot-Hambis, pp.276, 361-362; Pelliot, *Recherches sur les chrétiens*, pp.130-131. On the reason for the inclusion of such a late item in the Mongol chronicle, and the bearing that it has on the date of composition of the *SH*, see A. Waley in *BSOAS* 23 (1960), 528-529; Ledyard, *op.cit.*, pp.10-16; I. de Rachewiltz in *MS* 24 (1965), 189ff. As stated earlier, I believe now that such anachronisms in the *SH* are largely due to the editorial work of the scholars of the College of Literature in the early Ming, who had at their disposal an incomplete text, or rather a number of fragmentary texts of early chronicles, which they brought together in one continuous narrative without much concern for chronology and historical accuracy, their main interest being purely linguistic.

275 The 'eleven countries and peoples' are those listed in §§262 and 270; in §274 they are mentioned again (minus four names). See above, n.274. For the expression 'pulling in the golden reins' (*altan jilu'a ichun tataju*), i.e. reining in the qan's war-horse, hence bringing the campaign to an end, cf. above, §256. 'A large tent' renders *yeke chachir*. *Chachir* = Writ. Mong. *chachar*, on which see Lessing, p.156a. For the etymology of this term, see Doerfer, No.1042. 'The ceremonial wine' (*ötök*): see above, n.154. As exemplified in other incidents of this kind, all too frequent at Mongol feasts, the ceremonial at these feasts placed extreme importance on questions of status and precedence when serving wine and making formal toasts. Cf. Pelliot's remarks on the subject in *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, p.133, n.1. 'They refused to join the feast,' lit. 'without feasting the

the feast.' The angry and scathing remarks of Büri, Güyük and Harqasun call for comment. Büri first raises the point that Batu is not superior in rank to them and should, therefore, not have drunk first. Secondly, he emphasizes that Batu is actually inferior to them as a man, and more like a woman, even though he has a beard, and carries a quiver (adds Güyük). Büri goes on saying, contemptuously, that the way to treat such 'women' is to kick them and tread on them. Güyük goes even further in vituperation and says that they should be whipped or hit with burning sticks - a form of punishment inflicted by the medieval Mongols on female criminals, implying thereby that Batu not only lacks manliness but is also evil. Harqasun joins Büri and Güyük in their tirade and suggests that they should attach a tail to Batu - as a jibe - thus adding insult to injury. As we have already seen (§181), the tail of an animal, especially a heavy and cumbersome tail, was an object of ridicule. To attach a wooden tail to someone, either for fun or, more likely, for punishment, was clearly meant to mock and humiliate the person concerned. Cf. also Mostaert's remarks in Cleaves *SH*, p.216, n.66; and *ibid.*, p.110, n.51. As for Güyük's suggestion, Ligeti has already pointed out (p.188, n.275) that this form of punishment is mentioned by William of Rubruck in his *Itinerarium*. See Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, I, p.304; Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, p.200: 'and he (Mangu Chan - I.R.) ordered her to be beaten with burning brands.' I think that this is what is actually meant by *jorqalda-*, a verb glossed in the Chinese interlinear version as 'to beat with firewood' (柴打). *Jorqalda-* is probably *jorghalda-*, the reciprocal form of *jorgha-*, causative of *jor-*, meaning in Writ. Mong. 'to shave off, pare off, scratch, carve (wood).' See Lessing, p.1070b. In my opinion, the meaning 'to beat with a burning brand' is a secondary and derivative one from that of 'to scratch, carve.' The reciprocal form is used here for the co-operative, as is often the case in the *SH*. See E. Haenisch in *Studia Orientalia Fenn.* 14.3 (1950), 20. For a better understanding of this passage I am greatly indebted to Prof. J. Street's paper 'The Particle *či/ču* in Early Middle Mongolian' (*CAJ* 28 [1984], 119-152, esp. pp.142-143), which he kindly made available to me while still in press. Harqasun, who is mentioned here for the first time, was the son of Eljigidei (∿ Eljigedei) of §§229 and 278. On him, see below, n.278. He was executed by order of Möngke in 1251. See *History of the World-Conqueror*, p.587 and n.117; *Successors*, pp.204, 212. Cf. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, pp.201-202. 'Of a different race,' lit. 'having a different liver.' On *bulqa irgen* 'rebel(lious) people,' see Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952),

492. 'Asking ourselves whether we had been successful,' lit. saying, "Has it become right? correct?"," i.e. being still in doubt as to the outcome of the operation that has just been completed. Cf. above, n.167. With regard to §275, Ligeti (p.188, n.275) has rightly drawn attention to the fact that this section (§275), together with §§254 and 255 (and some other sections), is almost certainly a later interpolation designed to discredit Ögödei's line of succession. According to Ligeti, the interpolation was introduced into the text of the *SH* when Ögödei's line had already been removed from the succession, or when this was about to happen (Güyük died in 1248).

276 'Following whose counsel' renders Mongolian *ken-ü üges-tür dölüsgüjü*. The verb *dölüsgü-* is not attested elsewhere. In §177 there is a verb *dölüsge-* 'to disperse,' used with reference to smoke and possibly related to Writ. Mong. *dölüre-* 'to crack, become disjointed' (Lessing, p.267b); however, it does not seem to be the same verb as *dölüsgü-*. The latter is glossed in the interlinear translation as *ch'en-hung* 趁 鬧 (= 趁 哄). This is an old *pai-hua* expression literally meaning 'to take advantage (and participate in) commotion (*or* bustle)' and, by extension, 'to join somebody else's doings; to take advantage of and exploit a situation of confusion for one's own purposes.' Thus, *üges-tür dölüsgü-* would mean something like 'to follow (*or* adopt) somebody else's words for one's own purposes.' The idea of 'following, imitating' is paralleled in Ögödei's words addressed to Harqasun further on. Cf. the free sectional summary (*YCPS* S.II, 33a): 'Listening to the words of whom...' (聽誰的言語). 'Fill his mouth with talk against a person who is senior to him,' lit. 'speaks, the mouth full, *against* an elder brother person.' Here 'elder brother' (*aqa*) = 'senior, elder.' Cf. the *Mukaddimat al-Adab*, p.266b, where *aγa* (*aqa*) is glossed in Chaghatai as *uluγï* 'elder.' For *aqa gü'ün*, cf. the expression *qan gü'ün* 'a person *who is* sovereign' in the *Hua-i i-yü*, IIa, 9a, 1. See A. Mostaert, *Le matériel mongol*, p.17 and n.12. Batu was Güyük's first cousin and they must have been about the same age. However, Batu, as we have seen, was regarded as the senior one among all the princes, i.e. the grandsons of Chinggis-qan. See n.270 above. 'May he *and he* alone rot as an egg!', lit. 'May the single egg rot!' What Ögödei apparently means is that Güyük alone among his sons should be rejected - just as one casts away a bad egg. See Cleaves *SH*, p.216, n.69. 'He has turned against the bosom,' lit. 'he is rebelling to (*or* at) the breast.' 'Until the nails of his ten fingers are worn off; / ... Until the nails of his five fingers are ground away': for these expressions, cf.

§53. 'You wretched' (*chi beter*) is a tentative translation. The word *beter*, not glossed in the text, has not survived in Writ. Mong. as far as I know. However, in the Ordos dialect we find the expression *Bшder BaDar k'ɯn* 'personne à esprit borné, personne grossière, rustre, qui ne sait pas se tirer d'affaire' (Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.101b). According to Erdemtei a.o., *Meng-ku pi-shih tz'u-hui hsüan-shih*, p.149, in Qorchin and Qarachin *beter* means 'depressed, sorrowful, in tears.' In Persian *badtar* means 'worse, more villainous.' See F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (rep. Beirut, 1975), p.162a. This word has passed also into Turkish (Osmanli) as *beter* id. See Ramstedt, *Versuch*, IV, p.161ß. 'In imitation of whom,' lit. 'imitating whom' (*ken-i enggeshigejü*). For this verb, cf. *enggesige-* 'to imitate' in the (Preclassical) Mongolian *Hsiao-ching*. See I. de Rachewiltz in *ZAS* 16 (1982), 34 (21a, 2). In view of the reading in the *Hsiao-ching* text, the question mark in line 11503 on p.166 of my *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols* can now be deleted. 'Have you filled your mouth with such boastful talk,' lit. 'have you spoken big words, the mouth full.' 'You would *then* say that We showed partiality' - a surprising statement in view of the offence that Harqasun has committed, and which amounted to a crime of *lèse majesté* on the part of a commoner. Ögödei obviously wants to appear overcareful and magnanimous vis-à-vis his subjects. So Harqasun is to be banished to a far-away place and suffer hardship together with Güyük. Büri, on the other hand, has to be sent for judgement to his grandfather Cha'adai, who appointed him in the first place and to whom he must answer for his behaviour in the field. In the end, Ögödei's decision with regard to Güyük and Harqasun turns out to be wrong in terms of Chinggiside law (*jasaq*), as shown in §277. Cf. Cleaves *SH*, p.217, n.76. On *alaqchilaba*, lit. '*I* was partial (*or* biassed),' cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 (1950), 129, n.299.

277 Continuation of the episode related in §276. Mönggei = Möngge (§§270, 274) = Möngke, Tolui's son and future qa'an (r. 1251-1259). The Alchidai in question is the one mentioned in §§226, 227 and 234, and later in §§277, 278, viz. the younger brother (or cousin ?) of Ilügei, a leader of a thousand of the Jalair tribe (see §202). He was executed in 1251. In note 266 above, I incorrectly referred to him as 'the son of Ilügei.' He is the Aljidai (= Alchidai) of the Chinese sources, and the Elchidei(~Elchitei)-noyan of the Persian sources. On him, see *History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.580, 583; Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, p.95; *Successors*, pp.66, 89, 211, 224, 264; Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, pp.171-172, n.3; Idem, in *TP* 21 (1922), 67; Idem, *Notes on Marco Polo*, II, p.642. The name Qongqortai is mentioned twice in this form in the present section, and once as Qongqortaqai in §278, also in association with Alchidai. We are no doubt dealing with one and the same person. Qongqortaqai, then, is probably to be read Qongqortaghai, from which we have *Qongqorta'ai > Qongqortai (= Qongqortāi). A Mongol chief by this name (Qonqurtaqai-noyan, *read* Qongqortaqai-noyan) is mentioned by Juvainī and by Rashīd al-Dīn, following Juvainī. See *History of the World-conqueror*, p.557; *Successors*, p.200. It is likely that the person mentioned in these sources is the same as that of the *SH*. Another Qongqortai, almost certainly unrelated to the above, is also mentioned in §278 as a *jasa'ul*, i.e. 'supervisor.' See below, n.278. On these names, see Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, pp.90-91, n.2. Janggi is known from the Chinese and Persian sources. See *History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.580-583, and n.88. See also Pelliot-Hambis, p.278. Like Alchidai, he was executed by order of Möngke after the latter's enthronement in 1251. 'Field matters' (*ke'er-ün üyile*), lit. 'affair(s) of the steppe.' On the use of the emphatic *gü...gü* in the decree (*jarliq*) of Chinggis-qan, cf. J. Street's remarks in his forthcoming paper 'The Particle *gü* in the *Secret History*,' *JAOS* 102 (1982), 624. 'Will the Qahan not show favour and send *Güyük* to Batu, entrusting *him with the decision*?', lit. 'If the Q. shows favour ... and sends *G.* to B. entrusting *him with it*, will it *not* do?' - the words 'the Q. is angry with G. and this is a field matter' being in between as parenthetical matter. See Cleaves *SH*, p.218. For the same type of rhetorical question, see §260, where it is also a question of the 'qahan' (here Chinggis-qan) being angry at his sons. 'In the course of it' (*ja'ura*), i.e. during the campaign; however, *ja'ura* may also mean 'on the way, en route.' Either meaning can apply here. Cf. F.H. Buck, *Comparative Study of Postpositions in Mongolian Dialects and the Written Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp.102-103, no.45. 'You did not leave *unlashed* the buttocks,' lit. 'His buttocks did not remain *unlashed*.' 'You crushed (lit. "you broke") the mien.' By 'mien' (*chirai*) is meant, of course, the proud spirit or air, i.e. the morale and self-confidence, of the troops, as we have already seen in previous sections (§§208, 246). Here *ot-* 'to go' is an auxiliary verb of completed action. Cf. Mostaert, p.156, and Lessing, p.600a, *s.v. od-* (c). Ögödei reproaches Güyük for the harsh treatment of his own troops in the field, which had led to demoralization and loss of confidence. For the 'Orusut people,' i.e. the 'Rus (pl.) people,' see above, n.262. 'With pride in

your heart,' lit. 'holding a proud heart (*or* mind).' 'In the pronouncements' (*jarliq-tur*): here *jarliq* does not mean 'decree, ordinance,' but rather 'utterance, authoritative statement.' 'The multitudes *of people* make one afraid, / The depth *of water* makes one die (i.e. by drowning)' is, obviously, a proverb stressing the power of numbers: a large number of people, i.e. of enemies, frightens one, just as the depth (= large amount) of water drowns one. What Ögödei means is that the people of Rus did not submit to the Mongols because they were overawed by Güyük's angry and violent character, but because they were frightened by the size and might of the Mongol army. 'You pretend that you have accomplished it alone,' lit. 'As if you had accomplished *it* alone.' Büjek, one of the army leaders in the campaign against Qïpchaq and Rus, was a younger son (the seventh or eighth) of Tolui and brother of Möngke and Qubilai. See *Successors*, p.352a, under 'Böchek.' Cf. also *History of the World-Conqueror*, p.735b. His name is variously transcribed in the Mongol, Chinese and Persian sources as Büjek, Böchök, Böchek/Böjek or Büchek/Büjek. See Pelliot-Hambis, pp.277-278; Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, p.153. On him, see also Hambis, *Le Chapitre cvii du Yuan che*, pp.88-89 and n.6, 100-103. 'You haven't yet acquired *as booty* (*olu'ai jö'e'ei*) even the hoof of a kid': for *ol-* + *jö'e-* (Writ. Mong. *jöge-*), cf. Mostaert, pp.254-255, and above, §212. For the expression 'not even the hoof of a kid,' cf. §195: 'not ... even the skin of a kid's hoof.' Both expressions are descriptive of a worthless thing. Cf. Cleaves *SH*, pp.126-127, n.51. 'Having but once left home,' cf. §239 *in fine*. For the indefinite expression *ya'u ber*, see J. Street's remarks in *UAJ*, N.F. 1 (1981), 157-158. Here *ya'u ber* = 'whatever, no matter what,' hence 'anything, everything.' 'Come out with *such* abusive and provocative language' is my tentative rendering of Mong. *üge dawu ulischu irejü*. For the 'mot-couple' *üge dawu* (= *da'u*, Writ. Mong. *daghu*[*n*]), lit. 'words-sounds' = 'words' (in such compounds, it is the first word that counts for the meaning), see Mostaert, p.43. The verb *ulis-* is glossed as *jo tai* 惹帶 'to provoke and involve (someone in a quarrel),' so that the expression *üge dawu ulischu* would mean, literally, 'provoking words,' i.e. 'to utter words that stir up or provoke (a quarrel).' Cf. the sectional summary (*YCPS* S.II, 36b): 'For the first time you have left home and you have *already* provoked a quarrel' (初出門便惹是非). Haenisch follows the gloss and the summary's interpretation, and so do Yao, S. Jagchid and Daoruntibu, whereas Kozin reads *ürischü* and understands 'you shout at the top of your voice before all,' taking *üris-* to mean 'to do before (others),

forestall.' See *Sokr. skaz.*, pp.195, 576, 588. Kozin, therefore, equates *üris-* with *öris-*, *erüs-* 'to emulate, rival, compete; to forestall' (Lessing, p.332b). This verb, however, already occurs in the *SH* and the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389 in the form *erüs-* meaning 'to arrive in time; to get, take away; to take advantage of.' See Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.46; Mostaert, p.62, n.56; Idem, *Le matériel mongol*, p.55. Damdinsüren, p.233 (of the 1976 ed.) renders our expression as *iǰm tiǰm üg xel bolž* 'using such language.' Ligeti (p.134) and Murakami (*op.cit.*, III, p.343) both render it with 'boasting.' The verb that Pelliot (*Hist. secr. des Mongols*, p.115) and others following him (including myself, see my *Index*, pp.167, l. 11525; 331a) read as *ülis-* can, of course, be read also as *üris-*, as well as *ulis-*, *uris-*. I now question whether Pelliot's *ülischü* is the correct reading, and venture to suggest that we should perhaps read *ulischu* instead. The verb *ulis-* is not found in Mongolian, but is found in Uighur Turkish as *ulïsh-* with the meaning of 'to howl together, to scream together,' *ulïsh-* being the cooperative form of *ulï-* 'to howl, scream, cry out.' See Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, pp.127a-b, 154a. Now, *uli-* is also attested in Mongolian: cf. Writ. Mong. *uli-* 'to howl' (Lessing, p.873a); Khalkha *ulix* id. (Cevel, p.591a); Ordos *ǖli-* 'hurler' (Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.731a); Buriat *ulixa* 'to howl; to cry; to swear, abuse' (Cheremisov, p.468b). See also *Mukaddimat al-Adab*, p.363a: *uli-* 'to howl.' Although this verb is generally used with reference to animals (wolves and dogs in particular), in Buriat it is applied also to humans, and it means then 'to swear, to abuse.' I think that the *SH* form *ulis-* corresponds to Turkish *ulish-* and Writ. Mong. *uli-*, and that the expression *üge dawu ulis-*, lit. 'to howl (= swear) words and sounds (= words)' may have meant something like 'to use abusive and provocative language, to heap abuse.' In this interpretation I take into account also the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary rendering. As for *irejü*, I think that *ire-* 'to come' plays here the role of auxiliary verb. Cf. P. Aalto in *The Second International Congress of Mongolists*, I (Ulan-Bator, 1972), p.36. 'Have restrained ... / Have calmed ...,' lit. 'Causing to restrain ... / Being subject to the calming ... (by Münggei, etc.)'; cf. Poppe, *Passive Constructions*,' p.374. 'Enough of it! (*je teli*), etc.': see Mostaert, p.173, n.156.

278 This long section contains Ögödei's regulations concerning the organization and duties of the Guard (*keshik*). It is, therefore, closely related to §§225-233; most of the regulations are, in fact, *verbatim* or almost *verbatim* repetitions of the ones

enunciated in §§227, 229 and 232, to which the reader is referred. As already noted by Ligeti (p.188, n.278), the present regulations substantially confirm those preordained by Chinggis-qan, the main difference being in the appointment of the new commanders. In view of the substantial identity of the old and new ordinances, the Chinese sectional summary does not repeat them, but merely states that Ögödei-qahan re-proclaimed the regulations of Chinggis concerning the duties of the day-guards and of the officers in conformity with the previous ones. See *YCPS* S.II, 46b. 'Who have served,' lit. 'who have gone (with)' (*yabuqsat*). On *yabu-* 'to be in someone's service, to serve,' cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 (1950), 124, n.205. 'Which announces anew' (*tanggun du'ulqaqui*); for *tungqu-* 'to renew, do again,' see Mostaert, p.58. 'In whatever capacity,' lit. 'however.' 'In the same capacity,' lit. 'in the same manner.' 'In accordance with the previous *order*': see §229 for the ordinance in question. 'They shall split their heads open': cf. above, n.255. On the office of *jasa'ul* (Writ. Mong. *jasaghul*, from *jasa-* 'to manage, be in charge'), see Vladimirtsov, p.181; *Successors*, p.312-313 and n.207; and especially Doerfer, No.1863. The Qongqortai mentioned here is undoubtedly a different person from the Qongqortai of §277 and the Qongqortaqai mentioned further on in this section, these last two being one and the same person. See above, n.277. Shiraqan does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. On the incident involving Eljigidei (on whom see below), see also §229 *in fine* and my note 229. For the expression *jarliq busu ülü bolqa-* 'not to contravene the order(s),' cf. Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 79, n.10. 'One must not walk beyond (lit. "on the upper side of") the place (lit. "seat") of the night-guards': cf. the slightly differently phrased passage in §229. 'Who walk beyond or between them,' lit. 'who walk beyond and who walk between the night-guards.' 'Who asks their number,' lit. 'who shall have asked the number of the night-guards.' 'No one is to sit above the place (lit. "seat") of the night-guards': cf. the slightly different passage in §229. For the adverbs *dege'ün* 'on the upper side, above (= beyond),' *jaqa'un* 'between,' etc., see Ligeti in *AOH* 24 (1971), 146-147. 'The night-guards shall take care of the banners and drums, and of the spears, bowls and vessels *arranged* beneath *them*': see the corresponding passage in §232 and my note. 'The night-guards shall supervise drink and food - the uncut (lit. "thick") meat': cf. §232 and note. Regarding the movements of the night-guards during a military campaign and the shifting of the encampment at the time of the great hunts, cf. the corresponding passages in §§232 and 233. Qada'an, the new commander of the night-guards, was one of the

leaders of a thousand listed in §202 (no. 63). According to Naka, *Chingisu-kan jitsuroku* (1907 ed.), p.324, followed by Ligeti, p.224, Murakami, *op.cit.*, I, p.225, n.4; II, p.382, n.70, and Cleaves *SH*, p.255a, our Qada'an is the same person as the Qada'an-daldurqan mentioned in §§120, 124 and 174. This, however, is unlikely, since the latter was a Tarqut (see §120), whereas the former was, at least according to Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, p.270, a Sünit. The name Qada'an (> Qadān) was fairly common. See Pelliot-Hambis, p.475b, *s.v.* On the other hand, nothing further is known of Bulaqadar (~ Bulqadar, Bolqadar), except for a later mention (§279) in connection with the post-relay system under Ögödei. Regarding the appointment of the new officers in charge of the night-guards' companies, cf. the terminology used in §227, which deals with Chinggis-qan's appointment of commanders of the day-guards. We lack information concerning Amal and Chanar. In §176 an Onggirat chief called Amel (= Emel) is mentioned, but this is beyond doubt only the second element of the name Terge-Emel (cf. the Dergek-Emel of §141); see my notes 141 and 176. A Qadai-güregen, - a son-in-law of Chinggis-qan - is also listed in §202 (no. 84). Naka, *op.cit.*, p.646 (following Ho Ch'iu-t'ao 何秋濤) identifies our Qadai with him. Pelliot thinks that this identification is probably correct, and that the Qadai of the *SH* is actually the same person as the Qatai(-noyan) of the Qonggirat (= Onggirat) mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn in connection with the Mongol campaign in north China in 1211-1212, and the Qatai (哈台) of the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 64b (*s.a.* 1213). See Rashid-ad-Din, I/2, pp.168-169; Pelliot, 'Sur un passage,' pp.924-925, n.4. He may also be identified with the personage called Qatai and Qatai-noyan, a cousin of Chinggis' wife Börte and, likewise, a Qonggirat, who is mentioned in Rashid-ad-Din, I/1, pp.162, 163, and I/2, p.271, among the leaders of a thousand of the left wing. For another Qatai, also a Qonggirat, who may be taken into account, see Pelliot, *op.cit.*, pp.925 and 930, n.20. With regard to Qadai-güregen, see Murakami's remarks in *Mongoru hishi*, II, p.391, n.91. Qori-qachar, Yalbaq and Qara'udar do not seem to be known other than through this section of the *SH*. In the passage dealing with these two commanders, the word *bara'un* 'on the right' is missing, probably through scribal inadvertence. Bulqadar is the Bulaqadar mentioned earlier (see above). 'Further, the night-guards shall stand around the Palace ... and they shall lie down guarding the door.' This is an incorrect rephrasing of the corresponding regulation in §229, which says that the night-guards lie down around the Palace and stand guarding the door. It is interesting to note that all the commanders of the night-guards' companies,

eight in all (four on the right side and four on the left side of the ordo-Palace), are new appointments: Qada'an, Amal, Qadai and Yalbaq on the right or western side, and Bul(a)qadar, Chanar, Qori-qachar and Qara'udar on the left or eastern side. Ligeti, p.188, n.278, has confused the sides. For the quiver-bearers Yisün-tö'e (∿Yisün-te'e), Bükidei (∿Bügidei), Horqudaq and Lablaqa, and their duties as set by Chinggis-qan, see §225. For the understanding of the relevant passage in the present section, see my note 225, where the passage is already translated. (I have modified only slightly my earlier translation, replacing 'organizing' with 'marshalling,' and 'enter in' with 'join.') Thus, the commanders of the four companies of quiver-bearers are the same four commanders previously appointed by Chinggis and reconfirmed in office by Ögödei. On the 'elders' (*ötögüs*), i.e. the senior officers in charge of the day-guards' companies, see §227 and note. Alchidai (Elchidei, Eljidei) is the only member of the 'old guard' who has retained command in Ögödei's reshuffle. On him, see §§226-227, and 277 and note. Qongqortai is, of course, the Qongqortaqai of §277, mentioned there also in association with Alchidai. Temüder, Jegü and Mangqutai are all new appointments. In Chinggis' reorganization of the Guard, Buqa, Alchidai, Dödei-cherbi and Doqolqu-cherbi were appointed 'elders' of the four two-thousand-men strong companies of day-guards, each with two thousand men. Now we have Alchidai and Qongqortai jointly in charge of one company, Temüder and Jegü jointly in charge of one company, and Mangqutai in charge of the reserve (*gejigele'ül*, lit. 'the supporters' = 'the auxiliaries'). 'To consult together' (*eyetüldü-*) means 'to take joint decisions,' hence 'to share command.' Cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p.48: 'gemeinsam verwalten, kommandieren.' The Eljigidei mentioned here as the commander-in-chief of the Guard is the Eljigedei of §225, and the Eljigidei mentioned in §275 and earlier on in this section. He is the Eljigitei of the Persian authors and the Elgigidei of the Chinese sources, mentioned also in the 13th century Western sources. He succeeded Chormaqan and Baiju as Mongol commander in Western Asia and was eventually (1251) executed by order of Möngke together with his sons, one of whom was Harqasun. On him, see *History of the World-Conqueror*, pp. 256-157, 512, 590; *Successors*, pp.26, 183, 213. Cf. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, pp.116-117, 154-155, 171-175, 201-203 (esp. pp.202-203, n.1). 'In accordance with the previous order,' i.e. with Chinggis' ordinance, for which see §227. This section, which is an almost *verbatim* repetition of the corresponding section in §227, is translated and discussed in detail in Mostaert, pp.239-249. For the punishment to be meted out to the

elders of the companies who fail in their duties and who take advantage of their 'seniority,' cf. the corresponding passage in §227 and my note. See also Mostaert, p.110. In the present translation I have replaced 'taught' (see §227) with 'disciplined,' which is less literal but clearer. 'On the grounds of seniority,' lit. 'because they are excelled *by them* in seniority (= because they are their seniors).' For the last ordinance in this section, cf. §228.

279 This section contains the regulations concerning taxes and the post-relay service. 'We shall make *the people* rejoice, causing them to rest (lit. "put down") / Their feet upon the ground, / Their hands upon the soil.' This is a popular Mongol saying describing a state of rest: both hands and feet on the ground, i.e. no motion, no work or toil. Cf. Ž. Dašdorž and G. Rinčensambuu, *op.cit.*, (see above, n.255), p.22, no. 908: *Gar gazar, Xöl xösör*, with identical meaning. Cf. also the various examples given in Cleaves *SH*, pp.223-224, n.103; and in K. Sagaster, *Die Weisse Geschichte*, pp.111-112, n.6. To these we must add the passage in the 'Holy Chinggis-qaghan's Precepts to His Younger Brothers and Sons,' in which Ögödei uses the same figure of speech, thus ultimately echoing the words of the *SH*. See A. Popov, *Mongol'skaya khrestomatiya dlya nachinayushchikh obuchat'sya mongol'skomu yazyku* (Kazan, 1836), p.57, lines 6-7; V. Kotvich (W. Kotwicz), 'Iz pouchenii Chingis-khana' in *Vostok* 3 (Moskow-Petersburg, 1923), 95. 'Sitting *now* on the *throne made* ready by Our father the qahan,' i.e. by Chinggis-qan. See §271 and note for this expression. 'For *Our* soup' (*shülen-e*): on the term *shülen*, see the discussion in J.M. Smith, Jr., 'Mongol and Nomadic Taxation,' *HJAS* 30 (1970), 68. Here the 'soup' (= support) of the Qahan is meant, i.e. the contribution that each owner of a flock of sheep was under obligation to give to the supreme ruler, hence its listing as the first item of taxation. This new levy of one sheep (a year) out of every flock (of one hundred sheep) must have obviously been a lighter burden compared to previous exactions of which we have no record. Next comes the contribution - also one sheep out of a hundred - to the poor 'belonging to the unit on which the owners of these sheep depend' (Mostaert *apud* Cleaves *SH*, p.224, n.104). 'Poor and needy' (*üge'ün duta'un*): cf. Ligeti in *AOH* 24 (1971), 145. On the early Mongol taxation system, see H.F. Schurmann, *Economic Structure of the Yüan Dynasty*, p.65ff.; Idem, 'Mongolian Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century,' *HJAS* 19 (1956), 304-389; J.M. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp.46-85. 'The numerous troops (= officers),' lit. 'many men-geldings'; for this 'mot-couple,'

see Mostaert, p.132, n.129. 'Mare-milkers' renders Mong. *sa'arinchintan*, pl. of *sa'arinchin* (from *sa'arin* 'milch mare'). Cf. Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.563a; Idem, *Ordosica*, p.36 (147). 'Herders of milch mares' renders Mong. *unuquchin* on the basis of the Chinese gloss. Cf. Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.736a, and *Ordosica*, p.36 (34). The term for 'camp-masters' used here is *nuntuchitan*, which is actually *nuntūchitan* (< *nuntu'uchitan*), and not *nuntu[q]chitan* as I incorrectly stated in note 232 above, following Pelliot and Ligeti. The relevant entry in my *Index* (both Part I and II) must be amended accordingly. '*Gold and silver* ingots,' lit. 'axes' (*sükes*). In 13th and 14th c. Mongolian, the term *süke* was the regular designation for 'ingot,' either gold (*altan süke*) or silver (*menggü süke*). Thus, the Chinese gloss *yin-ting* 銀錠 'silver ingot' is too restrictive. See Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 (1950), 118, n.123. 'The land-tax grains,' lit. 'the granaries' (*sang'ut*, pl. of *sang* < Chin. *ts'ang* 倉 'granary') = 'the granary tax.' See Poppe, *Mongolian Monuments*, p.83, Note 10; Schurmann in *HJAS* 14 (1951), 301, 305; 19 (1956), 364. The term *sang* therefore corresponds to *qan-u sang amu* 'grain for the government granary.' 'That will surely be fitting,' lit. 'will it *not* do?' For the Chöl (lit. 'Desert') = the Gobi, see above, §188 and note. Here the term is perhaps used in a more general sense ('the desert country'), as the word *qajar* following it seems to indicate. Chanai of the Uru'ut was last mentioned in §234. On him, see §226 and note. Ui'urtai = Uighurtai, i.e. 'the Uighur.' He was the son of Qutluq-buqa and grandson of Körgüz (= George), the commander of Khorasan. He came from a Christian (Nestorian) Uighur family. See *Successors*, pp.26, 141, and 359 *s.v.* Körgüz. The second half of §279 and part of §280 are devoted to the Mongol post-relay service (*jam*), on which see the rather unsatisfactory work by P. Olbricht, *Das Postwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1954), which relies heavily on Haneda Tōru's fundamental investigation of the subject, a subject of extreme interest and importance, and far from being exhausted (Olbricht's work must be regarded as merely an introduction to it). For the relevant sections, see Olbricht, *op.cit.*, pp.40-42, 60, 78. Cf. also Ch'en Kao-hua 陳高華 in *Yüan-shih lun-ts'ung* 2 (1983), 125ff. On the term *jam* (Turk. *yam*) < Chin. *chan* 站 'post-relay station,' see also Doerfer, No.1812. For *ha'ul-* 'to ride in haste,' see Mostaert, p.202, n.184; Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, p.40. 'Moving freely among the population' renders Mong. *ulus bitü'ülün*, lit. 'making *them* wander through the people,' i.e. riding freely through populated areas. The abuses of the couriers and envoys (*elchin*) on official business to which the

local population was constantly subjected under the Mongols are well known, and Ögödei's new regulations outlined in this section were in fact designed to check such abuses. 'The pace,' lit. 'the going.' For the expression *oqo'ata oroshi'ul-* 'to settle matters once and for all,' see Mostaert and Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 476. 'By appointing,' lit. 'bringing forth.' *Jamuchin* and *ula'achin* are the plurals of *jamuchi* (Writ. Mong. *jamchi*) and *ula'achi* (Writ. Mong. *ulaghachi[n]*) respectively. On the term *jamuchi* 'person in charge of a post-relay station,' see *ibid.*, p.438; Doerfer, No.1814. For *ula'achi* 'person in charge of post-relay horses' (from *ula'a* = *ulagha* 'post-relay horse'), see *ibid.*, Nos. 617, 521; Mostaert and Cleaves, *op.cit.*, pp.440-441; and Ligeti in *AOH* 8 (1958), 222, n.17. 'At every stage,' lit. '*at* stopping-places and stopping-places' (*sa'urit sa'urit*). 'If we do this, it will surely be fitting,' lit. 'if, providing ... will it *not* do?' Bolqadar is the same person called Bulaqadar and Bulqadar in §278. 'We consider that they were indeed right,' lit. 'thinking "Are they *not* right?"' - a rhetorical question. 'The measures in question,' lit. 'the acts which are spoken of.' 'According to *the decision of* E.B.C.,' lit. 'from *the part of* E.B.C.' 'You have asked me in your message,' lit. 'you have sent asking.' 'I shall have post-stations connecting with (lit. "facing") *yours*'; for the expression *jamut barildu'ul-* (Writ. Mong. *jamud barildughul-*) 'to connect post-stations,' see Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, p.74. In lines 11825 and 11829 (as well as in §194, line 6908) of my *Index*, the text should be amended and *ilējü'üi* changed to *irejü'üi*. *Ügülejü ire-*, lit. 'to come speaking,' describes the action of the speaker, whether the action is carried out in person ('he came and spoke') or, as here, through someone else ('his message or word came').

280 For the princes of the right and left hand, and of the centre (*qol*), see above, §269 and note. 'Have unanimously approved the following: "If ...",' lit. 'have all together (*büri-yer*) approved. At the moment when they approved, when they said, "If ...".' 'The Universal Ruler': the text has *dalai-yin qahan*, where *qahan* is a later editorial change, the original text reading *dalai-yin qan*, as in the legend of Güyük's seal. *Dalai-yin qan* means 'ruler of *all within* the seas,' i.e. 'ruler of the whole world' (= German *Weltherrscher*). For a critical discussion of this designation of the Mongol emperors, see my paper '*Qan, Qa'an* and the Seal of Güyüg, p.274ff. (In the present Commentary I use the form 'Güyük,' which is that of the *SH* and Persian transcriptions; however, 'Güyüg' is the gramatically correct form of

the name.) See also Cleaves, pp.533-534. For *büri-yer*, see Mostaert and Cleaves, *op.cit.*, p.76. '*This* won't be much *of a burden*,' lit. 'what is it?' For the levy in question and the subsequent measures mentioned in this section, see above, §279 and note. 'One-year-old sheep' (*jusaq*): the term *jusaq* (= *jusagh*) in Writ. Mong. means 'between two and three years old (of female sheep, goat or deer)' (Lessing, p.1080b). Cf. Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p.221a. For the rare word *ilübte* 'convenient,' see I. de Rachewiltz, 'The Preclassical Mongolian Version,' p.52, n.4. Cf. F.W. Cleaves, 'The First Chapter of an Early Mongolian Version of the *Hsiao Ching*' in *AOH* 36 (1982), 78, n.19. 'To attend to them,' lit. 'to sit *over them*.' 'The distance between,' lit. 'the land (*qajar*: see Lessing, p.356[d]) of the stages and stages.' Arachan (阿喇淺): Haenisch (*Geh. Gesch.*, p.146) has 'Aratsen,' Olbricht (*op.cit.*, p.41 and n.86) 'Aračin,' Ligeti (p.138) 'Aracsan' (= Aračan), but 'Arajan' in the text edition (p.258), and Cleaves *SH* (p.226) 'Arasen.' These differences are essentially due to a certain confusion arising from the value of the character 淺 of the Chinese transcription. This character is ambivalent and can be read *ch'ien* (< *ts'ian*) and *chien* (< *tsian*). Cf. Bayar, *Mongghol-un nighucha tobchiyan* (Huhehot, 1980), III, 'Chu-yin tzu-tien 注音字典 ,' p.160. The original form of this name in the manuscript of the *SH* in Uighur-Mongol script was in all probability Arachan/Arajan - the letters *ch* and *j* being identically written in such a position. The Ming transcribers, to whom this name did not mean anything, could not decide which way to read the final syllable: *chan* or *jan*. In my opinion, they chose for the purpose a Chinese character presenting the same ambiguity, viz. 淺 , which I believe occurs only in this instance in the *SH*. 淺 may, in fact, be used to render both Mongolian *chan* and *jan* in a back vocalic word as in the case here, and *chen* and *jen* in a front vocalic one (cf. the character *yen* 顏 = *yan/yen*). It is difficult to determine whether the original name was Arachan or Arajan, hence my reading Arachan is given with reservations; in any case, I would definitely exclude Aratsen, Aračin and Arasen from consideration. Some scholars have tried to identify Arachan or Arajan with A-li-hsien 阿里鮮 of the *Hsi-yu chi* (Wang Kuo wei ed., 1948) A, 11a-b *et passim*. See Waley, *Travels of an Alchemist*, pp.39, 59, n.2, 161a; Murakami, *op.cit.*, III, pp.371-372, n.13. However, as already pointed out by Pelliot in his review of Waley's book, there is no real justification for it. See *TP* 28 (1931), 419. (Likewise, one should not identify A-li-hsien with Ja'far Qoja. Cf. Ratchnevsky in *CAJ* 10 [1965], 88, n.2; Olbricht and Pinks, p.45, n.23.) A-li-hsien is apparently the transcription

of a Tangut name. As noted by Ligeti, p.189, n.280, Arachan's colleague Toquchar is not the homonymous grandson of Ögödei, but the Toquchar of §257, on whom see above, n.257. The placement of these two officials in charge of the post-relay system under Ögödei, and the changes to the system introduced by the latter, must be placed *s.a.* 1234, as correctly surmised by Olbricht, *op.cit.*, pp.40-41. It should be noted in this connection that credit for the important measures designed to curb the abuses of government couriers are ascribed to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, *s.a.* 1237, by Sung Tzu-chen 宋子貞 (1187-1267) in the latter's funerary inscription (*shen-tao pei* 神道碑) for Yeh-lü. See N.C. Munkuev, *Kitaĭskiĭ istochnik o pervych mongol'skikh khanakh* (Moscow, 1965), p.81. I have discussed these measures in my 'Sino-Mongol Culture Contacts in the XIII Century: A Study on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai,' pp.428-432, n.271. For the items listed in Ögödei's ordinance (geldings, sheep, milch mares, etc.), see Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres*, p.441, and Mostaert, p.223, n.209. 'From the amount fixed,' lit. 'from the limit measured.' 'A piece of string,' lit. 'a short cord.' For *bugi* 'rope, cord,' cf. Mostaert, p.37. The poetical passage presents serious difficulties of interpretation. I followed the one proposed by Mostaert (pp.146-149, n.144), except that I regard *orqol* = *orgil* 'top,' and the gloss *nao hsiang* 惱項 as a mistake for *nao ting* 惱頂 'top of the head.' Both these suggestions were proposed by Mostaert himself, *ibid.*, p.147. Ligeti follows Haenisch's interpretation, whereas Cleaves follows Mostaert's. I think that the latter is correct in seeing in the two parallel Mongol sentences a figure of speech expressing the idea of halving the possessions of the offender, one half going to the government as penalty for the offence, the other half being retained by the offender himself.

281 Conclusion of the section on Ögödei-qahan with a sort of apology and self-criticism of the emperor which smacks of a posthumous assessment and has, therefore, a bearing also on the date of compilation of the *SH*. See for this below, n.282. The term Jaqut has been discussed by Pelliot in *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, pp.228-229. Cf. Ligeti, p.189, n.281. In spite of Pelliot's explanation, its etymology remains doubtful; there is not much doubt, however, as to its meaning. The Chinese gloss is *Chin-jen* 金人 'the Chin people,' i.e. 'the Jurchen people' of north China, or *sensu lato* 'the people of Chin,' i.e. the inhabitants of the (former) Chin kingdom, including the northern Chinese. Elsewhere in the *SH*, the Jurchen people of China and the Chin dynasty are called 'the Kitat (people),' and the Chin ruler 'the

Altan("Golden" = Chin 金)-qan of the Kitat people.' See Cleaves *SH*, pp.247a, 230a-b. We also find the name Jürchet, plural of Jürchen (§§247, 248, 253, 274). Now, the term Kitat (plural of Kitan) could only apply to the people and region of north China formerly ruled by the Liao/Khitan and later by the Chin/Jurchen, and would not therefore apply, for instance, to the Hsi-Hsia/Tangut. On the other hand, the term Jaqut (a plural of Jaqun ?), even though it is glossed *Chin-jen* in the *SH*, was actually an inclusive one designating all the people and regions of north China. This is confirmed by Rashīd al-Dīn, who says (*Successors*, p.225): 'The Jauqut (= the Jaqut of the *SH* - I.R.) consist of [the people of] Khitai (i.e. the northern Chinese - I.R.), Tangqut, Jürche (= Jürchen - I.R.), and Solangqa (i.e. the Koreans - I.R.), which regions are called Jauqut by the Mongols.' 'And I destroyed them.' lit. 'and I destroyed the Jaqut people.' 'All necessities,' lit. 'needs and necessities.' For Ögödei's ordinance concerning the diggings of wells in the Chöl, see above, §279 and note. For the establishment of scouts (*alginchin*) and garrison troops (*tammachin*) in the conquered cities, see §273. 'Causing them to rest / Their feet upon the ground, etc.': cf. §279. 'Being placed on the great throne by my father the qahan and being made to take upon myself (lit. to carry on my back: *achiju ottaju*) the burden of his many peoples': cf. Tolui's words to the sick Ögödei in §272. For the expression *achiju ottaju* (= *odtaju*), cf. Haenisch, *Mangḫol un niuca tobca'an*, p.124, n.281(5); and Poppe, 'Passive Constructions,' p.370 (where '218' is a printing error for '281'). However, in view of the above-mentioned passage in §272, I wonder whether *ottaju* is not a mistake for *ökdejü*, even though the Chinese gloss does not support the amendment as in §272. 'By wine,' lit. 'by grape wine' (*bor darasun-a*). There is ample evidence that Ögödei was inordinately fond of wine, eventually dying of alcoholism at the age of fifty-five in 1241. For the Chinese sources, see Munkuev, *op.cit.*, pp.83, 121, n.187, 124, n.206, 193-194, 198. For the Persian sources, see *History of the World-Conquer*or, pp.197-200, 214; *Successors*, pp.65-66, 83; cf. D'Ohsson, II, pp.85-86. Our text specifies that it was grape wine (*bor darasun*), rather than the Turco-Mongolian traditional drink kumis (Mong. *esüg* ∿ *üsüg, ayiragh, taragh*). In the expression *bor darasun*, the first element *bor* < Uig. Turk. *bor* < Middle Persian *bōr* < Greek βότρυς 'grape wine.' See Clauson, *Etym. Dict.*, p.354a. The second element *darasun* means 'wine (from grain)' = Chin. *chiu* 酒 . See Doerfer, No.197; Pelliot, *Recherches sur les chrétiens*, p.149. For the passage in the *SH*, cf. also A. Mostaert in *AM* 4 (1927), 146 and n.2. Grape wine

was sent as tribute to the Mongol court from Central and Western Asia, as well as from north China (Shansi). See Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp.234-237; Pelliot in *JA*, Oct.-Dec. 1927, 278. The second 'fault' of Ögödei concerns his unlawful seizure of girls from the *ulus* of his uncle Temüge-otchigin, this action having been prompted by the advice of an 'unprincipled' (*yosu ügei*) woman. Who the woman was we do not know, but the event in question may well be related, as suggested by Naka (*Chingisu-kan jitsuroku* [1907 ed.], pp.663-664) to an entry in *YS* 2, p.35, and to an unedifying episode recorded by Juvainī (known to Naka through D'Ohsson, II, p.98). The *YS* entry says: 'In the sixth month (of the ninth year of T'ai-tsung = 24 June -23 July 1237), the tribes of the left wing spread a groundless rumour about a requisition of women. The Emperor was angry at it and, having ordered to requisition them, made presents of them to his officers.' The Emperor (T'ai-tsung) is, of course, Ögödei. In Juvainī (*History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.235-236) we read the following: 'Among the tribe of ...[66] who was the commander of a thousand, a rumour sprang up that [191] it had been decreed that the daughters of that tribe should be affianced to certain persons. Being frightened by this news they affianced most of their daughters to husbands within the tribe and some they actually delivered up to them. Tidings hereof spread from mouth to mouth and reached the ear of the Emperor. He appointed a group of emirs to go thither and investigate the matter. When the truth of the report had been established, he gave orders that all girls over seven years old should be gathered together and that all who had been given that year to husbands taken back from them. Four thousand starlike maidens...were thus assembled.... And first he ordered those who were the daughters of emirs to be separated from the rest; and all who were present were commanded to have intercourse with them. And two moonlike damsels from amongst them expired. As for the remaining chaste ones, he had them drawn up in rows in front of the *ordu*, and such as were worthy thereof were dispatched to the harem, while some were given to the keepers of cheetahs and wild beasts and others to the various attendants at the Court, and others again were sent to the brothel and the hostel of the envoys to wait upon travellers. As for those that still remained it was decreed that all present, whether Mongols or Moslems, might carry them off. And their fathers, brothers, relatives, kinsmen and husbands looked on and were unable to breathe or move their tongues. And this is an absolute proof of his rigid enforcement of his orders and of the obedience of his army.' In n.66 on p.235 we read: 'There is a blank in A and B. D has "the Oirat," which

does not make sense in the context, though according to Rashid-ad-Din's version of the anecdote (Blochet, 84) the tribe in question were in fact the Oirat.' For Rashīd's version, see now *Successors*, pp.93-94. There is no doubt, I think that the *YS* entry refers to the same event related by Juvainī. The *YS* notice records also that the event took place among the tribes of the left wing, and we know that Temüge-otchigin's *ulus* was situated in the northeastern corner of Mongolia and was thus comprised in the left (= eastern) wing group of tribes. Naka is probably right in relating the events recorded in these sources; however, to connect this episode with the one in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's biography (*YS* 146, p.3461) concerning an order for the requisition of women for Ögödei's harem is, in my opinion, unwarranted. As to the third 'fault,' we have no other evidence to go by. As already noted by Ligeti (p.189, n.281), while Rashīd al-Dīn mentions the military activity of Doqolqu, i.e. Doqolqu-cherbi of the Mangqut tribe (on whom see the *SH* §120 *et passim*), during the reign of Ögödei (see *Successors*, pp.36, 38, 167), there is no mention of his having been executed by order of Ögödei. Nevertheless, this seems to have been the case if we rely on the statement that he was 'secretly harmed,' i.e. killed, by the emperor. In the interlinear version, the verb used (*kegesüle-*) is glossed *yin-hai* 陰害 , lit. 'to secretly harm,' and is rendered 'to secretly harm because of a personal grudge' (因私恨陰害) in the sectional summary (*YCPS* S.II, 58a). In §67 we find the noun *kegesü*, meaning 'enmity, grievance,' in connection with the surreptitious poisoning of Temüjin's father Yisügei by the Tatars. In §67 we also find the verb *oyisulat-* glossed *an-huai* 暗懷'to harbour secret thoughts (of hate, revenge).' The same verb in the passive voice *oyisulaqda-* occurs in §68 glossed *pei yin-hai* 被 陰害 'to be secretly harmed.' However, *oyisulaqda-* presupposes *oyisula-*, not *oyisulat-*. In §245 we again find *oyisulat-* glossed ' to secretly harm,' and in the present section the form *öyisület-* occurs with the same meaning. The verbs *oyisula-*, *oyisulat-* (= *oyisulad-*), *öyisület-* (= *öyisüled-*) are not found in our dictionaries (cf. Mostaert, p.157), and *kegesüle-* is registered only with the meaning of 'to furnish with or make spokes' (Lessing, p.443a). Thus, in §281 both *kegesüle-* and *öyisület-* are glossed *yin-hai*, and must therefore be regarded as synonyms. Now, there is no doubt in my mind that *öyisület-* is related to *ösö-* 'to avenge' and, ultimately, to *ösh* 'hate, revenge.' Cf. Writ. Mong. *ösh*, *öshi-*, *öshiye-*, *öshiyele-* (Lessing, p.645a). In view of combinations like *ösöl ösöjü kisal kisaju* 'taking revenge and exacting retribution' (§154) and *ösh kish* 'hatred and resentment' in *öshten kishten* (§136), one may

postulate a similar relationship between *öyisüle(t)-* and *kegesüle-* with semantic roots in the concept of 'hatred, revenge,' from which the meaning of 'to harm, injure' has subsequently evolved. This problem requires, however, further investigation. 'And why was it a fault?,' lit. 'If one says, "Why a fault?"' 'Who strove (*or* fought) fiercely,' cf. above, n.254. 'My father the qan': the later editor(s) who methodically went through the *SH* changing *qan* into *qahan* (*qa'an*) missed this occurrence, almost certainly because it comes at the end of the work and close to another occurrence. See my '*Qan, Qa'an* and the Seal of Güyüg,' p.276. Cf. Ratchnevsky, 'Šigi-qutuqu,' p.120, n.149 *in fine*. There is also no direct additional evidence concerning Ögödei's fourth 'fault,' i.e. the fencing in of his hunting grounds to prevent game from straying into his brothers' territory. Here the wild animals are also referred to as 'having a destiny *preordained* by Heaven and Earth' - their destiny being, no doubt, to serve as quarry for the emperor's battues. Ögödei is made to say that he did that out of greed (*qaram*). This is strange in view of the reputation he had, and which is so amply recorded, of generosity and liberality unequalled by any other Mongol emperor. On the other hand, we also know that the animals reserved for the great winter hunt were almost sacred, and that severe penalties were meted out to anyone breaking the rules. See, e.g., *History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.27-28. Juvainī (*ibid.*, p.29) also mentions the construction by Ögödei of a wall of wood and clay between north China and his winter quarters, with gates set into it 'so that much game might enter it from a great distance,' and how Chaghatai (= Cha'adai) constructed similar hunting grounds in the valley of the Ili. This piece of information may perhaps be related to the problem of boundaries and the issue concerning Ögödei's fourth 'fault.' On the location of Ögödei's winter quarters, see J.A. Boyle, 'The Seasonal Residences of the Great Khan Ögëdei,' in *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*, 1974, pp.148-150 (rep. in *The Mongol World Empire*, VI). 'Confining them,' lit. 'hindering (*or* blocking) *them*.' On Ögödei's character, see Juvainī, *op.cit.*, pp.198, 201-236; *Successors*, pp.76-93; D'Ohsson, II, pp.87-99.

282 The short colophon of the *SH* is more problem-ridden than any other passage of this work, confirming the old saying that the tail is the most difficult part of the animal to skin. To which Great Diet (*yeke qurilta*) does the text refer? Which Year of the Rat? Does *bichijü dawusba* mean the end of the writing = composition, or the end of the writing = copying? And who did

the writing? Does the indication of the locality in the text contain a *lacuna*? Some of these problems have been discussed (in the light of previous studies) in my paper 'Some Remarks on the Dating of the *Secret History of the Mongols*,' *MS* 24 (1965), 185-206; and interesting points are raised and speculations made on the authorship of the *SH* in W. Hung's masterly article 'The Transmission of the Book Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*,' *HJAS* 14 (1951), 483-487; in Ligeti, pp.206-208; and in Ratchnevsky, 'Šigi-qutuqu,' pp.114-120. Cf. above, n.269. The author, or authors, of the *SH* is (are) still unknown and will remain so until completely new evidence comes to light as, e.g., through the discovery of lost records or other documents of the early Mongol period. With regard to the date of composition given in the colophon, I am still of the opinion that the body of the work (§§1-268) - discounting, of course, the later interpolations (such as §§254-255) - was composed in 1228, and that this is, indeed, the Year of the Rat to which the colophon refers. I believe that the last section, covering §§269-281, was added later by the Ming editors and that the original colophon was then transposed to the end of the work. See my argument in the above-mentioned article, pp.198-205. (I should add that the main body of the work *as we have it today* has suffered a good deal in the course of transmission before reaching the Ming editors, and that its original form in 1228 may have been in parts quite different from the present one.) The Great Diet was, in my view, that which eventually elected Ögödei in 1229, i.e. the one mentioned in §269 of the *SH* when all the princes and military leaders 'assembled in full force at Köde'ü-aral of (= on) the Kelüren River.' The 'month of the Roebuck' (*guran sara*) is the seventh month (see Mostaert, p.262, n.252), thus the date of the colophon would correspond to 2-31 August 1228, exactly one year after Chinggis' death. Waley's objection in *BSOAS* 23 (1960), 529, that the Chinese sectional summary (*YCPS* S.II, 58b) by using the verb *hsieh* 寫 indicates that the text was not composed, but merely 'copied' in the Year of the Rat, does not stand. The verb *hsieh* was used by the Ming translators simply to render Mongolian *bichi-* 'to write'; the question of original composition or copying of the text does not come into the picture at all, as this was, in any case, something that the translators would have certainly not been able to judge. Cf. Ligeti, p.190, n.282. I agree with Mostaert (pp.263-264) that *bichi-* in the present context can only mean 'to compose.' On the other hand, since we do not know whether this was the work of a single author or of several, I now think that it is better to make the verb impersonal in English - as it is in the

original and in the sectional summary - rather than translate *bichijü dawusba* '[Nous] avons achevé d'écrire,' as Mostaert does (p.262). With regard to the place where the *ordos* ('Palaces'), i.e. the imperial encampment, was pitched in the seventh month of the Year of the Rat and where the work was completed, Naka (*op.cit.*, p.671) and Haenisch (*Geh. Gesch.*, p.148), disregarding the fact that the name Dolo'an-boldaq is in the dative-locative case (D.-b.-*a*), understood the passage as meaning that the place in question was situated between the two (*goyar ja'ura*) localities called Dolo'an-boldaq and Shilginchek. Kozin, for his part, rendered *Dolo'an-boldaq-a* correctly, but in order to retain the 'two' localities of which the text speaks, he split Shilginchek into 'Shilgim' (a printing error for 'Shilgin') and 'Chek' (*Sokr. skaz.*, p.199). Mostaert (pp.258-261), in his brilliant analysis of the colophon, demonstrated the inaccuracy of both Haenisch's and Kozin's interpretations, and showed at the same time that there must be a *lacuna* in the text immediately after 'Shilginchek,' the name of the second locality having dropped out in the course of transmission of the Chinese text. Regrettably, Ligeti (p.189, n.282) did not accept Mostaert's argument and followed Haenisch's interpretation, claiming that the misunderstanding derives from the fact that '*boldaka*' (read *boldaqa*) is a simple scribal error for '*boldak*' (read *boldaq*), since in Uighur script it is a common mistake for a scribe to add or leave out a 'tooth,' i.e. the little horizontal stroke representing the letters *a*, *e*, *n*, etc. In the present instance, however, it is not a question of an additional 'tooth' turning *boldaq* into *boldaqa*. As pointed out by Mostaert (p.258), the Ming translators noted the dative-locative suffix *-a*, which they rendered with *hsing* 行 ; the word in Uighur-Mongol script must, therefore, have been written as *boldaq-a*, i.e. with the final *-a* separated from the body of the word, and not as *boldaqa*. Moreover, they were familiar with the word *boldaq* (Writ. Mong. *boldagh*), which they regularly glossed *ku-shan* 孤山 'lonely (= isolated) hill' in the interlinear version, as they had already done before (§88). Thus, even if the suffix *-a* had been joined directly to the word, which is unlikely, they would have not misunderstood it - a fact confirmed, after all, by the very presence of the 行 . Therefore, one must agree with Mostaert (p.259, n.246) that 'Il n'est pas possible de supposer que *boldaγ-a* du colophon de l'*Hist. secr.* soit dû à une faute du scribe qui avait copié le mss. qu'utilisèrent plus tard les transcripteurs des Ming, et que ces mêmes transcripteurs, non seulement n'auraient pas remarqué la faute, mais auraient encore pris cette forme fautive pour un locatif.' Haenisch's

interpretation has also been followed by Damdinsüren, Murakami, Yao and S. Jagchid, and, more recently, Daoruntibu. Cleaves has followed Mostaert. The writing of the *SH* was, then, completed and, presumably, also carried out at Dolo'an-boldaq, which is the same locality mentioned in §136 in the plural form Dolo'an-bolda'ut ('Seven Lonely Hills'), at Köde'e-aral (the Ködö'e-aral of §136 and Köde'ü-aral of §269) or 'Barren Island' - one of the great historic sites of Mongol history. Köde'e-aral and the seven hills which have given the name to the place have been positively identified; see my note 136. Mostaert (p.260) regards Shilginchek (in his transcription Šilginčeg) as a Mongolian compound name Shilgin-chek (*Šilgin-čeg*) meaning 'hill where mountain rue grows.' This is an ingenious interpretation indirectly supported by the name Tülkinche'üt (Tülkinče'üd) = *Tülkin-che'üt* (*Tülkin-če'üd*), plural of **Tülkin-chek* (**Tülkin-čeg*), which appears in §190. However, in the *Mukaddimat al-Adab*, p.407a, we find the Turkish word *silkinchek* (*silkinček*) meaning 'neck amulet,' and this may well be the same word written *shilginchek* in the *SH*. Other interpretations are possible (for instance on the basis of Kalmuck), but whatever the meaning of this word, *I have little doubt that it designated not just a locality in the area of Dolo'an-boldaq as generally assumed, but actually one of the seven hills, and that the lacuna in the text contained the name of another of the seven hills. It must have been between these two hills, I believe, that the imperial camp was established and the Great Diet held.* Can the two hills be identified? Unfortunately, the confusion arising from the misunderstanding of the passage under discussion, and the mistaken idea that Köde'e-aral was *between* Dolo'an-boldaq and Shilginchek, have misled Perlee (and Schubert after him) in his attempt to localize Shilginchek, which he has situated in the area of present-day Zamagtai Nuur, in the plain *behind* the hills, bordering with the Awarag Gol further to the east. See Schubert, *Ritt zum Burchan-chaldun*, p.110, and 'Identifizierung historischer Plätze,' pp.55-56; cf. Perlee, p.7. In order to find out which ones, among the seven hills, are the two most likely candidates, one should take several factors into account, such as the suitability of the terrain between them, the proximity of water (springs, streams), the presence of relics, etc., requiring a detailed investigation *in loco*, including of course archaeological excavations, all tasks that can only be carried out by our Mongol colleagues. If this is done, there is a good chance, I think, of rediscovering the site of the *yeke qurilta* where this unique masterpiece of Mongolian literature was first recorded for posterity.

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I completed this work (translation and commentary) in the Year of the Rat, in the month of the Roebuck, the 757th anniversary of Chinggis-qan's ascension to Heaven (August 1227 - August 1984).

I. de Rachewiltz

Additional Note: A forthcoming issue of *PFEH* will contain a list of *Addenda* and *Corrigenda* to Chapters 1-12. Subsequently, the translation and commentary, duly revised, and with an introduction, indices etc., will appear in book form D.V.