The Secret History of the Mongols

Translated and edited by

FRANCIS WOODMAN 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

BY

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VOLUME I

(TRANSLATION)

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AACR2
To the Memory

of

My Beloved Father and Mother
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In his learned Essay on the Principles of Translation¹ Alex. Fraser Tytler formulated three general laws under each of which "are comprehended a variety of subordinate precepts." I hope, in the words of Isaac Walton, the eminent biographer of Dr. Robert Sanderson,² that I shall not disoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of Tytler's laws, to wit: "I. That the Translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work"; "II. That the style and manner of writing should be of the same character with that of the original"; and "III. That the Translation should have all the ease of original composition."

How grievously I have offended against Tytler's laws in doing into English for the first time The Secret History of the Mongols I must leave to the good judgment of my reader. Although, in the exposition of his principles, Tytler dealt primarily with the problem of translation from such Indo-European languages as Greek and Latin, the universality of his general laws is not in the least impaired by their application to the translation of an Altaic language.

In rendering the text I have attempted to "give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work." If there is detectable in the translation any retrenchment, howsoever insignificant, it is attributable to inadvertency, not to intention. In superadding, however, words and phrases which do not appear in the original but seem necessary for its complete understanding, I have, I confess, departed from the practice of the translators of the Holy Scriptures of which, insofar as practicable, I have taken the Authorized Version of 1611 as a model for the language and style of my translation. After their practice, in rendering, for example,

¹ The Third Edition, with Large Additions and Alterations, Edinburgh, 1815, pp. xvi + 436 (p. 16).
² The Lives of Dr. John Donne; Sir Henry Wotton; Mr. Richard Hooker; Mr. George Herbert; and Dr. Robert Sanderson, York, 1796, pp. 407-503 (p. 877).
the sentence Καὶ ἀκούσαντες θεάμασαν, καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον in the twenty-second verse of the twenty-second chapter of The Gospel According to S. Matthew the translators italicized the words which they superadded: “When they had heard these wordes, they marueiled, and left him, and went their way.” This practice, to mention but one instance out of many, was followed by the great English sinologist, James Legge. Thus, for example, the words 書于 書于 are rendered in his translation of the Lun-yü 論語, that is, the Confucian Analects: “The philosopher Tsăng said, ‘Let there be a careful attention to perform the funeral rites to parents, and let them be followed when long gone with the ceremonies of sacrifice; . . .’” More than a century before Legge’s time, however, Elizabeth Carter elected to set within brackets the superadded words and phrases in her monumental translation of Epictetus. Thus, on page 126 of All the Works of Epictetus, Which are Now Extant we find the words δόν γὰρ τὸ χαίρειν εὐλόγως, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ συγχαίρειν translated in this manner: “[For where there is a reasonable Caufe of Rejoicing, there is likewise a reasonable Caufe] of Congratulation.” Although I can readily anticipate the protestations and criticisms of those to whom the appearance of brackets in a translation is objectionable, if not disagreeable, I am of the opinion that with the function of italics otherwise conceived in modern usage, the translator who considers it a responsibility to make a distinction in his translation between what is in the original and what is superadded has little choice in the matter. Lest my use of brackets, however meticulous, be carried to a point of absurdity, I have not, as a rule, set within them the articles, definite and indefinite, the pronouns of the third person, singular and plural, the proposition of the genitive case, when such a case is implied merely by the relationship between two juxtaposed words in the original text, and diverse auxiliary verbs such as may, might, shall, will,


4 All the Works of Epictetus, Which are Now Extant; Consisting of His Discourses, Preserved by Arrian, in Four Books, The Enchiridion, and Fragments, London, 1758.
should, would, et cetera, when the verbal forms of the original make their use in translation mandatory.

Apprehending "that the style and manner of writing should be of the same character with that of the original" and with a view to conserving the archaic flavor of the original text, I have cast my translation, insofar as to me seemed practicable, except in the matter of orthography, into the language of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures, thinking its vocabulary and style to be singularly consonant with that of the Mongolian original. Although the verse of the Mongolian text lends itself more readily to such a manner of translation than the prose with its oftentimes seemingly interminable periods, yet, as I recollect, I have not compromised faithfulness to the original through any paramount consideration for consistency either of vocabulary or style, especially in the case of vocables and acceptations alien to the language and content of the Holy Scriptures.

Mindful "that the translation should have all the ease of original composition," I have spared no pains to make it as readable as my limited talents would allow; yet, when I recall Tytler's proposition "that he only is perfectly accomplished for the duty of translator who possesses a genius akin to that of the original author," I can but publicly acknowledge my deficiencies. Thinking it, however, to be an unwarranted conceit to beg the reader's indulgence for its imperfections, I venture rather to express the hope that my translation will serve to induce others to try their own hand at turning the original into English, for The Secret History of the Mongols is not only the capital monument of thirteenth-century Mongolian literature, but it is one of the great literary monuments of the world. Because of the problems it presents as an early text, a definitive translation is out of the question until generations of scholarship have been consecrated to its study.

In the transcription of Mongolian names and terms I have rigorously adhered to the generally accepted scientific manner of transcribing Middle Mongolian in the belief that this would be less confusing to my readers than were I to accommodate the

*Tytler, op. cit., p. 872.
transcriptions to the spelling habits of English alone. Consonant for consonant and vowel for vowel the transcription represents as faithfully as possible the sounds of the original language as they are represented in the Chinese transcription. For the guidance of the reader who is not acquainted with the values of the letters used in the transcription I have subjoined a simple "Table of Sounds."

With a view to facilitating reference to the original text in Chinese transcription, I have maintained its arbitrary, if not injudicious, division into twelve chapters—properly ten and two of continuation—with its even more arbitrary, if not more injudicious, division into 282 sections and have set within brackets the foliation of the original, indicating the recto and verso of each folio.

In publishing The Secret History of the Mongols in two volumes, one of translation and one of commentary, I have deviated from my original plan which envisaged the publication first of the original text, next of the concordance of vocables, and finally of the translation with an exegetical commentary. In so doing, I have followed the counsel of some of my colleagues whose opinion it was that priority should be given to the publication of the translation. I have also followed their counsel in the plan to publish the commentary in a second volume. As precedents for this, they justifiably cited Arthur Waley's The Book of Songs Translated from the Chinese and his Supplement Containing Textual Notes as well as William Hung's Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet and his A Supplementary Volume of Notes for Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet. The translation, therefore, as originally conceived according to this plan, was not provided with footnotes. Yet it was soon to become apparent to those of my colleagues who had occasion to read parts of the translation without such notes that much was destined to be lost not only to the general reader, but

*Cf. Waley's remark on "the translation of James L.," op. cit., p. 418, n.n: "The very injudicious division of the text into chapters and verses has been long a matter of complaint."

*Boston and New York, 1937.
*London and Boston, 1937.
*Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952.
*Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958.
*Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958.
also to the specialist, if certain remarks were not made for their immediate enlightenment. I then added the present footnotes which represent a compromise between each of the two extremes—that with none and that with as many as, in the opinion of the specialist, the translation would appear to require. With this premise, I am constrained to say that it would, indeed, be remarkable, were the indifferent reader to look upon the fruit of this compromise without some sense of dissatisfaction. I hope, however, that the reader who is interested in The Secret History as literature will be disposed to look with some favor upon the fact that I have also given in the footnotes a number of cross-references so that formulae which occur more than once, whether in prose or in verse, may be located more easily. The specialist, therefore, must await the appearance of the second volume for the detailed commentary on the translation. Irrespective of these circumstances, however, the translation which I have given must stand or fall on its own merits. No judgment need be spared while the appearance of the commentary is being awaited. While it is true that the explanation of many puzzling points both in the original and in my manner of translation will be clarified in the commentary, it is also true that no amount of commentary will justify or substantiate a misleading or inaccurate translation.

The translation has been provided with an “Introduction” and two indices, an “Index Nominum” and an “Index Verborum,” as well as a “Table of Sounds” for the guidance of the reader who is not acquainted with the values of the letters which I have used to transcribe the Mongolian sounds. A subsequent volume will include a “Bibliography” of the works cited both in the “Introduction” and in the footnotes to the translation itself. It will also provide a simple outline map showing the principal geographical features—rivers, lakes, and mountains—of the ancient Mongolian homeland.

Were I to mention the names of all those who, in one way or another, have contributed directly or indirectly to this volume, they would constitute a catalogue as long, perhaps, as that of “the captains of thousands” in §202 of the text itself. I shall,
therefore, only mention the names of those to whom I am chiefly indebted, letting them be representative of the names of all other colleagues and friends who have rendered me service in the course of the preparation of this volume.

To the Reverend Antoine Mostaert, C. I. C. M., I owe a debt of gratitude which cannot be discharged by the mere acknowledgment of the exceptionally gracious and devoted assistance which he has rendered me. On several occasions during the years 1952-1954 the eminent Belgian scholar received me at Missionhurst in Arlington, Virginia, and discussed with me for whole days at a time many of the extremely difficult problems with which the text is beset. In addition, he read the entire typescript of the draft translation and formulated in letter after letter remarks consisting of corrections, explanations, suggestions, and recommendations which, almost without exception, have been incorporated into the translation or the accompanying footnotes. As some of his remarks provide the solutions of hitherto unsolved problems, they have been translated and quoted in the footnotes. It is my intention, however, to present them, together with other remarks by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert, in the second volume so that they will be accessible in the original French to specialists. When I ponder the goodness, the patience, and the understanding with which the Reverend Antoine Mostaert has shared with me his time and knowledge, I know that to brotherly kindness he has, in truth, added charity. It is he who should have translated this text, not I. That I have succeeded in so doing, however, is owing to the help he has given me.

To Dr. William Hung, I am indebted for substantive as well as moral encouragement. Always ready to examine with me problems in the interlinear or continuous Chinese translations, he has very materially contributed to my understanding of the Mongolian text itself. Some of his interpretations or explanations have been cited in the footnotes. Others will be cited in the second volume.

To Professor Serge Elisséeff, too, I owe a debt of gratitude that is not easily discharged by its mere acknowledgment. In his capacity as Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute he has,
it is true, made possible the physical production of the volume by including it in his publications budget. In his capacity as teacher, colleague, and friend, however, he has, through the years, first by his counsel that I begin the study of Mongolian under the late great French master, Paul Pelliot, next by his suggestion that I offer courses in the Mongolian language and literature at Harvard University, and finally by his sustained and unflagging interest in the role of Mongolian studies in the broader field of Far Eastern and Central Asiatic studies, given me the tangible and effective support that has made it possible for me to devote myself, if not exclusively, at least preponderantly, to the study of The Secret History and the period in which it was written.

To Dr. John L. Bishop I am indebted for his great kindness in reading the translation both in typescript and page-proof form with an eye to diction and style. By virtue of his suggestions and recommendations the translation has been made more readable from beginning to end. If there are passages which are less readable—especially the long periods—this is not attributable to any oversight on Dr. Bishop's part, for he was swift to tell me when he found a sentence difficult or its syntax puzzling and he often counseled me that the long periods be broken up into smaller units. My only justification for leaving some of the passages in their present form is that of faithfulness—perhaps, questionable—to the original.

To Mrs. Marion S. Nash of Milton, Massachusetts I am indebted for a first draft of the material which came to constitute the present “Index Nominum” and “Index Verborum.” With the draft which she had prepared for my use, I was able, by collating the names and terms in the translation with her entries, to work the indices into their final form with greater ease than would otherwise have been possible.

To Mrs. Martha E. Chorlton of Needham, Massachusetts, who typed the final draft of each of the several parts of the volume, I am deeply indebted for the truly magnificent work she did, for she spared no pains to comply with my manifold specifications and was always willing to interrupt her household duties to complete work urgently needed.
To my printer, Mr. Victor J. Furst, President, J. H. Furst Company, Baltimore, Maryland, and to all those of his house who participated in the printing of this volume I express my gratitude for the gracious and devoted cooperation which it has been my privilege to enjoy from the time when the first sections of the translation were set up in type for the purpose of presenting a set of specimen galley proofs to the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. With infinite patience Mr. Furst and his associates have set and reset, keeping pace with my repeated changes and revisions and maintaining throughout the high quality of craftsmanship which has been the hallmark of the house for a half century.

Finally, I wish to thank Mr. F. C. Wieder, Jr., Assistant Manager, N. V. Boekhandel en Drukkerij Voorheen E. J. Brill, Leiden, Holland, for his gracious permission, granted in a letter dated 7 April 1956, to quote in my footnotes an occasional remark drawn from the Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan, Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou, traduit et annoté par Paul Pelliot et Louis Hambis, Tome I (Leiden, 1951).

In closing this Preface, I think it not improper to say with Sir George Thomas Staunton, the renowned translator of the Ta-Ch'ing liu-lì 大清律例, that, in making this declaration, it is far from my wish to avail myself of these respectable sanctions for the protection from censure of a work for which I must of necessity be solely responsible.  

Francis W. Cleaves

Needham, Massachusetts
19 April 1956

11 Ta Tsing Liu Lou: Being the Fundamental Laws, and a Selection from the Supplementary Statutes, of the Penal Code of China; Originally Printed and Published in Pekin, in Various Successive Editions, under the Sanction, and by the Authority, of the Several Emperors of the Ta Tsing, or Present Dynasty. Translated from the Chinese; and Accompanied with an Appendix, Consisting of Authentic Documents, and a Few Occasional Notes, Illustrative of the Subject of the Work, London, 1810, p. xxxiv.
INTRODUCTION

In 1866, when the Archimandrite Palladii¹ published in the Tруды членов Российской духовной миссии вь Пекинѣ² [Works of the Members of the Russian Religious Mission in Pekin] a translation of the Yüan-ch’āo pi-shih 元朝秘史 [The Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty], under the title of Старинное Монгольское сказание о Чингисханѣ³ [Old Mongolian Story about Čingis-khan], he made accessible, in his native Russian language, the abridged Chinese translation of the great Mongolian work known as the Mongyol-un niúça [niúça] to'bja'an,⁴ that is to say, The Secret History of the Mongols. In 1876 E. Breitschneider,⁵ M. D., Physician to the Russian Legation at Peking, included a brief “critical review” of the translation in his Notices of the Mediæval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia,⁶ wherein he stated: “In the introduction to his translation, Palladius gives a minutely detailed history of the work, ...”⁷ In 1883, H. H. Howorth,⁸ F. S. A., M. R. A. S., in an article entitled “Two Early Sources for Mongol History,” which he published in The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,⁹ undertook to bring before the Society the “admirable description”¹⁰ of the Yüan-

² Том IV, С.-Петербургъ, 1866 [ Tome IV, St.-Petersburg, 1866]. Pp. 1-258 + “Генеалогическая таблица къ Сказанию о Чингисханѣ” (“Genealogical Table to The Story About Čingis-khan”).
³ This title may also be transcribed Yüan-ch’ao mi-shih, the character 秘 (秘) (“secret”) being read either pi or mi in Mandarin.
⁴ This title, as we shall see, was devised by Palladii.
⁵ This title will be discussed in a subsequent volume.
⁷ Drawn from Chinese and Mongol Writings, and Compared with the Observations of Western Authors in the Middle Ages. Accompanied with two maps. London, 1876. Pp. iv + 1 of “Corrigenda” + “Map” + 233.
The Secret History of the Mongols

ch’ao pi-shih, given by the Russian divine in the introduction to his translation. "Une excellente traduction, avec une introduction relative à l’histoire du texte et un copieux commentaire" is the inimitable manner in which the late Paul Pelliot characterized in 1913 in his article "Le titre mongol du Yuan toh’ao pi che" the truly monumental work by the Archimandrite Palladii.

While the translation by the Archimandrite Palladii is a translation of the abridged, consecutive Chinese translation of The Secret History of the Mongols, not of the Mongolian original as transcribed in Chinese characters, and while the explanatory details in his introduction, in some cases, are subject to modification in the light of data set forth by William Hung in his article "The Transmission of the Book Known as The Secret History of the Mongols" in the Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies and by Antoine Mostaert in his book Sur quelques passages de l’Histoire secrète des Mongols to mention but two recent publications of singular importance, it is, nevertheless, a fact that with the Старинное Монгольское сказание о Чингисхан [Old Mongolian Story about Čingiskhan] the Archimandrite Palladii laid the foundation for subsequent study of The Secret History of the Mongols. Before the Mongolian text in Chinese transcription became generally accessible, the translation by the


19 Young pao 14 (1913), 181-182 (p. 150).

10 For the abridged consecutive Chinese translation see pp. xxii-xliv below.

11 For the Mongolian original as transcribed in Chinese characters see pp. xxiv, xliv, et seq. below.


13 27 October 1899—

14 (1851), 483-492.

15 10 August 1881—


Archimandrite Palladius was extensively utilized by such scholars as E. BREITSCHEIDER, M.D., in his Notices of the Medieval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia as well as Medieval Researches, Henry H. HOWORTH, F.S.A., in his long article “Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors,” published serially in The Indian Antiquary from 1880 to 1888, and B. Ya. VLADIMIRSCOV in his Чингис-хан [Chingis-khan]. In this manner, The Secret History of the Mongols was injected into the bloodstream of Western scholarship on early Mongolian history.

In 1908 Paul PELLiot observed in “Notes bibliographiques” in the Bulletin de l’Ecole Francaise d’Extreme-Orient, relative to the text of the Yuan-ch’ao pi-shih published in the Lien-yüan-ts’ung-shu 連載蒙古書, that “c’est [518] vraisemblablement celle qu’a utilisée Palladius, qui a également connu, je crois, le texte 32

See note 7 above.


35 Boni, Boris Yakovlevič VLADIMIRSCOV, 1884—17 August 1981. Cf. e. g., N. Poppe.

36 B. J. Vladimirtsov, "Азия Major 8 (1882) 565-570.


38 B. 1905.517-518.


See also note 184 below.
mongol, pour sa traduction..." That the Archimandrite Palladii did not have access, however, to the Mongolian text for his translation is clear from an observation by Bretschneider, relative to the Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu edition of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih, in his Notices of the Mediaeval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia: 29

... After Palladius had published his translation, made from the Chinese text in the afore-mentioned collection, he happened to obtain a MS. copy of the Ming edition of the work, accompanied by the Mongol text (in Chinese characters), for the use of which I have to thank the learned owner. It was found, that the text Palladius had translated, was only an extract of the original work, which comprises 15 chapters, but has no title. Although many archaisms and clerical errors occur in this text, the restoration of the Mongol original presents little difficulty for men acquainted with both Chinese and Mongol; the Mongol text (represented by Chinese characters) being accompanied by the Chinese translation... .

Howorth, who referred to Bretschneider's observation, in his "Chinghiz khan and his Ancestors," remarked: 30

... To this notice I may add that my friend Mr. Wylie met with a copy of the Yüan-ch'ao-pi-shih, in China, written in the Mongol language in Chinese characters, as above mentioned. This was partially transcribed for him, but the original copy was lost during the rebellion, so that what he now has is only a fragment.

Later, Bretschneider repeated his observation, albeit in a slightly altered form, in his Mediaeval Researches. 31

That Pelliot had come to modify his view of this matter is evident from the following observation in the introduction to his posthumously published Histoire secrète des Mongols: 32

... Palladius signalait en outre qu'il y avait encore des manuscrits d'une transcription (et non plus d'une traduction) en caractères chinois du texte original mongol du Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih. Postérieurement à sa traduction, Palladius put se procurer un de ces manuscrits qu'il donna à M. Pozdniev, lequel le remit à l'Université de Petrograd. A l'aide de ce manuscrit, M.

In 1910 E. Blochet published a French translation of the first chapter of the Yuan-tch'ao pi-che under the title of "Histoire des origines de la dynastie des Mongols d'après le Yuan-shao-pi-shau" in the "Appendice" to his Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din. As remarked by Pelliot in his article "Le titre mongol du Yuan tchao pi che," it is not known which edition he used, nor to which comments, if any, he was referring. In the introduction to his posthumously published Histoire secrete des Mongols Pelliot further remarked, relative to the translation of Palladius: "Mais Howorth ne l'a connue qu'après l'achèvement de son ouvrage, et M. Blochet l'a ignorée."

It should be observed, however, that Blochet did make the following remark: Le premier chapitre a été remis en mongol par M. Pozdneief, de St. Petersbourg, mais ce travail est devenu extrêmement rare et, dans l'attente d'une nouvelle édition, il est impossible de s'en procurer un exemplaire. M. Ivanof et M. Rosenberg ont bien voulu faire exécuter pour moi une copie, en caractères russes, de ce travail qu'il m'eut été impossible de connaître sans leur extrême obligeance. . . .

Neither Pelliot nor Blochet, however, made reference to the article entitled "О древнем китайско-монгольском историческом памятнике Юань-чоа-ми-ши" ["On the Ancient Sino-
Mongolian Historical Monument Yuan'-čao-mi-ši"] which A. M. Pozdneev 40 published in 1884.40 In this article Pozdneev described the Mongolian text of The Secret History of the Mongols as transcribed in Chinese characters in a manuscript copy acquired by the Archimandrite Palladii on 26 November 1872.41 Thus, only six years after the publication in 1866 of his Russian translation of the abridged Chinese translation of The Secret History of the Mongols, the Archimandrite Palladii acquired the Mongolian original in Chinese transcription, which Breitschneider and Pozdneev almost immediately brought to the attention of Western scholarship in their respective publications.

While the classical remarks by the Archimandrite Palladii on the transmission of the Chinese translation of the Mongolian text of The Secret History of the Mongols have been supplemented and superseded in many significant respects by the findings of William Hung in his article entitled "The Transmission of the Book Known as The Secret History of the Mongols," 42 it would be fallacious to conclude that they are completely obsolete, for they must still be consulted for data inaccessible elsewhere.43 Insofar as the transmission of the Mongolian text in Chinese transcription is concerned, however, there is little to be gleaned from the remarks by the Archimandrite Palladii.

In tracing the history of the transmission of The Secret History

40 I. e., Aleksel Matveevich Pozdneev, 1851—1920.
41 I only have at my disposal a reprint of the article (pp. 1-92) given to the Harvard College Library by the bequest of Jeremiah Curtin (Class of 1868), which contains (after p. 92) a folding table entitled "Таблица основных ёроглифов, составляющих алфавит древней китайско-монгольской пётолис-запись [sic]-чао-ми-ши" ["Table of the basic characters, composing the alphabet of the ancient Sino-Mongolian Chronicle—Yuan'čao-mi-ši"] and a tailpiece which reads in part: Напечатано по распоряжению Императорского Русского Археологического Общества ["Printed upon arrangement of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society"]). Henri Corbin, Bibliothèque Sinica, Volume IV, Paris, 1907-1908, col. 2769, registered the article as follows: "Мémoire sur un ancien document historique sino-mongol, le Yuan techo mi chi, par A. Pozdnîjevev [en russe]. (Mémoires de la Soc. archéologique de St. Pétersbourg, 1884.)"
42 P. 3.
43 See note 18 above.
of the Mongols on Chinese soil—the text in Chinese transcription and that in Chinese translation—we must begin with references which, in the classical tradition of the West, might properly be called *De Historia Secreta Mongolorum veterum scriptorum testimonia*. Of these references, the first and indubitably the most important is a passage found in an entry relative to the *Hua-i-i-yü 華夷譯語* " [Sino-Barbarian (- Mongolian) Glossary] in the *Ming shih-lu* 明實錄 [Veritable Records of (the) Ming (Dynasty)] 141 (ts'oe 20).3v6-4r1, under the date of 洪武十五年 ... 春正月 ... 丙戌 ["(The day) ping-hsü ... of the 1st moon, in the spring, ... of the 15th year of (the) Hung-wu (period) (80 January 1382)"] already translated into Russian," French," and English," which reads as follows (3v10):

... 得取元秘史参考紐切其字以譯其聲音.

Moreover, taking the *Yüan pi-shih* for reference, they 58 joined or cut 51 its words 52 in order to approximate its sounds.58

Although the entry in question was found was inserted retrospectively under the year 1382 by the compilers of the *Ming shih-lu* and although, for reasons to be given below, 4 it cannot be stated with absolute assurance that the date of 1382 is here as applicable to the *Yüan pi-shih* as it is to the *Hua-i-i-yü*, it is.


46 "1611" in Huo, op. cit., p. 452, is an inadvertence.

47 Cf. Palladii, op. cit., pp. 4-5.


50 I.e., *Huo Yuan-chieh* 夏元潔, MA Sha-i-hei 马沙亦黑 (MA S(t)aT), and others.

51 I.e., transcribed. For these words cf. Huo, op. cit., p. 452, n. 47.

52 I.e., the *Hua-i-i-yü*’s Mongolian words.

53 I.e., the *Hua-i-i-yü*’s Mongolian sounds.

54 See pages xliv-liv below.
nevertheless, evident that, if, only fourteen years after the Mongols were expelled from China, the Chinese were able to use The Secret History of the Mongols for the purpose in question, between the years 1368 and 1382, they had already transcribed and translated the Mongolian original. At the moment, it is not possible to state without qualification to which of the texts then possibly in existence the words Yüan pi-shih here refer. It is known, however, that there were copied into the Yung-lo ta-tien 永樂大典

[Encyclopaedia of (the) Yung-lo (Period)], compiled in Nanking between the years 1403 and 1408, an integral Chinese transcription of the Mongolian text, with interlinear Chinese glosses, and an abridged Chinese translation—the whole, arbitrarily divided into 282 sections, being entitled Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih [The Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty]. Inserted under the rhyme 元 (yüan) in chiüan 鴻 5179-5193 of the enormous Encyclopaedia, the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih consisted of 15 chiüan. It was a copy of this text which eventually was acquired by the Archimandrite Palladî.

The second reference, if it may properly be termed such, is in the form of a notation found at the end of a manuscript copy of the abridged Chinese translation of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih, presumably prepared for the editors of the Yung-lo ta-tien, and of which a facsimile of the first leaf is reproduced in Ch'en Yuan 陳垣, Yüan pi-shih i-yin yung-tzu k'ao 元秘史譯音用字考 [Study of the Characters Used in the Transcription of the Sounds of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih]. As cited by Ch'en, the notation reads:

一部二本。永樂二年八月內抄到。

One set; two pen. Copied and received in the 8th moon of the 2nd year of [the] Yung-lo [period] [9 September—9 October 1404].

xxiv THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS
Aside from the fact that the date “5 September—3 October 1404” is in itself of the highest importance as a landmark in the history of the transmission of the Yiian-ch’ao pi-shih, the fact that such a manuscript copy was made suggests that the Chinese translation of the text had not previously appeared in printed form and serves to establish beyond all doubt that between 1368 and 1404—36 years in all—the text had been partially, if not integrally, translated into Chinese.

The next, albeit indirect, reference to The Secret History of the Mongols is found in the entry captioned “Ta-tan” 折誕 [“Tatar”] in chuan 90 (ts’e 48).1r2-2r4 (25r7-28v2) of the Ta-Ming i-t’ung-chih 大明一統志,** where there is a passage in the note on the name Pu-erh-han Shan 不崛罕山 (“Mount Burqan”) (27v1) of which the source could only be the Yiian-ch’ao pi-shih. It reads as follows:

昔日帯白狼遊戀白鹿而此山，生子名巴塔亦彌，後為蒙古部，即元氏之祖。

Formerly there was a blue-white wolf which met a dull-white doe [at this]*** mountain. He begot a son [whose] name was Pa-t’a-chih-han (Bataqian). [His] descendants became the Meng-ku (Mongyo[i]) tribe. They were the ancestors of the Yuan clan.

This passage was incorporated as such under the rubric “Ch’i shan ch’uan” 其山川 (“Their Mountains and Rivers”) in the I-yü 諢語*** [Intelligence Reports] by Min-O-shan-jen 岐山人,**

***The first edition of this work in 90 chuan appeared in 1481. Cf., e.g., L. Carring-

****The obliterated words 于此 (yu tz’u) may be restored from the edition of 1535 (cf. Goodrich, op. cit., p. 206), chuan 90 (ts’e 40).27v4, as well as the I-yü (see note 64 below).

*** The meaning of this title, literally, A Discourse on the Interpretation of Words of the North, is explained by the author at the beginning of the work (1r2-2r2). For the work itself cf. WADA Sei 和田清, “Hokuryo kiyaku. Yakuyo nyobi Sancha bunko-ken no choosa” 北畑記略 諯譯及び山中間見録の著者 (“Authors of the Pei-lu Chi-hsiao 北畑紀略, the I-yü 諨語 and the Shan-chung Win-chien-ku 山中間見録, three books on the Northern Frontagers [in] of the Later Ming Dynasty”), Togyo gakuhô 東洋學報 (The Togyo Gakuhô, Reports of the Oriental
It is obvious that the first two lines of the passage constitute nothing but a résumé of the opening paragraph of the Chinese translation of The Secret History. The only variant of consequence is the adjective of color qualifying the wolf, that is ts'ang-pai 蒼白 (“blue-white”) instead of ts'ang-se-ti 蒼色的 (“of bluish color”) as in the Chinese translation. The adjective of color qualifying the deer, however, is identical in both cases. The transcription of Pa-t'ä-ch'ih-han (Batacióqan) is identical with that in the Chinese translation.

The first substantial reference to The Secret History of the Mongols is found in an entry under the rubric 元 (Yüan) in chüan 5 (ts'e 1).24r5-24v2 of the Li-tai ti-wang hsing-hsi t'ung-p'u 歷代帝王姓氏總譜 II [General Register of the Surnames and Lineages of the Emperors and Kings of Successive Dynasties] in the Wan-hsing t'ung-p'u 高氏統譜 II [General Register of the Ten-Thousand Surnames], where we read (24r6-8):


A chin-shih 進士 of the Chia-ching 嘉靖 period (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty, specifically 1559.


For this work, one of three under the general title of Wan-hsing t'ung-p'ü [General Register of the Ten-Thousand Surnames] see note 75 below.

For this work of 1579 in 140 chüan cf. Sê-k'ü T'ING, Indiana University, and
In 1824 J. Klaproth, "published on pages (172) -(196) of his Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie " a paper entitled "Examen des Extraits d'une Histoire des Khans mongols " in which, on page (191), he cited and translated this passage:

Le Ouan xing thong pou, dictionnaire chinois de tous les noms éloignés, dit que Borjigchin était le nom de la famille de Tchinghis khan, et son prénom Temoudjin. Ce même ouvrage donne l'extrait suivant de l'historie secrète de la dynastie Youan: «Le premier ancêtre de cette famille était un homme d'une haute stature, et d'une couleur bleue, qui avait épousé une femme trieste et délaissée. Il menait une vie nomade, traversa l'eau appelée Tenghis, et arriva devant la montagne Bourkhan, à la source de la rivière Oua nan, où sa femme accoucha d'un fils nommé Batatchi khan. De lui naquit Tamačha, qui dans la douzième génération est devenu Bodouantčar, duquel descendit, dans


* The character 方 (Yuan) is obliterated in the copy of the Wan-hsing ts'ung-p'u which belongs to the Harvard-Yenching Institute.

"Idem.

* The character 瑪 (nan) is obliterated in the same copy.

* The character 亦 (nan) is obliterated in the same copy.


Klaproth’s translation of Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih as “l’histoire secrète de la dynastie Youan,” constitutes, I believe, the first reference to this work in a western language. Although Isaac Jacob Schmidt** published his Forschungen im Gebiete der älteren religiösen, politischen und literarischen Bildungs geschichte der Völker Mittel-Asiens, vorzüglich der Mongolen und Tibetern* in the same year and presented on pages 38-39 of his work a German translation of Klaproth’s French translation of the passage in question, for some reason, he did not specifically mention in this connection “l’histoire secrète de la dynastie Youan.”

That the compilers of the Li-tai ti-wang hsing-hsi ti-ung-p’u had access directly or indirectly to the text of the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih in the Yung-lo ta-tien is obvious, for the data they furnished was extracted from the abridged Chinese translation of The Secret History of the Mongols. Since there exist translations of the pertinent sections of the abridged Chinese translation in Russian, French, and English,** I shall not include yet another herein. Of the modifications which the editors introduced into

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**The Secret History of the Mongols by Isaac Jacob Schmidt, published in 1824.

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**“In rendering 天生黃色人 as “un homme d’une haute stature, et d’une couleur bleue,” Klaproth unquestionably was misled by the poorly printed 天 (t’ien) (“Heaven”) which resembled 大 (ta) (“big”) in his text. As to his translation of 慕白为 as “une femme triste et délaissée,” it is attributable to the fact that he did not know that the character 慕 (t’oon), meaning, to be sure, “sad,” also means “dark (of a color)” and is frequently written 黃 (t’oon). His inaccurate rendering of 慕 (t’oon) is responsible for the forced and completely inaccurate rendering of 白 (p‘ai) “white” as “délaisée,” a meaning which is out of the question in this context. See also note 99 below.

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**1778—1847.

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**In translating Klaproth, Schmidt, op. cit., p. 88, perpetuated the mistranslations “un homme d’une haute stature, et d’une couleur bleue” and “une femme triste et délaissée” respectively as “ein Mann von hohem Köperwuchse und blau von Farbe” and “eine traurige und verlassene Frau.”

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**Palladini, op. cit., pp. 93-95.

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**Brocher, op. cit., pp. 973-998.

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their citation, the substitution of 其 (jen) (“man”) for 獵 (lang) (“wolf”) and 女 (nui) (“woman”) for 鹿 (lu) (“doe”)—the Mongolian original in Chinese transcription having respectively 狼 ("wolf") and 木耳 ("doe")—is especially noteworthy. One can only speculate as to the reason which prompted the Chinese compilers of the Li-tai ti-wang hsiang-hsi t'ung-p'u to do, in effect, what the Mongols themselves did under the influence of lamaism, but it can be assumed that they did not look with favor on the tradition of animal ancestors for the Yuan, one of the dynasties of their native land.

Another, albeit less substantial, reference to The Secret History of the Mongols is found in the entry on the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 in the San-ts'ai t'u-kui [Universal Illustrated Encyclopedia], “Jen-wu” [People], 12 (ts'e 20).6vl-8, where we read (b4-6):

... 一稱巴塔赤罕之祖，元朝秘史云諸色頂與狼所生，二十五世生帖木異，是稱大蒙古郡長，僧號皇帝，世居沙漠東北六千里，後居山陰，號鐵勒。

The text has Ta-pa-ch'i-han. For the Hsiung-nu cf., e.g., Jan Jakob Maria de Groot, Die Hymmen der vorchristlichen Zeit, Berlin und Leipzig, W. de Gruyter & Co., 1921. For this work in 106 ch'ian, with prefaces dated 1607 and 1609, cf. Teng, and Blegen, op. cit., p. 144. For the name “Great Mongols” cf. Antoine Mostaert et Francis Woodman Cleaves, “Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes,” HIAS 13 (1892), 419-506 (Pl. I-VIII) (pp. 495-481).
In 1824 J. Klaproth published on pages (197)-(204) of his Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie an "Extrait d'une lettre de M. Schmidt, de Saint-Pétersbourg, adressée à M. Klaproth, en réponse à l'Examen des Extraits d'une Histoire des Khans mongols. Avec les Remarques de M. Klaproth" in which he cited and translated this passage in a "Remarque" on pages (203)-(204):

Remarque.—Après la publication de mon Examen de l'Histoire mongole, j'ai trouvé un autre passage chinois sur l'origine des Mongols. Dans l'encyclopédie Sen thsai thou hoey (de l'Homme, sec. XII; fol. 6 verso), il est dit: "D'une race tire son origine de Batatchi khan (Tabatchi khan, dans le texte, est une faute d'orthographe). Dans l'histoire secrète de la dynastie des Yuan, on lit: «Un loup couleur bleu de ciel, l'engendra avec une biche blanche et féroce. Son descendant, à la vingt-cinquième génération, était Temouthan, qui fut le chef de la grande tribu des Mongols, et qui prit le titre d'empereur auguste. Pendant long-temps ce peuple habitait à 600 [sic] ly, au nord du désert de Cha mo (ou Gobi); après il vint s'établir sur le versant septentrional de la chaîne des montagnes qui borde la Chine au Nord, où il portait le titre honorifique de Tha ta (Tatar). On voit [...] dans ce passage que le nom de Buriè Tchina est traduit par loup couleur bleu de ciel, et celui de sa femme Goh maral par une biche blanche et féroce. En effet maral signifie une biche en mongol, et le mot chinois than, que j'avais traduit par délaissé, peut aussi se rendre par cruel et féroce."

Insofar as it is presently possible to determine, the first Chinese scholar to signalize the importance of The Secret History of the Mongols for the study of Yüan history was Sun Ch'eng-tse 孫承澤 whose Yüan-ch'ao tien-ku pien-nien k'ao 元朝典故編年考 1864 [A Chronological Study of Political Precedents of the Yüan Dynasty], though rare and practically inaccessible, happily is extant. The ninth chüan of Sun's work is entitled "Pi-shih" 101

"Schmidt's letter was dated "Saint-Pétersburg, le 29 mai 1823."

"It does not seem necessary to dwell on Klaproth's errors in his translation of this passage. As to the words 慘白鹿 (ts'un poi lu), however, which he rendered "une biche blanche et féroce" in this instance, he remarked, as we have seen (note 79 above), that the Chinese word ts'un which he translated "délaissé" in the previous citation, could also be rendered "cruel et féroce."


"For this work cf. Hummel, op. cit., p. 670a.

"I have used the translation given by William Hung, op. cit., p. 306.

"It is found in the Lo-shu shan-fang ts'ung-shu 融樹山房叢書 (cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 437, n. 7) of which a copy is in the possession of the Tōhō Bunka Gakuen 東方."
Introduction

The importance of this statement for the history of the transmission of The Secret History of the Mongols on Chinese soil cannot be overestimated, for it marks the beginning of critical, scientific appreciation of the text not only in China, but in the whole world.

102 This statement was translated by William Hung, op. cit., p. 486, from the text as quoted in the Sung-kʻu chʻiʻan-shu t‘ung-mu. As a matter of fact, Sun’s statement was not accurately cited by the editors who took the following liberties: (1) 元人有 (9r4) (“The Yuan people had”) was altered to 元有 (“From Yuan times have come down”); (2) 蓋其本國人所編撰者 (9r6) (“It would seem that it was compiled by their own countrymen”), to 蓋其國人所編撰 (“apparently written by the Mongols themselves”); and (3) 僅續卷以補正史之不載 (9r7-7) (“I have copied the continued chʻuan in order to supplement what is not contained in the cheng-shih [‘standard history’]”), to 僅續卷未 (sic) with the statement of Sun here, because it would make up for some of the omissions in the histories). Of the three alterations in Sun’s text, the last is extremely misleading, leaving the reader with the impression that Sun had copied the Yuan-chʻao pi-shih into his own work in toto.
Sun's work was copied into the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* 四庫全書 ["Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature"] and provided with a *ti-yao* 提要 ["abstract"] in which it is said (1v8-6):

When we examine what he has quoted, we find that it is all contained within the yüen-character rhyme in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*. When we compare the one with the other, we find that they are identical in every particular. We suspect that originally it was a secret work of Yuan times. One of those who, at the beginning of the Ming, compiled the book, perhaps, copied a duplicate and came out with it. Thus it came to circulate outside. Hence, [Sun] Ch'eng-tse was able to see it.

At this juncture, the author of the *ti-yao* passes judgment on the nature and value of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* (1v6-9):

What it records, on the whole, [has to do with] trivial matters. Moreover, occasionally, it concerns the unfounded. It would seem, too, that transmitted words gradually deviate from the truth and become unworthy of complete reliance. Yet, after all, it is an old history of the Yüan dynasty—rarely seen in the world. Apart from the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, it only appears in this book. Since it contains variations [in comparison] with the *cheng-shih* ("standard history"). [we] may keep it, [for] it also is useful as a reference.

After the time of Sun Ch'eng-tse, as its significance for the study of early Mongolian history came to be more fully appreciated, the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* attracted the attention of an in-
creasing number of scholars—among them some of the greatest of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911)—whose role in the preservation and transmission of this monumental text is one of the great stories of literary history.

One of the first of these scholars to engage in a study of the text was WAN Kuang-t'ai 萬光泰, the author of a curious little work entitled Yuan pi-shih lüeh 元秘史畧 [Abridgment of the Yuan pi-shih]. In the words of William Hung, "To us, the book would appear to be of no value, for it consists only of casual selections—literarily polished and not chronologically arranged—from the sectional summaries of the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih." Wan's preface (1r3-1v8) dated 6 June 1748, however, is both interesting and instructive. His evaluation of the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih as a source of Yuan history is evident from the following observation (1v5-6):

. . . The text is not elegant and smooth and it tends to dwell on trivial matters. After deleting that which is unfounded, [I] compiled the Yuan pi-shih lüeh in 2 chüan.

Inasmuch as the copy of the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih to which Wan Kuang-t'ai had access to compile his own work consisted of 10 chüan and 2 chüan of continuation, it is tempting to speculate with William Hung as to whether it was the one used by Sun Ch'eng-tse or not.

For the preservation of Wan's little work we are indebted to YANG Fu-chi 楊復吉 in whose colophon entitled "Yüan pi-shih lüeh pa" 元秘史畧跋 ["Colophon to the Yuan pi-shih lüeh"] we read (47r5-6):

In the late autumn of ting-wei 丁未 [1797] [I] borrowed a manuscript copy

119 It is found in the Chao-tai ts'ung-shu 昭代叢書 (1833-1884), 18(46), 1r1-1r20. Cf. also Hung, op. cit., p. 448, n. 36.
120 Cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 448.
121 It is found at the end of the Yuan pi-shih lüeh (47r1-4).
from the precious collection of the Chih-pu-tsu ch'ai 知不足齋. When I finished reading it, I copied it in order to circulate it.

The great scholar Ch'ien Ta-hsin 大昕 pursued the study of the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih along the lines established by his predecessors. His colophon entitled "Pa Yuan pi-shih" 萊元秘史 ["Colophon to the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih"] has become a classic. Found in his Ch'ien-ten-t'ang wen-chi 清轩堂文集 it opens as follows (20r10-20v2):

Yuan Tai-tsu 太祖 was the creator of an empire, yet the account of his deeds in the Yuan shih [元史] is very careless and contradictory. Only the narration in the Pi-shih [20v] seems to come closer to the truth, yet its language is vulgar and uncouth, not having had the benefit of polishing by a literary person. Hence, those who know of its existence are few. It is very regrettable!

In the body of his colophon Ch'ien Ta-hsin instanced case after case in which the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih is an indispensable adjunct to the Yuan shih. He concluded by saying (22r6-7):

Those who study the sequence of events of both the Tai-tsu and the Tai-tsung 太宗 reigns must take this book as a point d'appui.

As William Hung has observed in his own remarks relative to Ch'ien's colophon, "there is no mention of when and how he had come to have the book." It is his conclusion, however, that Ch'ien must have had it some time before 1781.

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112 This was the name of the library of Pao T'ing-po. Cf., e.g., Hummel, op. cit., p. 612b.
114 Ch'üan 98 (ts'ao 7).20r9-22r7. (The Commercial Press, Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'wan reproduction of the rare 1806 ed.)
115 I.e., Ch'ing-giu Qao.
116 Lit., "the lord who created (創 = 創) (20r10) an achievement."
117 Lit., "discuss and order events."
118 Lit., "let them be obliged, in this book, to break their mean." For the expression 折衷 (che ch'i chang) cf. the entry 折中 (che chang) ~ 折衷 (che chang) in the Tzu-hai 詩海, 卯集, p. 95a-b.
120 Ibid.
A contemporary of Ch'ien Ta-hsin, Pao T'ing-po 龐廷博, we learn from William Hung, completed in 1805 the collation of a copy of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih in 15 chiian which was to come into the possession of Han T'ai-hua 韓泰華 in 1847 and to be bought by Palladii in 1872. Regrettably, there appears to be no statement by Pao T'ing-po himself either as to how he acquired his own copy of the text or as to how he evaluated it as source material for Yüan history.

William Hung has also drawn attention to an entry in the Chu-ting hsien-sheng jih-ch'ao 竹汀先生日記抄 [Excerpts from the Diary of Master Chu-ting (= Ch'ien Ta-hsin)] in which it is mentioned that Wang Hui-tsu 汪慧祖, a contemporary of Ch'ien Ta-hsin, had once borrowed from the library of Pao T'ing-po a printed copy of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih, mutilated at the beginning and the end, with a division into chiian different from that in the manuscript copy in the possession of Ch'ien. It is the opinion of William Hung that the correspondence between Ch'ien and Wang on the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih, to which reference is made in the undated entry, “must have taken place in the closing years of the eighteenth century.” As in the case of Pao T'ing-po, there appears to be no statement by Wang Hui-tsu himself as to how he evaluated the text as source material for Yüan history.

When the great scholar Juan Yüan 阮元 was governor of the Che-chiang 浙江 province, he acquired, among other works destined to be included in the Imperial Collection, a facsimile copy of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih in 15 chiian. In his Yen-ching-shih wai-chi 窮經室外集 there is a t'i-yao ["abstract"] entitled

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180 William Hung, op. cit., p. 428.
182 Ibid. See also note 41 above.
185 Ibid., p. 441.
186 Ibid., p. 442.
188 In the Wen-hsian-lou ts'unng-shu 文選樓叢書 (1842 ed.) (ts'e 13).
"Yüan pi-shih shih-wu chüan t'ı-yao" 元秘史十五卷提要 141 (["Abstract of the Yüan pi-shih in 15 Chüan"]). It opens as follows (17r10-17v1):

The author's name is not given. That its chronology [is given] in terms of the rat, the hare, the sheep,142 etc., and not in terms of the "branches [17v] and stems" (支干)143 probably is [an indication] that it was written by the nationals (国人).144

It concludes with the following observation (17v8-9):

Although the language is vulgar and uncouth, not having had the benefit of [literary] polishing,145 yet it is useful for research.146 Still it is [a work] which those who study history will not discard.

Inasmuch as Juan Yuan was a busy governor, it is possible, if not probable, that he did not write this "Abstract" himself. He may have had it written by Pao T'ing-po or another friend. However, as it is found in his Yen-ching-shih wai-chi, without proof to the contrary, we must attribute its authorship to Juan himself.

The reason for which the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih was not among the works which Juan Yuan sent up for the Imperial Collection is clearly stated in a colophon by Yen Chieh 嚴杰,147 appended to the Yen-ching-shih wai-chi,148 wherein we read (15v4-5):

[In the above 149 t'ı-yao ("abstracts") in five chüan [there is] a total of 175 titles of books, among which [there is] the "Yüan pi-shih in 15 Chüan," [which,] because its language is vulgar and uncouth, has not been presented [to the Throne].150

141 3.17r9-17v9.
142 I.e., the twelve animals of the zodiac, the Mongolian quluyan-a, taolai, gonin, etc.
144 I.e., the Mongols.
145 These words may be compared with those of Ca'ures Ta-hsin, op. cit. 28 (ts'e 7). 80v1: "yet its language is vulgar and uncouth, not having had the benefit of polishing by a literary person." 146 Cf. the remark by Sun Ch'eng-tse: "it also is useful as a reference."
147 1763—1845. Cf. HUMMEL, op. cit., p. 400a. HUNG, op. cit., p. 487, n. 9, gives the dates as 1763—1845.
148 5.15v4-10.
149 Lit., "on the right.
150 There is mention in the colophon of four other books, in addition to the Yüen-ch'ao pi-shih, which were not presented.
In 1805 the eminent scholar Ku Kuang-ch'ı 顧廣圻, \(^{131}\) having discovered in 1804 that CHANG Hsiang-yün 張祥鯤 \(^{152}\) possessed a facsimile copy of the original printed edition of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih in 10 chüan and the Hsii [Continuation] in 2 chüan, persuaded CHANG Tun-jen 張敦仁 \(^{163}\) to borrow it for the purpose of making a facsimile copy. CHANG commissioned Ku to collate this copy with the original copy. For this reason, the recopied text came to be known as the "Ku chiao pen" 顧校本 ["Ku collated copy"]. \(^{154}\) It was published by The Commercial Press in 1830. \(^{155}\) The original of Ku's colophon, in his own handwriting, was reproduced photographically at the beginning of The Commercial Press edition of the "Ku chiao pen." For the history of the transmission of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih—in particular, the text in 10 + 2 chüan—the colophon is extremely revealing—more so, in fact, than any other source. As William Hung has translated all the colophon with the exception of the conclusion, \(^{156}\) I shall confine myself to a translation of the latter which is interesting for its recognition of the work by CH'ıEN Ta-hsin. It reads as follows ([1v]5-8):

Having finished the collation, I have now] thus noted its history. As for how it may serve for the correction of the deficiencies in the Yüan shih [as compiled by the Ming, in the colophon of the Shao-chan 少詹 \(^{157}\) as well as his Nien-erh-ahih k'ao-i 叁二史考異 \(^{158}\) [Critical Notes on the Twenty-


\(^{152}\) Prefect of Lu-chou 鄭州 in An-hui from 1799 to 1806. Cf. HUMMEL, op. cit., p. 417b.


\(^{154}\) As observed by William Hung, op. cit., p. 444, this "may, perhaps, be rendered as the 'Ku certified copy,' because Ku performed no collation; and what he did was merely to check the recopied text against the original facsimile copy, which he had considered perfect."

\(^{155}\) The Commercial Press photolithographic edition, Shanghai, 1936.


\(^{158}\) For this work in 100 chüan, found in the Kuang-yu ts'ung-shu 廣雅叢書, 10e $13-380, cf. HUMMEL, op. cit., p. 159a. Ku Kuang-ch'ı obviously had in mind that
It was the well-known author of the *Meng-ku Yu-mu Chi* 蒙古遊牧記 *Account of the Mongolian Nomads*, CHANG MU 喻 穆, who copied the Chinese translation of the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih in 15 chüan from the Yung-lo ta-tien and published it in the Lien-yüen-i t'ü'ung-shu 妙應延恩記 of which he was the editor. In his colophon dated 13 July 1848 CHANG remarked (3r4-5):

In the 27th year [of T'ao-kung 道光 (1847)] [I] borrowed an original facsimile copy from the HAN family 韓氏 of Jen-ho 仁和 and, upon collating [my copy with the latter, found that] there were no errors [in mine].

In his "Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih i-wen ch'ao-pen t'ı-ts'u" 元朝秘史譯文續本題詞 ["Superscription on the Manuscript Copy of the Translation of the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih"] in the Yin-chái shih-wen chi 印台詩文集 109 3(t's'e 1)32v10-33r9 CHANG further remarked (33r2-5):

[As to the order of its chüan, [the compilers of the] Ta-tien also roughly made divisions [to conform to those of the latter]. The original book, it would seem, constituted in all one volume. Before each section there is arranged the Mongolian text to which the translation is appended. As to what has been copied here, it is the translation. Outside [the Han-lun-yan 翰林院] there is no other copy circulating. The Mongolian surnames which CH'ien Chu-ting 錢竹汀, 111 chan-shih 詹事, 112 arranged at the beginning of his part of the Nien-erh shih k'ao-i devoted to the Yuan-shih, specifically chüan 88-100 (Kuang-yu ts'ü'ung-shu, t's'e 328-330).

108 Lit., "To pull and stretch it."
109 Lit., "a gentleman who is adept at study."
110 Lit., "Now [I] shall not reach detailed discussion."
111 Cf. e.g., HUMMEL, op. cit., p. 476.
113 See note 108 above. Cf. further HUMMEL, op. cit., p. 47b.
114 Cf. HUMMEL, op. cit., p. 475b.
115 15(t's'e 3)3r3-6.
116 I.e., the family of HAN Tai-hua. See note 109 above.
117 In Che-chiang.
118 Published in 1868, this work consists of 8 chüan of prose and 4 chüan of verse. Cf. e.g., HUMMEL, op. cit., p. 47b.
120 I.e., CH'ien Ta-hsien, Chu-t'ing being a hao. Cf. e.g., HUMMEL, op. cit., p. 152b.
121 For chan-shih, an abbreviation of a longer title signifying "Chief Supervisor of
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Yüan-shih shih-teu-piao 元史氏族表 178 [A Tabulation of the Clans in the Yüan shih] are all based on this book, yet he did not write the title of the book.

It was in the autumn of the year 1841, as Chang informs us,174 that he was able to see the Yung-lo ta-tien and copy from it several works, including the translation of the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih.

The "Ku chiao pen" of the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih, although it belonged to Chang Tun-jen in his lifetime, in due course passed into other hands 175 and was eventually acquired by the scholar Sheng-yü 盛昱,176 a member of the Manchu imperial clan.

From the Japanese scholar Naitō Torajirō 内藤虎次郎,177 we learn that the text was recopied, while in the possession of Sheng-yü, by both Li Wen-tien 李文田178 and Wen Ting-shih 文廷式. 179 As observed by William Hung, however, the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih chu 元朝秘史注180 [Commentary on the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih] by Li Wen-tien was on the text in 15 chüan collated and edited by Chang Mu.181 Inasmuch as the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih chu was published posthumously in 1896—a year after the author’s death—it has neither a hsü 序 ("preface") nor a pa 敖 ("colophon") by Li himself. There is, however, a colophon182 by his student Shen Wei-hsien 沈惟賢. Entitled "Yüan pi-shih chu pa" 元秘史注跋 ["Colophon to the Commentary on the Yüan pi-shih"], it constitutes a critical survey of Chinese scholarship on the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih. The following observation (1v2-4) will suffice to demonstrate the great value which Shen attached to the work:


174 For this work cf., e.g., Hummel, op. cit., p. 154a.
175 Cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 443, where, I was informed by the author on 1 February 1900, "1821" is an error for "1841."
181 For this work in 15 chüan, published in 1896, cf., e.g., Hummel, op. cit., p. 495a.
183 At the end of the 4th ts'e (1r1-4v5).
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If we now look for the traces of the founding of the Yüan which was, [we shall find that] from beginning to end there is no other which can excel this compilation in completeness. Yet few scholars have availed themselves of its contents. Why? On the barren deserts and in the primitive times, not only [are] the events extraordinary, [but] the language [of the narrative also is] somewhat uncoch and vulgar. . .

As for Lu’s own evaluation of the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih, it must be gleaned from remarks in his Commentary. From these it is obvious that he recognized the great importance of the historical and geographical content of the work.

The marginal notes in the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih chu are by WEN T’ing-shih, who, it will be recalled, possessed a copy of the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih in 10 + 2 chu’an. These notes reflect the use he made of his copy. In 1902 he presented a recopy of his copy to NAITÔ Torajirô in Osaka, Japan, who, in turn, had a copy made for NAKA Michiyô 那珂通世 in Tōkyō. In 1907 NAKA Michiyô published his monumental Chinigisu kan jitsuroku 成吉思汗實錄 [The Veritable Records of Chingis Qan].

In 1902 KAO Pao-ch’üan 高寶銘 published a supplement to the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih chu under the title of Yüan pi-shih Li chu pu-cheng 元秘史李注補正 [Addenda et Corrigenda to Li’s Commentary on the Yüan pi-shih]. That KAO, too, valued the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih highly for historical and geographical researches is clear from the following passage in his “Tzu-hsü” 自敘 [“Author’s Preface”] (1r8-11):

. . . The danger and the ease of mountains and rivers (− geography), the dissimilarity and the similarity of wind and soil (− customs), together with

188 Lit., “[from] head [to] tail.”
189 Lit., “the scholars who receive learning in some cases also rarely scoop the heart in it.”
190 Lit., “the first opening of the dawn of time.”
194 Tōkyō, 1907.
195 Cf. HUMMEL, op. cit., p. 495a.
197 [1r2-11.
198 I.e., the relative conditions of travel.
199 I.e., the relative similarity of customs.
the strategy of marching troops (= war)\(^{185}\) and the method of restraining the enemy (= diplomacy).\(^{187}\) are furnished and made clear in the Pi-shih. Right now the ten thousand li (= vast areas) of [our] northwest are adjacent to a strong Russia. Recently, moreover, [with] railway and trains,\(^{187}\) it has been making of the Desert an easy thoroughfare; [with] migration and colonization,\(^{188}\) they have snatched the host (= China), the noisy guests.\(^{199}\) If forethought and preparedness\(^ {200}\) are now in order,\(^ {201}\) then, as for this compilation, is it that it merely constitutes a help for the study of history?\(^ {202}\)

It was in 1908—in the closing days of the Ch‘ing Dynasty which had witnessed the gradual growth and development of Yüan-ch‘ao pi-shih scholarship—that the well-known scholar Yeh Te-hui 葉德輝,\(^ {203}\) who had come into possession of the copy of the Yüan-ch‘ao pi-shih in 10 + 2 chüan, which had belonged to Wen Ting-shih\(^ {204}\)—a copy, it will be recalled, of a copy of the “Ku collated copy.”\(^ {205}\) —capped the endeavors of generations of predecessors by making the complete work—the Chinese transcription of the Mongolian text, the interlinear Chinese glosses, and the abridged Chinese translation—for the first time accessible to scholarship at large in an excellent block-printed edition. Yeh’s accomplishment is the more remarkable, when we consider that the Yüan-ch‘ao pi-shih was not his specialty.

In his Hsi-yüan tu-shuh chih 十國圖書志\(^ {206}\) [Annotated Catalogue of the Library of Hsi-yüan] there is an account of the work,\(^ {207}\) dated “the 4th day of chia-p’ing 嘉平 of ping-wu 卯午

\(^{185}\) I. e., military campaigns.

\(^{186}\) I. e., in preparation for war, to mislead the enemy by doing the opposite of what he anticipates and to alienate him from his allies.

\(^{187}\) I. e., the trans-Siberian line.

\(^{188}\) I. e., in Chinese Turkestan.

\(^{189}\) I. e., intruding guests bring about the embarrassment of the host. The inversion 奴主噎貴 (to chu hsüan pin) for 嚴賓奴主 (hsüan pin to chu) is for the purpose of tonal balance.

\(^{200}\) For these words cf., e. g., Mathews’ Chinese-English Dictionary, Revised American edition, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1943, no. 2840 (p. 384).

By “preparedness” is meant “military preparedness.”

\(^{206}\) Lit., “at this compilation urgency.”

\(^{207}\) I. e., Is this compilation merely to serve the purpose of historical study?

\(^{208}\) Cf. Hsü, op. cit., p. 446.


\(^{200}\) For this work in 16 chüan, published in 1928, cf., e. g., Hsü, op. cit., p. 446, n. 82.

\(^{202}\) Cf. (ts‘e’s) 2907-908.

\(^{201}\) I. e., the cheng-yüeh 正月 or “first moon.”
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(17 January 1907)." As remarked by William HUNG, "It is full of erroneous statements." 209 YEH's concluding remarks, nevertheless, are not without interest (29v11-30r3):

As for this book, Mr. K'o [Feng-sun]柯[鳳孫]1210 too, [80r] has seen it, but has cited it very little, because the text with Li's commentary 211 is already published and may serve as reference.212 I, however, regard this original text as not the same as the YANG 213 text and the Li commentary. I hope that some day there may be connoisseurs who will transmit it to a cutter. Were it combined 214 with the Meng-hu yueh-tu 曼古源流 215 [History of the Mongols], they would make an excellent pair.216

Later, in his "Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih hsü" 元朝秘史序 217 ["Preface to the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih"], dated "the 1st day of the 9th moon of the 33rd year of Kuang-hsi 光緒 [7 October 1907]," in which he also labored under several misconceptions, YEH had occasion to signalize, albeit in a rather quaint manner, the singular value of the Mongolian text in Chinese transcription (1r7-1v8):

Moreover, as to this text [under consideration], in each section [first] there is a transcription into words from the original language and secondly there is a translation into sentences from the words [of the transcription]. If we take the entire book and examine it, we find that although there is no abridgment or alteration in [respect of] the translated text in the YANG block-print, yet there is no originally transcribed language. [Thus] it does not escape the condensation and abridgment of omission. Perhaps, the text in the [Yung-lo] to-tien was [already] thus and the blame assuredly does not lie with YANG. In

211 See note 180 above.
212 Lit., "and may thereby be taken as witness."
213 See notes 26 and 164 above.
214 I, e., published.
217 1r2-2r1.
reality language and letters attain success by helping each other.218 The first efforts and the later polishings each have their own emphasis.219 From the standpoint of historiographical requirements, so long as the meaning [1v] of the text is made evident by translation, it may furnish material for compilation. In judging it as a translated book, unless one have access to the original language which is made, how is one to know whether the translated text might not have omisions or insertions, additions or subtractions?220 Hence, that this text is valuable lies not alone in the fact that the division into chüan is different [from that in the Yung text] and the fact that it has the name of the author.221

As to the material disposition of the text as he published it, including such modifications and alterations as he deemed advisable, Yuen has this to say (1v3-7):

[As for] the original text, each line varies in length between [from] 7 ts'un 221 to a little less than 8 ts'un of the present-day architectural foot-rule of the kung-pu 工部 and it is 6 ts'un, 8 fen 224 in width. Now we cut [the blocks] on a reduced scale, [but] in [respect of the arrangement of] the lines 225 [on the leaf] there is nothing which we have changed. In the book originally there were black lines and 226 horizontal marks. We have completely followed the prototype [here].227 Since in the original [copy] there [also] are red lines, then we have cut [them] into double lines [with] a white line 228 to indicate the differentiation. As for the red lines, they were

218 Yuen seems to mean that the spoken language grows only as the written language and that the written language would not be possible without the spoken language. In other words, the spoken language needs literature and literature needs the spoken language.

219 Lit., "the meanings, in each case, have what they should." Yuen seems to mean that the text then before him represented, as he visualized it, the first efforts in which the emphasis was on the language, whereas the text in the Yung-lo ta-tien (which he had not seen, but assumed from Yung's edition) represented later polishings in which the emphasis was on the requirements of letters.

220 In other words, "alterations."

221 Yuen was in error in thinking that the text "has the name of the author." See pp. 00-00 below.

222 I.e., 0.760 or 0.770 of a ch'ih which consisted of 10 ts'un.


224 I.e., 0.580 of a ch'ih.

225 Lit., "line-items."

226 Y.e., "with."

227 These are completely reproduced here.

228 In the words of Dr. William Huna (9 November 1954), "This is very awkward Chinese!" However, Yuen means that he changed the red lines of the original into double black lines with a white space between them.
used to denote] personal names. As for the black lines and the horizontal marks, [they were used to denote] the length and the division of words. They all are more detailed than [those in] the Yang block-print.

In conclusion Yeh expresses the following opinion as to the value of the text for the control of the Yuan shih (1v7-9):

The world does not lack men who [can] understand the translation. If they utilize the original transcription to reach the original sounds (= language), the errors of the Yuan shih which they should [be able to] correct ought to be not only the [few] items which are recorded in the K'ao-i [Critical Notes] of Ch'en Ta-hsin.

If the role of Chinese scholars in the preservation and transmission of The Secret History of the Mongols is, as above suggested, one of the great stories of literary history, it is the more remarkable, when we reflect that the original text in Chinese transcription was in a language which, presumably, none of them comprehended and that the translation of the original was in an exotic, colloquial style of Chinese which, to their sophisticated tastes, was intolerably uncouth. Nonetheless, so keen was their sense of history and so profound, their understanding of the research value of primary source material that, despite any misgivings as to those features of the work which to them appeared to be shortcomings, they preserved and transmitted it so faithfully from generation to generation that the text as published by Yeh Te-hui, differing in no significant particular from the "Ku collated copy," is essentially the same as the Ming printed prototype and, presumably, the manuscript text which was copied into the Yung-lo ta-tien.

Of the transmission of The Secret History of the Mongols between the years 1368 and 1382 we know nothing that can be specifically documented textually. However, as the sources for

I.e., "with."

Lit., "double translation." Yeh means that in his time there probably were men who could understand the translation.

Lit., "push and get."

See note 168 above.

From "an old facsimile copy" of which, in the possession of Chang Heian-yin of Lu-chou, Ku Kuang-ch'i made his "collated copy." Cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 489.

Between the years 1403-1408. See p. xxiv above. Cf. also Hung, op. cit., p. 459.

See page xxiv above.
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the story of the compilation of the Yüan shih suggest the circumstances under which the Mongolian text came to be transcribed, glossed, and translated during these years, they must be taken into consideration for whatever light they may shed on one of the darkest periods of the text's own history on Chinese soil.

In the Ming shih 2 (ts'e 2). 2.10-3r1 we read:

On [the day] keng-wu 庚午 [... of the 8th moon ... of the 1st year of (the) Hung-wu (period) (14 September 1368)] He Shu Ta 徐達 296 entered the Yuan capital 297 and sealed up the libraries and the treasuries, and the books, and guarded the palace gates, forbidding [his] soldiers [8r] to loot ...

In the Ming shih-lu [Veritable Records of (the) Ming (Dynasty)] 30 (ts'e 6). 1v3-2r3 there is a fuller account of the entry of He Shu Ta into the Yuan capital. It begins as follows (1v3-5):

On [the day] keng-wu [... of the 8th moon ... of the 1st year of (the) Hung-wu (period) (14 September 1368)] the Ta-chiang-chün 大將軍, 238 He Shu Ta, ordering the chih-kui 指揮, 239 Ma 玉, 240 to guard Tung-chou 通州, 241 advanced [his] army to take the Yuan capital. When the army reached the Chi-hua-men 242 he ordered the officers and men to fill in the moat and, scaling the wall, to enter [the capital] ...

It continues (1v8-10):

... He sealed up their libraries and treasuries as well as the maps and books, the precious things, etc. He also sealed up the gates to the halls of the former palace and had the chih-kui, Chang Huan 張煥, 242 guard them with 1,000 soldiers. [As for the] “palace persons,” 244 concubines, and prin-


297 I. e., Ta-tu 大都 (in Chinese) or Daidu (in Mongolian).

238 Lit., “Grand General.”

239 I. e., “Commandant.”

240 The ming (名) of this person is not given in the text.


243 In the biography of He Shu Ta this same person is called Chang Sheng. See note 946 below.

244 I. e., palace ladies.
In the biography of Hsü Ta in the *Ming shih 125* (ts'e 35). 1r5-1r6 we read *(5v3-4)*:

He sealed up the libraries and treasuries, listed the maps and books, and precious things, and had the chih-kuai, CHANG Sheng 張勝, guard the Palace gates with 1,000 soldiers.*

One of the sources of the above accounts is the "P'ing Yüan-tu k'ai-piao" 平元都捷表 ["Victory Memorial on (the Occasion of) the Pacification of the Yüan Capital"] of Hsü Ta in the *Ming shih-lu* [Veritable Records of (the) Ming (Dynasty)] 30 (ts'e 6). 11v8-13r4, wherein the victorious general remarked *(12v8-10)*:

... [Your Majesty's] Servant, together with [Ch'ang] Yu-ch'un 常遇春,* and others, already on the 2nd day of the 1st decade of the 8th moon [14 September 1368] had brought the soldiers into their capital city. [The populace] put ch'ang 彈 in pots *to welcome us*, for, ridding themselves of the basins which they wore upon their heads, they looked up at the white sun.* One family congratulated another, because, with the clearing of the unhealthy atmosphere,* they gazed upon the blue skies. [We] humbly pro-

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* The word 主 (chu) is an abbreviation of 公主 (kung-chu).
* In the *Ming shih-lu* this same person is called CHANG Huan. See note 843 above. 
* Cf. also OTHMER, op. cit., p. 315, n. 150.
* For his biography cf. the *Ming shih 125* (ts'e 35).11r6-1r7r10.
* I. e., "brought food and drink."
* In other words, "emerging from the darkness of the Yüan, they looked up at the brightness of the Ming." In the words 戴盆而仰月 我们 have an allusion to a passage in the famous letter of Ssu-ma Chi'en 司馬遷 to his friend Jen An 任安 in the former's biography in the *Han shu* 漢書 62 (ts'e 19).1r3-8r9, wherein we read *(16v8)*: 俱以戴盆何以望天. "I have pondered how one, wearing a basin upon his head, could behold the skies." By "the skies" Ssu-ma Chi'en meant Wu-ti 武帝 of the Han. Cf. also Edouard CHAVANNES, *Les Mémoires historiques de So-ma Ti'en*, Tome premier, Paris, 1895, p. CCXXXIX: "De même qu'un homme qui porte une cuvette sur la tête ne peut pas lever les yeux vers le ciel,..." In note 3 on pages CCXXXIV-CCXXV, CHAVANNES observed (with the Chinese commentator): "Lever les yeux au ciel et avoir une cuvette sur la tête sont choses incompatibles. De même servir le souverain et s'occuper de sa famille." While the metaphor was used by Hsü Ta to convey the sense of "liberation," it was used by Ssu-ma Chi'en to convey that of "humbility."

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* Lit., "pushing away the demoniac atmosphere." For the allusion in these words cf. the *Fen-lei pu-chi* Li T'ai-po shih 分類補註李太白詩 5 (ts'e 3).11v7.
Having taken such preliminary measures to safeguard the archives of the fallen Yüan, in due course, Hsü Ta sent them to the south. The treatise in the Ming shih, entitled “I-wen” [Bibliography], opens as follows:

After T'ai-tzu 太祖 253 of the Ming had conquered the Yüan Capital, the general 254 collected the records and sent them to Nan-ching 南京 255.

With the records in hand, the new dynasty was in a position to begin the compilation of the history of its predecessor. According to the Ming shih- lu [Veritable Records of (the) Ming Dynasty] 37 (ts'e 7).1r3-5:

On the 1st day, ping-yin 丙寅, of the 2nd moon of the 2nd year of [the] Hung-wu [period] [9 March 1369] it was decreed that the Yüan shih be compiled. His Majesty addressed the courtiers, saying, “Recently, when we took the Yüan Capital, we got the Yüan Shih-san-ch'ao shih-lu 十三朝實錄 [Veritable Records of the Thirteen Reigns]. Although the Yüan is a perished state, its [historical] events ought to be recorded. Moreover, as historiography (史) records successes and failures, shows encouragement and admonition, it should not be abandoned.”

The compiler of this entry in the Shih-lu further remarked (1r8-9):

The Bureau (官) was opened in the Tien-chieh-su 天界寺 257 and books such as the Yüan Ch’ing-shih ta-tien 經世大典 258 [Compendium of Govern-
The same event is tersely chronicled in the *Ming shih* 2 (ts'e 2) 4v3 in one sentence:

On the 1st day, *ping-yin*, of the 2nd moon [. . . in the spring, of the 2nd year (9 March 1369)], it was decreed to compile the *Yüan shih*.

Sung Lien 宋濂,260 to whom we are indebted for most of our knowledge of the story of the compilation of the *Yüan shih*, wrote in his "*Yüan shih mu-lu hou-chi" 元史目録後記 260 ["Postscript to the Table of Contents of the *Yüan shih*"] (12r3-2):

On *ping-yin* of the 2nd moon, in the spring of the following year [9 March 1369], the Bureau was opened and by kuei-yu 句酉 of the 8th moon, in the autumn [12 September 1369], the work was finished.

The finishing of the *Yüan shih* is also chronicled in the *Ming shih* 2 (ts'e 2).6r7:

On kuei-yu [. . . of the 8th moon . . . in the autumn . . . of the 2nd year (12 September 1369)] the *Yüan shih* was finished.

The "*Chin Yuan-shih piao" 進元史表 261 ["Memorial for the Presentation of the *Yüan shih*"] found at the beginning of the *Yüan shih* is dated the same day. Although it bears the name of Li Shan-ch'ang 李善長 262 as its author, it was, in fact, written in its draft form by Sung Lien.263

However, though finished, the *Yüan shih* was not yet complete. In the words of the "*Chin Yuan-shih piao" (9r3-4):

"From Tai-tsu 264 above to Ning-tsung 亨宗 265 below, basing ourselves on the texts of the *Shih-san-ch'ao shih-lu*, we achieved a roughly finished history in a hundred-odd *chüan*.266"

The circumstances which prevented the historiographers from

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260 For his biography cf. the *Ming shih* 128 (ts'e 36).8v7-15r8.
261 Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi 宋學士集文 1 (ts'e 1).11v4-15v8.
262 Cf. the *Yüan shih* (ts'e 1).1r1-3r10.
263 For his biography cf. the *Ming shih* 127 (ts'e 36).1r4-7r10.
264 For the draft cf. the *Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi* 1 (ts'e 1).10v8-11v13.
265 I.e., Činggis Qan.
266 I.e., Irinjibal Qayun.
267 Although this statement constitutes a drastic revision of the text in the *Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi* (11v5-6), the difference is of no consequence, insofar as our purpose here is concerned.
completing the work were set forth by Sung Lien in his "Yüan shih mu-lu hou-chi" (12r6-7):

As for the period of Shun-ti 順帝,287 as the functions of the historiographers 史官 had fallen into abandon, there were no Shih-lu [Veritable Records] at all which could be cited. Wherefore, [the historiographers] had not succeeded in making a complete work.288

In his "Lü shih ts'ai-shih mu-lu hsü" 吕氏采史目錄序 289 ["Preface to the Catalogue of Historical Documents gathered by Lü"] Sung Lien reiterated the circumstances and told how he and two colleagues drew up a list of particulars, containing the kind of material needed to complete the history, and memorialized the Throne to the following effect (1r10-12):

Eleven commissioners should be dispatched to travel throughout the empire and send up to the government everything which has bearing on historical events.270 The Pei-p'ing 北平 of the present is the former capital of the Yüan 元氏.271 [The] Shan-tung 山東 area 272 also is known for important garrisons.273 There ought to be in existence some documents on the institutions of the dynasty.

Among the commissioners so dispatched was Lü Chung-shan 呂仲善.274 As related by Sung Lien in the same "Lü shih ts'ai-shih mu-lu hsü" (1r13-1v3):

On [the day] ting-mao 丁卯 of the 8th moon [6 September 1369] 278 he reached Pei-p'ing. All edicts and memorials, appointments 279 and petitions, which were in the form of documents,277 he collected together. If there were relevant foreign 278 [1v] documents, then he had them translated into [Chinese]

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287 L. e., Toyon Temür Qāyān.
288 Had such Shih-lu existed, the pen-chi for the reign of Shun-ti could have been completed as readily as those for the other thirteen reigns.
289 Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi 14 (ts'e 4), 1r2-3v8.
270 Presumably, not only just those of the 36 years in question.
271 Hence, there would be archives with documents.
272 In what sense is the name here used? During the T'ang it designated the whole east of T'ang-kuan 陜關 and during the Yüan and Ming it designated the area east of Wu-t'ai-shan 五臺山. This would correspond to the general metropolitan area.
273 Hence, there would also be archives with documents.
274 Chung-shan is his fù (府). We do not know his ming. 280 I. e., 24 days later.
276 Lit., "appointments and dismissals."
277 Lit., "which were spread out upon documents."
278 I. e., non-Chinese.
texts (有涉於番書則令譯而成文). As for [items] not related in official documents, such as imperial excursions, palace confidences, comments on government, ballads in circulation as well as the inauspicious and the auspicious [in respect] of loyalty, filiality, sedition, and banditry—whether revealed [in] the yeh-shih 野史 ("unofficial anecdotes"), or appearing [on] stelae, or found [in] the private writings of sundry scholars—there was none which he did not search out with all his heart.

The materials which Lü gathered also included rubbings of inscriptions on stelae in Pei-p'ing and Shan-tung. As further related by Sung Lien in the "Lü shih ts'ai-shih mu-lu hsi" (1v10-11):

On [the day] jen-yin 卒寅 of the 3rd moon [9 March 1370] he carted [them] back to the Capital. Afterwards, the [other ten] commissioners all assembled. [I, Sung] Lien, thereupon, had reliable [material] to compile and complete the Hsii [Continued History] in 48 chiian.

Finally, in his "Yüan shih mu-lu hou-chi" Sung Lien wrote (12r8-12v1):

Again, on [the day] i-ck*ou 乙丑 of the 2nd moon, in the spring, of the following year [9 March 1370], the Bureau was opened and by [the day] ting-hai 丁亥 of the 7th moon, in the autumn [23 July 1370], the work was finished. Again it was presented.

Of the various sources thus accessible to the Ming historiographers for the compilation of the Yüan shih, the only two expressly mentioned by title are the Shih-san-ch'ao shih-lu, which, although unhappily not extant, provided requisite material for thirteen of the pen-chi 本紀 ("basic annals") as well as many lieh-chuan 列傳 ("biographies"), and the monumental Ching-shih ta-tien, which, happily partially extant, provided material for the piao 表 ("tables") as well as the chih 志 ("treatises") of the Yüan shih.288

Sung Lien, it will be recalled, stated in his "Lü shih ts'ai-shih mu-lu hsi" (1r14-1v1) that, "if there were relevant foreign [1v] documents, then he had them translated into [Chinese] texts." It

288 I. e., classified material.

289 Lit., "good and evil in government of the time."

291 Lit., "songs and ballads on customs of the people."

288 I. e., Nan-ching.

288 For this encyclopaedia begun in 1329 and completed in 1338 see note 258 above.

292 Cf., e. g., Hung, op. cit., p. 472.
was Wang Kuo-wei 王國維  who, in the light of this statement, first proposed in his “Meng-wen Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih pa” 蒙文元朝秘史跋 286 [“Colophon to the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih in the Mongolian Language ”] that The Secret History of the Mongols was translated into Chinese in 1369. 287 His observation reads as follows (2r8-9):

Hence the task of collecting history in the 2nd year of [the] Hung-wu [period] [1369] really included the work of translation. Hence the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih, too, is one of the foreign texts which they translated.

In the opinion of William Hung, “The time may, indeed, have been as Wang Kuo-wei thought, the second half of the year 1369. But one need not be so definite.” 288 The author of “The Transmission of the Book Known as The Secret History of the Mongols” suggests, for his part, that the Mongolian text of The Secret History of the Mongols may have been sent to Nanking by Hsü Ta in 1368. 289 In other words, the text may have gone down from Pei-p’ing in 1368 together with the Shih-san-ch’ao shih-lu and, possibly, “books such as the Yüan Ching-shih ta-tien.”

Wang Kuo-wei went on to make a second observation (2r10-11):

Regrettably, in the 3rd year of [the] Hung-wu [period] [1370], at the time when they resumed the compilation, they only continued [it] into the events of the single reign of Shun-ti and, in [the case of] the already completed 169 chiian, they had not taken the time 290 to revise. Hence in the Yüan shih they never used any of the material in this book.

William Hung, however, inclining to the supposition that a Chinese translation of the Mongolian text of The Secret History of the Mongols may have been accessible to the compilers, when they began their work in 1369, explains in somewhat different terms their failure to use the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih as source material: 291

291 I.e., pains.
They were official scholars interested in finishing the compilation quickly in order soon to go home or to receive rewards by way of promotion. They were not research students under the compulsion of scientific accuracy and completeness. And a hurried comparison of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih with the veritable records of the reigns of Cinggis and Ogodei might have, indeed, given them the notion that the latter already included all that was [460] worth taking from the former. Since they could easily rearrange, cut and condense the veritable records, why should they have troubled themselves with the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih, some parts of which they might even have considered as unbelievable and unedifying? . . .

The weight of evidence, circumstantial though it be, favors, in my opinion, the supposition of William Hung. In any case, it is an indisputable fact that the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih was not used as a source of the Yüan shih.

Wang Kuo-wei, in the same "Colophon," made still another observation which reads as follows (2r12-2v1):

As to this book, since Lü Chung-shan sent it up to the Bureau of History, hence in the 16th year of [the] Hung-wu [period] [1382], at the time when they compiled the Hua-i i-yü, they were able to use [it] for [2v] reference. The layout of the text now transmitted is exactly the same as that of the Hung-wu copy of the Hua-i i-yü. It would seem that it issued from [blocks] which one had cut at the same time.293 That previous persons had mistaken [it] as an edition from Yüan blocks, it would seem, is [owing to the fact] that they had not investigated [the matter] thoroughly.

Although Wang was, perhaps, too affirmative in asserting so unequivocally that Lü Chung-shan had sent The Secret History up to the Bureau of History, it is, nevertheless, a fact, as we know from the entry under the date of 20 January 1382 in the Ming shih-lu,294 that the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih was used for reference in the compilation of the Hua-i i-yü.295 Commenting on the Shih-lu entry Pelliot stated in "Le Hôja et le Sayyid Husain de l'Histoire des Ming":296 "Le texte est évidemment placé rétrospectivement sous 1382, qui n'est que la date de l'édit ordonnant d'entreprendre le travail; nous ne savons pas la date précise où fut achevée la transcription phonétique de l'Histoire secrète, mais

293 By this Wang meant that the xylographic workmanship was the same in both cases.
294 141 (ts'e 20) 3v6-4r1. See page xxiii above.
295 See page xxiii above.
l'édition du Houa-yi yi-yu . . . n'est que de 1839.”

William Hung, addressing himself to the same problem, remarked: “Had we not known that the compilation was not completed until late in 1839, we might have been easily misled by that passage to think that the Hua-i i-yü was already compiled and published in 1832.” The date of 1839 is that given by Liu San-wu 劉三吾 in his preface to the Hua-i i-yü. While suggesting that the historiographers may have drawn upon the preface of Liu San-wu for some of the entry, William Hung hypothesizes that, since Liu made no mention, among other things, of the Yuan pi-shih, they might have drawn upon the preface of the Tseng-ting Hua-i i-yü 增定夷夷譯語 [Enlarged Sino-Barbarian Glossaries] for the Shih-lu entry. That the historiographers had ample opportunity to avail themselves of the preface may be presumed, if we recall that the Shih-lu of T'ai-tsu of the Ming were not begun until 1399 and were not finally completed until 1418.

It is, therefore, logical to conclude from this that, since the shih-lu entry relative to the Hua-i i-yü published in 1839 had been inserted retrospectively under the year 1382—the year in which the decree to compile the Hua-i i-yü was issued—and since the reference to the Yuan pi-shih is found in that part of the entry which the historiographers devoted to an exposition of the manner in which the Hua-i i-yü was compiled—an exposition for which they must have utilized source material which could not have existed prior to the compilation of the Hua-i i-yü—and, if the hypothesis of William Hung is correct, prior to the compilation of the Tseng-ting Hua-i i-yü, it is not justifiable to assume that the date of 1382 is here as applicable to The Secret History as it is to the Hua-i i-yü. It must not be forgotten, however, that the decree to compile the Hua-i i-yü was issued very early in 1882, specifi-
cally on 20 January. If it were assumed that the work started the same year, it might also be assumed that the Yuan pi-shih was known and available to the compilers from the start. Such assumptions might, indeed, be correct, but unfortunately cannot be proved. When we recall that the Hua-i i-yü was not completed until 1389—seven years after the decree was issued—and that the Tseng-ting Hua-i i-yü was not completed until some time after that, we can only state with absolute assurance that use of the Yuan pi-shih for reference in the compilation of the Hua-i i-yü must have been made sometime between the date of the edict—1382—and the date when the Shih-lu of T'ai-tsu of the Ming were completed—1418, however probable it may be that it was so used from the start.

With his statement of the similarity in layout of the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih and the Hua-i i-yü, however, Wang Kuo-wei drew a step nearer to the solution of the intricate problem of the relationship between the two texts—a problem which, having previously been considered by such scholars as Wan Kuang-t'ai,\(^{303}\) Naka Michiyo,\(^{304}\) Kanai Yasuzō 金井保三,\(^{306}\) and Inaba Iwakichi 稲葉岩吉,\(^{307}\) was later to be more thoroughly investigated by Ch'en Yuan\(^{308}\) in his Yuan pi-shih i-yin yung-tzu k'ao\(^{309}\) [Study of the Characters Used in the Transcription of the Sounds of the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih], and eventually exhaustively treated by William Hung,\(^{310}\) who reversed with the most convincing of arguments a number of the conclusions reached by Ch'en Yuan.

The problem of the relationship between the two texts is important, because it involves, on the one hand, the question of the Ming printed text of the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih and the Yung-lo ta-tien manuscript text and, on the other, that of when and how the original Mongolian text was transcribed, glossed, and translated. In the light of the findings of William Hung we now have a much

\(^{303}\) Cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 455.
\(^{305}\) Cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 463.
\(^{306}\) Cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 468.
clearer picture of the circumstances, even though certain conclusions are still tentative.

In 1938 there were discovered in the Ming Nei-ko ta-k'ū 内閣大庫 in the Palace in Peking 41 leaves of the printed edition of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih and a few of the printed edition of the Hua-i i-yü. The 41 leaves of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih were included in The Commercial Press photolithographic reproduction of the "Ku collated copy," but, unfortunately, the editors did not reproduce, even though it would have meant duplication in one sense of the term, the corresponding leaves of that copy. Nevertheless, it is the conclusion of William Hung, after a meticulous comparison of the physical disposition of the 41 leaves—the arrangement of the words in the line and the lines on the leaf—as well as the style and structure of their characters with selected leaves in the "Ku collated copy" that, with the exception of certain features peculiar to the printed edition, to which attention is drawn, the Chang Hsiang-yün copy must have been indeed a good facsimile copy of the so-called 'Hung-wu' printed edition, and that the 'Ku certified copy' must have been a good facsimile copy of the Chiang Hsiang-yün copy." The Chiang Hsiang-yün copy, it will be recalled, was the facsimile copy of the original printed edition of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih in 10 chüan and the Hsu [Continuation] in 2 chüan, of which Ku Kuang-ch'i made a facsimile copy which came to be called the "Ku chiao pen" ["Ku collated copy"]. This copy, as William Hung has also remarked, was "so reliable that all textual errors therein must be attributed also to the printed edition, most of which is now lost." Although the "Ku collated copy" was never directly cut on blocks for printing, it was indirectly so cut, in the sense that the manuscript copy of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih, which Yeh Te-hui printed and published in 1908 was the copy which had belonged to Wen T'ing-shih—a copy which had descended from the "Ku collated copy."
As to the Hua-i i-yü, the differences between some of the leaves of the Ming edition, discovered in the same place at the same time, and the corresponding leaves of the old printed copy of the text reproduced in the Han-fen-lou pi-chi 因芬樓秘笈 [Rare Books (in the Possession) of the Han-fen-lou] in 1918 have also been set forth by William Hung in his monumental article. As the dating of these leaves has great bearing not only on the transmission of the Hua-i i-yü, but also on that of the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih, it is necessary to touch upon this question to some extent.

PELLLOT had already noted that in the Ming kung shih 明宮史 317 [History of the Ming Palace] there is to be found "la mention du Houna-yi yi-yu en 88 feuillets." 318 "Il s'agit certainement," he added, "du Houa-yi yi-yu de Houo Yuan-kie; une difficulté existe cependant; même avec la préface[275] face de Lieou San-wou et le fan-li, on n'obtient, dans la reproduction du Han-fen-leou pi-ki, que 85 feuillets; les chapitres sont cependant bien complets. Y a-t-il une faute du Ming kong che (,, 88" au lieu de ,, 85"), ou manquerait-il à notre édition quelque morceau préliminaire, par exemple une préface de Houo Yuan-kie?" 319

William Hung, for his part, drew attention to the fact that in the "Ming-tai nei-fu ching-ch'ang pen-shu-mu" 明代內府經版本書目 320 "[List of Book-Blocks in the Palace Printing Bureau]", drawn up by the eunuch, Liu Jo-yü 江若愚, toward the close of the Ming dynasty, there are the entries "Hua-i i-yü: 1 pen, 88 leaves" 321 and "Tseng-ting Hua-i i-yü: 11 pen, 1,708 leaves." 322

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315 The Commercial Press, 1918.
317 Hsiieh-chin tao-yüan 学津討原, 第八集, 第三冊 (ts'e 75). 土 (t'u), 8v6. See also note 320 below.
318 Pelliot, op. cit., p. 274. The entry in the Ming kung shih reads: 華夷譯語: 一本八十八葉 "Hua-i i-yü: 1 pen, 88 leaves."
320 In the Tao-chi shu-mu 陶輯書目 of Tao Hsiang 陶湘 by whom, I was informed by Dr. William Hung on 22 March 1962, it was reconstructed in 1938 from the Cho-chung chih 劉中志, a work in 24 ch'üan compiled by Liu Jo-yü 劉若愚 circa 1639-1664. The Ming kung shih in 5 chüan was merely a part of the Cho-chung chih. Cf. Yu Chia-hsi 余嘉錫, San-lu t'ie-yao pien-cheng 四庫提要辨證 (Pei-p'ing 北平, 1938) 9,474-477.
321 華夷譯語: 一本八十八葉 (6v6).
322 增定華夷譯語: 一本千七百八葉 (5r6).
Noting that the *Hua-i* i-yü in the *Han-fen-lou pi-chi* consists of
3 + 1 + 28 + 23 + 24 leaves or 84 in all and that this is 4 leaves
short of the figure given by Liu—a figure of 88, which PELLIOI thought might have been a misprint for "85"—or that "some
preliminary piece, for example, a preface of Huo Yuan-ch'ieh"
might be missing from the present edition of the text, William HUNG suggests: "It seems that another interpretation is also
possible. The title leaf is certainly missing. The other three missing
leaves may be another preface, or another letter to make the latter
part of the book 28 + 27 leaves."

With reference to the printed *Hua-i i-yü* in the British Museum
with six vocabularies PELLIOI remarked: "Au complet, l'édition
des Ming, y compris le siamois, devait avoir dix vocabulaires.
Mais chacun des vocabulaires a seulement un peu plus de 100
feuillets . . . , ce qui donne au maximum pour les dix vocabulaires
1100 feuillets, au lieu que le Ming kong che en indique 1708. En
outre, les dix vocabulaires devraient faire normalement dix volumes,
au lieu que le Ming kong che, confirmé par une autre source,
parle de onze. Il y avait donc dans le Tseng-ting Houa-yi yi-yü
complet des matériaux dont la nature nous échappe encore; peut-
être s'agit-il, au moins en partie, des additions qui manquent à
l'exemplaire imprimé connu et à la plupart des exemplaires manu-
crits, mais on ne peut entièrement exclure la possibilité que cer-
taines des "suppliques" aient été imprimées également."

To the question raised by PELLIOI there was suggested by
William HUNG a possible answer. Observing that the *Yüan-ch'ao
pi-shih* is not listed in the inventory of Liu Jo-yü, despite its
typography and layout suggestive of the workmanship of the
Palace Printing Bureau, he proposed that, since there is given the
serial number of each leaf in each *chiian* as well as the serial
number of each leaf in the book as a whole, the total number of
leaves of the complete book can easily be calculated by add-
ing up the numbers of the leaves in the 10 + 2 *chiian* of the
"Ku chiao pen" in the Commercial Press reproduction of the

\[\text{Pelliot miscounted the leaves. He should have said "84." Cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 463, n. 69.}\]

\[\text{Cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 463.}\]

\[\text{PELLIOI, op. cit., pp. 925-926, n. 338.}\]
With this figure of 610 there is but a discrepancy of 2 in comparison with the figure of 608 required to make the difference between that of 1,100 and 1,708, indicated by Pelliot. "The possibility, then," he concludes, "is that the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih was a [464] part of the Enlarged Hua-i-i-yü, a reference reader to follow the Sino-Mongolian vocabulary. Perhaps during the Yung-lo period, the Enlarged Hua-i-i-yü had not yet reached the size mentioned by Liu Jo-yü two centuries later. But it might have at least consisted of the second edition of the Hua-i-i-yü of 1389 and the first printed edition of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih."

William Hung further concludes that the "first edition of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih was in all probability without a preface." He believes, however, that there was a general preface to the Tseng-ting Hua-i-i-yü and that trace of this, as has already been noted, is to be found in the entry inserted retrospectively in the Ming Shih-lu.

In his Yüan pi-shih i-yin yung-tzu k'ao Ch'ên Yüan mentions that he has in his possession a manuscript copy of the sectional summaries of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih—a copy which came from the library of Liu Yao-yü but was originally in the Nei-ko ta-h'u. At the end it has the following brief notation:

One set; two pen. Copied and received in the 8th moon of the 2nd year of the [the] Yung-lo [period] [5 September—3 October 1404].

As stated above, "the fact that such a manuscript copy was made suggests that the Chinese translation of the text had not previously appeared in printed form and serves to establish beyond all doubt that between 1368 and 1404—36 years in all—the

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[[464] See page lii above.
[[464] Cf. 28r6-29r2.
[[464] Page xxv.
Introduction

Text had been partially, if not integrally, translated into Chinese.” For Ch’en Yuan, however, the manuscript suggested other possibilities. It was his thesis that the transcription of the Mongolian text of the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih was made sometime in the Hung-wu period (1368-1398), subsequent to the compilation of the Hua-i i-yü, and that it represented “an advanced stage of the technique.” As he discovered in this manuscript certain features of transcription which, in his opinion, corroborated his thesis, he concluded that the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih was first printed “either simultaneously with, or very shortly after, the first (1389) edition of the Hua-i i-yü”—sometime, in short, between 1389 and 1398.

This thesis, however, was reversed by William Hung, who, having summarized Ch’en’s findings and having raised a number of questions, which he promptly answered, convincingly demonstrated that, whereas the transcription and translation of the Mongolian text of The Secret History must have been done early in the Hung-wu period, prior to the compilation of the Hua-i i-yü, the printing of the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih must have been done “either simultaneously with the later stage of the compilation of the Yung-lo ta-tien, or not long after it.” It is the conjecture of William Hung that, while the printed fragments of both the Hua-i i-yü and the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih might be from a time considerably later than the Yung-lo period (1403-1424), in the absence of evidence to the contrary, they may be assigned to the years between 1404 and 1418, and that, those of the Hua-i i-yü represent the second edition and those of the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih, the first.

It is also the conjecture of William Hung that, by the time the text was used as reference for the Hua-i i-yü, there might have existed “at least one copy in the Uighur script, with the Chinese

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interlinear transcription, embodying a system of technique, not at all more advanced than that of the Hua-i i-yü, with interlinear translation containing variant renderings of identical terms" and "at least one copy of the free and summarized translation, containing differences in literary style, divergent renderings of identical terms, and variant transcriptions of the same personal names—indications that more than one translator worked on different parts." In due course, these two texts were merged into one with the Mongolian original in the Uighur script deleted.

However, as to precisely which of these conjectured texts the words Yüan pi-shih in the Ming shih-lu entry refer, as remarked above, cannot, at this moment, be stated without qualification. It is, nevertheless, clear, as previously indicated, that the Mongolian original must have been transcribed and translated before 1404.

A tentative textual lineage of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih may, therefore, be represented in its main lines schematically as follows:

1. *Mongolian original (in the Uighur script) entitled *Činggis qayan-u ujayur [The Origin of Činggis Qayan].
4. *Chinese interlinear transcription—somewhat modified from that in no. 2—and glosses, both derived from no. 2, with the Mongolian original (in the Uighur script) deleted, but with the abridged Chinese translation derived from no. 3 added, the whole—including the colophon—arbitrarily divided into 282 sections and entitled Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih.

846 Page xxiv above.
847 Page xxiv above.
848 For a discussion of this title, which may have been Činggis qan-u ujayur in its primitive form, see "Introduction" in subsequent volume.
5. Manuscript copy of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih of 1404, derived from no. 3.

6. Yung-lo ta-tien text of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih in 15 ch'üan, derived from no. 4, yielding:
   a) Manuscript copy of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih in 15 ch'üan in the possession of Ch'ien Ta-hsin;
   b) Manuscript copy of the same in the possession of Pao T'ing-po—possibly a copy of that in the possession of Ch'ien Ta-hsin—which came to be possessed by HAN T'ai-hua in 1847, to be bought by the Archimandrite

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On page 14-18 of his Предсказывание ("Introduction") Dr. Pankratov deals specifically with the manuscript acquired by the Archimandrite Palladini. On page 17 he refers to the undated note by Fu-weng 復翁 (i.e., Huang Pei—lieh 黃丕烈 [1763—1825]) to Lu—ying 魯硬 (i.e., Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷确 [1763—1814]) on the last, unnumbered leaf of the manuscript (page 601 of the reproduction). As there is no translation of the note in Dr. Pankratov's "Introduction." I tentatively offer the following, though mindful of the problems which it contains:

"The manner in which the Yung—lo ta—tien copy divides the ch'üan is not the same as that in which they were divided in the original block—print edition. [As for] ch'üan 1 and ch'üan 2 here, ch'üan 1 is the same, but ch'üan 2 is not the same [as in the original block—print edition]. As to what ch'üan 2 herein should have, it must have been cut off and placed at the head of ch'üan 3. [In a previous ts'e fan] I have already indicated (cit., 'conveyed') its beginning and end. (The errors pro et con.) The two ch'üan of the Hsi—chi 詳集 are divided into 10, 14, and 15. [I] have already checked [them] herein. [I] imagine that, as for the Ch'eng—chi 形正 from ch'üan 3 to ch'üan 10, [you] have already checked the original block—print. [As it is something] which I have never seen, therefore, I have not in turn checked [it]. Herewith [I] beg that [you, my] senior, Lu—ying, correct [my errors].

Fu—weng."

Cf. also Hsü, op. cit., pp. 401-402.
Palladii in 1872, and a photographic reproduction of which was presented by Paul Pelliot to the Pei-p'ing kuo-li t'u-shu-kuan in 1933;

c) Manuscript copy of the same in the possession of Juan Yuan, possibly a copy directly or indirectly related to that in the possession of Ch'ien Ta-hsin, "since Pao was one of two men who assisted Juan Yuan in the selection of rare and neglected books"; 

d) Manuscript copy of the same made by Chang Mu, in the autumn of 1821, collated by him in 1847 with the Pao collated text then in the possession of Han Tai-hua, and printed by him in the Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu, with a colophon dated 13 July 1848.

7. Ming printed text in 10 + 2 chüan, derived from no. 4, of which 41 leaves were discovered in 1933 and reproduced in The Commercial Press edition of the "Ku chiao pen" in 1936. 

a) The abridged Chinese translation in the "Hsi" 續 ["Continuation"] in 2 chüan was copied by Sun Ch'eng-tse from a copy in 10 + 2 chüan in the home of a friend into chüan 9 of his Yuan-ch'ao tien-ku pien-nien k'ao [A Chronological Study of Political Precedents of the Yuan Dynasty] under the title of "Pi-shih." 

b) The Yuan pi-shih lüeh [Abridgment of the Yuan pi-shih] by Wan Kuang-t'ai, with a preface dated 6 June 1748, was based on a copy of the text in 10 + 2 chüan in the possession of the celebrated Ch'a 香 family, which may have been the same copy as that used by Sun. The copy of Wan's work published in the Chao-t'ai ts'ung-shu was made by Yang Fu-chi from a copy in the possession of Pao Ting-po.
An incomplete printed copy of the text in 10 + 2 chüan was in the possession of Pao T'ing-po.\textsuperscript{366}

8. Facsimile copy of no. 5 in the possession of CHANG Hsiang-yün.\textsuperscript{386}

9. Facsimile copy of no. 6 in the possession of CHANG Tun-jen,\textsuperscript{388} known as the "Ku chiao pen."\textsuperscript{387}

a) This copy, having passed through several hands, came into the possession of Sheng-yü. While in his possession, it was recopied by WEN T'ing-shih.\textsuperscript{366}

b) Wen had a copy made from his copy and presented it as a gift to NAITÔ Torajirô 内藤虎次郎 in 1902.\textsuperscript{370}

c) NAITÔ, in turn, had a copy made from his copy for NAKA Michiyo.\textsuperscript{371}

10. Wood-block edition of 1908 by YEH Te-hui of the WEN T’ing-shih manuscript in his possession.\textsuperscript{572}

11. Photolithographic reproduction in 1936 by The Commercial Press of the original "Ku collated copy."\textsuperscript{573}

12. Printed copy of 1942 by SHIRATORI Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, Onyaku Môbun genchô hishi 音譜蒙古文朝鮮史, a reprinting of the YEH Te-hui text, with corrections, and transcription of the Mongolian text into Latin letters.\textsuperscript{574}

If, as has already been suggested, the years 1368-1382 constitute one of the darkest periods of the text’s own history on Chinese soil, how much the more do those from the time when it was written to the year 1368. The colophon to the Mongolian text—

\textsuperscript{366} Cf. Hung, op. cit., pp. 441-443 and 447.
\textsuperscript{367} Cf. Hung, op. cit., pp. 449 and 447.
\textsuperscript{370} Cf. Hung, op. cit., pp. 444-447.
\textsuperscript{371} Cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 445.
\textsuperscript{373} Cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 445.
\textsuperscript{374} Cf. Hung, op. cit., p. 446.
\textsuperscript{375} Cf. Hung, op. cit., pp. 444-447.
\textsuperscript{376} Cf. Hung, op. cit., pp. 444-447.
a colophon which, as first noticed by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert, has a lacuna—reads as follows:*

yeke qurila qurilju qulujana jil jyaran sara-da [58v] Keluren-i Köde'e aral-un Dolo'an Bolday-a Silgin Cég [. . .] qoyar já'ura ordos ba(<v)uju büküütür biçijji da(<h)usba.

[We] finished writing at the moment when the Great Assembly was assembled and [when], in the year of the rat, in the moon of the dam, the palaces were pitched at Dolo'an Bolday* of Köde'e Aral* of the Keluren, between both Silgin Cég* and [. . .].

Probably no part of the Mongolian text of The Secret History has given rise to so much controversy and speculation as its colophon, for, although it contains a date which is extremely precise in its own terms, it has not been possible to convert it into one which has proved acceptable in terms of the content of the text and the history of the period of which it treats. On pages 16-17 of his Старинное монгольское сказание о Чингисхане [Old Mongolian Story About Čingiskhân] published in 1866 the Archimandrite Palladîn wrote:

It is also impossible to speak positively about the time of the writing of the Mongolian text of the Yuan' čao mi şi. The author, after the relation about Cingiskhan, consecrates some pages to the reign of Ogedai and, not mentioning his death, terminates his tale with a note that the book was finished in the year of the mouse, at the time of a great assembly on the Kerulyan River. Syûf sun, in one of his notes, without hesitation, assigns this year of the mouse to the cyclical sign gen'-çois, i.e., to the 1240th, the next to the last in the life of Ogedai. But Van' ču an' [sic] dai, abridger of the Yuan' čao mi şi, assigns the time of writing much farther, on mistaken bases; he says that in the translated text Čingis often is called Tai ču (Great Ancestor), and this appellation in the temple of the ancestors was given to Čingis in the 2nd year of the reign Cîi-da (a. 1309); consequently, it is obvious that Van' guan' daí accepts the translated Chinese text of the Yuan' čao mi şi as contemporary with the Mongolian; moreover, the appellation of Tai ču, given to Čingiskhan, was used from the first times of the accession of the Mongols in China*; finally, according to an observation of Van' guan' daí himself, by the word Tai ču

* Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih, “Hiss.” 2.58v-58v2.
* Le, “Köde'e Isle.”
* I.e., the Keluren River.

* Iuĩ. Cs. 4; 7; 2. 14.
in the Chinese translation [was] rendered the word *Cingis khakhan'* of the tonic transposition. Therefore, the opinion of Van' guan' dal will not do. In my opinion, the circumstance that the book was written or finished at one of the assemblies in Mongolia—which at that time was an annual custom—proves that the compilation of the present history relates to the times of the first four khans; because, in subsequent times, with the division of the house of the Cingiskhanids, there were not seen any longer the general assemblies within Mongolia, especially on the Kerulun. It is also possible to point to the simplicity and unaffectedness of the style of the *Yuan* çao mi *ši*, qualities, which confirm that, at that time, the Mongols had not yet emerged from an original, steppe way of life.

It is hardly an exaggeration to state that, since the time when the Archimandrite Palladii expressed his views on the dating of the Mongolian text of *The Secret History*, although the problem has been considered by a number of scholars, it does not seem that any substantial progress has been made in the matter of its solution. While there has been a tendency to date the text later and later, with the result that the suggested dates of its composition now range from the years 1228 to 1264, the grounds for later dating have become increasingly hypothetical.

The continuation of this "Introduction" is to appear in a subsequent volume.
The Secret History of the Mongols

Chapter I

§1 [1r] The origin of Činggis Qahan.

There was a bluish wolf which was born having [his] destiny from Heaven above. His spouse was a fallow doe. They came, passing over the Tenggis.¹ There was Bataçiqan [lv] which was born when they had encamped at the head of the Onan River, at [Mount] Burqan Qaldun.

§2 The son of Bataçiqan [was] Tamača. The son of Tamača [was] Qoričar Mergen. The son of Qoričar Mergen [was] A’ujam Boro’ul. The son of A’ujam Boro’ul [was] [2r] Sali Qača’u. The son of Sali Qača’u [was] Yeke Nidün. The son of Yeke Nidün [was] Sem Söći. The son of Sem Söći [was] Qarču.

§3 [2v] The son of Qarču [was] Borjigidai Mergen. He had a wife Mongyoljin Go’a. The son of Borjigidai Mergen [was] Toroqoljin Bayan. He had a wife Boroyčin Go’a. He had a youth Boroldai Suyalbi. He had two noble geldings, Dayir and Boro. The sons of Toroqoljin were the twain, Duua Soqor and Dobun Mergen.

§4 [3r] Duua Soqor had an only eye in the middle of the forehead. [With it] he could look unto a place [at a distance] of three journeys.²

§5 [3v] One day Duua Soqor went out upon [Mount] Burqan Qaldun with his younger brother, Dobun Mergen. Duua Soqor, looking from upon [Mount] Burqan Qaldun, saw, when he looked, a band of people which, journeying down along the Tünggelig Stream, was drawing nigh, and,

¹ I.e., the "Sea."
² Although the epithet Soqor in the name of Duua Soqor means "Blind," it is clear from this text, as remarked by Paul Pelliot in note 3 on page 103 of his posthumous Notes sur l’histoire de la Horde d’Or (Paris, 1949), that it also means "One-Eyed." Hence Duua Soqor means not Duua "The Blind," but Duua "The One-Eyed."
§6 [4r] when he spake, saying, "At the forefront* of one black cart in the midst of those people which, journeying, are drawing nigh, one maiden is good. If she have not yet been given unto a man, I shall request her for thee, my younger brother, Dobun Mergen," he sent his younger brother [4v] Dobun Mergen for to see [her].

§7 When Dobun Mergen was come unto those people, [he saw that] verily it was [5r] a maiden, beautiful and good, whose fame and name [were] great, named Alan Γο'α, and which had not yet been given unto a man.

§8 And, [as for] that band of people, a maiden named Baryujin Γο'α, daughter of Baryudai Mergen, Lord of Köl Baryujin Hollow, had been given unto Qorilartai Mergen, chief of the Qori Tumad. That [was] the maiden which was born of Baryujin Γο'α of Qorilartai Mergen [6v] at Ariy Usun in the land of the Qori Tumad and named Alan Γο'α.

§9 [6r] Qorilartai Mergen, [because] in their land of the Qori Tumad [the people] had forbidden * unto one another their land having sables, squirrels, and wild beasts and [because, therefore,] he was displeased with [his neighbours], taking the clan name Qorilar,* saying, "The wild beasts of [Mount] Burqan Qaldun are easy to hunt and the land [there] is good," was drawing nigh, journeying unto the Uriangqai, Burqan Bosqaysan and Sinči Bayan, Lords of [Mount] Burqan Qaldun. Such [was] the manner in which [Duua Soqor] there requested, and Dobun Mergen took [to wife] Alan Γο'α, daughter of Qorilartai Mergen [6v] of the Qori Tumad and which was born at Ariy Usun.

§10 [7r] Alan Γο'α, coming unto Dobun Mergen, bare two sons. They were named Bügünütei and Belgünütei.*

*It seems, from this passage as well as those in §§55 and 64 below, that the place occupied by the women was the front, inside the cart.
*In Qorilartay we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (Qorilartai Mergen, Qori Tumad, qorilalduju, and Qorilar) to explain the origin of the clan name Qorilar.
*In place of that of Qori Tumad.
*These two names regularly appear in inverse order elsewhere in the text (§§ 18, 19, 20, 23, 48).
§11 The elder brother Duua Soqor had four sons. Meanwhile, [7v] the elder brother Duua Soqor passed away. After that Duua Soqor was passed away, his four sons, not looking upon their uncle as a kinsman, despised [him] and, separating themselves, journeyed, forsaking [him]. Taking the clan name Dörben those became the Dörben people.

§12 [8r] After that, one day Dobun Mergen went out for to hunt upon Toqocay Heights. Encountering in the forest a person of the Uriangqad, which, having killed a deer of three years old, was roasting his ribs and inwards,

§13 [8v] when Dobun Mergen spake, he said, "Companion, [give unto me of thy] roasted flesh." Saying, "I shall give [unto thee thereof]," he took [for himself] half of the breast with the lungs and the skin and gave unto Dobun Mergen all the flesh of the deer of three years old.

§14 [9r] When Dobun Mergen drew nigh, carrying [on his beast of burden] that deer of three years old, encountering on the way a poor man which was walking, leading his son [by the hand],

§15 when Dobun Mergen asked, saying, "What [manner of] person art thou?," when that man spake, he said, "I am a Ma'aliy Baya'ud. I am in a strait. Give unto me [a morsel] from the flesh of that wild [9v] beast. I shall give unto thee this my child."

§16 Dobun Mergen, at that word, [10r] brake off and gave [unto him] a single thigh of the deer of three years old and, bringing his child, employed him within the tent.

§17 Mean while, Dobun Mergen passed away. After that Dobun Mergen was passed away, Alan Gö'a without an husband, then, bare three sons. They were named [10v] Buyu Qadagi, Buyutu Salji, and Bodoncar Mungqay.

§18 When her two sons, Belgünüei and Bügünüei, which before

1 In dörben we have a folk etymology to explain the origin of the clan name Dörben.
2 This name appears as Buyu Qatagi elsewhere in the text (§§10, 25, 30, 38, 39, 42).
3 This name appears as Buyutu Salji in §42 below.
4 For the explanation of this name see §23 below.
were begotten of Dobun Mergen, spake unto each other out of the sight of their mother Alan To'a, their mother Alan To'a perceived that they were talking with each other out of the sight of their mother, saying, “Although [11r] this mother of us be without brethren or kinsmen, and without an husband, she hath borne these three sons. Within the tent there is only a person of the Ma'aliy Baya'ud. These three sons are of him.”

§19 [11v] One day, in the spring, while boiling the dried [flesh of] a sheep, making these her five sons, Belgünütei, Büğünütei, Buyu Qatagi, Buyatu Salji, and Bodonçar Mungqay, to sit in a row, she gave unto each [of them] a single arrow shaft, saying, “Break [it]!” The single [arrow shaft]—how could they have hindered [it from breaking]?—each [of them] brake and cast away. [12r] Again, she bound five arrow shafts together in a bundle and gave [them unto them], saying, “Break [them]! All five, holding, every person, the five arrow shafts bound in a bundle, were in turn not able to break [them].”

§20 [12v] Then their mother Alan To’a spake. She said, “Ye, my two sons, Belgünütei and Büğünütei, doubting of me, talk with each other, saying, ‘She hath borne these three sons. They are sons of whom and of what?’ And your doubting is right.

§21 [13r] Every night, a bright yellow man entered by the light of the hole at the top or [by that] of the door top of the tent and rubbed my belly. His light was wont to sink into my belly. When he went out, like a yellow dog he was wont to crawl out by the beams of the sun or moon.

How [can] ye speak [so] rashly?
If one understand by that, [it is evident that]
Its sign is [that]
They are sons of Heaven.

How [can] ye speak, comparing [them] [18v]
Unto the people with black heads? 12 When they become qad of all,
The common people will then understand [it].”

11 Cf. Aesop’s fable of the farmer and his sons.
12 I.e., the common people.
Again, when Alan ṭa’spoke words of admonition unto her five sons, she said, “Ye, my five sons, were born of an only belly. If, like the five arrow shafts of a little while ago, ye be each alone, like those single arrow shafts, [ye] will each [of you] easily be broken by any one. If together [ye] be of one purpose like those arrow shafts bound in a bundle, how will ye easily be [broken] by any one?” [14v] Mean while, their mother Alan ṭa’a passed away.

§23 After that their mother Alan ṭa’a was passed away, when the brethren—all five—divided among one another their herd and food, [15r] Be[l]günütei, Bügünütei, Buyu Qataği, and Buyatu Saljı—all four—took [each his part]. Saying, “He is foolish and feebleminded,” 18 not counting [him] as a kinsman, they gave not a part unto Bodončar.

§24 [15v] Bodončar, not being counted as a kinsman, saying, “While I am here, what [shall I do]?,” riding upon a grayish white horse with a black stripe along the backbone, 14

With sores on the backbone,
With a hairless tail, 15

saying,
“If I die, I shall die.
If I live, I shall live,”

set out, betaking himself down along the Onan River. Betaking himself, arriving [at] Baljun Isle, making there a tent [which was but] a grass hut, he lived there; he dwelt [there].

§25 [16r] At the moment when he was so living, seeing a gray falcon which had caught and was eating a black pheasant, snaring [him] with the tailhair of the grayish white horse with a black stripe along the backbone,

14 Hence his name, Bodončar Mungqay, i.e., Bodončar “The Fool.” In buda(ʊ)’u we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (buda(ʊ)’u and Bodončar).

15 Which further implies “with black mane and black tail.” See also §§95, 90, and 105 below.

16 See also §23 below.
he caught and raised [him] up.

§26 [16v] When he was without food to eat, he was wont to espy a wild beast which was compassed of wolves at a cliff and, shooting and killing [him], was wont to eat [him] with [his falcon]. He [also] gathered together [with his falcon] and ate [the remnants of that] which the wolves had eaten. And while, together with his own gullet, he also was nourishing his falcon, that year expired.

§27 [17r] It became spring. At the time when the ducks came, he suffered his falcon to hunger and [then] loosed [him]. He laid [on branches] the ducks and geese [which the falcon had caught], until there stank

Stenches
At every rotten tree;

Stinks
At every withered tree.

§28 [17v] From the back of [Mount] Diiyiren a band of people came, journeying down along the Tünggelig Stream. Bodoncar, having loosed his falcon, was wont to go unto those people, drink mare’s milch in the daytime, and at night, coming to his tent [which was but] a grass hut, was wont to tarry the night.

§29 [18r] When those people requested the falcon of Bodončar, he gave [him] not. [Thus] they lived side by side, without those people asking Bodončar, saying, “Of whom [art thou the son] and of what [clan art thou]?” and without Bodončar asking those people, saying, “What people [are ye]?”

§30 His elder brother [18v] Buyu Qatagi came, seeking his younger brother Bodončar Mungqay, saying, “He is gone down along this Onan River.” When he inquired, saying unto the people which were come, journeying down along the Tünggelig Stream, that he was such and such a man and had such [and such] a horse,

18 See also §24 above.
§31 [19r] When those people spake, they said, “Both man and horse are like unto [those concerning which] thou inquiers. And he hath a falcon. Every day he cometh unto us, drinketh mare's milk, and departeth. Who knoweth where he hath slept at night? If there be a wind [19v] from the northwest, the feathers and down of the ducks and geese which he hath made to be caught by the falcon scatter and blow hither like a whirlwind of snow. He is near here. Now is the time when he will come. Wait a moment.”

§32 [20r] While it was [yet but] a moment, a man was drawing nigh, [coming] up along the Tünggelig Stream. When, arriving, he came, it was, indeed, Bodončar. His elder brother Buyu Qatagi, having seen [him] and having recognized [him], guiding [him], set out, trotting and [20v] betaking himself up along the Onan River.

§33 When Bodončar, following after his elder brother Buyu Qatagi, trotting and going on, spake, he said, “Elder brother, elder brother,

[If] a body have a head, [it is good];
[If] a garment have a collar, [it is] good.”

His elder brother, Buyu Qatagi, regarded not as any thing those his words.

§34 [21r] Again, when he spake the same words, his elder brother, not regarding [them] as any thing, gave not an answer unto them. Bodončar went on and again spake the same words. When, at that word, his elder brother spake, he said, “What same, same words hast thou been saying since a little while ago?”

§35 [21v] Thereupon, when Bodončar spake, he said, “The people of a little while ago which are at the Tünggelig Stream are without [a difference between] big or little, bad or good, head or hoof. [They] are [all] equal. They are an easy people [to surprise]. Let us rob them.”

§36 [22r] Thereupon, when his elder brother spake, he talked with [him, saying], “Yea, if it be so, when we arrive at our tent, let us, brethren, take counsel and [then] rob those people.”
§37 Being come unto their tent, the brethren talked with one another and [then] set forth. They made [22v] the same Bodončar to haste as a spy.

§38 Bodončar, hasting as a spy, seized a woman which was with child and asked, saying, "What [manner of] person [art] thou?" When that woman spake, she said, "I am an Adangqan Uriangqai of the Žarcův."§39 [23r] The brethren—all five—spoiled those people and attained unto herd and food, unto people and servant, unto living and dwelling.

§40 [23v] That woman which was with child came unto Bodončar and bare a son. Saying that he was the son of a foreign 17 people, they named him Jajiradai. 18 The ancestor of the Jadaran was he. The son of that Jadaran 19 was named Tügü'üdei. The son of Tügü'üdei was Buri Bulciru. The son of Buri Bulciru was Qara Qada'an. The son of Qara Qada'an was Jamuya. They which have the clan name Jadaran [24r] were those.

§41 That woman again bare one son of Bodončar. Saying that she was [24v] a woman whom he had seized, 20 he named that son Ba'aridai. He became the ancestor of the Ba'arins. The son of Ba'aridai [was] Ćiduqul Bökö. Ćiduqul Bökö was one whose wives were many. His sons were born as if in heaps. 21 They which have the clan name Menen Ba'arin were those.

§42 [25r] Belgünitei became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name Belgün. Bügünitei became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name Bügün. Buyu Qatagi became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name Qatagin. Buyutu Salji became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name

17 In jad we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (jad, Jajiradai, Jadaran and Jadardai).
18 This alternates with Jadaran below.
19 This alternates with Jajiradai above.
20 In bariju we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (bariju, Ba'aridai, Ba'arin, Menen Ba'arin).
21 In mene we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (mene and Menen Ba'arin). See also §260 for another figurative use of mene.
Salji’ud. Bodončar became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name Borjigin.

§43 [25v] [He who] was born of the wife which Bodončar himself had taken was named Barim Si’iratu Qabići. Bodončar had taken as concubine her which was come as inje 22 of the mother of that Qabići Ba’atur. One son was born. He was named Je’üredei. Je’üredei before had part in the jügelı. 23

§44 [26r] After that Bodončar was passed away, saying, "[In] the tent there hath constantly been a person of the Adangqa Uriangqad. He is probably [begotten] of him," they expelled that Je’üredei out of the jügelı and caused [him] to become one which was of the Je’üreyid clan. 26v The ancestor of the Je’üred was he.

§45 The son of Qabići Ba’atur was Menen Tudun. The sons of Menen Tudun were [27r] the seven, Qaći Külüg, Qaćin, Qaći’u, Qaćula, Qaći’un, Qaraldai, and Način Ba’atur.

§46 Qaidu, the son of Qaći Külüg, was born of Mother Nomolun. The son of Qaćin was named Noyagidai. Because by nature he liked to play the chief, 24 he became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name [27v] Noyakın. The son of Qaći’u was named Barulatai. He had a big body and was ravenous 28 at food. He became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name Barulas. Because the sons of Qaćula were ravenous at food, one named them the Yeke Barula 28 and the Üşügen Barula 27 and made [of them] those which have the clan name Barulas. The Barulas such as the Erdemtii Barula and the Töö’en Barula were those. Because the sons of Qaraldai were without a head [among them]

22 I.e., dowry.
24 A sacrifice consisting of offering meat which was suspended on a pole. Here again we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (Je’üredei, jügelı, Je’üreyid, and Je’üred). See also §44 below, where the folk etymology based on a consonance is further developed in Je’üreyid and Je’üred.
27 I.e., “The Big Barula.”
28 I.e., “The Little Barula.”
which should stir [28r] the millet, they which have the clan name Buda'ad were those. The son of Qač'ün was named Adarkidai. Because he was a backbiter among the brethren, [his descendants] had the clan name Adargin. The sons of Način Ba'atur were named Uru'udai and Mangyutai. They became [the ancestors of] those which have the clan names Uru'ud and Mangyud. Those which were born of the wife which Način Ba'atur himself had taken were named [28v] Siju'udai and Doyoladai.

§47 The sons of Qaidu were the three, Bai Šingqor Doyšin, Čaraqai Lingqu, and Ča'ujin Örtegei. The son of Bai Šingqor Doyšin was Tumbinai Sečen. Senggüm Bilge and Ambayai, sons of Čaraqai Lingqu, were [the ancestors of] those which have the clan name Tayiči'ud. The one which was born of the wife [which had been] [29v] the sister in law of Čaraqai Lingqu was named Besütei. They which have the clan name Besüd were those. The sons of Ča'ujin Örtegei became [the ancestors of] those which have the clan names Uronar, Qongqotan, Arula[d], Sönid, Qabтурγas, and Geniges.

§48 [30r] The sons of Tumbinai Sečen were the twain, Qabul Qahan and Sem Sečüle. The son of Sem Sečüle was Bülteči Ba'atur. The sons of Qabul Qahan were seven. Ökin Barqay, the eldest, Bartan Ba'atur, Qutuytë Męnggür, [30v] Qutula Qahan, Qulan, Qada'an and Todo'en Ocigin were these seven.

§49 The son of Ökin Barqay was Qutuytu Yürki. The sons of Qutuytu Yürki were the twain, [31r] Seče Beki and Taïçu. They which have the clan name Yürki were those.

— In buda'an we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (buda'an and Buda'ad).

— In adaruyci we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (Adarkidai, adaruyci, and Adargin). See also §164 below.

— The name is written Qutuytu Müngler in §140.

— In §189 below, however, we read: "His (i.e., Ökin Barqay's) son was Sorqatu Yürki." The form Qutuytu Yürki is, in fact, an error for Sorqatu Yürki (-Sorqatu Yürki which also occurs in §122 below.) The alternation Yürki–Yürki is also attested in other sources.

— See, however, §179 below, where they erroneously are called the sons of Bartan Ba'atur. The name Seče Beki is written Šačđa Beki elsewhere in the text.
§50 The sons of Bartan Ba'atur were these four, Menggetü Kiyan, Nekın Taisi, Yesügei Ba'atur, and Daritai Odögin. The son of Qutuytu Minggür was Bürü Bökő. The one which clave asunder [31v] the shoulder of Belgüeti, at the moment when they were feasting in the forest of the Onan [River], was he."§

§51 The sons of Qutula Qahan were the three, Jöći, Girma'u, and Altan. The son of Qulan Ba'atur was Yeke Čeren. He was the chief of the two [32a] freemen, Badai and Kišiliy. Both Qada’an and Tödö’en were without issue.

§52 Qabul Qahan ruled all the Mongol. After Qabul Qahan, [32v] according to the word of Qabul Qahan, although there were his seven sons, Ambayai Qahan, son of Senggüm Bilge, ruled all the Mongol.

§53 Ambayai Qahan gave [his] daughter unto the Ayiri'ud Buiru'ud Tatar people which were at the Urși'un River between both Lake Buyur and Lake Kölên. As he was departing, [33r] himself accompanying his daughter, the Tatar Jüyin people seized Ambayai Qahan. At the moment when they were taking [him] unto the Altan Qahan of the Kitad, when Ambayai Qahan sent, speaking by the messenger Balayaci, a person of the Besüd, when he sent, speaking, saying, "When [thou] shalt have spoken unto Qutula, the middlemost of the seven sons of Qabul Qahan, among [my] ten sons, speak unto Qada’an Taisi,” he sent, saying, “Beware, [instructed] by [what hath befallen] me, of yourself accompanying your daughter, when ye will be qahan of all and [33v] Lord of the Nation. I have been seized by the Tatar people.

Till the nails of your five fingers
Disappear through wear;
Till your ten fingers
Are worn away through rubbing,"§

"See §181 below.
"See §278 below.
"Ambayai Qahan, although not in the line of succession, was named by Qabul Qahan as his successor (§68). He, in turn, anticipating the election of which we
§54 [34r] At that time, at the moment when Yesügei Bá'atur was going, falconing at the Onan River, he encountered Yeke Çiledü of the Merkid, which, having taken a maiden from the Olqunu'ud people and having made [her] to arise, was drawing nigh. When he leaned forward [upon his horse] and looked, seeing a woman whose beauty [was] other [than ordinary], he hasted back to his tent and came [back], guiding his elder brother Nekün Taisi and his younger brother Daritai Odćigin.

§55 [35r] With [their] arriving, Ciledü was afraid. He had a swift dun. With [his] striking the thigh of his dun and [his] fleeing over a hill, all three followed behind him. With Çiledü's returning round about a spur [of the hill] and coming unto his cart, then, when Hö'elün Üjin spake, saying, "Hast thou observed those three men? They are other [in countenance] [35v] than [all other] countenances. They have the countenance [of being desirous] of attaining unto thy life. If there be [for thee] but thy life, there are [for thee]

Maidens
At every forefront;

Women
At every black cart.

If there be [for thee] but thy life, thou shalt find a maiden or a woman. Thou shalt also name Hö'elün [her] which hath another name. Save thy life. Go scenting my scent," she put off her shift and, with [his] reaching forth [his hands] and taking [it] from upon [36r] [his] horse and with [all] three coming round about the spur [of the hill] and drawing nigh, Çiledü struck the thigh of the swift dun, fled in haste, and fled up along the Onan River.

§56 [36v] All three, pursuing from behind, chased until they had passed over seven hills and, when they were come, returning, Yesügei Bá'atur led [the beast of] Hö'elün Üjin [37r] by the tether, read below (§57), designated in the manner herein related two candidates: Qutula, a son of Qabul Qahan, and Qada'an Taisi, one of his own sons. With the eventual election of Qutula (§57) the line of succession reverted to the family of Qabul Qahan.

1. e. t at the forefront of every cart. See note § above.

See also §45 below in which it is related that Father Münglig scents the hat of his son Teh Tenggeri.
his elder brother Nekün Taisi guided, and his younger brother Daritai Odčigin rode beside the shafts and, at the moment when they drew nigh, when Hö'elün Ějin spake, having said, "Mine elder brother Ciledii is one

Whose tuft hath never blown
Against the wind;
Whose belly hath never hungered
In the desert land.

Now how, tossing his two braids [of hair] one time [37v] on his back, tossing [them] one time on his breast, one time forward, one time backward, how [so] doing, goeth he?," at the moment when, wailing with a loud voice

Till she stirred up the Onan River;
Till she shook the woods and valley,
she drew nigh, when Daritai Odčigin going, riding beside [her], spake, he warned [her], saying,

"Thine who embraced [thee][38r]
Hath much passed over passes.
Thine who is bewailed [of thee]
Hath much passed over waters.
If [thou] shout,
Though he look back, he will not see thee.
If [thou] track [him],
Thou shalt not find his way."

Be still!" So Yesügei brought Hö'elün Ějin unto his tent. Such [was] the manner in which Yesügei brought Hö'elün Ějin.

§57 [39r] Forasmuch as Ambayai Qahan had named both Qada'an and Qutula, all the Mongyl and Tayiç'ud assembled [in] the Qorqonay Valley of the Onan [River] and made Qutula qahan. As for the rejoicing of the Mongyl, they were wont to rejoice,

**For another reference to the "braids [of hair]" see §214 below.
**See also §183 below for a somewhat similar passage.
dancing and feasting. Having raised up Qutula [as] qa, they danced round about the Branching Tree of Qorqonay [Valley], until there was

A ditch up to [their] ribs;
[until there was]

Dust up to [their] knees.

§58 Qutula having become qahan, both [he and] Qada’an Taisi set forth against the Tatar people. Thirteen times they joined battle with both Kötön Baraqa and Jalı Buqa of the Tatar, but they were not able

To avenge
The avengement,
To requite
The requital

of Ambayai Qahan.

§59 Then, when Yesiigei Ba’atur came, having spoiled the Tatar such as Temüjin Üge and Qor Buqa of the Tatar, then, when Hö’elün Üjin was with child, at the moment when she was at Deli’ün Hill of the Onan [River], even then Cinggis Qahan was born. At the moment when he was born, he was born, holding in his right hand a clot of blood the size of a knuckle bone. Such [was the manner in which] one gave [unto him] the name Temüjin, saying, “He was born at the moment when one brought Temüjin Üge of the Tatar.”

§60 Of Hö’elün Üjin of Yesiigei Ba’atur these four sons, Temüjin, Qasar, Qaci’un, and Temüge, were born. One daughter named Temüilün was born. At the moment when Temüjin was nine years old, Joći Qasar was seven years old; Qaci’un Elci was five years old; Temüge Odčigin was three years old; Temüilün was [yet] in the cradle.

§61 Yesiigei Ba’atur, at the moment when Temüjin was

“*For further reference to this storied tree see §§117 and 206 below.

* For other examples of this frequently used couplet see §§154, 214, and 254 below.

* See also §78 below.
nine years old, having taken Temüjin, betook himself unto the Olqunu’ud people, kindred of Mother Hō’elün, saying, “I shall request a maiden from the brethren of his mother.” At the moment when he was going, he encountered Dei Sečen of the Unggirad between both [Mount] Čegčer and [Mount] Čiqurgu.

§62 [42v] When Dei Sečen spake, he said, “Quda 4a Yesügei, [thou] art drawn nigh, getting thee unto whom?” When Yesügei Ba’atur spake, he said, [43r] “I am drawn nigh unto the Olqunu’ud people, the brethren of the mother of this my son, saying, ‘I shall request a maiden.’” When Dei Sečen spake, he said, “This thy son is a son

With fire in his eyes,
With light in his face.”

§63 Quda Yesügei, I, this night, dreamed a dream, I. A white gerfalcon,“ holding [43v] both sun and moon, flew hither and is lighted into my hand. When I spake this my dream unto people, saying, ‘[Hitherto,] when I have beheld the sun and the moon, they have [only] been seen. Now this gerfalcon, holding and bringing [them hither], is lighted into my hand. It is descended [all] white. What good thing sheweth it?’,—Quda Yesügei, I saw this my dream, at the moment when thou wast leading [44r] thy son hither. I dreamed a dream—[a] good [one]. What dream is it? A good omen of you Kiyad people is come and hath [fore]told [that thou wast coming hither].

§64 [44v] We Unggirad people from days of old,

Having [for us] the comeliness
Of the daughters of [our] daughters,

4A kinship term used by and in reference to those who are relatives by virtue of the marriage of their children.

4 For the same words, in inverse order, applied to Börte, the future bride of Temüjin, see §68 below. See also §§82 and 149 below.

4 White was the color of good omen with the Mongols. For other examples of this epithet see also “white rock” in §80, “white felt” in §189, “white standard with nine feet [= scallops]” in §292, “white clothing” and “white geldings” in §210, and “white gerfalcons” and “white geldings” in §299.
And the beauty
Of [our] daughters,

have not been disputing empire.

For those of you which are become qahan,
We make [our] daughters comely of cheek
To ride in a Qasay "" cart
And, making [one] to harness a black he camel [to it],
Making him to trot, we go [unto the qahan]
And make [them] to sit together [with the qahan]
On the qatun throne.

We dispute not [either] empire [or] peoples. [45r]

Raising up our daughters good of beauty,
We make [them] to ride in a cart with a forefront ""
And, making [one] to harness a blackish he camel [to it],
Accompanying [them], we go [unto the qahan]
And make [them] to sit at one of the sides [of the qahan]
On a high throne.

From of old the Unggirad people

Have had round shields [which are] qatun,
Petitions [which are] daughters. 48
We have had our being
By the comeliness
Of the daughters of [our] daughters
And the beauty
Of [our] daughters. 49

44 I.e., Kirgis.
45 See note 3 above.
46 "They are our daughters and daughters of daughters, who, become princesses by their marriage, serve us as shields against our enemies and by the petitions that they present to their husbands obtain favors for us." Antoine Mostaert, Sur quelques passages de l'histoire secrète des Mongols, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, p. [10].
48 See also §176 below, where these words are quoted by Chinggis Qahan.
§65 [45v] [As for] our boys,
One regardeth [our] encampment.\(^{56}\)
[As for] our girls,
[Their] beauty is beheld.\(^{53}\)

_Quda Yesügei, let us go unto my tent. My daughter is little.
Let [my] _quda_ see [her]."_ Dei Sečen guided [him] unto his tent
and made [him] to light [off his horse].

§66 [46r] When he saw his daughter, he saw a maiden

_With light in her face,
With fire in her eyes,\(^{62}\)_

and he suffered [her] to enter into his thoughts. She was ten
[years old], one year older than Temüjin. She was named Borte.
Tarrying the night, when, the next morning, he requested his
[46v] daughter, when Dei Sečen spake, he said, "If I give [my
daughter], [after] letting [thee] request [her] many times, shall [I]
be exalted? If [I] give [my daughter], [after] letting [thee] request
[her but] a few times, shall [I] be abased? [It will not be so, for]
the destiny of a girl is not to wax old at the door\(^{64}\) where
she was born. I will give [unto thee] my daughter. And go [thou],
leaving thy son as son in law." There being "yea." on the one side
and the other, [47r] when Yesügei Ba'atur spake, having said,
"I shall leave my son as son in law. My son is afraid of dogs.
_Quda_, suffer not my son to be affrighted at dogs," giving his led
horse as a token and leaving Temüjin as son in law, he departed.

\(^{56}\) _I.e., "When an Unggirad family requests a girl of another clan for its son—that which is always the case in view of the custom imposing exogamy,—the parents of the girl, before giving their consent 'regard the encampment,' that is to say examine the state of the fortune, the riches in herds, etc. of the family which wishes to ally itself with them and give their girl only if they judge that the latter will lack for nothing in her new abode."_ Antoine Mostazert, op. cit., p. [12].

\(^{53}\) _I.e., "For that which regards the Unggirad girls, the case is other. The families of another clan which request them for their sons regard only the beauty, and as the latter is never wanting, the Unggirad girls always find a good match."_ Antoine Mostazert, op. cit., p. [12].

\(^{62}\) _See note 44 above.

\(^{61}\) _I.e., "in the family."_
§67 [47v] Yesügei Ba'atur encountered on the way the Tatar people which were feasting at the Šira Steppe of [Mount] Čegčer, and, being thirsty, he lighted [off his horse] at their feast. [48r] Those Tatar recognized [him]. Having said, "Yesügei Kiyan is come," remembering their enmity [provoked by the fact] that they had been spoiled [by him], secretly harming [him], they poisoned [him] and, mixing poison, they gave [it unto him in his food]. On the way, [being] bad, he went on and, going three days, being arrived at his tent, he was bad.

§68 [48v] When Yesügei Ba'atur spake, he said, "Within me [I] am bad. Who is at hand?" When one said, "Münglig, the son of Old Man Čaraqa of the Qongqotad, is nigh," calling [him], he made [him] to come and, when he spake, having said, [49r] "Münglig, my child, I am one whose sons are little. When I came [back], after leaving my son Temüjin as son in law, I was secretly harmed on the way by the Tatar people. Within me [I] am bad. Know thou how thou shalt care for thy little younger brethren [which shall have remained] and of thine elder sister in law [which is] a widow." Go quickly and fetch my son Temüjin, Münglig, my child," [49v] he passed on.

*I. e., "my little sons." See also §272 where Tolui calls his sons the "younger brethren" of Ögedei.

**I. e., Ho'dülün Üjin. See also §272 where Tolui calls his wife Berüde the "younger sister in law" of Ögedei.
§69 [Ir] When Münlig, not violating the word of Yesügei Ba’atur, went and spake unto Dei Sečen, he said, “Elder Brother Yesügei thinketh exceedingly on Temüjin and his heart paineth. [I] am come for to take Temüjin.” When Dei Sečen spake, he said, “If the quda think on his son, let him go. When he shall have seen [him], let him [1v] quickly come [back],” and Father Münlig came with Temüjin.

§70 That spring, when both Örbei and Soqatai, the qatud of Ambayai Qahan, offered unto the ancestors the [sacrifice called] yajaru inerii, Hö’elün Üjin went, [but,] arriving too late, was left behind [the others]. When Hö’elün Üjin spake unto both Örbei and Soqatai, she said, “Say ye [unto yourselves], ‘Yesügei Ba’atur [2r] hath died,’ and because my sons are not [yet] big, why leave ye [me] behind from the part of the offerings to the ancestors, from the remainder of the meat for sacrifice and from the meat offered [itself]? Ye intend, before mine eyes, to eat [without inviting me to partake of the food] and to take journey, not waking [me].”

§71 [2v] At that word, when the two qatud, Örbei and Soqatai, spake, having said,

“Thou [art] one for whom holdeth the rule that [something] is not given [her to eat] by calling [her].

Thou [art] one for whom holdeth the custom that she eateth, if she happen by chance upon [something to eat].”

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1. The exact meaning of this technical term, glossed “to burn food in the earth and offer [it] in sacrifice,” is unknown. Cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., pp. [16]-[18].

2. I.e., “She did not receive her part of the meats offered, the parts being already distributed.” Cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [23].
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Thou [art] one for whom holdeth the rule that [something] is not given [her to eat] by inviting [her].
Thou [art] one for whom holdeth the custom that she eateth, if [something to eat] be attained.

[Is it] because thou sayest [unto thyself], ‘Ambayai Qahan hath died,’ [that we] have been so spoken [against] even by [thee], Hö'elün?

§72 [3r] It were best [to act on this wise]: Forsaking in the encampment these, mothers and sons, take journey and take ye [them] not away,' from the morrow Taryutai Kiriltuy of the Tayiči'ud and Tayiči'ud such as Tödö'én Girte removed down along the Onan River. When they [3v] forsook Hö'elün Üjin, mothers and sons, and took journey, at the moment when Old Man Çaraqa of the Qongqotad went and admonished [them], when Tödö'én Girte spake, having said,

"The deep water hath dried up.
The bright stone is broken to pieces,"

he took journey. Saying, "How admonishest thou [us]?," from behind he pierced Old Man Çaraqa along the back with a spear.

§73 [4r] At the moment when Old Man Çaraqa, being wounded, came [back] to his tent and lay down with difficulty, Temüjin went for to see [him]. Then, when Old Man [4v] Çaraqa of the Qongqotad spake, he said, "When, taking [with them] the people which had been assembled by thy good father and the people of us all, they were taking journey, as I was admonishing [them], it was so done [unto me]." At that, Temüjin, having wailed, went out and departed. When, forsaking Hö'elün Üjin, they were taking journey, holding the standard, she herself set forth and caused half of the people to return. And those [5r] people which had been caused to return, not remaining, journeyed after the Tayiči'ud.

§74 After that the Tayiči'ud brethren had forsaken in the encampment Hö'elün Üjin—the widow—the sons and the little ones, [5v] the mothers and the sons, and had taken journey;

* i.e., "The situation is now quite different." See also §§147 and 809 below.
When Hö’elün Üjin, a woman being born able, Nourished her little sons, Putting [her] boyta on [her head] so as to make [it] fast, Girding herself so as to tuck up her skirt,* She ran up and down the Onan River, Gathered wild pears and moyilsun [fruit], And day and night nourished [their] gullets. When Mother Üjin, which was born with gall,* [6r] Nourished her fortunate sons, Taking in hand a juniper stick, She nourished [them] by digging the su'dun [root] and the ēiğina [root].
The sons which were nourished on the mountain shallot and shallot By Üjin, the Mother, Attained unto becoming qad. The sons which were nourished on the ja’uqasu [root] By the orderly Mother Üjin Became wise men [which were] lawgivers.
§75 [6v] The qa’uluqa * sons Which were nourished on wild shallot and shallot By the beautiful Üjin Became qoyira’ud * noblemen. [After] becoming male noblemen, They became bold and courageous. Saying unto one another, “Let us nourish our mother,” [7r] Sitting on the bank of Mother Onan,* Preparing for one another fishhooks, Angling and hooking Maimed and misshapen fishes, Bending hooks out of needles.

* See also §284 below.
* With the Mongols, as with the Chinese, the gall is the seat of courage.
* This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
* This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
* For the epithet “Mother” applied to the Onan River see also “Mother Earth” in §§118 and 235 and “Mother Sun” in §238 below.
Hooking *jebüge* [fishes] and *qadara* [fishes],
Tying nets,
Catching little fishes,
Moreover, they nourished the benefit of their mother.

§76 [7v] One day, while Temüjin, Qasar, Begter, and Belgütei—all four—were sitting together [on the bank] and pulling a hook, a bright *soqosun* was come unto [it]. Both Begter and Belgütei wrested [it] from both Temüjin and Qasar. When both Temüjin and Qasar came [back] to the tent and spake unto Mother Üjin, as they said, “We had a bright *soqosun* which had bitten the hook wrested from us by both brethren Begter and Belgütei,” when Mother Üjin spake, she said, “Cease [ye]. Why do ye brethren so unto one another? At the moment when we say,

‘We have no companion other than [our] shadow;
We have no whip other than a tail.’

How [8v] shall we avenge the bitterness of our Tayici’ud brethren?,’ why are ye without accord [even] as formerly the five sons of Mother Alan? Do ye not that.”

§77 [9r] Then when both Temüjin and Qasar spake, not loving [the word of their mother],

10 having said, “One time, lately, they so wrested from [us] a lark which we had shot with a bone-tipped arrow. Now again they have so wrested [from us]. How can we live together?,” casting aside the [felt] door [of the tent], they went out and departed. At the moment when Begter was sitting on a knoll, watching the nine horses, the isabella geldings, Temüjin hiding from behind and Qasar hiding from in front, at the moment when they were drawing out their arrows and were arriving, when Begter, having seen [them], spake, having said, “At the moment when we, not being able to suffer the bitterness of the Tayici’ud brethren, are saying, ‘By whom shall we be able to take vengeance?,’” why cause ye me to become

* i.e., a tail of a horse. For this couplet see also §§77 and 78 below.
10 See §85 below.
11 See §78 below.
A lash in the eye;
An impediment in the mouth? 12

Inasmuch as

Ye have no companion other than [your] shadow;
Ye have no whip other than a tail, 12

why have ye so thought? Destroy [ye] not my firepan! 14 For
sake 18 [ye] not Belgutei!,” he sat down with his legs crossed and
waited. Both Temüjin and Qasar shot him close by from in front
and behind and [10v] then departed.

§78 [11r] With [their] coming into the tent, when Mother Üjin,
perceiving the faces of her two sons, spake, saying, ‘‘[Ye] who
have destroyed,

When he fiercely issued
From my hot [womb],
This one 16 was born holding
A black clot of blood
In his hand.’’
[Even] as the Qasar 18 dog
Which biteth his own afterbirth; 16
[Even] as the panther [11v]
Which rusheth at the cliff;
[Even] as the lion
Which is not able to repress his fury;
[Even] as the python
Which saith, ‘‘I shall swallow [my prey] alive’;
[Even] as the gerfalcon
Which rusheth at his own shadow;

12 I.e., ‘‘Why do you regard me as something which hinders you from seeing and
from eating?’’
16 See note 8 above.
14 I.e., ‘‘my hearth.’’
18 I.e., ‘‘kill.’’
16 I.e., Temüjin.
18 See §59 above.
14 I.e., Khazar.
18 See also §344, where Hü’elün Üjin, in defense of Qasar, scolds Temüjin.
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[Even] as the čuraqa [fish]
Which swalloweth in silence;
[Even] as the he camel
Which biteth the heel of his colt;
[Even] as the wolf
Which relieth upon the snow storm [to stalk his prey];  
[Even] as [12r] the mandarin duck
Which, because it is not able to overtake his chickens, 
eateth his chickens;
[Even] as the jackal
Which, if one touch [him], maketh a league [with others] to 
defend his den;
[Even] as the tiger, 
Which, in seizing [his prey], doth not hesitate;
[Even] as the barus,  
Which rusheth foolishly [upon his prey],
[Ye] have destroyed!
At the moment when ye have no companion other than [your] shadow;
At the moment when ye have no whip other than a tail,  
at the moment when ye are not able to suffer the bitterness of the Tayiči'ud brethren and at the moment when ye [12v] are saying, 'By whom shall we take vengeance?', ye so do unto one another, saying, 'How shall we live?';''

Citing
Ancient words;
Quoting
Old words,  
she was exceedingly displeased with her sons.

§79 [13r] Mean while Taryutai Kiriltuy of the Tayiči'ud, [13v] leading his companions, came, saying,
"The wicked
Have molted.
The drivellers
Are grown up."  

Being afraid, mothers and sons, elder brethren and younger brethren made a fort in the thick forest. Belgütei, tearing trees asunder, built a fence. While Qasar was exchanging arrow shots, at the moment when they were thrusting Qaci’un, Temüge, and Temürün—all three—between the clefts in a cliff and were battling, [14r] when the Tayiči’ud shouted and spake, it being shouted [by them], saying, "Send your elder brother Temüjin. [We] have no need of the others of you," the Tayiči’ud seeing that they had made Temüjin to set forth, making [him] to escape, and that he was fleeing to the woods, pursued [him], [but,] as he had slipped into the forest of Tergiine Heights, the Tayiči’ud, not being able to enter, watched round about the forest.

§80 [15r] Temüjin spent three nights within the forest and, saying, "I shall go out," at the moment when he was drawing nigh, leading his horse, his saddle loosed itself and remained behind. When he returned and looked, [he saw that] the saddle, although the breast strap was [yet] attached and the belly strap was [yet] buckled, had loosed itself and had remained behind. Saying, "As for the belly strap, let it be." But how could the breast strap loose itself? [15v] Is Heaven staying [me]?," he returned and again spent three nights. Again, at the moment when he was drawing nigh to go out, at the outlet of the forest a white rock the size of a tent fell in the outlet, stopping [it]. Saying, "Is Heaven staying [me]?," he returned and again spent three nights. Again, having been without food nine nights, saying, "How shall I die without a name? I shall go out," round about that white rock the size of a tent, which was fallen, stopping [16r] the outlet, [Temüjin] having cut with his arrow-whittling knife the bushes [which

*[I.e., “The sons of Mother Hô’êlin are no longer infants and have already attained to a certain age.”]

*[I.e., “The saddle could come off, taking the belly strap with it over the rump of the horse.”]
had grown so thick] that, if one had assayed to go out, he would not have been able,26 and, having made his horse to slip through, with [his] going out—the Tayic'i'ud were [yet] watching [the outlet]—they seized and took [him] away.

§81 [16v] Taryutai Kiriltuy, taking Temüjin away, giving an order [17r] unto his people, at the moment when he was rotating [him] in the [divers] ayl, making [him] to spend one night in each,27 on the sixteenth of the first moon of summer,28 the "red circle day," 29 the Tayic'i'ud feasted on the bank of the Onan [River] and, when the sun was set, they dispersed themselves. A weak lad had taken Temüjin unto that feast. Waiting until [17v] the people of the feast had dispersed themselves, [Temüjin] pulled the buya'u away from that weak lad, and, having smote his head once, running, saying [unto himself] that he would be seen, if he lay within the forest of the Onan [River], he lay in the stream of water and, suffering his cangue to flow down along the water, he lay [with only his] face exposed.

§82 [18r] At the moment when that person which had lost [him] was shouting with a loud voice, [18v] saying, "I have lost the prisoner!," the Tayic'i'ud, which had dispersed themselves, assembled, and, in the moonlight [as bright] as day, they searched the forest of the Onan [River]. Even as Sorqan Sira of the Suldu was passing by, perceiving that [Temüjin] was lying in the stream, when he spake, having said, "Even because thou art so skilful, thou art so envied by thy [19r] Tayic'i'ud brethren, saying,

'He hath fire in his eyes;
He hath light in his face.' 80

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26 See also §102 below.
27 The practice of lodging prisoners in the tents of private persons in rotation was common among the Mongols.
28 See also §§118 and 193 below.
29 In the expression hula'an tergel üdür "red circle day," the meaning of hula'an "red" is not clear. The words tergel üdür were used of the fifteenth of any lunation, but, as we see from the Secret History, the words hula'an tergel üdür were used only of the sixteenth of the fourth lunation, an auspicious day. In both cases the word tergel may refer to the "disk" of the moon.
30 See Chapter I, note 44.
Lie [thou] so. [I] shall not tell," he passed by. Again, at the moment when they were saying unto one another, 'Let us return and search [further],' when Sorqan Şira spake, he said, "Let us, having seen our places along our same divers ways, which we saw not [before], return and search [further]." "Yea," they said unto one another. While they returned and [19v] searched [further] along the same divers ways, again, when Sorqan Şira passed by and spake, having said, "Thy brethren are drawing nigh, sharpening their mouths and [their] teeth." Lie [thou] so. Be prudent," he passed by.

§83 [20r] Again, at the moment when they were saying unto one another, "Let us return and search [further]," when Sorqan Şira spake, again he said, "Tayići'ud Princes, ye have lost a whole man in the bright, white day. Now how shall we find [him] in the dark night? Again, let us, having seen our places which we have [20v] not seen along the same divers ways, being returned and having searched [further], dispersing ourselves, gather together to morrow and search [again]. Whither could he go, that man with a büya'u?" Saying, "Yea," unto one another, they returned and searched and, when Sorqan Şira, again passing by, spake, having said, "They said unto one another, 'Let us, having searched, return and search [further] to morrow.'" Now [21r] waiting until we have wholly dispersed ourselves, go, seeking thy mother and thy younger brethren. Talk not, saying that [thou] hast been seen—if [thou] art seen by somebody—saying that it was I who saw [thee]," he passed by.

§84 [21v] Waiting until they had wholly dispersed themselves, thinking in his heart, saying, "Lately, at the moment when, rotating [me in] the [divers] ayīl, they made me to pass the night, when I passed the night in the tent of Sorqan Şira, [as for] his two sons, Cimbai and Čila'ın, their bosoms and hearts pained [for me] and seeing me [22r] at night they took my büya'u and, loosing it, suffered me to pass the night. Now, again, Sorqan Şira, seeing me, is passed by, not telling. Now those same will save me," he

"Like wild beasts which are about to kill and eat their prey. Cf. Psalm CXL §8: "They have sharpened their tongues like a serpent."
departed down along the Onan River, seeking the tent of Sörqan Sira.

§85 [22v] The sign of the tent was that, having poured off the [mare's] milch, they were wont to beat their sour [mare's] milch ²² at night until the day dawned. Hearing that sign, as he went, [23r] hearing the sound of the beater, he arrived and, as he entered into his tent, Sörqan Sira said, "Said I not, 'Go [thou], seeking thy mother and thy younger brethren?' Why art thou come [hither]?'" When his two sons Çimbaï and Çila'une spake, saying, "If a turumtau ²³ make a little bird to take refuge in a bush, the bush saveth it. Now why sayest thou so unto that one which is come unto us?," not loving the word [23v] of their father ²⁴ they removed his buya'u, burned [it] in the fire, made him to get him up into a cart full of wool behind [the tents], and made their younger sister named Qada'an to care for [him], saying, "Tell [this] not unto [any] living person."

§86 [24r] On the third day [the Tayiči'ud] said unto one another, "[Some] man hath, perhaps, hid [him]." and, saying unto one another, [24v] "Let us search one another among ourselves," they searched one another. They searched in the tents, in the carts, and even under the beds of Sörqan Sira and, at the moment when, getting them up into the cart full of wool behind [the tents], pulling out the wool which was at the entry, they were arriving at the back, [25r] as Sörqan Sira then said, "How could this one bear [it], in such heat, within the wool?" the searchers lighted and departed.

§87 After that the searchers were departed, when Sörqan Sira spake, he said, "[Thou] almost caused [25v] me to blow [in the wind] as the ashes [of my hearth]. Go [thou] now to seek thy mother and thy younger brethren," made [him] to ride a barren, straw-yellow ²⁵ [mare] of which the mouth [was] white, boiled [for him] a lamb which had been suckled of two ewes, ²⁶ made ready a little

²² I.e., kumiss.
²³ The name of a small bird of prey.
²⁴ See §77 above.
²⁵ Which further implies "with a black mane and a black stripe on the backbone."
²⁶ Such a lamb, having sucked more milk, would be stronger. See also §99 below.
CHAPTER II

leathern bucket and a big leathern bucket [full of mare’s milk], not giving [unto him] a saddle and not giving [unto him] a fire-sickle, gave [unto him] a bow and gave [unto him] two arrows. Making ready so much as that he sent [him on his way].

§88 [26r] Temüjin, being so gone, arrived at his place which they had fortified by making a fence. By means of the tracks in the grass, he trailed [them] up along the Onan [26v] River—the Kimurya Stream entereth [the Onan River] from the West—and, having trailed up along that, he encountered [them], at the moment when they were at Qorcuqui Hill of the Beder Spur of the Kimurya Stream.


§90 [27v] One day [thieves] came to steal the eight horses, the isabella geldings, which were standing in front of the tent. Before the eyes [of Temüjin and his younger brethren], they stole [them] and departed. [Temüjin and his younger brethren,] being on foot, while seeing [them depart], remained behind. Belgütei had ridden [28r] a davgi,⁵ strawyellow [horse] with a hairless tail and was gone for to hunt marmots. At eventide, after that the sun was set, Belgütei, having laid the marmots on the davgi, strawyellow [horse] with a hairless tail, came [back], leading [it] on foot, so that they swung to and fro.⁶ As they said, “[Thieves] stole the isabella geldings and took [them] away,” when Belgütei spake, he said, “I shall pursue [them].” When [28v] Qasar spake, he said, “Thou canst not. I shall pursue [them].” When Temüjin spake, saying,

⁴ I.e., a sickle-shaped piece of steel enveloped in leather used for striking a spark to ignite tinder.
⁵ To force him immediately to return to his mother he gives him a horse without a saddle, no fire-sickle with which he could stop to cook food, and two arrows only for self-defense.
⁶ I.e., “Blue Lake.”
⁷ This word, not glossed, may be the same as the Ordos t’argi “court (poils, herbe), peu profond (eau).” Cf. Antoine Moustier, Dictionnaire ordos, Tome deuxième (J-L), The Catholic University—Peking, 1948, p. 647a.
⁸ I.e., from the gait of the horse.
Ye can not. I shall pursue [them]." Temujin rode the dargi, strawyellow [horse] and trailed the isabella geldings by means of the tracks in the grass. Having passed three nights, early in the morning [of the fourth day], he encountered on the way a lively lad which was milking [29r] mares in a plentiful herd. As he inquired concerning the isabella geldings, when that lad spake, having said, "This morning, before that the sun rose, [the thieves] drave the eight horses, the isabella geldings, this way and departed. I shall point out their tracks for [thee]," he made Temujin to lose the strawyellow [horse] with the hairless tail and, [giving it] unto Temujin, made [him] to ride a grayish white horse with a black stripe along the backbone." [29v] He himself rode a swift dun. And, not even going unto his tent, he put away his leathern bucket and leathern milkpail, concealing [them] in the steppe. Having said, "As for thee, companion, [thou] comest hither, being sore distressed. The distress of men is [all] one [and the same]. I shall be a companion unto thee. My father is called Naqu Bayan." I [am] his only son. I am [30r] named Bo'orcu," he trailed [them] by [means of] the tracks of the isabella geldings. Having passed three nights, at even [of the fourth day], at the moment when the sun was smiting the hills, they arrived at a giiri'en of people. They saw the eight horses, the isabella geldings, which were standing, eating grass at the edge of that great giiri'en. When Temujin spake, he said, "Companion, stand thou here. [30v] I—the isabella geldings are those [there]—shall go out, driving [them] before me." When Bo'orcu spake, having said, "I am come, saying, 'I shall be a companion.' How can I stand here?" having rushed into [the giiri'en] together, they drave out the isabella geldings."  

§91 [32r] The people, one after another, draw nigh, pursuing after [them]. One man with a white horse, holding a pole with a noose, alone overtaking [them], draweth nigh. When Bo'orcu spake, he said, "Companion, bring me the bow and arrow. I shall exchange arrow shots with him." When Temujin spake,

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See Chapter I, note 18.

I. e., Naqu "The Rich."

See also §205 below.
saying, "I fear lest thou be harmed for my sake. I shall exchange arrow shots with him," returning over against [him], he exchanged arrow shots with him. [32v] That man with the white horse stood aiming at [him] with his pole with a noose. [His] companions behind came, overtaking [him]. The sun set. Twilight draweth nigh. Those people behind, being lost in the dusk, halted and remained behind.47

§92 [33r] Having ridden that night, after riding three days and three nights, they arrived. When Temüjin spake, he said, "Companion, could I have taken these my horses without thee? Let us divide [them] between us. How many sayest [thou] that thou shalt take?" When Bo'orču spake, he said, "I, saying that thou, good companion, drawest nigh, being distressed, I am come, being a companion, saying, 'I shall be a help unto a good companion.' Shall I take [them], saying, 'It is spoil'? My father is named Naqu Bayan.48 The only son of Naqu Bayan is I. [34r] That which my father hath laid up [for me] is enough for me. I shall not take [aught]. That I have been a help, what help is it? I shall not take [aught]."

§93 [34v] They arrived at the tent of Naqu Bayan. Naqu Bayan, having lost Bo'orču, his son, is in tears. When suddenly they are come and he seeth his son, once he waileth and once he groaneth. When Bo'orču, his son, spake, having said, "What is it? A good companion [35r] is come hither, being distressed. I went, being a companion [unto him]. Now I am come," he galloped away and fetched his leathern bucket and leathern milkpail which he had concealed in the steppe. Killing for Temüjin a lamb which had been suckled of two ewes and having given [it unto him as] provision [for the way], he made ready a leathern bucket [full of milk] as lading and [so] made [him] to have provision. When Naqu Bayan spake, [35v] he said, "Ye are two youths. See [ye] each other. Abandon [ye] not each other hereafter." Temüjin went and, being departed three days, arrived at his tent at the

44 This episode is treated in this impressionistic way, because the battle was not joined and contact was broken.

Senggür Stream. Mother Hö'elün and his younger brother, Qasar, and the others, were troubled, [but,] upon seeing [him], they did rejoice.

§94 [36r] Thereupon, both Temüjin and Belgütei—[Temüjin,] since the time when he was come [back], after having, at the moment when he was nine years old, seen Börte Üjin [daughter] of Dei Sečen, had been separated [from her] "—went up along the Kelüren River to seek [her]. Dei Sečen, the Unggira[d], was there between both [Mount] Çegčer and [Mount] Çiqurqu. When Dei Sečen, seeing Temüjin and rejoicing exceedingly, spoke, having said, "Knowing that [37r] thy Tayici'ud brethren are jealous, being very troubled, [I] had lost hope. And now [I] have hardly seen thee," having united Börte Üjin [with him], he accompanied [her]. When, accompanying [her], he drew nigh, Dei Sečen, on the way, returned from the Uray Col corner of the Kelüren. His wife, the mother of Börte Üjin, was named Cotan. Cotan accompanied her daughter and, at the moment when they were at the Senggür Stream [37v] within [Mount] Güregü, came, bringing [her].

§95 [38r] Having suffered Cotan to return, [Temüjin] sent Belgütei, inviting Bo'orču, saying, "Let us be companions." Bo'orču, after that Belgütei was arrived, not telling [it] unto his father, having ridden a strawyellow [horse] with a curved back, having tied behind the saddle his gray mantle of felt," came with Belgütei. [38v] From the time when they were become companions, such [was] the manner in which they were companions."

§96 Journeying from the Senggür Stream, they pitched, encamping at the Bürgi [39r] Escarpment, [at] the head of the Kelüren River. Saying [that it was] the şidkül 61 of the mother [in law Hö'-

67 See §§65, 66 above. **I.e., Temüjin's people.**
68 See §805 below.
69 See also §805 below.
70 For the translation of the gloss on this word cf. Antoine Morsent, op. cit., p. 98: "gift offered to the father and to the mother of the husband when [the new daughter-in-law] presents herself before them."
elün] Čotan had brought a coat of black sables. Temüjin, Qasar, and Belgütei—all three—took away that coat.—In days of old Ong Qan of the Kereyid people had declared himself anda with [their] father Yesügei Qan.32—[Temüjin,] saying, “As for the fact that he declared himself anda with my father, he is like [39v] a father;" went, knowing that Ong Qan was in the Black Forest of the Tu’ula [River]. When Temüjin, coming unto Ong Qan, spake, he said, "Saying [unto myself] that in days of old thou didst declare thyself anda with my father and that thou art also like a father, having made a wife to light [at my tent], I have brought the emüsgel 33 for thee,” he gave the coat of black sables [unto him].

When [40r] Ong Qan rejoiced exceedingly and spake, he said,

"In return for the coat of black sables
I shall collect for thee
Thy people which have separated themselves."

In return for the coat of sables
I shall gather for thee
Thy people which have dispersed themselves.

Let [my promise] be

In the back
Of [my] kidneys,
In the diaphragm
Of [my] breast." 34

§97 [41r] Returning from thence, when they were at the Bürgi Escarpment, a person of the Uriangqad, Old Man Jarči’udai, carrying his bellows on his back, came from [Mount] Burqan Qaldun, leading his son named Jelme. When Jarči’udai [41v] spake, saying, “At the moment when [ye] were at Deli’in Hill of the Onan [River] and at the moment when Temüjin was born,35 I gave [unto him] swaddling clothes of sable. I also gave this my son Jelme. Saying, ‘[He is] little,’ I took [him] away. Now, Jelme

32 See §150 below for the narration of this event.
33 The text erroneously has emüsgel. The word is a synonym of idhikil. See note 31 above.
34 See also §§ 104 and 208 below.
35 See also §104 below.
36 See § 59 above.
he gave [Jelme unto Temüjin]."

§98 [42r] At the moment when they were pitching at the Bürgi Escarpment, at the head of the Kelüren River, one morning, early, the light [being yet] yellow, at the moment when day was dawning, when Old Woman Qo'ayčin which served within the tent of Mother [42v] Hö'elün rose up and spake, she said, "Mother, Mother! Rise up quickly! The earth quaketh! A rumbling is heard! Are the frightful Tayiči'ud drawing nigh? Mother! Rise up quickly!"

§99 [43r] When Mother Hö'elün spake, having said, "Wake [ye] quickly the sons," Mother Hö'elün also quickly rose up. The sons, Temüjin and the others, also being quickly risen up, taking their horses, Temüjin rode one horse. Mother Hö'elün rode one horse. Qasar rode one horse. Qaci'un rode [43v] one horse. Temtige Odcigin rode one horse. Belgütei rode one horse. Bo'orcu rode one horse. Jelme rode one horse. Mother Hö'elün carried Temüjin at her bosom [on her horse]. They made ready one horse as a led horse. A horse was wanting for Börte Újin."

§100 [44r] Temüjin and [his] brethren set forth, while it was [yet] early, and went out toward [Mount] Burqan. Old Woman Qo'ayčin, saying, "I shall hide Börte Újin,"

Making her to ride in a [44v] bōken," black cart,
Harness [to it] an ox speckled of loins."

At the moment when, removing up along the Tenggeli[g] Stream, they were going forward and, in the twilight, at the moment when the day was dawning, from over against [them] soldiers, trotting, going round about, arrived and asked, saying, "What [manner of]
person [art] thou?" When Old Woman Qo‘ayčin [45r] spake, she said, "I am of [the house of] Temüjin. I am come for to shear the sheep at the great tent.® I am returning to my tent." Thereupon, when they spake, they said, "Is Temüjin at the tent? How far is the tent?" When Old Woman Qo‘ayčin spake, she said, "As for the tent, it is near. I did not perceive whether Temüjin was [there] or not. [45v] Being arisen from behind [the tent], I am come [hither]."

§101 [46r] Those soldiers then trotted [away]. Old Woman Qo‘ayčin having struck her ox speckled of loins,* as, hasting, she began to move forward, the axletree of the cart brake in pieces. At the moment when they were saying unto each other, "[Forasmuch as] our axletree hath been broken in pieces, let us run into the woods on foot," straightway the same soldiers, making the mother of Belgütei to ride double with them and making her two feet to hang, trotting, being arrived, said, "What art thou carrying in this cart?" When Old Woman Qo‘ayčin spake, she said, "I am carrying wool." When the elder brethren of those soldiers spake, they said unto their younger brethren and sons, "Light off and see [ye what it is]!" The younger brethren and sons lighted off and, with their taking [away] the door of the qaatai** cart, [they found that] a woman was sitting within. Pulling her from the cart, making her to light off, having made both [her and] Qo‘ayčin to ride double, they trailed after Temüjin by the tracks in the grass and [47r] went out toward [Mount] Burqan.

§102 [48r] Going thrice round about [Mount] Burqan Qaldun after Temüjin, they were not able to seize [him].** As they swerved this way and that—its miry bottoms where one is swallowed up and [its] difficult woods [are] a forest [so] difficult that, if a glutted serpent were [to assay] to creep [into it], he would not be able °°—
although they followed after him, they were not able to seize [Temujin]. [48v] Those were the Three Merkid. Toyto’a of the Uduyid Merkid, Dayir Usun of the Uuas Merkid, and Qa’atai Darmala of the Qa’ad Merkid—these Three Merkid—were now come to avenge that avengement, saying, “Mother Hö’elüni of old was taken from Çiledü.” When those Merkid spake unto one another, they said unto one another, [49r] “Now we have taken their wives to take the vengeance of Hö’elüni. We have taken our vengeance/* they descended from [Mount] Burqan Qaldun and returned to their abodes.

§103 [49v] Saying, “Are these Three Merkid truly returned unto their abodes or are they lying in ambush?,” Temujin made Bel gütei, Bo’orcu, and Jelme—all three—to follow behind the [50r] Merkid three days to spy and [so] he suffered the Merkid to go far away. When Temujin, descending from on [Mount] Burqan, striking his breast, spake, saying, “Mother Qo’aySin,

Because she heareth
Like a weasel,
Because she seeth
Like an ermine,
Escaping as to mine own body,
With a horse hobbled by [means of] the tether,
Walking in the paths of the deer,
Making an abode of a tent of [50v] elm twigs,
I went up on [Mount] Burqan.

By [Mount] Burqan Qaldun,
As to my life [which is only] so much as a louse,
I escaped.
Sparing
Mine only life,
With an only horse,
Walking in the paths of the elk, 
Making an abode of a tent of willow switches, 
I went up on [Mount] Qaldun.
By [Mount] Qaldun Burqan,**
As to my life [which is only] so much as a grasshopper, 
[51r] 
I was shielded.
I was caused to be sore afraid. Every morning I shall sacrifice unto [Mount] Burqan. Every day I shall pray unto [it]. Let the seed of my seed observe [this],” over against the sun he hanged his girdle on his neck, hanged his hat in his hand,” struck his hand into his breast, and, kneeling nine times toward the sun, offered a sprinkling [of mare’s milk] and a prayer.

**See also §118 below for another instance in which we have an inversion of the more usual Burqan Qaldun.

**For another reference to the girdle and the hat, symbols of power and authority respectively, see §244 below. For a reference to the hat alone see §255 below.
§104 [1r] So saying, when [Temüjin], Temüjin, Qasar, and Belgütei—all three—going unto To’oril Ong Qan of the Kereyid, at the moment when he was in the Black Forest of the Tu’ula River, spake, he said, “By the Three Merkid, as they were come at the moment when we were unprepared, my wife was ravished and carried away. We are come, saying, ‘Let my father the Qan [1v] save and give [unto me my] wife.’” In answer to that word; when To’oril Ong Qan spake, he said, “Spake not I unto thee a year ago? When thou broughtest a coat of sables unto me, when I was clothed [with it by thee], saying, ‘As for the fact that [thou] didst declare thyself anda of the time of [my] father,’ [thou] art also like a father;” then, when I spake, saying,

‘In return for the coat of sables [2r]
I shall gather for thee
Thy people which hath dispersed itself.

In return for the coat of black sables
I shall unite for thee
Thy people which hath separated itself,’
said I not,

‘Let [my promise] be
In the diaphragm
Of [my] breast?

Let [my promise] be
In the back
Of [my] kidneys?’

Now, keeping to that my word,

1 See §150 below. See also §96 above.
2 See §96 above.
In return for the coat of sables, [Even] until I destroy Wholly the Merkid, I shall save and give [unto thee] thy Börte Üjin. [2v] In return for the coat of black sables, Breaking All the Merkid, Making thy Qatun Börte to return, we shall bring [her].

Send thou, sending a message, unto Younger Brother Jamuya. Younger Brother Jamuya is in the Qorqonay Valley. I shall set forth from hence, twenty thousand [in number], becoming the right hand. Let Younger Brother Jamuya, being twenty thousand [in number], set forth, becoming the left hand. Let [3r] our appointed time be [decided] from [the part of] Jamuya."

§105 [3v] When, Temüjin, Qasar, and Belgütei—all three—returning from To'oril Qan, arriving at their tent, Temüjin sent both Qasar and Belgütei unto Jamuya, when he sent, speaking, saying, "Speak unto Anda Jamuya," he sent, saying, "By the [4r] Three Merkid, when they came,

As to my bed, I was made to be empty. Are we not ones of which the family origin [is] one? How shall we avenge Our avengement? *

As to my breast, I have been rent in twain. Are we not kindred of liver? * How shall we requite Our requital? "*

Such [was] the word whereby he sent speaking unto Anda

*See Chapter I, note 41.
*The liver denotes intimacy and close relationship.
*See Chapter I, note 41.
Again, when he sent, speaking unto Jamuya the words which had been spoken by To’oril Qan of the Kereyid, he said, “Mindful of the fact that in an early day a help and good things were done for my father by Yesügei Qan, I shall be a companion. Being twenty thousand [in number], I shall set forth, being the right hand. Send, telling [it] unto Younger Brother Jamuya. Let Younger Brother Jamuya set forth, [being] twenty thousand [in number]. Let our appointed time when we shall join forces be [decided] from [the part of] Younger Brother [5r] Jamuya.” After that they had made an end of these words, when Jamuya spake, he said, “Knowing that Anda Temüjin,

As to [his] bed,
Was become empty,
My heart did pain.

Knowing that,

As to [his] breast,
He had been rent in twain,
My liver did pain.

Avenging our avengement,
Destroying
The Uduyid and
Uuaș Merkid,
We shall save our Üjin Börte.* [5v]

Taking our vengeance,
Breaking all the Qa'ad Merkid,
Making our Qatun Börte to return, we shall save [her].

Now that

Toyto’a which trembleth,
At the moment when one striketh a shabrack,
Taking [this noise] for the sound of a drum,
Must be in the Bu’ura Steppe.

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*In Üjin Börte, an inversion of the usual Börte Üjin, Üjin is placed first for the purpose of alliteration.
Dayir Usun, which,
At the moment when a quiver with a cover
Rattles,7
Revolteth,
Must now be at [6r] Talqun Isle [between] 8
both the Orqon and the Selengge.

Qa'atai Darmala, which,
At the moment when the [uprooted] tumbleweed 9 bloweth
[across the steppe] in the wind,
Striveth for the Black Forest,
Must now be in the Qaraji Steppe.

Now, straightly,10 cutting the Kilyo River—let the saqal bayan 11 be in good state—tying [with them] rafts, we shall enter [into the land of the enemy]. Of that Toyto'a which trembleth,

Entering [as one might say] upon the hole at the

top of his tent [6v]

Smiting his weighty tent frame
In such a way that it shall fall down flat,
We shall destroy
Until his wives and sons be extinguished.

Smiting his door frame, which [for him] is a god
which bringeth happiness,12
In such a way that it shall break to pieces,

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7 Cf. Job 39 §23: The quiver rattles against him, . . . ." See also §230 below.
8 For this restoration, cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, op. cit., p. [43], n. 42.
10 I.e., by the shortest route.
11 Lit., "beard rich." For this plant name cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, op. cit., p. [45], n. 43.
12 "The association of the *qutuy* (*fu shen*) 'god conferring happiness' with the frame of the door is explained perhaps by the custom mentioned by Iohannes de Plano Carpini in his Ystoria Mongalorum: 'Habent ydola quedam de filtro ad ynaminem hominis facia, et illa ponunt ex utraque parte hostii stationis' (A. Van Den Wyngaert, Simois Franciscana, vol. I, p. 36)." Antoine MOSTAERT, op. cit., p. [47]. See also § 231 below.
We shall wholly destroy his people,  
Until there be [only] emptiness [there].

§106 [7v] When Jamuya again spake, when he spake, saying,  
"Speak [this] unto both Anda Temüjin and Elder Brother  
To‘oril Qan," he sent, speaking, saying, "Speak, saying, 'As for me,  
I have sprinkled 13 my standard visible from afar.  
I have beaten my drum with a voice which is rumbling,  
covered with the skin of a black bull.  
I have gat me up upon my black courser,  
I have put on my raiment hard as steel.  
I [8r] have taken in hand my steel lance.  
I have placed on the bowstring mine arrow garnished  
with peach bark.  
I shall set forth  
Against the Qa‘ad Merkid in battle.'

Speak, then, saying,  
'I have sprinkled my long standard visible from afar.  
I have beaten my drum with a hollow voice, covered with  
the hide of an ox.  
I have gat me up upon my courser with a black stripe along  
the backbone.14  
I have put on my breastplate with thongs.15  
I have taken in hand my sword [8v] with a hilt.  
I have placed on the bowstring mine arrow with a notch.  
Let us die together [in fighting]  
Against the Uduyid Merkid.'

When Elder Brother To‘oril Qan shall set forth, having passed  
by Anda Temüjin by the front of [Mount] Burqan Qaldun,  
[upon his] coming, we shall meet at Botoyan Bo’orji at the head of  
The Onan River. [9r] When [I] shall set forth from hence, up along

13 See also §193 below for another example of this ceremony performed, on the  
eve of battle, with mare’s milk.  
14 See Chapter I, note 15.  
15 I.e., the slender thongs which hold together the various parts of the breastplate  
of leather.
the Onan River—the people of the anda are here, [taking] from the people of the anda ten thousand, I from hence ten thousand, [this] being twenty thousand—going up along the Onan River, we shall unite forces at the appointed place of meeting in Botoyan Bo'orji.’”

§107 [9v] Both Qasar and Belgütei coming [back] and speaking unto Temüjin these words of Jamuya, [10r] he sent a message unto To'oril Qan. To'oril Qan, having suffered [him] to send these words of Jamuya, set forth, twenty thousand [in number]. When To'oril Qan set forth, [Temüjin,] saying, “He draweth nigh, be-taking himself [unto] the Bürgi Escarpment of the Kelüren, in front of Burqan Qaldun,”—Temüjin was at the Bürgi Escarpment—and saying, “[I] am on the way,” removing, journeying up along the Tünggelig [Stream], pitched at the Tana Stream, in front of [10v] Burqan Qaldun. Temüjin, moving [his] troops from thence, at the moment when To'oril Qan, ten thousand [in number], and Jaqa Gambu, the younger brother of To'oril Qan, ten thousand [in number], with twenty thousand [in all], were pitching at Ayil Qarayana of the Kimurya Stream, pitched, uniting [forces with them].

§108 [11v] Temüjin, To'oril Qan, and Jaqa Gambu—all three,—uniting, removing from thence, as they arrived at Botoyan Bo'orji [at] the head of the Onan [River], Jamuya was [already] arrived three days before at the appointed place of meeting. Jamuya, having seen the troops of these, Temüjin, To'oril, and Jaqa Gambu, Jamuya stood, [12r] making ready his twenty thousand troops. And these Temüjin, To'oril Qan, and Jaqa Gambu having likewise made ready their troops, coming unto one another and, moreover, recognizing one another, when Jamuya spake, he said, “Said we not unto one another, ‘Let us not be late

At the appointed place of meeting,  
Even though there be a snowstorm?

At the assembly,  
Even though there be rain?”
Are not the Mongyol ones which have an oath [pronounced only with the word] "yea."? We said unto one another, "Let us expel out of [our] ranks
The one which shall be fallen behind from [his] "yea.""

At the word of Jamuya, when To'oril Qan spake, saying, "[We] stood three days late at the appointed place of meeting," he said, "Let Younger Brother Jamuya decide [how] he shall punish and [how] he shall blame." Thus speaking unto each other [words of] blame [in respect] of the appointed place of meeting,

§109 [18v] removing from Botoyan Bo'orjin, arriving at the Kilyo River, tying rafts, having passed over [the River], in the Bu'ura Steppe, of Toyto'a Beki,

Entering [as one might say] from upon the hole at the top of the tent,
Smiting the weighty tent frame
In such a way that it is fallen down flat,
They spoiled until his wives and sons were extinquished.

Smiting his door frame, which [for him] was a god which brought good luck,
In such a way that it brake to pieces,
They wholly spoiled his people, [14r]
Until they were emptied.

While Toyto'a Beki was lying down, the fishermen, the hunters of sables, and the hunters of wild beasts which were at the Kilyo River, travelling all night, went, bringing the message that [the enemies] were arriving, saying, "The enemies which have hurled themselves forward draw nigh." Having received that message, Toyto'a and Dayir Usun of the Uuas Merkid, both joining [unto each other], [14v] entering Baryujin along the Selengge [River], few [in number] and with [nothing other than their] bodies, escaped by fleeing away.

16 I. e., an oral promise which takes the place of an oath. See also § 255 below.
17 I. e., "who shall have failed to keep his promise." See also § 255 below.
18 I. e., "while he was asleep."
§110 [15r] At the moment when the people of the Merkid were going, fleeing in haste at night along the Selengge, at the moment when our soldiers likewise were pressing forward at night and were spoiling and ravishing the Merkid which were going, fleeing in haste, and, at the moment when Temüjin, in the midst of the people which went forward, fleeing in haste, was going, crying, saying, “Börte, Börte!,” encountering her, [15v] Börte Üjin was among those people which were fleeing in haste. Hearing and recognizing the voice of Temüjin, being alighted from the cart, coming, running unto him, both Börte Üjin and Qo‘aycin in the night recognized and seized the reins and tether of Temüjin. There was moonlight. When [Temüjin] looked, recognizing Börte Üjin, they threw themselves upon each other in hugging each other. [16r] Thereupon, when Temüjin sent, then, speaking the same night unto both To’oril Qan and Anda Jamuya, he sent, saying, “I have found my necessity which I sought. Let us not travel all night. Let us pitch here.” The Merkid people, while fleeing in haste they went forward and while, in the night, they went forward, dispersing themselves, pitching even there passed the night. Such was the manner in which [Temüjin] so encountered [16v] Börte Üjin and in which he saved [her from] the Merkid people.

§111 [17r] In the beginning, beforetime, Toyto’a Beki of the Uduyid Merkid, Dayir Usun of the Uuas Merkid, and Qa’atai Darmala [of the Qa’ad Merkid]—these Three Merkid—with three hundred men, saying, “Early of day Mother Hü’elün was ravished by Yesiigei Ba’atur from Yeke Ciledu,” the younger brother of Toyto’a Beki,” went, avenging and requiting that. At the moment when they made Temüjin to go thrice round about Mount Burqan Qaldun, they seized Börte Üjin there and made her to be cared for by Cilger Boko, the younger brother of Ciledu. As he had been caring for [her] since that time, when Cilger Bökö, revolting, went out and when he spake, having said,

15I.e., at the same place where Temüjin had stopped to pass the night. The Merkid were unwilling to continue their flight, because they saw that to do so served no purpose.
20See §§54-56 above.
21I.e., the rape of Hü’elün.
"While the black crow
Hath [it] as destiny to eat scraps of skin,
He hath hoped, saying, 'I shall eat goose and crane.'
I, qatar 42 and bad Çilger,
Laying hand
Upon the lady Ùjin,
[Am become] a plague unto all the Merkid.
[I] [18v] commoner and bad Çilger,
Am at the point to be attained unto "my black head."

Saving mine only life,
I shall slip into the dark defiles.
By whom shall [the office of] shield be done for me?

While the bad bird, the buzzard,
Hath [it] as destiny to eat rats and mice,
He hath hoped, saying, 'I shall eat swan and crane.'
I, qunar 42 and bad [19r] Çilger,
In gathering the happy and fortunate Ùjin,
Am become a plague unto all the Merkid.

[I] qokir 42 and bad Çilger,
Am at the point to be attained unto "my withered head.
Saving my life [which is only] so much as [a piece of] sheep's dung
I shall slip into the qaratu 42 and dark defiles.
For my life [which is only] so much as [a piece of] sheep's dung [19v]
By whom shall [the office of] fenced place be done for me?,"

revolting, he escaped.

15 This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
18 I.e., to lose.
21 See §21 above, where the term "black heads" means "commoners." See also §123 below for another occurrence of the term.
22 This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
23 This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
24 I.e., to lose.
§112 [20r] They seized Qa'atai Darmala.

Bringing [him], making [him] to wear a board buya'u,
They made [him] to betake himself unto [Mount] Qaldun [Qaldun].

It being shewed [by somebody], saying, “The mother of Belgütei is in that ayil,” [20v] Belgütei going for to take his mother, with Belgütei’s entering into her tent by the right door, his mother—[clothed] with a raiment of tattered sheepskins—being gone out by the left door, when she spake unto another person outside, having said, “I am told that my sons are become qad. Being joined here unto a bad man, now how shall I behold the faces of my sons?,” she ran and slipped into the thick woods. So he sought [her, but] she was not found. Belgütei Noyan, saying, “Bring [thou unto me] my mother!” shot with yodoli [arrows] any person which was but of the Merkid bone. He made an end of the Three Hundred Merkid which were gone round about [Mount] Burqan [Qaldun] unto the seed of the seed, till they blew [away] as the ashes [of the hearth]. [As for those] of their wives which remained, he embraced in his bosom [those which were] such as one might embrace in the bosom. He made to enter into his door [as slaves those which were] such as might be made to enter into the door [as slaves].

§113 [22v] When Temüjin, being thankful unto both To'oril Qan and Jamuya, spake, he said [unto them], “Being made a companion by both my father the Qan and Anda Jamuya, [my] might being increased by Heaven and Earth,"

Being named by powerful Heaven,
Effecting [this] by Mother Earth—
The male hath [taken his] vengeance—
and, as for the Merkid people,
[We] have made their breasts to become empty.
And we have broken off [a piece of] their [23r] liver.

**See Chapter II, note 66.**
**“An arrow without a point, which does not wound.”**
**I. e., tribe.**
**I. e., “took to wife.”**
**See §102 above.**
**See also §§169, 208, and 280 below.**
And we have made their beds to become empty.
And we have made an end of
The men of [their] descendants.
And we have ravished [those of the women] of them which remained.
The Merkid people being so dispersed, let us withdraw ourselves.”

§114 [25v] When the Uduyid Merkid hasted away, our soldiers finding and bringing a boy [clothed] with a hat of sable, with boots [made] of the skin of the legs of the doe, with raiment [made] of the skins of the water sable which had been stripped of their hairs "" and sewed together, [a boy] five years old, named Kūčū, with fire in his eyes,"" [one] which had remained behind in the encampment, taking [him] away, gave [him] unto Mother Hö‘elüin as a sauýa."

§115 [24v] When Temüjin, To’oril Qan, and Žamuya—all three—uniting, of the Merkid,

Overthrowing the čörgan "" tents,

Ravishing the glorious "" women,

withdrew from Talqun Isle of both the Örgan "" and the Selengge, both Temüjin and Žamuya, uniting, [25r] withdrew, betaking themselves unto the Qorqonaý Valley. When To’oril Qan withdrew, passing by Höktü Valley by the back of Burqan Qaldun, passing by Qaça’uratu Subcid and Huliyatu Subcid, having


"" See Chapter I, note 44.

"" I.e., gift.

"" This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. In §124 below, however, there is found the expression ñöyøyatai tergen-i (acc.) “the cart having a lock.” It may, therefore, be that čörgan = čörgan čööyøy “lock.” If so, the expression čörgan ger in this passage may mean “lock-tents,” i.e., “tents with locks.”

"" The word čöyøtai “having glory” is glossed 閑鸚 (ku-ku), a term used during the Yuan dynasty to designate a kind of headgear worn by Mongolian women of mark. It is evident from the word 閑 (hao) (“good,” i.e., “of mark”) in the continuous translation (YCFH 9.25r5) that čöyøtai was so glossed, because only women of mark wore the ku-ku which, in fact, characterized such women.

"" Örgan is an older form of Örgon.
hunted their wild beasts, he withdrew, betaking himself unto the Black Forest of the Tu'ula [River].

§116 [25v] Both Temüjin and Jamuya, joining forces, pitched at Qorqonay Valley and, being together mindful of the fact that they were formerly together become anda, renewing unto each other their [state of] anda, said unto each other, "Let us love each other." The first time, when they were together become anda, at the moment when Temüjin was eleven years old, Jamuya giving unto Temüjin a roebuck knucklebone—Temüjin's brass knucklebone [being given unto Jamuya]—together becoming anda, at the moment when they were playing at knucklebone on the ice of the Onan [River] where they had declared themselves anda, then they declared themselves anda. [26v] After that, in the spring, at the moment when they were shooting together with [their] bows of wood, Jamuya, gluing [together] the [four halves of] two horns of a calf of two years old and boring holes, giving unto Temüjin his sounding yer [made of the horns] and [with] Temüjin's exchanging a yodoli arrow with a tip of cypress wood, they together became anda. Such [was] the manner in which they declared themselves anda a second time.

§117 [27v] [Temüjin and Jamuya,] saying unto each other, "Hearing the word of the former elders, saying, 'As for' persons [which are] anda, [their] lives [are] one. Not forsaking one another, they are [the one for the other] a protection for [their] lives,' [one seeth that] such [is] the manner whereby [the anda] love each other. Now renewing again [the oath of] anda, we shall love each other," Temüjin [28r] made to be girded unto Anda Jamuya the golden girdle which he had taken in spoiling Toyto'a of the Merkid. He suffered to be ridden by Anda Jamuya Toyto'a's yellowish white [mare] with black tail and mane and barren for several years. Jamuya made to be girded unto Anda Temü-

44 This word is glossed: "the tip of a sounding bone arrow."
45 The word qal'fun is glossed "horse with black mane and tail." In §177 below it is glossed "yellow [horse] with black mane and tail." "The word designates properly a horse's coat of which the shade can vary from yellowish white to yellow mixed with black, the mane and the tail being black and the spine carrying a black band." Antoine Montaury, op. cit., p. [58].
jin the golden girdle which he had taken in spoiling Dayir Usun of the Uuas Merkid. He suffered to be ridden by Temüjin the kid [coloured] white [horse] and which had a horn, also of Dayir Usun. At the front of the Quldayar Escarpment of [28v] the Qorqonay Valley, at the Branching Tree, declaring themselves anda, loving each other, banqueting and feasting, they rejoiced and, at night, in their covering they passed the night together alone.

§118 [29r] When both Temüjin and Jamuya loved each other, loving each other one year and half of a [28v] second year, when, saying unto each other, “Let us journey,” they journeyed one day from that encampment where they had been, they journeyed on the sixteenth of the first moon of summer, the “red circle day.” When both Temüjin and Jamuya going together in front of the carts went forward, when Jamuya spake, he said “Anda, Anda [30r] Temüjin,

Let us pitch next [unto] the mountain.
Let our herdmen
Attain unto a tent."

Let us pitch next unto the stream.
Let our shepherds and keepers of lambs
Attain unto [food for] the gullet.”

Temüjin, not being able to understand this word of Jamuya, standing in silence, remaining behind, waiting for the carts within the journeying camp—since it was a journeying camp—Temüjin said unto Mother Hœ’elüin, “Anda Jamuya speaketh. He speaketh, saying,

‘Let us pitch next unto the mountain.
Let our herdmen
Attain unto a tent.

44 "It obviously is not a question of a true horn, but of a protuberant callosity which had developed on the upper part of the horse's head.” Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [56].

44 See Chapter I, Note 40.

44 See Chapter II, note 29.

44 I.e., "pitch a tent for themselves."
Let us pitch next unto the stream.  
Let our shepherds and keepers of lambs  
Attain unto [food for] the gullet.'  

I not being able to understand this his word, I spake not [31r]  
even aught as an answer unto it. I am come, saying, 'I shall  
inquire of [my] mother [concerning this].' " At the moment when  
Mother Hö'elün had not yet uttered [aught], when Börte Újin  
spake, she said, "Anda Ḷamu-ya is said [to be] one who easily  
becometh weary. Now the time is come when he becometh weary  
of us. The words which Anda Ḷamu-ya hath said a little while ago  
are words which, then, cover a plot against us. Let us not pitch.  
While we continue in this movement, let us, separating ourselves  
well, move, then, travelling at night."

§119 [32r] Approving [this] according to the word of Börte Újin,  
not pitching, at the moment when, moving, travelling at night, he  
went forward, he passed by the Tayiči'ud on the way. And the  
Tayiči'ud, trembling, also removed the same night, then, in dis-  
order toward Ḷamu-ya. In the encampment of the Besüd of the  
Tayiči'ud ours, [33r] having taken a little boy named Kōkōčví,  
[one] which had remained behind in the encampment, came and  
gave him unto Mother Hö'elün. Mother Hö'elün nourished [him].

§120 [33v] Travelling all that night, when the day dawned and  
when they looked, [they saw that] Qači'un Toýura'un, Qaraqai  
Toýura'un, and Qaraldai Toýura'un of the Ḷalayir—these three  
Toýura'un elder brethren and younger brethren—had travelled  
at night and were drawing nigh. Again Qada'an Daldurqan,  
elder brethren and younger brethren of the Taryud—five Taryud  
in all]—[34r] were also drawing nigh. Again, [men] such as Öng-  
gür, son of Müngetü Kiyan, were also drawing nigh with their  
Čangsi'ud and Baya'ud. From the Barulas there came the elder  
brethren and younger brethren, Qubilai and Qudus. From the  
Mangyud there came both brethren Jetei and Doqolqu Čerbi.  
Ögölen Čerbi, the younger brother of Bo'orču, separated himself  
[34v] from the Arulad and also came to join unto Bo'orču, his
elder brother." The younger brethren of Jelme, Ça’urqan and Sîbè’etei Ba’atur,44 separated themselves from the Uriangqan and came to join unto Jelme. From the Besüid there also came both brethren Degei and Köçügür. From the Suldus there also came the elder brethren and younger brethren [36r] Çilgütei, Taki, and Tayic’udai. Seče Domoy of the Jalayir also came with his two sons Arqai Qasar and Bala. From the Qongqotan there also came Süyiketi Çerbi. Sükegei Je’ün,46 the son of Jegei Qongdaqor of the Sükekem also came. Ne’üdei [35v] Çaya’an Uua 45 also came. There also came Kinggiyadas of the Olgunu’ud, [and] from the Gorolas Seći’üür, and from the Dörben Moći Bedü’tün. Forasmuch as Butu of the Ikires had proceeded here as a son in law, he also came. From the Noyakin there also came Jungso. From the Oronar there also came Ñiryo’an. From the Barulas there also came Suyu Sećen [36r] with his son Qaračar. Again, Qorci, Old Man Üsün, and Kökö Ços of the Ba’arin also came [as] one güré’en together with their Menen Ba’arin.

§121 [37v] When Qorci came and spake, he said, "We [are] born of the woman which Bodonçar Boydo 47 seized and took [to wife]. With Jamiyya we were ones of whom

44 Although this appears to be at variance with §92 where Bo’orçu says, “The only son of Naçu Bayan is I,” as demonstrated by Paul Pelliot and Louis Hambis, Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan, Cheng-wou tèsîn-teheng lou, Tome I (Leiden, 1961), p. 349, “To escape the contradiction, we can only admit that conformably moreover to a current Sino-Mongolian usage, ‘brother’ is applied here to first cousins.”

45 The epithet Ba’atur “Valiant Man” has been introduced anachronistically by the chronicler at this point.

46 Although each element of this name is, in this instance, independently glossed, as if Sükegei Je’ün constituted, in reality, the names of two persons, the two elements are glossed in §161, however, as the name of a single person. In §§177 and 181, where the name is written Sügegei Je’ün, it is also glossed as the name of a single person. In §§194 and 177 only the element Sügegei occurs. In §195 the same element is written Sügegei.

47 Although the elements of this name, Ne’üdei and Çaya’an Uua, are, in this instance, independently glossed, as if Ne’üdei Çaya’an Uua constituted, in reality, the names of two persons, they are glossed in §129 below, however, as the name of a single person. From the Mongolian text in both §180 and §129 it seems evident that Ne’üdei Çaya’an Uua is, in fact, the name of a single person.

48 I.e., Bodonçar “The Holy One.” For the episode in question see §§40-43 above.
The [mother's] belly [was] one [and the same]
and of whom

The water of the mother's womb [was] an only one.

We would not [ever] have separated ourselves from Jamuya. [Howbeit,] a heavenly foretoken is come unto me and shewed unto mine [38r] eyes [that for which Temüjin is foreordained]. A fallow cow coming, going round about Jamuya, having butted his tent cart, butting Jamuya, breaking one of [her] two horns, becoming one with [but] a [single] crooked horn, saying and saying, 'Bring [unto me] my horn,' bellowing and [38r] bellowing toward Jamuya, she standeth, raising and raising the dust [with her hoofs]. A hornless, fallow ox lifting up a great stake under the tent, harnessing [himself to it], drawing [it], when, behind Temüjin, he drew nigh by the great way, bellowing and bellowing, saying, 'Heaven and Earth taking counsel with each other, let Temüjin become [39r] Lord of the Nation,' and saying, '[I] draw nigh, conveying the nation [unto thee], heavenly foretokens shew unto [mine] eyes and [fore]-tell unto me [that for which Temüjin is foreordained]. If thou, Temüjin, become Lord of the Nation, because I have [so fore]told [unto thee], how wilt thou cause [me] to rejoice?' When Temüjin spake, he said, [39v] "Verily, if they so suffer [me] to govern the nation, I shall make thee a captain of ten thousand." [Qorci] said, "Even if I, a man which hath [fore]told [unto thee] many principles, become a captain of ten thousand, what happiness will [that] be? Having caused [me] to become a captain of ten thousand, suffering [me] to take of my freewill the beautiful and good maidens of the nation, make [me] to become one which hath even [40r] thirty wives. Again hearken unto whatsoever I shall have said." **

§122 [41r] The Geniges having L'unan at their head also came [as] one güre'en. Again, Daritai Odčigin also came [as] one güre'en. From the Jadaran there also came Mulqalqu. Again, Ünjin came [as] one güre'en of the Sayayid. Having removed, so separating

**See §207 below, wherein Qorči's request is granted. See also §341 below for another reference.
themselves from Jamuya, at the moment when they were pitching
[at] Ayil [41r] Qarayana of the Kimurya Stream, again, separating
themselves from Jamuya both Saça Beki and Taiçu, sons of
Sorqatu Jurki of the Jurkin, [42] also came as] one gûre’en. Again,
Quçar Beki, the son of Nekûn Taisi [also came as] one gûre’en.
Again, Al[tan Odçigin, the son of Qutula Qan, [also came] as one
gûre’en. These, again, removing, separating themselves from Ja-
muya, joining [unto him], pitched [with Temûjin], at the moment
when [42r] [Temûjin] was pitching at Ayil Qarayana of the Ki-
murya Stream. Journeying from thence, they pitched [at] Kökö
Lake of Qara Jûrûgen of the Senggûr Stream within [Mount]
Gûregü.

§123 [42v] When Altan, Quçar, and Saça Beki took counsel with
one another together and spake [43r] unto Temûjin, [saying,] “We
shall make thee to become qan. If [thou] Temûjin become qan, we,

“Hasting as spies unto the many enemies,
Maidens and ladies
Good of beauty,
Palace tents,
Ladies and maidens
Comely of cheek
Of realms and peoples,
And geldings good of rump,
Making [them] to trot, we shall bring for [thee]. [43v]

If we hunt the crafty wild beasts,
We shall go out beforehand to compass [them] for thee.

We shall press [them] for [thee] in such wise that the bellies
Of the wild beasts of the steppe become united together.
We shall press [them] for [thee] in such wise that the thighs
Of the wild beasts of the cliff become united together.”

If we, a day of battle,
Violate thine orders,

[43v]

**See Chapter I, note 31.**

**See §179 below.**
Severing [us]
From [our] goods,
From our ladies and wives,
Go [thou], forsaking on the earth and ground [44r]
Our black heads.

If we, a day of peace,
Break thy counsel,
Severing [us]
From household and goods,
From our wives and children,
Go [thou], forsaking [us]
In a land without a lord."

Thus pledging [their] word,
Thus swearing an oath,

they made Temüjin to become qan, naming [him] Činggis Qahan."

§124 [44v] Činggis, being become qahan, Ögöleı Čerbi, the younger brother of Bo'orçu, carried [45r] a quiver. Qaji'un To-
yura'un carried a quiver. Both the brethren Jetei and Doqolqu carried [each] a quiver. When Önggür, Söyiketü Čerbi, and Qada'an Daldurqan—[all] three—spake, saying,

"May we not suffer [thee] to lack
[Thy] morning drink.
May we not neglect
[Thine] evening drink,"

they became cooks. When Degei spake, [saying,] [45v]

"In making a wether of two years old
Into broth,
May I not fail
In the morning;
May I not be negligent
At night.

" For the second coronation of Temüjin see §202 below.
Herding the speckled sheep,  
I shall cause the bottom of [thy] cart to be filled [with them].

Herding the yellow sheep,  
I shall cause [thy] fold to be filled [with them].

I have been gluttonous and bad.  
Herding the sheep,  
I shall eat [their] bowels.”  

Degei [46r] herded the sheep. When his younger brother Güçügür spake, saying,

“May I not cause  
Its linch-pin  
To overturn the cart having a lock.  
May I not cause  
The cart having a tenggisge”  
To break on the road.”

he said, “I shall put in order the tent carts.” Dodai Čerbi [46v] said, “May I oversee the maidservants and menservants within the tent.” [Činggis Qahan] said, “Qubilai, Čilgütei, Qarqai Toyura’un—all three—together with Qasar, carrying swords,

As for those which pride themselves on their might,  
Cut ye off  
Their necks,  
As for those which pride themselves on their courage,  
Cut ye in twain”  
Their breasts.”

[Činggis Qahan] said, “As for both Belgütei and Qaraldai Toyura’un,


This word, not glossed, may mean “axletree.” Cf. the word *tenggel* “axletree” in §101 above.

The word onglajidqun, not glossed and not elsewhere attested, is a *benedictive* in -*dqun* of a verb onglaj-. Cf. the word ongjaldaju “being cut off” in §208 below.
Let them bring [from the pasture] the geldings.
Let them become the keepers of the geldings.

[Činggis Qahan] said, "As for the Tayiči‘ud Qutu, Moriči, and Mulqalqu—[all] three—let them herd the herds." [Činggis Qahan] said, "As for Arqai Qasar, Tayai, Sûkegei, and Ça‘urqan—[all] four—let them become

The qo’očay 59 [arrows]
Of far [bowshot].
The odora 60 [arrows]
Of near [bowshot].

When Sübe‘etei Ba‘adur 61 spake, he said,

"Becoming a rat
I shall gather with [others]. [47v]
Becoming a black crow
I shall assemble with [others]
Those which are outside.

Becoming the felt which covereth [a horse]
I shall assay with [others] to cover [thee].
Becoming the felt which restraineth the wind
Toward [thy] tent
I shall assay with [others] to serve as shelter."

§125 [48v] Then, when Činggis Qahan, becoming qan, spake unto both Bo‘orçu and Jelme, he said, "Ye twain,

At the moment when I had no companion other than
[my] shadow,
Being [my] shadow, 62
Did settle my mind, ye!
Let [this] be in [my] thoughts."

59 This word is glossed: "name of a kind of arrow."
60 This word is glossed: "name of a kind of arrow."
61 In Ba‘adur we have an instance of the frequent alternation of -d- with -t-, the form Ba‘atur (*Bayatur) being the primitive one.
62 See §§76, 77, and 78 above.
And he said, "[Ye twain,]

At the moment when I had no whip other than a [horse]tail,

Becoming a [horse]tail,"

Did settle [49r] my heart, ye!

Let [this] be within [my] bosom."

And he said, "Forasmuch as ye twain beforespoke [at my side], shall ye not be chiefs of all these?" Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "If I be protected by Heaven and Earth in such a way that [my] might increase, ye, the elders which are come [separating yourselves] from Anda Jamuya, [49v] by affection toward me, saying, 'We shall become companions,' could ye not be my happy companions? I have appointed you severally [to an office]."

§126 [50r] He sent both Dayai ** and Sügegei [as] messengers unto To'oril Qan of the Kereyid, saying "They have made Činggis Qahan to become qan." To'oril Qan sent, saying, "To make my son Temüjin to become qan is very right. How would the Mong- yol fare without a qa? Break ye not this your decision. Undo [ye] not your decision and that which hath been tied [of you]. Rend [ye] not your collar."

** See §§76, 77, and 78 above.

** In Dayai we have an instance of the frequent alternation of d- with t-, the form Tayai being the primitive one. See also note 61 above.
When Ciinggis Qahan sent both Arqai Qasar and Ča’ur-qan as messengers unto Jamuya, when Jamuya spake, when he sent, speaking, saying, “Speak unto both Altan and Qučar,” he sent, saying, “Altan and Qučar, ye twain, between both Anda Temūjin and us,

Piercing
The loins,
Pricking
The ribs

of the anda, why [1v] have ye made [us] to separate ourselves? At the moment when both the anda and we were yet together, not suffering [you] to make [us] to separate ourselves, why made ye not Anda Temūjin qan? Now, thinking what thoughts have ye made him qan? Altan and Qučar, ye twain, keeping to your words which ye did speak, pacifying the thoughts of the anda, be [ye] companions well unto mine anda.”

After that, when Tačar, the younger brother of Jamuya, was at Oļegei Spring [2v] in front of [Mount] Jalama, he went for to steal the herd of horses of our Joči Darmala which was at the Sa’ari Steppe. Tačar stole the herd of horses of Joči Darmala and took [it] away. [As for] Joči Darmala, his herd having been stolen and the hearts of his companions having failed, [3r] the same Joči Darmala going, pursuing [him], and at night arriving at the side of his herd, lying with his liver 1 on the mane of his horse, arriving, shooting asunder the back of Tačar, having killed [him] and having taken his herd of horses, he came [back].

Saying that their younger brother Tačar had been

1 I.e., “on his belly.” In this position he could approach Tačar without being seen. The approach of a “riderless” horse on the steppe would not have alarmed Tačar.
killed, the Jadaran having Jamuya at their head, thirteen tribes becoming companions, being thirty thousand [in number], passing by [Mount] Ala’u’ud and [Mount] Turya’ud, setting forth against [4r] Cinggis Qahan, saying, “They draw nigh,” both Mülke Totay and Boroldai from the Ikires, at the moment when Cinggis Qahan was at [Mount] Ærelgü, came, bringing a message. Having [thus] known this message—Cinggis Qahan was thirteen güre’ed [in number]—being also thirty thousand [in number], [4v] setting forth against Jamuya, setting himself in array [at] Dalan Baljud, Cinggis Qahan, then being made to remove by Jamuya, fled for refuge unto the Jerene Narrows of the Onon [River]. When Jamuya spake, he said, “We have made [him] to flee for refuge unto Jerene of the Onon,” and, when he returned, [5r] making the princes of the Činos to be boiled [in] seventy kettles and cutting off the head of Ne’üdei Caya’an U’a, he dragged [it] away at the tail of [his] horse.

§180 [5v] Then, after that Jamuya was returned from thence, Jürüdei of the Uru’ud, having led his Uru’ud, and Quyuldar of the Mangyud, having led his Mangyud, [6r] separated themselves from Jamuya and came unto Cinggis Qahan. Father Müngli of the Qongqotad then being with Jamuya, Father Mündlig with his seven sons separated himself from Jamuya and then came to join himself unto Cinggis Qahan. Saying, “These people are come from Jamuya,” Cinggis Qahan, rejoicing [6v] in himself, saying, “The people are come,” Cinggis Qahan, Höl’lün Üjin, Qasar, together with Saça Beki, Taǐču, and others of the Įürkin, saying unto one another, “Let us feast in the forest of the Onan [River],” when they feasted, they poured [the content of] one pitcher first for Cinggis Qahan, for Höl’lün Üjin, for Qasar, for Saça Beki, and [for] others. [7r] Because [in serving the women] they also poured [the content of] one pitcher beginning at Ebegei, the “little mother” * of Saça Beki, both Qorijin Qutan and Qu’určin Qutan, saying, [each unto herself.] “How pour they, not beginning at

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* The name is transcribed Saça Beki in §49 above, but Saça Beki elsewhere in the text.

* Ebegei was called the “little mother” of Saça Beki, because she was a secondary, not a principal wife of his father Sorqatu Jürki (erroneously transcribed Qutuytu Yürki in §49 above).
me, but beginning at Ebegei?," smote the cook Šiki'ür. Being
smitten, when the cook Šiki'ür spake, having said, "Because both
Yesügei Ba'adur and [7v] Nekün Taisi are dead, why am I thus
smitten?," he wailed with a loud voice.

§131 [8r] Belgütei from us, having set that feast in order, bringing
the geldings of Činggis Qahan, was standing [there]. Büri Bökö
from the Jürkin was setting [8v] that feast in order. [Belgütei]
seized as a robber a person of the Qadagid which had stolen a tether
from our kirü'ese. Büri Bökö protecting his that person—Belgü-

tei, constantly, when he wrestled, having put off his right sleeve,
went [with his right arm] bare—Büri Bökö clave asunder [9r] with
a sword his bare shoulder from which he had so put off [his
sleeve]. When Činggis Qahan, sitting in the shade, seeing from
within the feast Belgütei, which, being thus cloven, then, not
making [it] to be even aught and not troubling himself, went,
suffering the blood to flow, came out and spake, at the moment
when he was saying, "How have we been being so done unto?,"
[9v] when Belgütei spake, he said, "The wound is not yet [griev-
ous]. I fear lest, because of me, there be for the brethren dis-
pleasure on one side and the other. I am not disabled. I am
somewhat better. At the moment when the elder brethren and
the younger brethren are hardly become accustomed to one
another, let the elder brother abstain [from doing something which
could make an end of the agreement]. Wait a moment!"

§132 [10r] Činggis Qahan [and his people], as Belgütei stayed
[him] so much as that, not being willing, tearing asunder the
branches of trees, drawing the beaters [10v] out of the leathern
buckets, together smiting [them], overcoming the Jürkin, ravished
and took both Qorijin Qadun and Qu'urcin Qadun. Moreover, the
same, being told, "Let us make peace," returning both Qorijin
Qadun and Qu'urcin Qadun, at the moment when they were

* For a similar reference to the deceased Yesügei Ba'atur see the words of Ḥo'elūn Ījin in §70 above.
* This word is glossed: "[place where] one lights off a horse."
* This episode, as we have seen, was anticipated in §60 above.
* I.e., "Haste not to take vengeance!"
* I.e., the Mongol.
sending messengers unto each other, saying, “Let us make peace,” [Činggis Qahan] learned the message [whereby one was] saying, “The Altan Qan of the Kitad people, when Megüjin Se’ültü and others of the Tatar [11r] would not hearken unto his counsel, sent, then, saying unto Ongging Čingsang.‘ ‘Making ready the soldiers, doubt [thou] not!’ Ongging Čingsang, driving up along the Ulja [River] the Tatar having Megüjin Se’ültü at their head, with their herds and food, draweth nigh.” Having learned that message, §133 [11v] when Činggis Qahan spake, having said, “From days of old the Tatar people have been a hating people which have made an end of [our] [12r] grandfathers and fathers. Now at this opportunity we shall together attack [them],” he sent messengers bringing this message unto To’oril Qan, saying, “One saith, ‘Ongging Čingsang of the Altan Qan draweth nigh, driving up along the Ulja [River] the Tatar having Megüjin Se’ültü of the Tatar at their head.’ We shall together attack [12v] the Tatar which have made an end of our grandfathers and fathers. Let Father To’oril Qan come quickly.” Having received this message, when To’oril Qan spake, having said, “My son is come, telling [me] rightly. We shall together attack,” the third day, mustering his army and making the army to arise [13r] To’oril Qan, hasting, came in person.19 When both Činggis Qahan and To’oril Qan sent, telling [it] unto the Jürkin having Saça Beki and Taicu of the Jürkin at their head, [13v] they sent, saying, “Let us now at this opportunity jointly attack and let us set forth together against the Tatar which from days of old have made an end of our grandfathers and fathers.” Waiting six days from the [time when it was] to be come by the Jürkin, not being able [to wait any longer], both Činggis Qahan and To’oril Qan, [their] armies arising together, at the moment when they were drawing nigh along the Ulja [River], together attacking with Ongging Čingsang, at Qu-sutu Šiti’en and Naratu Šiti’en of the Ulja, the Tatar having

19 The word igtünefū, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. It is a converbum imperfecti in -fū of a verb igtüne. My tentative translation is based on that which is found in the continuous translation of the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih 4.14v8: 親自到來 (CK’in-tau tao-lai). “He came in person.”
CHAPTER IV

63

Megüjin [Se'ültii] of the Tatar at their head held there [14r] a fortress. Both Cünggis Qahan and To'oril Qan, seizing from their fortress [those] which had so fortified themselves and Megüjin Se'ültii, then killing Megüjin Se'ültii, Cünggis Qahan then took his silver cradle and [his] bed covering decked with [big] pearls.

§134 [15r] Saying, “They have killed Megüjin Se'ültii”—[that is to say] both Cünggis Qahan and To'oril Qan.14—Ongging Cüngsang, having learned that they had killed Megüjin Se'ültii, rejoicing exceedingly, gave unto Cünggis Qahan the title ja'ud quri. Then he gave unto To'oril of the Gereyid the title ong.15 Because Ongging Cüngsang had named the name [15v] Ong Qan, from thenceforth [To'oril] was [Ong Qan]. When Ongging Cüngsang spake, he said, “[By] your having jointly attacked and killed Megüjin Se'ültii ye have done exceeding great service unto the Altan Qan. I shall report this your service unto the Altan Qan. Let the Altan Qan know whether he should add unto Cünggis Qahan a greater title than this and should give [unto him] the title [16r] jautau.”16 Ongging Cüngsang withdrew from thence, rejoicing so much as that. Both Cünggis Qahan and Ong Qan, then, spoiling the Tatar, parting unto each other [the spoil], together taking [it], returned unto their abodes and lighted.

§135 [16v] At the moment when we were spoiling in the encampment where the Tatar had pitched at Naratu Sitü'en where they had fortified themselves, our soldiers got from the encampment a little boy—[one] which [the Tatar] had forsaken. Bringing the little boy which had a golden, round ring [in his nose] and which had a stomacher of gold silk and lined with sable, Cünggis Qahan

14 Although I have translated the text as it is, regarding its irregular, if not awkward construction as one characteristic of the spoken language, Paul Pelliot, Histoire sacrée des Mongoles (Paris, 1949), p. 86 §134, seeing a lacuna, “restores” the words Ongging Cüngsang-un esergii od-bai taken from the Altan tobii (noun). Cf. Altan Tobii, A Brief History of the Mongols, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. 9-3. If we adopt this “restoration,” the text must then be rendered: “Saying, ‘[We] have killed Megüjin Se'ültii,’ both Cünggis Qahan and To'oril Qan [went to the encounter of Ongging Cüngsang].”

15 I.e., the Chinese wăng 王 ("prince").

16 I.e., the Chinese chao-t'o 招討 (lit., "to summon [those who have not submitted] or to punish [those who have revolted]"). a term of Sung origin, used by the Chin 旨, for "pacification commissioner."
gave [him] unto Mother Hö’elín, saying, “[He is] a saurya.” [17v] When Mother Hö’elín spake, [she said,] “He must be the son of a good man. He must be the offspring of a man whose origin is good.” Making [him] to be [her] sixth son, the younger brother of her five sons, the mother named [him] Šikiken Quduqu 14 and raised [him] up.

§186 [18r] The a’uruv of Cinggis Qahan was at Hariltu Lake. The Jiirkin stripped off the clothing of fifty men—[those] which had remained behind in the a’uruud. They killed ten men, saying, “[We] have been so done unto by the Jiirkin,” when those [18v] of us who had remained behind in the a’uruud told [it] unto Cinggis Qahan, having heard this message, when Cinggis Qahan, being exceeding wroth, spake, having said, “How have we been being thus done unto by the Jiirkin? At the moment when we were feasting in the forest of the Onan [River], the same also smote the cook Šiki’ür. The same also clave the shoulder of [19r] Belgütei. As it was said [by them], ‘Let us make peace,’ [we] returned and gave [back] both Qorijin Qadun and Qu’určin. After that, saying, ‘Let us set forth, together attacking the hating and resentful Tatar of former times which had made an end of our grandfathers and fathers,’ although we awaited the Jiirkin for six [19v] days, neither was it come [by them]. Now, again, relying on the enemy, an enemy they themselves also are,” Cinggis Qahan set forth against the Jiirkin. At the moment when the Jiirkin were at the Dolo’an Bolda’ud of Ködö’e Isle of the Keliiren [River], he spoiled their people. Both Sača Beki and [20r] Taiciu, few [in number] and with [nothing other than their] bodies, fled. Pursuing after them and overtaking them at the Telëti Outlet, he seized both Sača Beki and Taiciu. [After] seizing [them], when Cinggis Qahan spake unto both Sača and Taiciu, [20v] being told, “What said we unto one another in days of old?,” when both Sača and Taiču spake, having said, “We have not kept to our

14 The name is transcribed Šiziken Qutuqu in §186 below. Elsewhere it is Šipi Qutuqu (§§202, 205, 214, 244, 262, and 287) and Šipu Qutuqu (§260). In this instance, the form Šiziken (~Šipken), with the diminutive suffix -ken, is one of endearment.
16 I. e., “taking advantage of the fact that we are involved in a campaign against the Tatar.”
word which we did speak. Make [thou us] to keep to our word!" 

Being aware of their words, they stretched forth their necks for [him]. Making [them] to be aware of their words, making [them] to keep to their words, he accomplished [the matter] and forsook them even there. 

§137 [21r] Having accomplished [the matter of] both Sača and Taišu, [Činggis Qahan] came back. At the moment when he was making the people of the Jürkin to remove, the sons of Telegetiš Bayan of the Jalayir, Guü'ün U'a, Čila'un Qayiči, and Jebke—all three—were at those Jürkin. When Guü'ün U'a presented himself with his two sons Muqali and [22r] Buqa and spake, he gave [them unto him], saying,

"Let them be the slaves Of thy threshold. 
If they swerve From thy threshold, 
Cut [thou] their sinews above the heel. 
Let them be the private slaves Of thy door."
If they depart From thy door, 
Cutting Their liver, forseke ye [them]."

[22v] When Čila'un Qayiči also presented himself unto Činggis Qahan [with] his two sons Tüngge and Qasi and spake, he said, "I have given [them unto thee], saying,

16 See §125 above: "If we, a day of battle, violate thine orders, ... go [thou], forsaking on the earth and ground [44r] our black heads." Aware that they have broken their oaths, Sača Beki and Taišu request of Činggis Qahan the punishment which they themselves had prescribed.
17 I.e., for Činggis Qahan to cut off.
18 I.e., killed them at the very place where he had overtaken and seized them.
19 I.e., to the Jürkin encampment.
20 See §§ 180 and 11 below.
21 I.e., kill.
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I have given [them unto thee], saying,

'Let them [23r] raise up
For [thee thy] wide [felt] door.'
If they go away
From thy wide [felt] door,
Trample their hearts and forsake ye [them].'

They gave Jebke unto Qasar. Jebke brought from the encampment of the Jürkin a little boy named Borō'ul and, presenting himself unto Mother Hō'elün, [23v] gave [him unto her].

§138 [24r] When Mother Hō'elün raised up within the tent the boy named Güği which was gotten from the encampment of the Mer-[ki]d, the boy named Kököçi which was gotten from the encampment of the Bestid in the midst of the Tayiči'ud, [24v] the boy named Sigiken Qutuqu which was gotten from the encampment of the Tatar, and the boy named Borō'ul which was gotten from the encampment of the Jürkin—these four—, Mother Hō'elün raised [them] up within the tent, saying, "[If it be not they,] of whom, for my sons, would I [otherwise] make

Eyes to see by day,
Ears to hear by night?"**

§139 [25r] [As for] the reason [of the name] of these Jürkin people, when they became Jürkin, the eldest brother of the seven sons of Qabul Qan was Ökin Baraqay.** His son was Sorqatu Jürki. [25v] When he became Jürkin, saying, "[He is] the eldest brother of the sons of Qabul Qan," [Qabul Qan] chose from among his people and chose and gave [unto Ökin Baraqay] strong and mighty [men]

*See § 205 below.
** Elsewhere Ökin Baraqay. See §§48 and 49 above and §140 below.
Which had gall in the liver;
Which had ability in the thumb to shoot arrows;
Which had lungs full of heart;
Which had mouths full of fury.
Which, every man,
Had skill

and, because they had fury, had gall, had courage, and were [26r] jovkimes; such [is] the reason for which they are called Jürkin. Činggis Qahan conquered such courageous people and destroyed those which were of the Jürkin clan. Činggis Qahan made its people and [its] folk to be his own private people.

§140 One day Činggis Qahan said, “Let us make the twain, Büri Bökö and Belgütei, to wrestle.” Büri Bökö [27r] was at the Jürkin — [Beforetime] 26 Büri Bökö, seizing Belgütei with one of [his] hands, thrusting [him] with one of [his] legs, making [him] to fall, assayed to press [him to the ground], not suffering [him] to move. Büri Bökö [was] the strong man of the nation. — Then [Činggis Qahan] made both Belgütei and Büri Bökö to wrestle. Büri Bökö — a man which was not to be overcome — willingly fell. Belgütei, not being able [27v] to press [him to the ground], took hold of [his] shoulders and gat him up on [his] buttocks. Belgütei looked back and, with [his] seeing Činggis Qahan, the Qahan bit his lower lip. Belgütei, getting understanding, sat on top of him and, crossing the two [ends of] his collar, pulled, holding in [his] hand [the two ends of the collar], and, putting his knee on his

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26 See Chapter II, note 5.
27 In jovkimes we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (Sorqatu Jürki, jovkimes, and Jürkin). The word jovkimes, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. The meaning “irresistible” is suggested by the continuous translation in the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih 4.28v2: 無人能敵 (Wu jen neng ti). “There was not anyone who could resist [them].” In note 4 on pages 300-301 of the Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan, Pelliot and Hambis stated, with reference to jovkimes, “in fact, this appears to be a negative form of Turkish type.”

28 The Altan tobö (nova) has wrida. Cf. Altan Tobö, A Brief History of the Mongols, Vol. I, p. 86, l. 7. The continuous translation in the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih (4.29r4) also has 元 (hsien) “beforetime.”

29 Hence, his name Büri Bökö, Büri “The Strong Man.”

30 As on a gelding.
backbone, brake [it] and dispatched [him]. When [28r] Büri Bökö, his back being broken, spake, having said, "I should not have been overcome by Belgütei. Being afraid of the Qahan, by a device, being fallen and faltering, I have been attained unto my life," he died. Belgütei, having pulled his back so that it brake, dragged [him] away, [28r] cast [him] away, and departed. The eldest brother of the seven sons of Qabul Qan was Ökin Barqay. The next was Bartan Ba'atur. His son was Yesiigei Ba'atur. The one next to him was Gütütu Müngler.29 His son was Büri. Because, [going] [29r] beyond [the lineage of] the son of Bartan Ba'atur which was closest [to him in age], he was become a companion unto the courageous sons of Barqay, Büri Bökö, [although he was] the strong man of the nation, died, suffering his back to be broken by Belgütei.

§141 [30r] After that, [in] the year of the cock [1201], the Qadagin and the SaljYud joining themselves—the Qadagin having BaqU Co-rogi of the Qadagin at their head and [the SaljYud] having Çirgidai Ba'atur of the SaljYud at their head,—the Dörben making peace with the Tatar—[the Dörben] having Qaji'un Beki of the Dörben at their head and [the Tatar] having Jalin Buqa of the Aci Tatar of the Tatar at their head,—the Ikires having Tiige Maqa of the Ikires at their head, [the Unggirad] having Dergeg, Emel, Alqui, and others of the Unggirad at their head, [the Torolas] having A'wu6u Ba'atur of the Tayici'ud, these tribes, assembling themselves at Alqui Spring, saying, "Let us raise up Jamuya the Jajirad as qa," together cut in twain a stallion and a mare and made covenant with one another. Journeying from there down along the Ergine River at the corner of the island where the Ken River poureth into the Ergine, they then raised up [31v] Jamuya as gür qa."29 Having raised [him] up as gür qa, they said unto one

29 He is called Gütütu Münggür in §48 above.
26 I. e., "Ruler of All."
another, “Let us set forth against both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan.” That they had said unto one another, “Let us set forth,” Qoridai of the Torolas, at the moment when Činggis Qahan was at [Mount] Gürelgü, sent, bringing this message. Having suffered this message to come, when Činggis Qahan sent, bringing this message unto Ong Qan, Ong Qan, having suffered [him] to bring [this] message [unto him], making his army to arise, hasting, Ong Qan, arriving, came unto Činggis Qahan.

§142 [32v] Having suffered Ong Qan to come, both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan joining themselves, [33r] said unto each other, “Let us set forth against Jamuya.” When they set forth down along the Keliiren River, Činggis Qahan made Altan, Quçar, and Daritai—all three—to go as vanguards. Ong Qan made Senggüm, Jaqa Gambu, and Bilge Beki—all three—to go as vanguard. Again when they sent watchmen in front of these vanguards, they placed one station [33v] of watchmen at Enegen Güiletü. Beyond that they made [one] to place one station of watchmen at [Mount] Čegçer. Beyond that they made [one] to place one station of watchmen at [Mount] Čiqurqu. At the moment when our vanguards, Altan, Quçar, Senggüm, and others, arriving [at] Udkiya, were saying unto one another, “Let us pitch,” a man from the watchmen [34r] which [we] had placed at [Mount] Čiqurqu, hasting, came and brought a message, saying, “The enemy draweth nigh.” That message being come, not pitching, going against the enemy, saying, “Let us get tidings,” together arriving, getting tidings, when they asked, saying, “Who are [ye],?” [they learned that] A’uçu Ba’atur from the Mongyol, [34v] Buyiruy Qan of the Naiman, Qutu, son of Toyo’to’á Beki of the Merkid, and Quduqa Beki of the Oyirad, vanguards of Jamuya—these four—were gone as vanguards of Jamuya. Our vanguards cried unto those. While they were crying, it was become evening. Saying, “We shall fight with one another to morrow,” withdrawing, they passed the night, uniting [forces] with the middle [of our army].

§143 [35r] On the morrow making [the soldiers] to march, coming together, together setting themselves in array [at] Köyiten, at the
moment when [in joining battle the two armies] were making each other to retire [now] downward and [now] upward and were reforming their ranks, both the same Buyiruy Qan and Quduqa knew [how to make] a jada. As they began to make a jada, the jada turned, and the jada was upon them, the same. The same not being able to march, being tumbled into ravines, having said unto one another, “We have not been loved by Heaven,” [38r] dispersed themselves.

§ 144 Buyiruy Qan of the Naiman, [36v] separating himself [from Jamuya], removed, betaking himself [unto] Ulu-Tay in front of the Altai. Qutu, son of Toyto’a of the Merkid, removed, betaking himself [unto] the Selengge [River]. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirad, striving for the forest, removed, betaking himself [unto] Sisig. A’ucu Ba’atur of the Tayici’ud removed, betaking himself [unto] the Onan [River]. Jamuya, having spoiled the peoples which had raised himself up as qa, Jamuya removed, returning down along [37r] the Ergiine. Those being so dispersed, Ong Qan pursued Jamuya down along the Ergiine [River]. Cinggis Qahan pursued A’ucu Ba’atur of the Tayici’ud toward the Onan. A’ucu Ba’atur, being come unto his people, having made [them] to remove, making [them] to haste, the Tayici’ud, [37v] A’ucu Ba’atur and Hodun Orçang, ordering their remaining soldiers having square shields [on] the yonder side of the Onan [River], stood, ordering [them], saying, “Let us fight!” Cinggis Qahan, being arrived, fought with the Tayici’ud. Fighting exceedingly back and forth, evening coming, [the two armies] passed the night so close to each other that they were as propped the one over against the other in the same place [38r] in which they had fought.

88 I. e., “now toward the foot of the mountain and now toward the top of the mountain.”

89 This word is glossed: “the ability to bring about wind and rain.”

90 I. e., “Big Mountain” (in Turkish).

4 Although I have translated the text as it is, it is not to be doubted, as already demonstrated by P. Pelliot in his article “Un passage altéré dans le texte mongol ancien de l’Histoire secrète des Mongols” in the Young Pao 97 (1930).169-202, that the reading hâle’âd turnastan “[their] remaining [soldiers] having square shields” is an error for Ülengüd Turas-tür “at Ülengüd Turas.” The Altan töbü (now) has Ulqud Turay-tür. Cf. Altan Töbü, A Brief History of the Mongols, Vol. I, p. 90, l. 12.
And when the people, fleeing, were drawing nigh, even there they made a giüre'en and passed the night together with their soldiers.

§145 [38v] As Cinggis Qahan, a vein of his neck being wounded in that battle, tried to stanch the blood, when, not being able, he was in a strait, waiting till the sun was set, even there, [the two armies being so close to each other that they were as] propped the one over against the other, he pitched. Jelme, sucking and sucking [39r] the blood which had stopped [the wound], his mouth being stained with blood, Jelme, not relying on [any] other person, sat keeping watch over [him]. Until it was become midnight, in mouthfuls having swallowed or having spat [out] the blood which had stopped [the wound], as midnight was passed, when Cinggis Qahan, awakening within him, spake, he said, “The blood hath finished drying up. [39v] I am thirsty.” Thereupon, Jelme putting off his hat, boots, and garments—everything—, with [his] only breeches, [otherwise] stark naked, running amongst the enemies which were standing, [the two armies being so close to each other that they were as] propped the one over against the other, getting him up into a cart of the people which had made a giüre'en yonder, seeking mare's milk, [but] not being able [to find any]—when [those people] were fled, they had loosed their [40r] mares, not milking [them]—not being able to get mare’s milk, having taken from [one of] their carts a great [vessel of] curd having a covering, he lifted [it] up and came. On the way, when he went and came, he was not seen by [any] person. Heaven, indeed, protected him. Having fetched the curd with the covering, the same Jelme [40v] himself, indeed, seeking and fetching water, mixed the curd and made [it] to be drunk by the Qa’an. Drinking [it], resting thrice, when the Qahan spake, having said, “[Mine] eyes are become bright within [me],” while he sat up, the day dawned and, as it became bright, when he looked, [he perceived that] round about that [place where he] had sat there was a mare round about [the place where] Jelme had, sucking and [41r] sucking, spat [out] the blood which had stopped [the wound]. When Cinggis Qahan, seeing [it], spake, he said, “What is this? If [thou] hadst spat afar, how would it have been?” Thereupon, when Jelme spake, he said,
“When thou wast in a strait, being afraid of the fact that, if I should go afar, I should be separated from thee, being in haste, having swallowed [41v] that which I swallowed and having spat that which I spat, as I was in a strait, how much also entered into my belly?” When Cinggis Qahan again spake, he said, “While, being such, I was [so] lying, why didst thou, naked, run and enter [amongst those enemies]? If [thou] hadst been taken, wouldst [42r] thou not have reported that I [was] such?” When Jelme spake, he said, “As for my thought, [it was that,] when [I] went naked, if I should be taken [by them], I would say, ‘I have had the desire of submitting myself unto you. Perceiving and seizing [me], saying, “Let us kill [him],” [the Mong-yol] putting off my garments—everything,—at the moment when they had not yet put off mine only breeches, I suddenly escaped and now am come, [42v] rejoining myself unto you.’ Regarding me as sincere, they would have given garments unto me and would have cared for [me]. Having ridden a horse, while [astonished] they would have been watching [me escape], in a space of time as long [as that which they would have needed to do that], would I not be come [back]? So thinking and saying [unto myself], ‘I would that I arrive in time for [satisfying] the desire [to drink] caused by the parching thirst of the Qa’an, ‘the eye [remaining] black,’” thus thinking, [43r] I am gone.” When Cinggis Qahan spake, he made a decree, saying, “Now what shall I say? In days of old, at the moment when the Three Merkid, coming, were making [me] to go round about Burqan [Qaldun] thrice, thou didst once save my life.” Now, again, sucking with [thy] mouth the blood which was drying up [43v], thou didst [re]open my life. Again, at the moment when I was in a strait with a parching thirst, risking thy life, ‘the eye [remaining] black,’ thou didst enter into [the midst of] the enemy. Making [my] drink to be sufficient, thou didst make [my] life to enter [into me again]. Let these thy services be within my thoughts.”

**I. e., “without winking the eye.”**

**See § 102 above, where, however, there is no mention of this fact.**

**See note 35 above.**
§146 [45r] After that the day had dawned, the soldiers which had passed the night [so close to one another that they were as] propped over against one another, in the night, then, had dispersed themselves. The peoples which had made a güre'en [there], saying that they would not be able to flee, did not remove from the place where they made a güre'en. Saying, "Let us cause the people which are fled to come back," Činggis Qahan, setting forth from the place where he had passed the night, at the moment when he was going, causing [45v] the people which were fleeing to come back, Činggis Qahan himself, hearing a woman with a red garment which was standing on a [mountain] pass, crying and wailing in a loud voice, saying, "Temüjin!," sent a man for to ask, saying, "What man’s wife is so crying?" As that man went and [46r] asked, when that woman spake, she said, "I am the daughter of Sorqan Šira. [I am] named Qada’an. The soldiers here have seized my husband and are killing [him]. When my husband was being killed, I called, cried, and wailed, saying, 'Let Temüjin save my husband.'" When that man came [back] and spake these words [46v] unto Činggis Qa’an, Činggis Qahan, having heard these words, trotting, arrived. Činggis Qahan lighted at [the place where] Qada’an [was] and they embraced each other. Our soldiers had before killed her husband. Having caused those people to return, Činggis Qahan and the great army, pitching even there, [47r] passed the night. Inviting Qada’an, he suffered [her] to come and suffered [her] to sit beside [him]. The next day both Sorqan Šira and Jebe—those two which were people of Tööđe of the Tayiči’ud—also came. When Činggis Qahan spake unto Sorqan Šira, he said,

"Having cast upon the ground
The heavy wood
Which was at [my] neck,
Having made to be removed
The buya’u wood
Which was at [my] [47v] collar,

were services of you, father and son. Ye, why have ye delayed [to come]?" When Sorqan Šira spake, he said, "I have been thinking
within me of [my] present support. Saying [unto myself], 'Why should I be in haste? If, being in haste, I am come before, my Tayici'ud chiefs, those, will make to blow away as the ashes [of my hearth] my wife and sons, [48r] herd and food which I shall have left behind,' not being in haste, now, overtaking [you], we are come to unite forces with our Qahan.' When he had made an end of speaking, [Cinggis Qahan] said, "[It is] right!"

§147 [49r] Again, when Cinggis Qahan spake, he said, "At the moment when [in joining battle the two armies], setting themselves in array [at] Köyiten, were making each other to retire and were reforming their ranks, from on those ridges there came an arrow. Who [then], from on the mountain, shot so as to break the atlas ** of my war qula *** white of mouth?" At [49v] that word, when Jebe spake, he said, "I shot from on the mountain. Now, if I be caused to die by the Qa'an, I shall remain rotting [on] a [piece of] ground the size of the palm [of a hand]. If I be favoured, before the Qa'an

I shall rush [forward] for [him]
So as to cleave the deep water asunder,
So as to break the bright stone to pieces.***
I shall rush [forward] for [him]
So as to break to pieces
The blue stone
In the place whither he shall have said,
'Arrive [thither];'

So as to break to pieces
The black stone [50r]
At the time when he shall have said, 'Assault.'" **

When Cinggis Qahan spake, saying, "A man which hath walked as an enemy concealeth the fact that he hath killed, that he hath

** I.e., the first cervical vertebra.
*** "A qula, a word which [67] in the interlinear translation is rendered 'by huang-ma 'yellow horse,' is properly a horse with a fallow coat which has a black mane and tail, a black stripe covering the spine." Cf. Antoine Mostaert, Sur quelques passages, pp. [66]-[67].
**** See Chapter II, note 3.
†† See also §808 below.
been an enemy, and [even] his [own] body, and hideth his [own] words and is afraid. If [I] say, 'As for this [man],'
however, not hiding the fact that he hath killed and that he hath been an enemy, he [50v] is, however, declaring [it]. He is a man that may
be a companion. He is named Êryo'adai. Because the same shot
my war qula white of mouth, in the atlas, I shall use him as a
companion. He is named Ênyr'Al. In the same shot he hath made
a decree, saying, 'Go at my side.' Such [was] the manner in which
Jebe came from the Tayici'ud and [51r] became a companion [unto
Çinggis Qahan].

I.e., Êryo'adai.

The name Jebe means "Weapon." He is so named, as we see, from the facts that
he shot the jebelegü qula, "the war qula" or, more literally, "the qula which served
as a weapon (jebe)," and that Çinggis Qahan says: "jebelegü imayi" "I shall use him
as a weapon (jebe)," i.e., "instead of my jebelegü qula which he shot."

See also § 257 below.
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Chapter V

§148 Činggis Qahan then spoiling the Tayiči’ud, making [them] to blow in the wind as ashes [of the hearth], slew unto the seed of the men of the Tayiči’ud “bone”—Tayiči’ud such as A’üču Ba’atur, Qoton Orčang, and Qudu’udar. Making their nation and people to remove, [1v] coming, Činggis Qahan wintered [at] Quba Qaya.

§149 Old Man Sirgu’etu of the Niciigiid Ba’arin with his sons, Alay and Naya’a, seizing Taryutai Kiriltuy, chief of the Tayiči’ud which was staying in the woods, saying, “He is a hated man”—Taryutai [2r] which was not able to ride upon a horse—making [him] to ride in a cart, at the moment when [2v] Old Man Sirgu’etu with his sons, Alay and Naya’a, was drawing nigh, holding Taryutai Kiriltuy, the sons and younger brethren of Taryutai Kiriltuy came, overtaking [them], saying, “Let us take [him] away!” With his sons and younger brethren coming, overtaking [them], when Old Man Sirgu’etu, getting him up into the cart, sitting astride Taryutai which was not able to arise—on [him] on his back—drawing out a knife, spake, having said, “Thy sons and younger brethren are come for to take thee away. Even if, saying [unto myself], ‘[I] have laid hand upon my qan,’ I do not kill thee, they, indeed, will kill [me], [3r] saying, ‘[He] hath laid hand upon his qan.’ And if I kill [thee], I shall likewise be killed. At the very moment when I die, I shall die, taking a pillow,”* at the

1 I. e., by Činggis Qahan.
2 Because, as implied by his nickname Taryutai (“Fatty”), he was too fat.
3 As on a gelding. See Chapter IV, note 89.
4 “To die, taking a cushion (or a pillow),” means “by anticipation to avenge one’s own death by killing at the moment of dying an enemy who will be able to serve as cushion (as pillow), that is to say with whom one will be able to be interred and on the body of whom one will be able to be recumbent as on a cushion (a pillow).” Antoine Montauret, op. cit., p. 69. For another example see §164 below.

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moment when, being astride [him], he was at the point to cut his throat with his big knife, when Taryutai Kiriltuy, with a loud voice, calling his younger brethren and sons, spake, saying, "Sirgū'etū [3v] is killing me. When he maketh an end of killing [me], taking away my dead body without life, what will ye do? At the moment when he hath not yet killed me, return ye quickly! Temūjin will not kill me. At the time when Temūjin [was yet] little, saying [unto myself], 'He hath

Fire in his eyes,
Light in his face,'

saying [unto myself], [4r] 'He is remaining behind in an encampment without a lord,' [7] [I] went for to take [him] and [I] brought [him hither]. Saying [unto myself], 'If I instruct [him], it seemeth that he will learn,'

[I] instructed and taught [him]
As if I were training
A new foal of three years old or a [new] foal of two years old.

If [I] had said [unto myself], 'I shall make [him] to die,' would I have not been able to make [him] to die? It is said, 'Now

His intelligence
Is entering.
His mind
Is opening.'

Temūjin will [4v] not make me to die. Ye, my sons and younger brethren, return ye quickly. Sirgū'etū will kill me,” he wailed with a loud voice. When his sons and younger brethren spake unto one another, saying unto one another, “We are come, saying, ‘We shall save the life of [our] father.’ When Sirgū'etū maketh an end of making his life to die, what shall we do with his empty [5r]

See note 3 above.
See "Chapter I," note 44.
Because his father, Yesūgei Ba’atur, is now deceased.
I.e., he is conducting himself as a rational man. See Chapter XII, note 44.
body without life? However, let us quickly return, at the moment when he hath not yet killed [him]," they returned. The sons of Old Man Širgii’etu, Alay and Naya’a, came [back], having withdrawn themselves [from their father], at the moment when those were come. [Širgii’etu] having suffered them to come, when, removing, they were drawing nigh, when, on the way, they arrived at Qutuqul Nu’u, then when [5v] Naya’a spake, he said, "If, seizing this Taryutai, we arrive, Činggis Qahan, saying [unto himself] that we are come, laying hand on our proper qan, Činggis Qahan, saying of us, ‘Those who are come, having laid hand on their proper qan, people worthy of what confidence [are] these? How would they also be companions unto us? [They are] people which one is not able to regard as companions. People which have laid hand upon their proper qan shall be beheaded. Shall we [not] be beheaded? In stead, releasing Taryutai from hence and sending [him back], let us go, saying, ‘We are come [with nothing other than] our bodies to give [our] might unto Činggis Qahan.’ [6v] We shall say, ‘Seizing Taryutai, we were drawing nigh. Not being able to forsake [1] our proper qan, saying [unto ourselves], ‘How shall we make [him] to die before our eyes?’ releasing [him], we are come, believing in [you] and saying, ‘We shall give [our] might [unto you].’’ The father and sons, approving this word of Naya’a, released Taryutai Kiriltuy from Quđuqul Nu’u and sent [him back]. When the same, Old Man Širgii’etu, with his sons Alay and Naya’a, was come, he [2] said, ‘How [7r] [is it that ye] are come?’ When Old Man Širgii’etu spake unto Činggis Qahan, he said, ‘When, seizing Taryutai Kiriltuy, [we] were drawing nigh, saying, moreover, ‘How could we make our proper qan to die before our eyes?’, not being able to forsake [him], releasing [him], we are come, saying, ‘We shall give [our] might unto Činggis Qahan.’’ At that, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, ‘If [ye] were come, laying hand upon Taryutai your [7v] qan, ye would have caused yourselves to be beheaded with

* I.e., the sons and brothers of Taryutai.
* I.e., devotion.
* I.e., to kill.
* I.e., Činggis Qahan.
your seed—people which had laid hand upon their own proper qan. Your thought that [ye] were not able to forsake your own proper qan is right," he favored Naya’a.

§150 [8v] After that, Jaqa Gambu of the Kereyid came for to be a companion unto Činggis Qahan, at the moment when Činggis Qahan was at [9r] Tersüd. At [the time when] he came, as the Merkid came for to fight, Činggis Qahan, Jaqa Gambu, and others fought and made [them] to withdraw. Then the ten thousand Tübegen and the many Dongqayid and the Kereyid people which had dispersed themselves, came submitting themselves unto Činggis Qahan. As for Ong Qahan of the Kereyid, before, in the time of [9v] Yesügei Qa’an, inasmuch as [they] lived together happily and peacefully, he declared [himself] anda with Yesügei Qan. [As to] his reason for having declared [himself] anda, because Ong Qan had killed the younger brethren of Qurčqus Buyiruy Qan, his father, making a revolt against his paternal uncle, Gür Qan, being made to slip [into] Qara’un Qabcal, only a hundred men going out, as he came unto Yesügei Qan, Yesügei Qan receiving him unto himself, his own soldiers setting forth, because he drove Gür Qan toward Qasin and took and gave unto Ong Qan his people and folk, that they became anda [is].

§151 [11r] After that, when Erke Qara, the younger brother of Ong Qan, was [to be] killed by his elder brother, Ong Qan, he fled away and submitted himself unto Inanca Qan of the Naiman. Inanca Qan sent troops, but Ong Qan, passing by three cities, betaking himself [thither] was gone unto Gür Qan of the Qara Kidad. From thence, making a revolt, having passed by [11v] the

18 In §§170 and 171 below, these people are named the Tümen Tübegen and Olon Dongqayid respectively.

14 This is the only instance in the Secret History in which Ong Qan is referred to as Ong Qahan.

15 This is the only instance in the Secret History in which Yesügei is referred to as Yesügei Qa’an. Elsewhere he is referred to as Yesügei (e.g., §50), Yesügei Ba’atur (e.g., §60), and Yesügei Qan (e.g., §96).

16 Allusion to this event has already been encountered in §§96 and 104 above.

17 I.e., "That is the reason for which they became anda."
cities of the Uiyiyud and of the Tangyud, seizing and together milking five goats and pricking the blood of a camel, having eaten it, as, being in a strait, he came to Lake Gūse’ūr, Činggis Qahan, by reason of the fact that beforehand [Ong Qan] had declared [himself] anda with Yesügei Qan, having sent messengers, both Tayai Ba’atur and Sükegei Je’ūn, from the head of the Kelüren [River]. [12r] Činggis Qahan himself went toward [him]. Saying, “He is come, hungering and wasting away,” for Ong Qan he levied levies, and, suffering him to enter within [his] gūre’en, [so] nourished [him]. That winter they journeyed in [parallel] ranks and Činggis Qahan wintered at Quba Qaya.

§152 [12v] Then, when the younger brethren of Ong Qan, the chiefs and others, spake unto one another, they said unto one another, [13r] “This qan, our elder brother, hath a poor nature and goeth, having a stinking liver in his bosom.” He hath made an end of [his] brethren. He hath also submitted himself unto the Qara Kidad. And he maketh the people to suffer. Now how shall we deal with him? If we speak of an early day, [we recall to mind that] the Merkid people ravished [him which was] seven years old and made [him] to wear a black, speckled kid [13v] coat and he beat a mortar of the Merkid in the Bu’ura Steppe of the Selengge [River]. As his father Qur’aqus Buyiruy Qan, however, breaking the Merkid people, then came, saving his son, again, at the moment when again Ajai Qan of the Tatar, ravishing [him which was] thirteen years old, together with [his] mother, was making [him] to herd his [14r] camels, having taken a shepherd of Ajai Qan, he fled and is come [hither]. Again, after that, being afraid of the Naiman, he escaped and went unto Gūr Qan of the Qara Kidad, in the land of the Sarta’ul at the Cui River. Then, one year not [yet] being ended, furthermore, removing in revolt, when he was going, passing by the lands of the Ui’ud and [14v] the Tang’ud, being in a strait, seizing and milking five goats and pricking and eating the blood of a camel, having an

18 See also §§152 and 177 below.
19 See §150 above.
20 I.e., he is a man of a bad disposition.
only, blind yellow horse with black mane and tail, as, being in a strait, he came unto [his] son Temüjin, [Temüjin] levied levies and [so] nourished [him]. Now, [15r] forgetting the fact that he was so gone unto [his] son Temüjin, he goeth, having a stinking liver in his bosom. How shall we deal with [him]? Altun Āṣūy reported unto Ong Qan the words which they had thus spoken unto one another. When Altun Āṣūy spake, saying, “And I also am entered into this counsel. However, I was not able to forsake thee, my Qan,” then [15v] Ong Qan made one to seize his younger brethren and his chiefs such as El Qutur, Qulbari, and Arin Taisi, which had thus spoken unto one another. Jaqa Gambu, fleeing from the younger brethren, submitted himself unto the Naiman. Making those to enter into [his] tent with fetters, when Ong Qan spake, having said, “At the moment when we were going forward by the lands of the Ul’ud and of the Tang’ud, what [16r] said we unto one another? How could I think as ye?,” spitting in their faces, he made one to loose their fetters. When they were but spat upon by the qan, the people which were in [his] tent all arose and spat upon [them].

§153 [17r] Wintering that winter, [in] the autumn of the year of the dog [1202], Činggis Qahan set himself in array [at] Dalan Ne-mūrge against the Ča’a’an Tatar, Alci Tatar, Dutā’ud [Tatar], and Aluqai Tatar—those Tatar—and, before joining battle, when Činggis Qahan spake an ordinance with [his soldiers], he made an ordinance with [them], saying, [17v] “If we overcome the enemy, let us not tarry for spoil. When we shall have made an end of overcoming, that spoil shall be ours. We shall part [it] with one another. If we be made to withdraw ourselves by an enemy, let us return unto our place from whence we first rushed [forward]. We shall make [one] to behead the man which shall not have

21 The word qalī’um is glossed “yellow [horse] with black mane and tail.” See Chapter III, note 42.
22 See §90 above, wherein Temüjin declared that Ong Qan was like a father.
23 The omission of the word Tatar was apparently inadvertent, for we find it in the text immediately below (5.18r8). Cf. also the Altan tobéc (nova) which has Dutā’yid Tatar. Cf. Altan Tobè, A Brief History of the Mongols, Vol. I, p. 115, l. 4.
24 I.e., with their full consent.
returned unto [the place of] the first rushing [forward].” [18r] Joining battle [at] Dalan Nemürges, he made the Tatar to remove. Overcoming [them], making [them] to join themselves unto their nation at Ulqui Şiliigeljid, he spoiled [them]. Then destroying the weighty peoples, the Čahan Tatar, Alēi Tatar, Duta'ud Tatar, and Aluqai Tatar, [not keeping] to the words whereby they had spoken the ordinance with [Cinggis Qahan], Altan, Quçar, and Daritai—all three—[18v] not keeping to the words, halted for spoil. Saying, “[Ye] have not kept to [your] words,” sending both Jebe and Qubilai, he made them to take [from them] the herds and things which they had spoiled, [the things which] they had taken—everything.

§154 [19r] Making an end of destroying and spoiling the Tatar, saying, “How shall we deal with their nation and people?,” Cinggis Qahan, entering into a solitary tent with his kinsmen, counseled great counsel with [them]. When they were counseling one another, saying, “From days of old [19v] the Tatar people have been making an end of [our] grandfathers and fathers.

Avenging
The avengement,
Requiting
The requital

of [our] grandfathers and fathers, let us, comparing [their height] unto [that of] a linchpin, destroy and slay [them] for [them].” Let us slay until we destroy [them]. Let us make slaves of those that shall have been left. Let us part [them] with one another severally,” as, together making an end of [their] counsel, they went out from the tent, Yeke Čeren of the Tatar asked of Belgütei, saying, “What [20r] counsel have ye counseled one another?” When Belgütei spake, he said, “We have said unto one another that, comparing [your height] unto [that of] a linchpin, we would slay you all.” At this word of Belgütei, Yeke Čeren made a proclamation unto his Tatar and made a fortress. When

I.e., killing all those whose height exceeds that of the linchpin in the axletree of
a cart. In other words, killing all except the little children.
our troops assayed to attack the Tatar which had made a fortress, they suffered great loss. Making, with labour, the Tatar which had made a fortress, to submit themselves, at the moment when, destroying [them], comparing [their height] unto [that of] a linchpin, they were slaying [them], when the Tatar spake unto one another, saying unto one another, “Each person putting a knife in his sleeve, let us die ‘taking a pillow,’” \(^20\) again [our soldiers] suffered great loss. And so making an end of slaying the Tatar, comparing [their height] unto [that of] a linchpin, then, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, “Because of the fact that Belgütei had revealed that we had together made an end of [21r] great counsel with our kinsmen, he made our soldiers to suffer great loss. After this, let Belgütei not enter into great counsel. Let him order [those] that are outside until we shall make an end of counsel. Having [so] ordered, let him judge quarrels and those of whom theft and lies [are] the deeds. When we shall have made an end of counsel, after we shall have drunk the ötög,\(^2\) let both Belgütei and [21v] Da’aritai then enter.”

\(^{155}\) Then Činggis Qahan [22v] then took [to wife] Yesügen Qatun, daughter of Yeke Čeren of the Tatar. When she was loved [of Činggis Qahan], when Yesügen Qadun spake, she said, “If the Qahan favour [me], he will take care of [me], considering me a person and a thing [worthy to keep]. She who is named Yesii, a sister older than I, is better than I. She is fit for a qan. Lately a son in law was come to be a son in law [for her].\(^2\) Now who knoweth whither she is departed in this confusion?” At this word, when [23r] Činggis Qahan spake, he said, “If thine elder sister have been better than thou, I shall make [one] to seek [her]. If thine elder sister come, wilt thou withdraw thyself for [her]? When Yesügen Qadun spake, she said, “If the Qahan favour [me], if I but see mine elder sister, I shall withdraw myself for mine

\(^{20}\) See note 4 above.
\(^{2}\) This word is glossed “wine which is offered.”
\(^{2}\) I.e., her husband who was the son-in-law of her father and mother and the brother-in-law of Yesügen Qatun.
 elder sister." At this word, when Cinggis Qahan, proclaiming a decree, [23v] made [one] to seek [her], our soldiers encountered her going in the woods together with the son in law to which she had been given. Her husband fled away. Then one brought Yesii Qatun. Yesügen Qadun, having seen her elder sister, keeping to the words which she had spoken before, arising, making [her] to sit on her seat on which she had sat, she herself sat below. As she was like unto [that which had been said of her in] [24r] the words of Yesügen Qatun, Cinggis Qahan, suffering [her] to enter into his thoughts, took Yesii Qatun [to wife] and suffered her to sit in the row [of imperial wives].

§156 [24v] Making an end of spoiling the Tatar people, one day, when Cinggis Qahan, sitting outside, was drinking together [with Yesii Qadun and Yesügen Qadun], at the moment when he was sitting between both Yesii Qadun and Yesügen Qadun and drinking together [with them], Yesii Qadun [25r] sighed deeply. Then when Cinggis Qahan, thinking within him, calling and making the chiefs Bo'orcu, Muqali, and others to come, spake, he made a decree, saying, "Ye these people which have assembled themselves stand [ye] all tribe by tribe — set [ye] apart the persons of a tribe other than your own." And so, as they [all] stood, each with his [25v] tribe, a young, good, elegant person stood apart from the tribes. As one said, "What [manner of] person art thou?" when that person spake, he said, "I am the son in law unto whom was given the daughter named Yesii of Yeke Ceren of the Tatar. When we were spoiled by the enemy, being afraid, I fled away, but saying, [26r] 'It is now become peaceable,' I am come and have been saying, 'Why should I be recognized among the many people?' " As one reported this word unto Cinggis Qa'an, when he made a decree, he said, "The same, thinking

**I. e., Yesii Qatun.**

**I. e., affection. See also §66 above.**

**I. e., Bo'orcu, Muqali, and others.**

**Although Cinggis Qahan uses the imperative form of the second person plural, he really is not addressing himself directly to these people. He means; "Let these people, etc."**

**I. e., of the father and mother of Yesii.**
[as] an enemy, was gone, becoming a robber. Now he is come for to espy what? We have compared [the height of] those that are like him unto [that of] a linchpin. Why should ye doubt? Cast [ye him] away from [26v] the sight of [mine] eyes." And so he was beheaded.

§157 [27r] In the same year of the dog [1202], at the moment when Činggis Qahan set forth against the Tatar people, Ong Qan, setting forth against the Merki[d] people, pursuing Toyto'a Beki toward Baryujin Hollow, killing Tögüs Beki, the eldest son of Toyto'a, taking Qutuytai and Ça'alun of Toyto'a, his two daughters, and [27v] his wives, spoiled his two sons, Qutu and Çila'un, together with [his] people, and gave not even aught unto Činggis Qa'an.

§158 [28r] After that, both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan, setting forth against Buyiruy Qan of the Gūčüğūd of the Naiman and arriving at the moment when he was at the Soqoy Usun* of Uluy Tay, Buyiruy Qan not being able to set himself in array, removed, passing over the Altai [Mountain]. Pursuing Buyiruy Qan from the Soqoy Usun, at the moment when, making [him] to pass over the Altai [Mountain], they continued to pursue [him] down along the Üringgū [River] of Qum Singgir,* his chief named [28v] Yedi Tubluy, going as a spy, being pursued by our spies, as he was at the point to flee on the mountain, his belly strap being broken, then he was taken. Having pursued [him] down along the Ürünggū [River], overtaking [him] at Lake Kišil Bași, there they destroyed Buyiruy Qan.

§159 [29r] At the moment when both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan, returning from thence, were drawing nigh, Kögse'ü Sab[ray], the [best] fighter [29v] of the Naiman, setting [his] soldiers in order at Bayidaray Belcir, was at the point to fight. Both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan, saying, "Let us fight," setting [their] soldiers in order, arrived, [but,] it being [already] become evening, saying, "Let us fight to morrow," passed the night on the [same] line.*

* I.e., "Why should ye hesitate?" See also §207.
** I.e., "Soqoy Water (= River)."
*** I.e., "Sand Headland" (in Turkish).
† See §151 above for a slightly different use of the term jerge'er.
Then Ong Qan, making one to light fires at his station, it being night, removed up along the Qara Se'ül [River].

§160 Then, when Jamuya went, removing together with Ong Qan, when Jamuya spake unto Ong Qan, he said, "Mine anda, Temüjın, from afore hath had messengers unto the Naiman. Now he is not yet come. Qan, Qan, the qayiruyana which remaineth is I. The bilduur which returneth is mine anda. He is gone unto the Naiman. He hath remained behind, being at the point to submit himself [unto them]." At that word of Jamuya, when Gürin [Sir] Ba'atur of the Ub&y spake, he said, "Flattering, why so speakest thou, slandering and defaming thine upright brother?"

§161 Činggis Qahan, at night, passing the night even there, saying, "Let us fight/ on the morrow, as, early, day dawned, when he looked at the station of Ong Qan, [saw that] he was no more [there]. Having said, "As for these, they look upon us as if we were burnt-offerings," Činggis Qahan, removing from thence, passing over by the mouth of the valley of Eter Altai, continuing to remove, [32r] pitched [at] the Sa’ari Steppe. From thence both Činggis Qahan and Qasar, perceiving the devices of the Naiman, did not count [them] as people [of worth].

§162 Kogsee’ü Sabray, pursuing after Ong Qan, spoiling and taking the wives and sons of Senggüm together with the people and folk, returned, having spoiled and having taken half the people, herds, and food of Ong Qan which were at Telegetu Outlet. When, in that battle, the two sons of Toyto’a of the Merkid, Qutu and Čila’un, were there, having taken their people, [33r] separating themselves, they removed down along the Selenge [River], joining themselves unto their father.

§163 Being spoiled by Kogsee’ü Sabray, Ong Qan sent a
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messenger unto Cīnggis Qahan. When he sent the messenger, he sent, saying, "I have been spoiled by the Naiman [in respect of] my people and folk and my wives and sons. I have sent, requesting from my son thy 'four kūlū'id.' Let them save my people and folk for me." Cīnggis Qahan then, setting [his] soldiers in order, sent these his "four kūlū'id," Bo'orču, Muqali, [34r] Boroyul, and Čīla'un. Before these "four kūlū'id" arrived, Senggūn being at the point to set himself in array at Hula'an Qud, the thigh of his horse being shot [by an arrow], at the moment when he was at the point to be taken, these "four kūlū'id," being arrived and having saved [him], saved [34v] for him [his] people and folk and wives and sons—all [of them]. Then when Ong Qan spake, [35r] he said, "Aforetime I was delivered by his good father [in respect of] my people which were wholly departed like this. Now again, of my son, I have been saved [in respect of] my people which were wholly departed, my "four kūlū'id" being come." Let the protection of Heaven and Earth know how I shall return the benefit."

§164 [35v] Again, when Ong Qan spake, saying, "Mine anda, Yesūgei Ba'atur, once saved for me my people which was wholly

87 I.e., Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroyul, and Čīla'un. See immediately below. The word kūlū'id (<kūlū'ęd), a plural in -ud of kūlū, might be rendered "heroes."

88 Although I have rendered the text as it stands, that it has been altered is clear from the observation made by the Reverend Antoine Moesraker in a letter dated 7 July 1934:

"There is a remark to be made in regard to the text Edī'o basa kū'ūn-i'en odun baraysan ulus-i minu dörben kūlū'ūd-iyen irefū aburajuf ągtebe. If one examine the continuous Chinese version of this passage, one sees that this version has been made on a text which must have been: Edī'o basa kō'un īsv odun baraysan ulus-i minu dörben kūlū'ūd-iyen ilefū aburajuf āgteba ['Now again, his son, sending his four "heroes," has just saved my people which had completely departed, and, thanks to him, it has been given back to me']. A word which the Altan Töböi (novo) also supposes: Edīye basa kūbeyin odun baraysan ulus-i minu dörben kūlū'ūd-iyen [ilefū] aburajuf āgteba ['Now again, the son, (sending) his four "heroes," has just saved my people which had completely departed, and, thanks to him, it has been given back to me']. Cf. Altan Töböi, A Brief History of the Mongols, Vol. I, p. 182, ll. 6-7. It seems to me quite evident that the text of the Chinese transcription is altered. Kūlū'ūd-iyen irefū of the Chinese transcription is inexplicable. That kū'ūn-i'sen be separated from dörben kūlū'ūd by the words odun baraysan ulus-i minu is not explicable either."
departed. [His] son, Temüjin, again hath saved my people which were departed. [And] he hath given [them unto me]. When these, both father and son, [36r] assemble and give unto me the people which were entirely departed, on whose behalf do they suffer, assembling and giving [them]?

I also now

Am waxed old.
When, waxing old,
I go out to the heights,  
I become old.
When, becoming old,  
I go out to the cliffs,  
Who will govern my people?

My younger brethren are without virtue. Mine only son is as if I had none. Senggüm is alone. Making [my] [36v] son Temüjin to be the elder brother of Senggüm, I would have two sons and would be at ease.” With Cinggis Qahan, Ong Qan assembling himself in the Black Forest of the Tu‘ula [River], they declared themselves father and son. [As for] the reason for which they declared themselves father and son—by the reason that before-time in days of old Ong Qan had declared himself anda with the father [of Cinggis Qahan], Yesügei Qan, [Cinggis Qahan] [37r]

“[I.e., “When I shall die.” It was the custom to bury the deceased of rank on a height or a cliff. See also §§175, 201. For an interesting and, in some respects, parallel example in the Ongyod qara sakïyusum teâke sudur bids uro niba ‘The Book (Entitled) the History of the Black Guardian, the Ongyod, Has Taken Its Place (Herein)’ of the early 17th century in which it is told concerning a certain Ingdaqai, how, immediately upon the death of his aged father, “all by himself he laid the corpse on the top of a flat boulder at the southeastern declivity of the Red Cliff which towered up there all by itself,” cf. Walther Hassan, “A Mongolian Source to the Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism in the 17th Century (Concluded),” Anthropos 48 (1953).493-538 (pp. 503-504).

I.e., “something old which no longer serves any purpose.”

See note 44 above.

“This statement is contrary to historical fact, for the Nestorian Christian Kereyd Princess Dûqûz Xàtûn (= Toyüs Qatun) was, in the words of Hâlid al-Din, “fille de Ikou, fils d’Ong-khan.” Cf. [E.] Quatremère, Histoire des Mongols de la Perse 1 (1886) 94. Hence, we know that Ong Qan had at least two sons. Cf. also Paul Pelliot et Louis Haskins, op. cit. 1 (1931).287.

I.e., “I shall have no more solicitude on the subject of my succession.”
saying that [Ong Qan was] like a father—such [was] the reason for which they declared themselves father and son. When they spake words unto each other, they said unto each other, “When we hurl ourselves at the many enemies, let us hurl ourselves together in one place. When we hunt for the wild beasts, let us hunt together also in one place.” Again, when both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan spake unto each other, saying, “[Others] envying us twain,

If, by a serpent with teeth [37v],
We are provoked [into dissension],
Let us not yield ourselves unto [his] provocations.
Let us believe [only when] speaking unto each other by teeth and mouth.\(^*\)
If, by a serpent with fangs,
We are backbitten [into dissension],
Let us not accept his backbitings.
Let us believe [only when] verifying by mouth and tongue,”\(^*\)

thus pledging [their] word, they were friendly unto each other.

§165 [38v] When Činggis Qahan, thinking, saying [unto himself], “[Over and] above [the fact that we are already] friendly, let us be doubly friendly,” requested for Joci Ča’ur Beki, the younger sister of Senggüm, as he requested [her], saying, “I shall give in exchange unto Tusaqa, son of Senggüm, our Qojin Beki,” then, when Senggüm spake, [39r] imagining himself to be [somebody] great, saying, “If a kinswoman of us went unto them, she would stand at the door and would only look upon the back [of the tent]. If a kinswoman of them came unto us, she would sit at the back [of the tent] and look upon the door,” \(^*\) imagining him-

\(^*\) See §96 above.
\(^*\) i.e., face to face. See §177 below.
\(^*\) i.e., face to face. See §177 below.
\(^*\) By this Senggüm means that, if his younger sister Ča’ur Beki were to marry Joci, she would be treated as a servant who sits just inside the door facing the place of honor at the back of the tent, but that, if Qojin Beki were to marry his son Tusaqa, she would be treated as a lady who sits in the place of honor at the back of the tent.
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Self to be [somebody] great, speaking, despising us, not giving Ca'ur Beki [unto us], he did [39v] not love [our words]. At that word Cinggis Qahan, within him, lost his affection for both Ong Qan and Nilqa Senggüm.

§166 [40r] Jamuya perceived that he had so lost his affection. [In] the spring of the year of the pig [1203], Jamuya, Altan, and Qučar [as well as] Süge'etei, To'oril, and Qači'un Beki of the Qardakid, Ebügejin, and Noyakin—being those—being with one accord, arising, departing, going unto Nilqa Senggüm at the back of Jeje'er Heights at Berke Sands, when Jamuya spake slanderously, [40v] he said, “Mine anda, Temüjin, hath messages and messengers unto Tayang Qan of the Naiman. His mouth is [yet] saying, ‘father, son,’ [but] his behaviour is other. Are ye [yet] relying upon [him]? If ye do not prevent him, how will it be for you? If [ye] set forth against Anda Temüjin, [then] I shall enter with [you] from athwart.” When both Altan and Qučar spake, [41r] they said, “[As for] the sons of Mother Ho’elün, we shall kill the eldest for [thee] and we shall forsake the youngest.” When the Ebügejin, Noyakin, and Qarta’ad spake, they said, “For [thee]

We shall seize
His hands;
We shall seize
His feet.”

When To’oril spake, he said, “It were best that we go and take the people of Temüjin. If he be taken [in respect of] his people and if he be without people, [41v] what will those do?” When Qači’un Beki spake, saying, “If thou, Nilqa Senggüm, [my] son, think what[ever it may be], I shall arrive with [thee] at the extremity of [that which is] long and at the bottom of [that which is] deep.”


**See §§77 and 88 above and §187 below.**

**See §189.**
§167 [42r5] Being told these words, Nilqa Senggüm sent, speaking those words unto his father, unto [42v] Ong Qan, by Sayiyan Töde’en. Being told these words, when Ong Qan spake, saying, “Why are ye so thinking on my son, in [respect of] Temüjin? Until now [our] prop being by him, now, then, if [we] so think evil in [respect of] my son, we shall not [43r] be loved by Heaven. Jamuya hath vain words. Is he speaking rightly? truly?,” he did not love [the words of Sayiyan Töde’en] and sent [him back to Nilqa Senggüm]. Again, when Senggüm sent, speaking, having sent, speaking back and forth, saying, “Whereas a man which hath a mouth and which hath a tongue be speaking, why is he not to be believed?,” when, being in a strait, going by himself in person, he spake, he said, [43v] “Even in a time in which thou art [yet] so much alive, he is not regarding us as even aught. And verily when thou, his father the Qan,

Will choke
On the ‘white,’
Will gag
On the ‘black,’

will he suffer thy people which thy father Qurèaqu Buyiruy Qan, with labour, assembled in so great a quantity to be governed by us? By whom and how will he suffer [them] to be governed? " "At that word, when Ong Qan spake, he said, “How shall I forsake my lad, my son? If, until now, [our] prop being by him, [we] think evil, would it be fit? We shall not be loved by Heaven.” At that word, his son, Nilqa Senggüm, being displeased, casting

**I. e., “he being our prop.”
See note 53 above.
**I. e., Činggis Qahan.
**I. e., “Will choke on liquid food (principally milk products), and will gag on solid food (principally meat).” For this explanation cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [76].
**Senggüm means that, since Činggis evinces already so great a scorn for Ong Qan, although the latter is still in all his strength, it is to be feared that he may take his subjects from him, once Ong Qan will have attained to extreme old age, ‘the time when one chokes in drinking milk products and obstructs the gullet in eating meat.’” Cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [77].
**See note 55 above.
aside the [felt] door [of the tent], went out.\textsuperscript{61} However, [44v] dealing sparingly with the affection of his son \textsuperscript{62}—of Senggüm—calling [him], making [him] to return, when Ong Qan spake, he said, "[If we did that,] who knoweth whether we would [yet] be loved by Heaven? How say ye that ye will forsake [my] son?" \textsuperscript{63} Do ye but as [ye] are able. Know [ye how ye shall do]."

§168 [45v] Then, when Senggüm spake, saying together [with Ong Qan], "The same, indeed, have requested our Ča'ur Beki. Now saying, 'Come [ye] for to eat the betrothal meal,' let us, appointing a day, inviting [them] and making [them] to come, then seize [them]," saying, "Yea!," making an agreement [with Ong Qan], he sent, saying, "We shall give Ča'ur Beki. Come [ye] for to eat the betrothal meal." Being invited, when Činggis Qahan drew nigh, ten men [in number], as, on the way, he passed the night in the tent of Father Munglig, then when Father Munglig spake, saying, "When we requested Ča'ur Beki, the same, indeed, despising us, would not have given [her unto us]. Now how contrariwise \textsuperscript{64} have they invited [us] to eat the betrothal meal? Why contrariwise would people which imagine themselves to be great invite [us], saying, 'We shall give [her unto you]'? Is [their] thought right? true? Son, it is to be gone by thee, understanding [this]. Let us send in pretence, saying, 'It is become spring. Our herds of horses are lean. We shall nourish our herds of horses,'" not going [himself], sending both Buqatai and Kiratai, saying [unto them], [46r] "Eat [ye] the betrothal meal," Činggis Qahan returned from in the tent of Father Munglig. With the arriving of both Buqatai and Kiratai, [Senggüm and the others] said unto one another, "We have been felt.\textsuperscript{66} Let us compass and seize [them] early to morrow."

§169 [47v] When [48r] Yeke Čeren, the younger brother of Altan, coming unto his tent, spake the fact that they had so taken a

\textsuperscript{61} See §77 above.
\textsuperscript{62} I.e., for fear of losing it.
\textsuperscript{63} I.e., "How do you wish to kill my son?"
\textsuperscript{64} I.e., "contrary to our expectations." See also Chapter VIII, note 48.
\textsuperscript{65} I.e., "We have been suspected by him."
decision together, saying, "Let us so compass and seize [them]," he said, "We said unto one another, 'Let us seize Temüjin early to morrow.' The man which goeth, carrying this word as a message unto Temüjin, how will he fare?"* At the moment when he was so speaking, when his wife Alay Yid spake, [48v] she said, "What availleth that thy superfluous word? [I] fear lest people take [it] as true." At the moment when they were so speaking unto each other, their herdman Badai, coming for to bring the milk, heard this word and returned. Badai, departing, spake unto [his] companion, the herdman Kišiliy, the words which [Yeke] Ceren had spoken. When Kišiliy spake, saying, "I shall go again and perceive [whether it be so]," he went unto the tent. When the son of [Yeke] Ceren, [49r] Narin Ke'ën, sitting outside, sitting, polishing his arrows, spake, he said, "What said we unto one another a little while ago?"

We ought to have suffered our tongues to be taken [to constrain us to silence.

Now] whose mouth shall we stay [from speaking]?"

Having so said, when Narin Ke'ën again spake unto his herdman, unto Kišiliy, he said, "Bring [from the pasture] and fetch both Merkidei Caya'an* and Aman Caya'an Ke'er.** Tying [them], early in the night [49v] we shall set forth." When Kišiliy, departing, spake unto Badai, saying, "[I] have examined thy message of a little while ago. It was true. Now let us twain depart, carrying the message unto Temüjin," pledging unto each other [their] word, bringing [from the pasture] both Merkidei Caya'an and Aman Caya'an Ke'er, coming, tying [them], evening being come, killing one of their [50r] lambs in their tent, boiling [him] by means of [the wood of] their bed, riding both Merkidei Caya'an and Aman Caya'an Ke'er which they had tied ready, departing in the night, arriving unto Cinggis Qahan at night, when the twain, Badai and Kišiliy, spake north of [his] tent,'* they wholly spake for

*I.e., "What good welcome would he not receive from Temüjin?"

*This is the name of a gelding, signifying, "The Merkid White."

**This is the name of a gelding, signifying, "The Bay with Black Mane and Tail and with a White Muzzle."

***Even though Cinggis Qahan was inside his tent, he could, when so addressed, hear
him the words which Yeke Čeren had spoken, [the words] which his son, Narin Ke'en, sitting, polishing his [50v] arrows, had spoken—the words which he had said: "Bring [from the pasture] and tie the two geldings Merkidei Čaya’an and Aman Čaya’an Ke’er.” Again when the twain, Badai and Kišiliy, spake, they said, “If Činggis Qa’an favour [us], [we assure to him that] there is no doubt. They pledged [their] word, saying, ‘Let us compass and seize [him].’”

perfectly what was said outside. See also §229 below. For a parallel instance in the Epic of Gilgamesh cf. André PARROT, The Flood and Noah’s Ark (New York, 1956), p. [25].
§170 Being so told, Cinggis Qahan, believing the words of both Badai and Kïsïly, having, [it being yet] night, then, sent the message unto the trusty who were in the neighbourhood, lightening [himself], having forsaken [all] his things, fleeing, [it being yet] night, then, removed. When he removed, [going his way] by the back of Mau Heights, at the back of [lv] Mau Heights, as he trusted Jelme Qo’a of the Uriangqad, making him to be rearward guard at his rearward, and, placing watchmen, he removed. Continuing to remove, the next day, at noon, waiting until the sun was inclining itself, arriving [at] the Qalaqaljid Sands, he pitched to rest and to eat. At the moment when one was resting and eating, at the moment when [2r] Ćigidei and Yadîr, the keepers of the geldings of Alcidai, were going, each his own way, feeding their geldings in the green [pastures], they saw the dust of the enemy which was drawing nigh from the rearward, along the front of Mau Heights, passing by Hula’an Buruqad. Saying, “The enemy is arrived,” they came, having driven their geldings before [them]. When, being told, “The enemy is arrived,” one looked, beholding the dust [2v] along the front of Mau Heights and passing by Hula’an Buruqad, one said, “Ong Qan—that [one]—is drawing nigh, pursuing [us].” Then, Cinggis Qahan, having seen the dust, having made one to bring his geldings [from the pastures], laded [them] and set forth. If, at that moment, one had not seen [the enemy approaching, one would have been taken unawares, because] one was unprepared. At that drawing nigh, Jamuya was drawing nigh, drawing nigh [3r] together with Ong Qan. Then Ong Qan asked of Jamuya. He asked, saying, “At [the side of my] son, Temüjin, who are [those] such as will fight?” When Jamuya spake, he said, “There are there his people named the Uru’ud and the Mangyud. Those his people will fight.
Each time they turn,
[Their] ranks are proper.
Each time they turn,
[Their] order [3v] is proper.

Those [are] peoples which from childhood have been accustomed to swords and spears. Those are ones which have black and speckled standards. [They] are people against whom one should forewarn himself." At that word, when Ong Qan spake, he said, "If it be so, we shall make our Jirgin ba’atud to rush against them, Qaday opposing [them], our Jirgin ba’atud. As succourer [4r] of the Jirgin, we shall make Aciy Sirun of the Tümen Tübegen to rush against [them]. As succourers of the Tübegen, we shall make the Olon Dongqayid ba’atud to rush against [them]. As succourer [4r] of the Jirgin, we shall make Aciy Sirun of the Tümen Tübegen to rush against [them]. As succourers of the Tümen Tübegen, we shall make the Olon Dongqayid ba’atud to rush against [them]. As succourer of the thousand dayguards, we, the great middle, shall rush against [them]."

Again, when Ong Qan spake, he said, "Younger Brother [4v] Jamuya, order thou our army!"] At that word, Jamuya going out, being alone apart, when he spake unto his companions, saying, "Ong Qan saith that I should order this his army. I have never been able to fight against [mine] anda. [Now] he saith that I should order this army. Ong Qan is [even] more yonder than I. [5r] He is a companion which hath a measure. I shall send in a message unto [mine] anda. Let [mine] anda be vigilant," when Jamuya, secretly sending a message unto Činggis Qahan, sent, speaking, he sent, saying, "Ong Qan hath asked of me. As he asked, saying, 'At [the side of my] son Temüjin who are [those] such as will fight?,' when I spake, I spake in such a way that I placed first the Uru’ud and the Mangyud. At my [5v] word, they placed first his same Jirgin and [then proceeded to] set [them] in order as the vanguards. They declared Aciy Sirun of the Tümen Tübegen as succourer of the Jirgin. [They

1 The word ba’atud is a plural in -d of the word ba’atw “valiant man.” See Chapter III, note 48 and note 61.
2 I.e., “is even more incapable of it than I.”
3 I.e., “which is measurable,” “of which the qualities are not out of the ordinary.” See also Chapter X, note 61.
declared the Olan Dongqayid as succourers of the Tübegeń.] 4 They declared Qori Silemün Taisi, captain of the thousand day-guards of Ong Qan, as succourer of the Dongqayid. He said, 'As succourer of him, likewise I shall stand with the great middle army of [me.] Ong Qan.' [6r] Again when Ong Qan speaketh, he speaketh, appointing me, saying, 'Younger Brother Jamuya, set thou this army in order.' If I perceive by this, [I see that] he is a companion which hath a measure. 5 How would [he] be able to set his army in order? Beforetime I was never able to engage in battle with [mine] anda. Ong Qan is [even] more yonder than I. 6 Anda, be [thou] not afraid. Be [thou] vigilant.

§171 [7v] Having received this message, when Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "What sayest thou, Uncle Jürcedei of the Uru'ud? I shall make thee the vanguard." Before Jürcedei had uttered [his] voice, when Quyildar Sečen 7 of the Mangyud spake, he said, "I shall fight on behalf of [mine] anda. Let [mine] anda decide how one shall, long after, take care of mine orphan sons." 8 When [8r] Jürcedei spake, he said, "On behalf of Činggis Qahan we Uru'ud and Mangyud shall fight as the vanguard." Having so spoken, both Jürcedei and Quyildar, stood ordering [their armies], on behalf of Činggis Qahan, with their Uru'ud and Mangyud. With [their] standing, the enemy, making the Jirgin the vanguard, arrived. With [their] coming, the Uru'ud and [8v] the Mangyud rushed against [them] and overcame the Jirgin. At the moment when they went forward, overcoming [them], Aciy Sirun of the Tümen Tübegeń rushed against [them]. Rushing [against them] Aciy Sirun pierced Quyildar and made [him] to light off [his horse]. The Mangyud returned over Quyildar. Jürcedei rushed against

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5 See note 3 above.

6 See note 2 above.

7 In the name Quyildar Sečen, Quyildar – Quyuldar in §130 above.

8 For the decision, see §185 below.
them] with his Uru’ud and overcame the Tümen Tübegen. [9r] At
the moment when he was going forward, overcoming [them] and
making [them] to remove, the Olon Dongqayid rushed against
[him]. Jürčedei, also overcame the Dongqayid. At the moment
when, overcoming [them], he was going forward, Qori Śilemün
Taisi rushed [against him] with a thousand dayguards. At the
moment when Jürčedei, again, making Qori Śilemün Taisi to
withdraw himself, was going forward, overcoming [him] as Seng-
güm, without [9v] leave from Ong Qan, began to rush against
[him], [his] red cheek being shot by an arrow, Senggüm fell even
there. Suffering the fall of Senggüm, the Kereyid all returned
and stood over Senggüm. At the moment when the setting sun
was smiting upon the hills, ours, returning, having taken Quyildar,
[him] [10r] with wounds which was fallen, returned. Cinggis Qahan
and ours, separating themselves from Ong Qan—from the place where they had fought—removing in the
evening, separating themselves, passed the night.

§172 [11r] Standing, passing the night, when, waiting until the
day dawned, they mustered [the army], Ökōdei,10 Boroyul, and
Bo’orču—all three—were absent. When Cinggis Qahan spake,
he said, “With Ökōdei both the trusty Bo’orču and Boroyul have
remained behind. Whether living or dying, how would [11v] those
separate themselves?” Ours in the night, bringing in their geld-
ings [from the pastures], had passed the night. When Cinggis
Qahan spake, saying, “If one come, pursuing from our rearward,
we shall fight,” he set in order [his soldiers] and stood [awaiting
the enemy]. When, waiting until the day is become light, one
looketh, [one seeth that] one man draweth nigh from the rear-
ward. When, arriving, he came, [one saw that] it was Bo’orču.
Having suffered Bo’orču to arrive and come, when Cinggis Qahan
spake, saying, “Let Everlasting Heaven know,” he smote his
breast. When Bo’orču spake, he said, “At the moment when I
was rushing [against the enemy], my horse being shot [by arrows]

*From this it seems that the Kereyid detachment, with Senggüm, must have
already set forth to attack when Senggüm was hit.
**This is an alternate form of the more usual Ögödei.
so that he fell, at the moment when I went running on foot, [12v] in a respite in the same battle in which the Kereyid had returned and were standing over Senggüm, as for a laden horse which, having suffered his burden to incline itself to one side, was standing [there], cutting off his burden, riding on his inggircay,\(^{11}\) going out, going on, following the tracks along which ours had separated themselves and were gone out, finding [them], I am now come.”

§173 [15r] Again, while there is [but] a moment, yet one man draweth nigh. At the moment when he, arriving, draweth nigh, he draweth nigh, his legs hanging below.\(^{12}\) When one looketh, [one seeth that] he is like an only man. After that he was come, Boroyul, riding double behind Öködei, suffer[ing] blood to flow by the corners of [his] mouth, arrived. [As for] Öködei, the vein of his neck having been hit by an arrow, when his blood clotted, Boroyul, [14r] sucking [it] with his mouth, came, suffering the blood which had stopped [the opening of the wound] to flow by the corners [of his mouth]. Cinggis Qahan, seeing [him], suffering the tears to flow from his eyes, [his] heart having been troubled, having made one quickly to kindle a fire, having made one to apply heat,\(^{13}\) making one to seek drink for Öködei, making one to give [it unto him], said, “If the enemy come, we shall fight.” [14r] When Boroyul spake, he said, “The dust of the enemy, [moving] yonder, by the front of Mau Heights, toward Hula’an Boruqad, [this] dust, rising in a long train, is departed yonder.” At that word [of] Boroyul, saying, “If [the enemy] were come, we would have fought. [But,] if, [as now,] by the enemy, we are made to suffer the fact that, fleeing, he is removed, we shall reform our army and [15r] shall fight [again].” [Cinggis Qahan] removed. When he removed, being removed up along the Ulqui Silügeljид [River], he entered Dalan Nemürges.

§174 [15v] Then, from the rearward, Qada’an Daldurqan came, separating himself from his wife and [his] son. Coming, [16r] when

\(^{11}\) i.e., a wooden saddle serving as pack-saddle for horses and oxen, without stirrups attached.

\(^{12}\) Because he was sitting on the rump.

\(^{13}\) i.e., having made the wound to be cauterized.
Qada’an Daldurqan spake, saying, “[These are] words of Ong Qan,” he said, “Ong Qan, his son Senggiim being shot in the red cheek by an učumay [arrow] so that he fell, [the Kereyid] returning over him, then spake. As he said,

‘At [a time] in which it semblth [that we ought to have asked ourselves,] “Shall we stir [him] up?”,’
We have stirred [him] up.
Provoking [him]
At [a time] in which it semblth [that we ought to have asked ourselves,] “Shall we provoke [him]?,”
Alas! we have made one to nail
A nail
In the cheek of my son.”

We shall together rush [against them], seeking [to save] the life of [my] son, at that, when Açiy Sirun spake, he said, ‘Qan, Qan, let [it] be!“ When we sought the son which was behind the back,“ making elbesün [prayers] and jalama [prayers], we pray [Heaven], seeking [him], saying “Abuil Babuil” Let us, these, [now] take care of Senggiim the son which is already born. The more part of the Mongyol is here with Jamuya and with Altan and Qučar at [the side of] us. The Mongyol which have revolted and are gone out with [17r] Temüjin, whither will those go? Those are

Ones which have beasts to ride [which are] horses;
Ones which have shelters [which are] trees.

If those come not, going, we shall fetch [them], putting [them] in the skirt [of our garment] like dried horse dung.” At this word of Açiy Sirun, when Ong Qan spake, having said, ‘Yea! If it be so, I fear that [my] son be weary. Take care of [my] son, not shaking [him, while carrying him],’ returning, he withdrew from the place where one had fought.”

14 I. e., “We are responsible for the fact that he was shot by an učumay arrow.”
15 I. e., “Do thou not that!” (= “Assault thou not!”)
16 I. e., “which was not yet born.” Cf. the continuous translation in the YCPS 6.17v5.
§175 [18r] Then, when Cinggis Qahan removed from Dalan Nemirges along the Qalqa [River], he numbered the number [of his soldiers]. When he had numbered [them], [he knew that] there were two thousand six hundred. One thousand [18v] three hundred [in number], Cinggis Qahan journeyed along the western side of the Qalqa [River]. One thousand three hundred [in number], the Uru'ud and the Mangyud journeyed along the eastern side of the Qalqa [River]. At the moment when they were so journeying and going forward, at the moment when they were going hunting for provision, at the moment when Quyildar was not yet healed of his wounds, although he had been warned by Cinggis Qahan, [19r] being unwilling [to cease to go forward], as he began to rush upon the wild beasts, [his wounds] opened again and he passed away. Then Cinggis Qahan made one to place his bones at Keltegei Qada of [Mount] Or Nu'u of the Qalqa [River].

§176 [19v] Cinggis Qahan, knowing that at the place where the Qalqa [River] poureth itself into Lake Buyur there were the Unggirad [chiefs] Terge, Amel, and others, sent Jurcedei unto them with the Uru'ud. When he sent [him], as he had sent [him], saying, "If they say [unto themselves], 'The Unggirad people from days of old have had their being not by the might of arms, but

By the comeliness
Of the daughters of [their] daughters,
By the beauty
Of [their] daughters," they will submit themselves. If the same say, 'Revolt!,' we shall fight," they submitted themselves unto Jurcedei. As they had submitted themselves, Cinggis Qahan touched not even aught of them.

§177 [20v] Then having made the Unggirad to submit themselves,
departing, pitching east of the Tüngge Stream, when Činggis Qahan caused a message to be carried [unto Ong Qan] [21r] by the twain, by Arqai Qasar and [by] Sügegei Je'ün, by when he spake, saying, "Speak unto my father the Qan, [saying,] 'We have pitched east of the Tüngge Stream. And its grass is become good." Our geldings have strengthened the joints of [their legs]," when he sent, saying, "My father the Qan, in [respect of] what grievance hast thou made me to be afraid? If thou must make [me] to be afraid, why makest thou not me to be afraid [so as, at least,] to suffer thy bad sons and thy bad daughters in law to have their fill of sleep?"

Bringing low the bench on which they sat ding, Dispersing the smoke which went upward [from the roof of their tents], why hast thou made [them] so to be afraid? "My father the Qan, Hast thou been pricked By a person which is at the side? Hast thou been stirred up By a person which is in the way?"

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26 See Chapter III, note 49.
27 I. e., of the region east of the Tüngge Stream.
28 For the explanation of this passage cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., pp. [96]-[97]: "By these words Činggis reproaches Ong Qan for frightening his family, whereas, if truly Ong Qan had reasons for complaining about him, he ought to have contented himself with frightening Činggis alone: 'If thou must frighten me, says he, why dost thou not it so as at least to let thy bad sons and thy bad daughters-in-law [97] sleep to their heart's content?' By the words 'thy bad sons and thy bad daughters-in-law' Činggis, who, in remembrance of the relations of nado which had existed between Ong Qan and Yestğei, treats the first as father, means all the members of his family and, quite specially, his own sons and daughters-in-law."
29 This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
30 "In case we should read deng (= teng) xuyuqi iseri. I would translate: 'The bench on which they sat [all] at the same level.'" Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [97], n. 98.
31 "If I understand the sentence well, Činggis asks Ong Qan why he has frightened 'his sons and his daughters-in-law' to such a point that they have taken flight, abandoning their tents, of which the movables fell into the hands of Ong Qan and letting go out their fire which, of a sudden, ceased sending up to the sky its column of smoke." Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [97].
32 See also §201 below.
My father the Qan, what said we twain unto each other? At the Hula’an’u’d Bolda’ud of [22r] Jorqal Qun spake we not unto each other? Said we not unto each other,

‘If, by a serpent with teeth,
We are provoked [into dissension],
Let us not yield ourselves unto his provocations.
Let us believe [only when] verifying by teeth and by mouth? ’

Now my father the Qan, hast thou separated thyself [only after] verifying by teeth and by mouth? Said we not unto each other,

‘If, [22v] by a serpent with fangs,
We are backbitten [into dissension],
Let us not yield ourselves unto [his] backbittings.
Let us believe [only when] verifying by mouth and by tongue? ’

Now my father the Qan hast thou separated thyself, [only when] verifying by mouth and by tongue? My father the Qan, although I be few [in number], I made [thee] not to seek [others who might be] many [in number]. Although [I] be bad, I made [thee] not to seek [others who might be] [23r] good. If a cart having two shafts break its second shaft, its ox is not able to pull it. Am I not thy second shaft like that? If a cart having two wheels break its second wheel, it is not able to journey. [23v] Am I not thy second wheel like that? If we speak of the days of old, after thy father Qurcaquis Buyiruy Qan, saying, ‘[I am] the eldest brother of forty sons,’ thou didst become qan. After becoming qan, thou didst kill both Tai Temur Taisi and Buqa Temur, thy younger brethren. When thy younger brother Erke Qara was [at the point] to be killed, saving his life, going out, he escaped and submitted

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"See §164 above.
"See §164 above.

Cinggis Qahan means by this: “It is true that my group is not numerous, but thou recognized in it just the same so great a value that thou didst not seek to ally thyself with a more numerous group. It is true that my qualities are not very eminent, but they appear to thee, however, such that thou soughtest not to ally thyself with another who had greater ones.” Cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [100].
himself unto Inanča Bilge Qan [24v] of the Naiman. When, saying, 'He is become the murderer of his younger brethren,' thine uncle, Gür Qan, setting forth, is come against thee, thou—a hundred men saving their lives—didst escape and fleeing down along the Selengge, thou didst slip [into] Qara’un Qabčal. Moreover, when thou didst go out from there, [thou] didst give thy daughter Huja’ur Kı̄n to [24v] Toyto’ a of the Merkid, [as a means of] presenting [thy] face," and, coming out from Qara’un Qabčal, as thou didst come unto my father Yesūgei Qan, then, when [thou] didst speak, being told, 'Save my people for me from [mine] uncle, Gür Qan,' my father Yesūgei Qan being come unto by thee so saying, leading both [25r] Qunan and Bąqajı̄ from the Tagiĉu’ud, saying, 'I shall save thy people for thee,' ordering [his] army, departing, pursuing, toward Qaşin, Gür Qan—twenty [or] thirty men—who were at Turban Telesid, he saved thy people for thee.

"Coming from thence, in the Black Forest of the Tu’ula [River], becoming [25v] anda together with my qan father, Yesūgei Qan, then, Ong Qan, when [thou] didst speak, thanking my father, thou didst thank [him], saying, '[As to] the benefit of this thy service, let the protection of Heaven above and Earth [below] know how I shall return the benefit unto the seed of thy seed. After that, when Erge Qara, requesting soldiers from Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman, setting forth, came [26r] against thee, thou, forsaking thy people to save thy life—a few persons fleeing—went out and thou departed unto the Gür Qan of the Qara Kidad, at the Cui River, in the country of the Sarta’ul. Not enduring one year, again, going out, revolting from the Gür Qan, when, being in a strait, [thou] drewest nigh by the lands of the U’ud and of the Tang’ud, seizing five [26v] goats, milking [them], and eating [their milk], pricking and eating the blood of camels, thou art come with an only, blind, yellow horse with black mane and

**I.e., Ong Qan.**

**For this interpretation of the word мưrγan (mûrγan) I am deeply indebted to Dr. William Henson, who, on 27 July 1951, interpreted the enigmatic Chinese gloss 通面皮 (t’ung mien-p’i) to mean "[gift of one person to another] to present the face." In view of this explanation, it seems that the words δειν-γαν mưrγan (mûrγan) δόδα really mean: "giving his daughter as a gift of first audience."**

**Erge—Erke.**
Knowing that thou, the father the Qan, being so in a strait, wast coming and being mindful [of thee] because of the fact that beforetime thou didst declare thyself anda with my father, Yesü-gei Qan, having sent as messengers to meet [27r] thee both Tayai and Sükegei,** again, I myself departing from the Bürügi Escarpment of the Kelüren [River] to encounter [thee], we did meet each other at Lake Guse’ür. Saying that thou wast come, being in a strait, I, having levied levies and having given [them] unto thee, by reason of the fact that beforetime thou hadst together declared thyself anda unto my father, was that not the reason for which [27v] we two declared ourselves father and son in the Black Forest of the Tu’ula [River]?* That winter, suffering thee to enter within [my] güre’em, I did nourish [thee]. Wintering the winter, summering, in the autumn, setting forth against Töyöto’a Beki of the Merkid people, fighting [28r] with [him at] Mürüče Se’ül of Qadiyliy Niru’un, driving Töyöto’a Beki toward Baryujin Hollow, spoiling the Merkid people, taking their many herds and ordo tents and their grains—all—, I gave [them] unto [my] father the Qan. [I] suffered not thy being become hungry to endure unto the middle of the day. I suffered not thy having wasted to endure unto the half of the moon. Again, we, driving Buyiray Qan of the Güçügür, making [him] to pass over the Altai from Soqöy Üsun of [28v] Uluy Tay, being gone down along the Ûringgü [River], destroyed [him] at Lake Kichil Baš. At the moment when, returning from thence, we were drawing nigh and at the moment when Kögse’ü Sabray of the Naiman was ordering his soldiers and setting himself in array [for battle] at Baidaray Belçir, as it was [already] become evening, as we passed the night, together setting [our soldiers] in order, saying, [29r] ‘We shall fight early to morrow,’ thou, my father the Qan, kindling fires at thy [battle] stations, thou didst remove in the night up along the Qara Se’ül. When [I] looked early on the morrow, [perceiving that,] as [thou] wast absent at thy [battle] station, thou wast removed, saying. ‘These here look upon us as if we were burnt-offerings,’” I also, removing, passing over by the valley of [29v] Eder Altai, coming [hither],

*See Chapter V, note 18.
**See Chapter III, note 49.  
†See §151 above.  
‡See §161 above.
pitted at the Sa’ari Steppe. Then Kögse’üi Sabray pursuing thee, having taken the wives and sons, people and folk of Senggüm—all—as he went, spoiling the half of thy people, herds and food, of thy father the Qan, which were at Telegetü Outlet, when both Qudu and Çila’un, sons of Toyto’a of [30r] the Merkid were with thee, with all their people and households, in that battle, joining themselves unto their father, entering Baryujin [Hollow], revolving, they removed from thee. Then as thou, my father the Qan, art come, saying, ‘I have been spoiled as to people and households by Kögse’üi Sabray of the Naiman. Come [thou], my son, giving [30v] thy ‘four küliü’üd,’ not thinking like thee, then, when, ordering [them], I sent my soldiers with these my ‘four küliü’üd,’ Bo’orçu, Muqali, Boroyul, and Çila’un Ba’atur, before these my ‘four küliü’üd’ [arrived], Senggüm being at the point to array himself [in battle] at Hula’an Qud, the thigh of his horse being shot [by an arrow], [31r] at the moment when he was at the point to be taken, these my ‘four küliü’üd’ arrived and, having saved Senggüm, as they saved for him all the wives and sons together with people and households, then, my qan father, when [thou] didst speak, believing [me], thou didst say, ‘My people and households which were wholly departed have been given [back] by Temüjin, my son, his “four küliü’üd” coming and saving [them].’ [31v] Now, my father the Qan, thou hast grieved in [respect of] what grievance of me? Send [thou] messengers in [respect of] the manner of [thy] grievance. When thou sendest [them], send both Qu[Il]bari Quri and Idürgen. If [thou] send not both, send [thou] the second.”

§178 [33v] At these words, when Ong Qan spake, saying, “Ai! Soyülüy!” Shall I separate myself from my son? [That is what I have done, but in so doing] I have separated myself from the principle. Shall I stand aloof [from him]? [That is what I have done, but in so doing] I have stood aloof from [mine] obligations,” [his] heart having been troubled, when he spake, swearing, saying, “Now, seeing my son, if [I] think evil, [34r] like this [I] shall be shed as to my blood,” pricking the tip of his little finger with an

**These words, not glossed, seem to constitute an exclamation.
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arrow-whittling knife, suffering the blood to flow, putting [it] in a little bucket of birch bark, he sent [them back], saying, "Give [this] unto my son."

§179 [34v] Again, when Žinggis Qahan spake, saying, "Speak [this] unto Anda Jamuya," he sent, saying, "Not being able to see [me]," thou hast made [me] to separate myself from my father the Qan. The one of us which rose up first was wont to drink [from] the blue goblet of the father the Qan.41 When by me, upon rising up first, it was drunk, thou wast jealous. Now, empty [ye] the blue goblet of the father the Qan. How much more will ye consume?"42 Again, when Žinggis Qahan spake, saying, "Speak [this] unto Altan and Qučar," he sent, saying, "Ye twain, forsaking me, have ye said, 'We shall cast [him] away openly [breaking from him] ' or have ye said, 'We shall cast [him] away after a covenant'? When, saying that [thou] art the son of Neküin Taisi, we said, 'Qučar, from [among] us,' become thou qan,' thou wast not willing. When we said, 'Qutula Qan was governing [our people]. Inasmuch as thy father was governing [our people], thou, Altan, become thou qan,' thou also wast not willing. Saying, 'From [a generation] above [ye are] sons of Bartan Ba'atur,44 saying, 'Both Sača and Taču, become [36r] ye qad,' I was not able [to convince them]. Saying unto you, 'Become [ye] qad,' I was not able [to convince you] and, it being said by you [unto me],

44 I.e., "not being able to tolerate me."
45 It would appear from this that Žinggis Qahan, Jamuya, and Ong Qan had once lived together and that the first to get up in the morning drank from the blue goblet of Ong Qan.
46 I.e., "Not much more." By this veiled threat Žinggis Qahan implies that Jamuya will not have much longer in which to drink, because he will attack Ong Qan and Žinggis Qahan.
47 I.e., "me, Žinggis Qahan, and you, Altan and Qučar, to whom I am speaking."
48 This statement is clearly contradicted by that in §49 and that in §122 above. (See Chapter I, note 31, and Chapter III, note 53.) It is also contradicted by Rašid al-Dīn. Cf. PELOX and HAMBURG, op. cit., pp. 66-68, n. 23. Sača and Taču were not the sons of Bartan Ba'atur, but the sons of Qutula (-Surqatu) Yörkü (-Jürki), the son of Ökin Barqay, eldest son of Qubul Qan and elder brother of Bartan Ba'atur, the second son of Qubul Qan. Hence, the descendants of Ökin Barqay were the senior branch and, by birthright, took precedence of the descendants of Bartan Ba'atur, which, in this instance, were Žinggis Qahan and Qučar, both grandsons of Bartan Ba'atur. Altan,
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Became thou qan,' I have been governing [our people]. If ye had become qad and if [I] had been made to ride against the many enemies as a scout, if [I] had been protected by Heaven, at the moment when [I] would have been spoiling the enemy,

Maidens comely of cheek,
Ladies and [86v] wives,
And geldings good of rump

I would have fetched and given [unto you].

If I had been made beforehand to compass
In [respect of] the wild beasts,
[As to] the wild beasts of the cliffs,
In such wise that the upper parts of their legs might become united together

I would have pressed [them] for [you].

[As to] the wild beasts of the escarpments,
In such wise that their thighs might become united together

I would have pressed [them] for [you].

[As to] the wild beasts of the steppes,

too, as son of Qutu Qan, fourth son of Qabul, belonged to a junior branch. (See the genealogies in §§48-51.)

In a communication dated 6 September 1652 the Reverend Antoine Montaert remarked:

"In §179 we have to deal with an altered text. This alteration must have occurred rather early, since it was already present in the manuscript used by the authors of the continuous version, which was different from that of which the transcribers who put the Mongolian text into Chinese characters made use. The author of the Secret History cannot have worded his text in the manner in which we read it at present. He knew very well that Sača and Taču were the sons, not of Bartan Ba'aatur, second son of Qabul Qan, but of Qutuytu (-Sorqatu) Yurki, who was son of Ökin Barqey, eldest son of Qabul Qan. He had, in effect, written it in §40 and in §122. The original text must then have been as follows: De're-e-de Qutuytu (or Sorqatu) Yurki-yin ko'ün ke'ejū, Sača Taču qoyar-i ta qad boludqm ke'ejū yadabə je bi. I translate this restored text in the following manner: "Saying, "Among those [who, by birthright, are above us], they are the sons of Qutuytu (or Sorqatu) Yurki," saying to Sača and Beki, both: 'Become ye qad,' I was not able [to convince them]."
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In such wise that their bellies might become united together [37r]

I would have pressed [them] for [you]. Now excellently be [ye] a companion for my father the Qan. I am afraid that ye are said to be negligent. Make ye not one to say, 'It was but the support of the ēsu'd quri [which made them great men].' Suffer ye not to be pitched by any one at the head of the Three Rivers.”

§180 [39r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, “Speak unto Younger Brother To’oril,” [he said,] “The reason for which [I] say ‘Younger Brother’—Ωyda of both Tumbinai and Čaraqai Lingqu came in captivity as a slave. The son of the slave Ωyda was the slave [38v] Sübegei. The son of the slave Sübegei was Kēkkōči Kirs’an. The son of Kēkkōči Kirs’an was Yegei Qongt’ayar.” The son of Yegei Qongt’ayar [is] thou, To’oril. Of whom sayest thou continually in flattering that thou wilt give the peoples [unto Ong Qan]? Both Altan and Quchar will not [39r] suffer my people to be governed by any one—the reason for which [I] say that thou [art] ‘Younger Brother’ [is that thou art]

The slave of the threshold
Of my great great grandfather;

The private slave of the door
Of my great grandfather.

Such [is the manner in which] I send, saying [this].”

§181 [39v] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, “Speak unto Anda Senggum,” having said, “I am a son which was born with raiment.” Thou art a son which wast born naked. The father the Qan was wont to raise us both up [40r] equally. From the fact that thou [wast afraid that thou] mightest be supplanted

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49 “See §182 above.
48 “I.e., ‘They were nothing by themselves without the support of the ēsu’d quri, i.e., Činggis Qahan.”
47 “I.e., the Kelüren, the Tula, and the Onon which issue from Mount Burt’gan Qaldun.”
45 Yegei Qongt’ayar—Yegei Qongdagor in §120 above.
46 “See §137 above and §211 below.
45 I already had something on my body when I became the adopted son of Ong Qan.
[by me], Anda Senggüm, envying me, thou dravest [me] away. Now, not making the heart of our father the Qan to sorrow, evening and morning, going in and going out, go [thou], consoling [him]. Not putting away thine old thoughts [of jealousy], making [it] to sorrow, distract not the heart of our father the Qan, [40v] whilst the father the Qan is [yet] alive, saying, ‘[I] shall become qan,’’ he sent, saying, “Anda Senggüm, send [thou] envos unto me. When they come, send [thou] the companions of both Bilge Beki and Töö’d’en.” Saying, “When the messengers come unto me, father the Qan, send two messengers. Anda [41r] Senggüm, send [thou] also two messengers. Anda Jamuya, send [thou] also two messengers. Altan, send [thou] also two messengers. Qučar, send [thou] also two messengers. Ačiγ Širun, send [thou] also two messengers. Qaci’un send [thou] also two messengers,” he sent, thus making these words to be carried as [41v] a message by both Arqai Qasar and Sügegi Je’ün. These words being thus spoken [unto him], when Senggüm, spake, he said, “When was he wont to say ‘father the Qan?’ Was he not wont to say ‘old man killer?’ When was he wont to call me anda? Was he not wont [42r] to say, ‘The sorcerer Toyo’ta walketh, having joined [unto himself] the tail of a Sartaγčin sheep.’” 41 The devices of these words have been perceived. They are the first words of fighting. Both Bilge Beki and Töö’d’en, raise [ye] the standard proclaiming battle. Make [ye] one to fatten the geldings. There is no doubt.” 42 And so at the moment when Arqai Qasar was returning from Ong Qan, the wives and children [42v] of Sügegei Je’ün were there at [the side of] To’oril. The heart to depart failing [him], Sügegei Je’ün fell behind from Arqai. Arqai came and spake these words unto Činggis Qahan.

§182 [43v] And so Činggis Qahan, being departed, pitched at Lake Baljuna. At the moment when he was pitching there, the Ḑorulas of Čo’os Čahan encountered [him] even there. Those

41 This must be an old saying containing an allusion which was perfectly clear at the time. The Sartaγčin sheep has an enormous tail which, sometimes, is so big that it is placed in a small cart. The shaman with a big sheep tail attached to his posterior would not be at ease. It is possible that this means that Senggüm wishes to do something which he cannot do, because it is beyond his capacity.

42 I.e., “There is no reason to hesitate.”
Torulas, not fighting, [44r] came to submit themselves. When, from Ala Quṣ Digid Quri of the Önggūd, Asan, a Sartay, having a white camel, driving a thousand wethers, drew nigh down along the Ergune River for to buy sables and squirrels, at the moment when he was entering to water [his wethers at] Baljuna, he encountered [Cinggis Qahan].

§183 [44v] At the moment when Cinggis Qahan was watering [his beasts at] the same Baljuna, Qasar, casting away unto [45r] Ong Qan his wife and his three sons, Yegü, Yesüngge, and Tuqu, went out with his companions, few [in number and with nothing other than their] bodies. Saying, "I shall seek mine elder brother," seeking Cinggis Qahan, climbing up the ridges of [Mount] Qara'un Jidun, not being able to find [him], being in a strait, being gone, eating raw skin and sinews, he joined unto Cinggis Qahan at Baljuna. Having suffered Qasar to come, rejoicing, Cinggis Qahan, taking counsel, saying, "I shall send messengers unto [45v] Ong Qan," when he sent, speaking by [means of] both Qali'udar of the Je'iin'ed and Caqurqan of the Uriangqai, when he spake, saying, "Speak [ye] unto the father the Qan, saying, 'These are words of Qasar,'" as [he said], "Speak [ye], saying ' [Qasar] hath sent [us] saying,

"Beholding mine elder brother,
I lost sight of him.
Tracking [him],
I could not find his way.
When I shouted, [46r]
My voice was not heard."

"Beholding the stars,
Being one having a pillow of earth,"

I lie down. My wife and sons are at [the side of] the father the Qan. If I obtain confidence and expectation, I shall go unto the

"I.e., "Pretend to be envoys of Qasar."
"See §56 above.
"The word urbang, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. My tentative translation of it is based on that of the continuous translation (YCP 6.47v²) where it appears to be rendered by the word ± (t'u) "earth."
father the Qan.”

When he spake again, saying, “We shall remove, straightway after you, and shall meet by appointment at Arqal Geügi [46v] of the Kelüren [River]. Come [ye] there,” he appointed a place of meeting. And so having sent both Qali‘udar and Çaqurqan, he sent [before] as spies both Jürçedi and Arqali [Qasar], and from Lake Baljuna Çinggis Qahan, straightway, arising together with [his army], going out, [47r] by having set forth, arrived at Arqal Geügi of the Kelüren [River].

§184 [48r] Both Qali‘udar and Çaqurqan, coming unto Ong Qan, saying, “[These are] words of Qasar,” spake [unto him] the words which from hence [Çinggis Qahan] had sent, saying. Ong Qan, having pitched the golden tent, was feasting unawares. When, at the word of both Qali‘udar and Çaqurqan, Ong Qan spake, saying, “If it be so, let Qasar come,” he sent [him] with [them].” saying, “I shall send [48v] Itürgen in which [Qasar] may have confidence. And so being come, with the arrival at the appointed place of meeting, at Arqal Geügi, seeing that the appearance [was] great,” the envoy Itürgen fled back. The horse of Qali‘udar was swift. Qali‘udar overtook [him], [but] the heart to seize [him] failing [him], at the moment when he was [49r] cutting off [the way] before and behind him, the horse of Çaqurqan was slow. At the extremity unto which an arrow arriveth from the rearward,” he shot so that [the arrow] lodged [at] the end of the rump of the black gelding of Itürgen, with the golden saddle. Then both Qali‘udar and Çaqurqan seized Itürgen and brought [him] unto Çinggis Qahan. Çinggis Qahan, not talking unto [49v] Itürgen, said, “Go [ye], taking [him] unto Qasar! Let Qasar decide [how he shall deal with him]!” When they went, taking [him], Qasar, not talking unto Itürgen, even there cut [him] down and cast [him] away.

§185 [50r] When both Qali‘udar and Çaqurqan spake unto Çinggis Qahan, they said, [50v] “Ong Qan is unaware. Having pitched his golden tent, he feasteth. . . ? . . .” in haste, making [the men]...

**I. e., with Qali‘udar and Çaqurqan.
**I. e., that there was a big camp with numerous tents, etc.
**I. e., “at an arrow’s shot from the rear.”
**The word iqülpüjü, a converbum imperfecti in -ju of a verb iqülpü-, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
to march through the night, let us surprise and compass [him].” [Chinggis Qahan], approving this word, making both Jūrcēdei and Arqaį to be spies, having marched through the night, arriving, compassed [Ong Qan], at the moment when he was at the outlet of the Jer Qabciyai of Jeje’er Heights. When it was fought [51r] three nights and three days, when they stood, compassing [the men of Ong Qan], the third day, being in a strait, the same submitted themselves. It was not known in what manner both Ong Qan and Senggüm were gone out at night. This one which had fought [so long] was Qadāγ Ba’atur of the Jīrin. When Qadāγ Ba’atur, submitting himself, coming, spake, he said, “When we had fought three nights and [51v] three days, saying, ‘How shall [I] suffer [one], seizing my proper qan, before mine eyes, to kill [him]?,’ not being able to forsake [him], I fought, prolonging the strife, saying, ‘Let him flee away, saving his life.’ Now, if I be made to die, I shall die. If I be favoured by Chinggis Qahan, I shall give [my] might [unto him].” When Chinggis Qahan, [52r] approving the word of Qadāγ Ba’atur, made a decree, having said, “Is that not a man which fighteth, saying, ‘As [I] am not able to forsake my proper qan, let him flee away, saving his life?’ He is a person which may be regarded as a companion,” favouring [him], not making him to die, he was pleased to make a decree, saying, “Because of the life of Quyildar, [52v] let Qadāγ Ba’atur and the hundred Jīrin give [their] might unto the wife and sons of Quyildar. If boys be born, let them follow and give [their] might unto the seed of the seed of Quyildar. If girls be born, let their parents not betroth [them] according to their own wishes. Let them serve before and behind the wife and son of Quyildar.” Because Quyildar Sečen had beforetime opened [his] mouth [before Jūrcēdei], when Chinggis Qahan was pleased to make a decree, he made a decree, saying, “Unto the seed of the seed of Quyildar, because of the service of Quyildar, let one receive the ‘grant of orphans.’”

**I.e., the men of Ong Qan.**

**I.e., “I shall devote myself to him.”**

**I.e., “devote themselves.”**

**I.e., “devote themselves.”**

**See §171 above and §177 below.**
§186 [1r] Then bringing down the Kereyid people and severally parting [them], he let one spoil [them]. Because of the service of the Suldud Ta'ay Ba'atur, he gave [unto him] one hundred Jirgin. Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, [ . . . ].

As to Jaqa Gambu, the younger brother of Ong Qan, there were two daughters. When Činggis Qahan himself took Ibaqa Beki, the elder of them, he gave Sorqaytni Beki, the younger, unto Tolui. By that reason, saying that Jaqa Gambu and the private slaves and people subject unto him wholly should be [2r] a second shaft [for himself], favouring [him], he did not suffer [one] to spoil [him].

§187 [2v] Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Because of the service of both Badai and Kišilīy, [I give unto them] the golden tent of Ong Qan such as it sitteth [there], together with the golden flagons, and the people which took care of bowls and basins. Let the Ongqojid Kereyid become their guards. [With my] suffering [you] to carry quivers and suffering [you] to drink the ötög, rejoice [ye] as freemen unto [3r] the seed of the seed.

When [we] haste unto many enemies, when [ye] get spoil, as much as [ye] shall have gotten, take [ye it].

When [we] kill wild beasts, as many as [ye] shall have killed, take [ye them]."

Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Because both Badai and Kišilīy [3v] made service to come

1 There seems to be a lacuna, because what follows is not the text of the decree. This passage is not found in the Al-tu-ta (nova). The words basta Činggis qahan jaryl bolurun are not rendered in the continuous Chinese translation (YCPS 7.8v4).

The meaning is "such as it is with all its appurtenances."

See Chapter V, note 87, for the word ötög.

See §819 below.
between [my] life [and death], being protected by Everlasting Heaven, bringing down the Kereyid people, [I] have attained unto the throne of height. Long [here]after, [as] to the seed of the seed, let one, sitting on my throne, successively perceive those * who have done service [for me] like this." Spoiling the Kereyid [4r] people, they distributed [them] unto one another so that they were not wanting unto even anyone. Distributing the Tümen Tübe'en unto one another, they together took [them] until [the quantity] was enough [for each one]. They suffered one to plunder the many Dongqayid, not suffering [it] to attain unto a whole day.® They clave and parted the Jirgin ba'atud which had taken the bloody clothing, [but] [4v] were not able to bring [them] for every one.® So destroying the Kereyid people, that winter he * wintered at Abji'a Ködeger.

§188 [5r] Both Ong Qan and Senggüm, with [nothing other than] their bodies, revolting * and going out, being departed, [5v] as Ong Qan, thirsting, began to enter into the Nekin Usun 10 of Didig Saqal, he fell into [the hands of] Qori Sübeçi, a watchman of the Naiman. Qori Sübeçi seized Ong Qan. When he said, "I am Ong Qan," not recognizing [him], he believed [him] not and then killed [him]. Senggüm, not entering into the Nekin Usun of Didig Saqal, betaking himself outside, entering into the Çol,11 when he sought water, Senggüm, lighting off [his horse], espied wild horses which, being bitten by gadflies, [6r] were standing [there].—The companion of Senggüm, the keeper of geldings, Kökőći, had his wife [with him]. With Senggüm they were three together.—He made his horse to be held by his keeper of geldings, Kökőći. The keeper of geldings, Kökőći, having led his gelding [by the tether], trotted back [home]. When his wife spake, saying,

*I.e., "Badal and Klabbyy."
*I.e., so quickly that it did not take a whole day in which to finish it.
*Is this an allusion to the episode in §186? If so, Jirgin is an error for Järkin.
*I.e., Cinggis Qahan.
*I.e., not wishing to submit themselves unto Cinggis Qahan.
14 I.e., the "Nekin Water (= River.)."
15 I.e., "Desert" (in Turkish and Mongolian).
"At the moment when [thou] wast wearing [raiment] having gold,
At the moment when [thou] wast eating [6v] [meats] having savour,
he was wont to say, 'My Kökööiči.' How art thou going, so forsaking and abandoning Senggüm, thy qan?,' his wife, halting, stayed behind. When Kökööiči spake, he said, "Thou art saying [unto thyself], 'I shall take Senggüm as husband.' " At that word, when his wife spake, she said, "I am said [by thee to deserve the saying]: 'A wife hath a dog [7r] face.'" Give [unto him] at least his golden cup. Let him at least draw and drink water." Then, the keeper of geldings, Kökööiči, having cast behind [him] his golden cup, saying, "Take it!," trotted away. And so being come, the keeper of geldings, Kökööiči, coming unto Cinggis Qahan, saying, "I am come, [7v] so abandoning Senggüm in the Col," then, when he had wholly spoken for [Cinggis Qahan] his words which he had spoken [with his wife]—all [of them]—, when Cinggis Qahan made a decree, favouring his wife, saying, "The same keeper of geldings, Kökööiči, is come thus forsaking his proper qan. Such a man now by whom, [8r] if he become a companion, will be trusted?," cut [him] down and abandoned [him].

§189 [9r] When Gürbesii, mother of Tayang Qan of the Naiman, spake, saying, "Ong Qan was an aged, great qan of old. Fetch [ye] his head. If it truly be [his], we shall sacrifice [unto it]," sending a messenger unto Qori Sübeči, making [him], after that he had [it] cut off, to fetch his head, recognizing [it], placing [it] on a white toloý, [9v] making the daughters in law to perform the rites of a daughter in law, making [one] to present the ötöq, making [one] to play the qu'ur, [10r] holding a bowl, sacrificed unto [it]. Then when the head was being so sacrificed unto, it laughed. Saying, "It hath laughed," Tayang Qan trampled [it] in pieces.

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18 For the epithet of "dog" given to an unfaithful wife, cf. Antoine MONTAREY, op. cit., pp. (107)-(109).
19 I. e., Senggüm.
20 This word is glossed: "big felt carpet."
21 A stringed instrument.
Then Kögse’ü Sabray spake. The head of the dead qan, [first] ye, indeed, cut off and fetch. Next ye, indeed, [10r] break [it] in pieces. How is it fit? The barking sound of our dogs is become bad.”¹¹ Inançà Bilge Qan spake [beforetime]. He said, “[My] wife [is] young. I, [her] husband, am waxed old. We begot this Tayang by [our] elbesi.”¹² Ayi! Can my torluy”¹³ born son take care of and [10v] hold my törülmüşi,”¹⁴ many, lowly, bad people? Now, [as to] the sound of the dogs, they bark a bark which signifieth [that evil] is near. The ordinances of Gürbesü, our Qadun, are become severe. Torluy Tayang, my Qan, thou art weak. [Thou art] without thought and ability other than [those of] both falconing and hunting.” Then when Tayang Qan spake, he said, “It is said that there are very few”¹⁵ Mongyol [in] [11r] this east. Those people by their quivers”¹⁶ made the aged, great Ong Qan of old to be afraid, made [him] to revolt, and made [him] to die. Now are those, the same, [not] saying, ‘[We] shall be qan’?”, saying, ‘Let there be on the Heaven luminous luminaries, both the sun and the moon.’ [We acknowledge it. It is true that] there are [11v] both the sun and the moon. [But] on the earth how can there be two qad? Let us go and bring those Mongyol.” At that, when his mother Gürbesü spake, she said, “What wilt thou do with those? The Mongyol people are ones whose scent [is] bad and whose clothing [is] dark. Let them be far apart. Perhaps, making [one] to bring their elegant [12r] daughters in law and daughters and making them to wash their hands, we

¹¹ That is, the sound is such that it foretells misfortune.
¹² The word elbesı’-er (“by [our] elbesin”) is not glossed, but from the continuous translation (YCPS 7.12v6): “我讃神生來的 [“(He) is one who was born through our prayers to the divinity”], it would appear to be an instrumentalis in -er of a word elbesi (n) “prayer.” See also elbesin in §174 above.
¹³ The word torluy is not glossed. Cf., however, the Ordo “t’orlok nom d’une plante qui croît dans les saiors (Hedysarum fruticosum L, d’après Potain) | . . . ” Antoine Monzaert, Dictionnaire ordos, Tome deuxième (J-Ž), p. 671a.
¹⁴ The word törülmüşi (== törülmış) is not glossed. It is Turkish. In a letter dated 19 August 1954, Professor Nicholas Popov stated: “As for törülmüş, this should be considered as a verbal noun in -miş from törül, a deverbal (passive) verb in -miş from törül ‘to bear, to be born.’”
¹⁵ The word ečeked is not glossed, but it obviously is the plural in -e of the word eček which is found in §190 (YCPS 7.13v6) and §198 (YCPS 7.94v4).
¹⁶ L. e., “by the sound of arrows rattling in the quivers.” See also Chapter III, note 7.
might, perhaps, make [them] to milk our cows and sheep." At that, when Tayang Qan spake, he said, "If it be so, they are ones having what? Let us go unto those Mongyol and, perhaps, bring their quivers."

§190 [13v] At these words, when Kögsė’ü Sabray spake, he said, "Ayi! Ye speak great words! Ayi! Torluy" Qan, are they fit? Lay [ye them] up." Having been warned by Kögsė’ü Sabray, when [Tayang Qan] sent the messenger named Torbi Taši, speaking unto Ala Quş Digid Quri of the Önggūd, he sent, saying, [14r] "It is said that there are very few Mongyol [in] this east. Be thou [my] right hand. I shall join with [thee] from hence and we shall take the quivers of those few Mongyol." At that word, when Ala Quş Digid Quri spake in answer, having sent, saying, "I cannot be [thy] right hand," when Ala Quş Digid Quri sent, speaking unto [14v] Çinggis Qahan by his messenger named Yoqunan, he sent, saying, "Tayang Qan of the Naimeth for to take thy quiver. He is come, saying that I should become his right hand. I am not so become. Now I have sent, making [one] to forewarn [this] unto thee. I am afraid that they will come and that thou wilt suffer thy quiver to be taken from thee." Even then, at the moment when Çinggis Qahan [15r] was hunting at Teme’en Steppe and was compassing Tūlkin Ce’ïid, the messenger Yoqunan which Ala Quş Digid had sent, came, bringing this message. At this message, as [the Mongyol], on the hunt, then, [15v] said unto one another, "How shall we do?," when many people spake, they said unto one another, "Our geldings are lean. Now what shall we do? At that, when Odçigin Noyan spake, he said, "How can it be regarded [by us] as pretense, saying, ‘The geldings [are] lean?’ My geldings are fat. Hearing such words, how can [we] continue to sit?" Again, when Belgütei Noyan spake, he said, "If, when one is [yet] alive, he suffer his quiver to be taken by a ‘companion,’ what [16r] advantage is it to have lived? For a man that was born, when he dieth, if he also lie with his quiver and [his] bow in one

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"In a letter dated 31 August 1954 the Reverend Antoine Mörzer interpreted these words to mean "‘ones having what [in special which can render difficult their conquest?]’"

"See note 19 above. "I.e., "enemy."
[and the same place] with [his] bones, is it not good? The Naiman people, saying that [it is] one of which the empire is great and one of which the people are many, is speaking great words. If we, relying on these their great words, setting forth and going [to find them], take their quivers [from them] [16v], would it be so difficult? If we go [to find them], would their many herds, halting [to rest], perhaps, not remain behind? Would their ordo tents, becoming empty; perhaps, not remain behind? Would their many people, perhaps, not go out to escape to high places? How can we continue to sit, suffering the same to speak these such big words? Let us, then, set forth! " [17r]

§191 [18r] Approving this word of Belgüete Noyan, Činggis Qahan, being come in from hunting, removing from Abjia Köteger, pitching at Keltegei Qada of [Mount] Or Nu’u of the Qalqa [River], numbering his number, then dividing [the army] into thousands so as to form thousands, he then appointed the captains of thousands, the captains of hundreds, and the captains of tens. He then also [18v] appointed the stewards. He then appointed these six stewards: Dodai Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi, Ögele Čerbi, Tolun Čerbi, Buçaran Čerbi, and Söyiketü Čerbi. Making an end of dividing [the army] into thousands so as to form thousands, dividing [it] into hundreds so as to form hundreds, and dividing [it] into tens, so as to form tens, when he then [19r] chose and enrolled as guards eighty nightguards and seventy dayguards, when he enrolled the sons and the younger brethren of the captains of thousands and of hundreds and the sons and the younger brethren of only simple people, he chose and enrolled those which had ability and whose body and appearance [were] good. Then, favouring Arqai Qasar, he made a decree, saying, “Let him choose bu’atud and make [of them a band of] a thousand. On days of battle, [19v] let them join battle, standing in front of me. On the many days, let

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**Footnotes:**

119. I. e., "taking advantage of."

120. The word s'i'urejü, the conterbun imperfecti in -jü of a verb s'i'ure-, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. From the continuous translation, however, which has ṭaj (k'ung-le) ("empty") (YCPs 6.17v4), it would appear to mean "becoming empty."

121. I. e., "Steward" Dodai, "Steward" Doqolqu, etc.

122. I. e., people who are not in government service.

123. I. e., "ordinary."
them be my guards [which are] dayguards." He said, "Let Ögele Cerbi command the seventy dayguards. Take [ye] counsel with Qudus Qalčan."

§192 [20r] Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Let the quiverbearers, [20v] the guards [which are] dayguards, the cooks, the keepers of doors, and the keepers of geldings take [their] turn [in] the day[time] and, before that the sun setteth, retire for the nightguards and, going out to their geldings, pass the night. Let the nightguards, at night, make to lie [those of] their [men] that shall lie round about the tent and make to stand in turn [those of] their [men] that shall stand at the door. Let the quiverbearers and the dayguards, [21r] the next day, when We take broth, tell unto the nightguards [that they are come] and [then] let the quiverbearers, the dayguards, the cooks, and the keepers of doors go each unto his [daily] task. Let them sit upon their seats. Let them,1 completing their days of turn of three nights and three days and passing the three nights in the very same manner, [21v] changing [places with those who relieve them], be nightguards the night [which followeth their being relieved]. Let them pass the night lying round about." And so, making an end of dividing [the army] into thousands so as to form thousands, appointing stewards, enrolling eighty nightguards and seventy guards [which are] dayguards, choosing baʿotud for Qasar, when, from Keltegei Qada of [Mount] Or Nuʿu of the Qalqa [River], he set forth [22r] against the Naiman people,

§198 the sixteenth [22v] day of the first moon of summer, on the "red circle" [day],2 the year of the rat [1204], when Činggis Qahan, having sprinkled the standard,3 set forth, being gone up along the Keliiren [River], making Jebe and Qubilai to be spies, when he reached the Saʿari Steppe, at the head of [Mount] Qang-qarqan, the watchmen of the Naiman were there. [The Naiman watchmen] pursuing unto our watchmen, one from our watchmen

1 i.e., "my guards (kehγsten)."
2 See Chapter II, note 29.
—one which had a white horse and a rather bad saddle—was taken by the watchmen of the Naiman. When the watchmen [23r] of the Naiman, taking that horse, spake unto one another, they said unto one another, "The geldings of the Mongyol are lean." When ours, reaching the Sa'ari Steppe and halting there, said unto one another, "How shall we do?," then, when Cildar Čerbi gave advice unto Činggis Qahan, when he gave advice, saying, "We are, indeed, few [in number]. [Over and] above [the fact that we are] few [in number we are come, [23v] being exhausted. Thus, indeed, halting, until our geldings be satiated, pitching, spreading ourselves in this Sa'ari Steppe, every person [be he] but alive lighting fires at [the rate of] five places a man, [we] shall terrify [them] by the fire. The Naiman people are said [to be] many. Their qan is called a weakening which is not [yet] come out from in his tent. [24r] While we confuse [them] by fire, our geldings, also will become satiated. Making our geldings to become satiated, having pursued the watchmen of the Naiman, if, following hard upon [them], making [them] to unite themselves at their middle, we join battle in that confusion, will it [not] do?," when, approving this word, Činggis Qahan made a decree, he proclaimed an ordinance unto the soldiers, saying, "So, then, make [ye one] to light [24v] fires." And so, pitching, spreading themselves in the Sa'ari Steppe, one made [every] man [were he] but alive to light fires at five places. At night the watchmen of the Naiman, from the head of [Mount] Qangqarqan, at night seeing the many fires, having sent unto Tayang Qan, [25r] saying, "Was one not saying that the Mongyol [are] very few [in number]? They have fires [which are] more than the stars," giving [unto him] the little white horse which had the rather bad saddle, they sent, saying, "The soldiers of the Mongyol have pitched until the Sa'ari Steppe is covered. Are they not increasing on [each] day? They have fires [which are] more than the stars."

4 Cf., e.g., Deuteronomy I §10: "The Lord your God hath multiplied you, and, behold, ye are this day as the stars of heaven for multitude"; and XXVIII §6: "And ye shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitude; . . . .": Cf. also Nahum III §16: "Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven: . . . ."


§194 [26r] Receiving this message of the watchmen, Tayang Qan was at the Qačir Usun 48 of the Qangyai. Having suffered [one] to bring this message, when he sent, telling [it] unto his son Güčilüg Qan, he sent, saying, "The geldings of the Mongyol [26v] are lean. One saith, 'They have fires [which are] more than the stars.' [Hence] the Mongyol are many. Now,

If we join [battle] in earnest,
Will it [not] be difficult to separate ourselves [from them]?
If [we] join [battle] in earnest,
[They] will not wink [with] their black eyes—those.

If we join [battle] [27r]
With the hard Mongyol
Which draw not back,
[Even] if they are pierced
In the cheek;
[Even] if the black blood
Issue,
Will it do?

The geldings of the Mongyol are said [to be] lean. We, making our people to pass over the Altai and rolling [them] back, removing, reforming our army, marching, enticing them, "marching, fighting dogfights," until we arrive [at] the foot of the Altai—our geldings are fat—making the bellies to be pulled up 49 and waiting until [27v] the geldings of the Mongyol be exhausted, we shall pour out [our army] at their faces." 50 At that word, when Güčilüg Qan spake, saying, "The woman Tayang of alway! When [his] heart hath failed [him], he hath spoken these words. The many of the Mongyol [of whom ye speak] would be come from whence?

48 I. e., "Qačir Water (= River)."
49 I. e., the Mongyol.
50 I. e., "skirmishes."
51 "This expression means 'to do so that the belly diminishes in volume.' The horses fattened in pasture cannot furnish violent and prolonged efforts without being spoiled. It is why the Mongols, during a certain number of days, let them graze only a very short time, until, rid of superfluous fat, they are in good form." Antoine Monastre, op. cit., p. [115].
52 I. e., "we shall deploy before them."
CHAPTER VII

The more part of the Mongyol are with Jamuya here in [the hands of] us. When the heart of the woman Tayang

Which is not yet gone out to the place where a woman [28r] heavy [with child] pisseth: 40
Which is not yet arrived at the pasture of the calf of the wheel 41

failed [him], came he not, speaking these words?,” he sent, speaking by a messenger till his father was pained, till he was injured. At this word, Tayang Qan being mentioned [by his son] in such a manner that he himself [28v] was compared unto a woman, when Tayang Qan spake, he said, “Let the mighty, courageous Güçülüğ, the day when [the enemy and we] shall encounter one another and [when the enemy and we] shall kill one another, not put away, perhaps, this his courage. When, in earnest, [the enemy and we] shall have encountered one another and shall have joined [battle], to separate ourselves [from them] will, perhaps, be difficult.” At that word, when [29r] Qori Sübeci, the great chief which governed under Tayang Qan, spake, having said, “Thy father Inanca Bilge Qan shewed not the back of man or the rump of gelding unto a companion 42 [which was] equal. 43 Now, thou, it having [yet] been the morning early, 44 how faileth [thee] thy heart, thou? If we had known that [thy] heart would thus fail thee, even though she be but a woman, would we, bringing Gürbesi, 45 [29v] thy mother, not have made [her] to set the army in order? Çima! Alas! Why by Kögse’ü Sabray [must we be made] to suffer [the effect of his] waxing old? The ordinances of our army are become lax. It is the time and the destiny of the Mongyol. It is not be-

40 I. e., ”who has not yet gone so far from the tent as a pregnant woman who, because of her pregnancy, does not go any farther from the tent to urinate than is absolutely necessary.”
41 I. e., ”who has not gone so far from the tent as the calf which, during the day, is tied to the wheel of a cart in the vicinity of the tent in order to prevent it from following its mother and sucking her milk, because a cow which has a calf is milked every day.”
42 I. e., enemy.
43 I. e., ”He never took flight.” In other words, he was not a coward before his peers.
44 I. e., ”Whereas it is still long before the battle will be joined.”

§195 [31r] At that, when Tayang Qan, being wroth, spake, saying, "A life which dieth and a body which suffereth" are one [and the same] for all. If it be so, let us fight," removing from the Qačir Usun, being gone down along the Tamir [River], passing over the Orqon, passing by the eastern skirt of [31v] Naqu Qun, at the moment when, arriving, he was drawing nigh [unto] Cakir-ma’ud, the watchmen of Cinggis Qahan seeing [him], as they brought a message, saying, "The Naiman, arriving, draw nigh," having suffered [them] to bring this message, when Cinggis Qahan made a decree, [32r] having said, "[The issue] will be adversities [either which are] more than many or [which are] fewer than few," setting forth against them, having driven away their watchmen, when he set the army in order, he said, "Marching the ‘qarayana’ march, arraying ourselves in the ‘lake’ array, let us fight the ‘chisel’ fight." Having so said, Cinggis Qahan, going himself as a spy, made Qasar to set the middle in order. He made Odčigin Noyan to set [32v] the led horses in order. The Naiman, withdrawing themselves from Cakirma’ud, stood along the front of Naqu Qun and the skirt of the mountains. And so, our watchmen having driven before [them] the watchmen of the Naiman, having driven [them] before [them] so that they united themselves at their great middle [at] the front of Naqu Qun, arrived. [33r] Tayang Qan seeing that they were thus driving

45 For this word, elsewhere transcribed tordwy, see note 19 above.
46 I. e., in disgust.
47 I. e., "A mortal life and a passible body."
48 This seems to mean, "It is all or nothing," i.e., "We shall risk all."
49 This is the only passage in The Secret History in which these three types of tactics are specifically mentioned by name: (1) "To march the ‘qarayana’ march," means to march with the troops massed in close order in the manner of the qarayana, a thorny shrub which grows in thick clumps on the steppe. (2) "To array oneself in the ‘lake’ array" means to deploy with the troops widely scattered in the manner of the water of a lake which spreads over a large area. (3) "To fight the ‘chisel’ fight" means to engage the enemy with a thrust at his center in the manner of a chisel which is thrust into a piece of wood.
[his watchmen] before [them] and were arriving, [as to] Jamuya, then, with the Naiman, [his] army setting forth, being come with [them], being there, Tayang Qan asked of Jamuya. He asked, saying, "Those [are] what? [Even] as the wolves pursue the many sheep and come, pursuing [them] unto the folds, these what people, so pursuing, draw nigh?" When Jamuya spake, he said, [38v]

"Mine anda, Temujin, hath been wont to nourish 'four dogs'" with the flesh of men and to bind [them], using chains of iron. Those who draw nigh, pursuing those our watchmen, are they. Those 'four dogs,'

Having helmets [which are] copper,
Having snouts [which are] chisels,
Having tongues [which are] awls,
Having hearts [which are] iron,
Having whips [which are] swords, [34r]

march, eating the dew and riding the wind—those.

On the days when [they and the enemy] kill one another
They eat the flesh of men—those.

On the days when [they and the enemy] encounter one another,
They take the flesh of human beings as their provision—
those.

Have they, their chains being put off, now not been restrained? Rejoicing, they draw nigh, so drivelling—those." When he said, "Those 'four dogs,' who are those?" he said, "Both Jebe and Qubilai and both Jelme and Sübe'etei are those four." When Tayang Qan spake, saying, "Let us stand far from those lowly creatures," moving backward, he stood, straddling the mountain [and the plain]. Seeing [those] who, skipping for joy and making circles, were drawing nigh behind them, again Tayang Qan [85r] asked of Jamuya. He asked, saying, "Those are what? How so draw those nigh, making circles as foals which one hath loosed early [in the morning], foals which, suckling the milk of their

**I.e., Jebe, Qubilai, Jelme, and Sübe'etei. See immediately below.**
mothers, run merrily round about their mothers?" When Jamuya spake, he said, "Those are called the Uru’ud and the Mangyud,

Which, driving before [them]
The men with lances,
Strip [them of their] bloody clothing; [35v]
Which, pushing before [them],
The men with swords, cutting [them] down and killing [them],
Take [from them their] treasure and clothing.

Those now, rejoicing and skipping for joy, so draw those not nigh?" Then, when Tayang Qan spake, saying, "If it be so, let us stand far from those lowly creatures," again, to the rearward, ascending [36r] the mountain, he stood. Saying, "Those who, pushing a point before [the others], draw nigh behind them,

Drivelling
Like falcons

which are become greedy of food, who are they who draw nigh?" Tayang Qan asked of Jamuya. When Jamuya spake, he said, "This [is] mine anda, Temüjin, which draweth nigh. [In the armour on] his whole body

There is no space betwixt to pierce for an awl [36v]
Which hath been cast
Of unwrought copper.
There is no space betwixt to pierce for a great needle
Which hath been hammered
Of iron.

Mine anda, Temüjin, draweth nigh like a falcon which is become greedy of food and drivelling. Have ye seen [him]? The Naiman companions were [doing nothing other] than [saying] that, if they [ever] saw the Mongol, [37r] they would not leave [them even] the skin of the foot of a kid. See ye [them now]." At this word, when Tayang Qan spake, saying, "[It is] fearful! Let us, ascend-

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The goat (imayan) is the animal which, with the Mongols, has the least value. Of the five kinds of livestock (tabun qaqrī’u mat), i.e., the horse (morin), the camel
ing the mountain, stand [there],” he ascended [the mountain] and stood [there]. Again, when Tayang Qan asked of Jamu-ya, again [87v] he asked, saying, “Who are they who thickly draw nigh behind him?” 55 When Jamu-ya spake, he said, “Mother Hö’elün was wont to nourish one of her sons with the flesh of men.

Having a body three alda 56 [in height],
Having as food cattle of three years old,
Wearing a breast-plate
Of three layers,
He draweth nigh, making three bulls to draw [his cart].
If he swallow
A man with a quiver—the whole [man]—[38r]
He will not be obstructed in his gullet.
If he swallow a whole man,
It satisfieth not [his] heart. 54
If he be wroth,
If, drawing [his bow], he release his angyus’a 58 arrow,
He shooteth so as to pierce
Ten or twenty
People
Which are
Beyond
A mountain.
If, drawing [his bow], he release his keyibür 64 arrow,
He shooteth so as to join 87 and [38v] so as to pierce
The companions 88 with which he hath quarrelled—
[Those] who are beyond
The steppe.

(temegn), the ox (sûer), the sheep (gonin), and the goat (mornon), it is the last in order. Consequently, the skin from the extremity of the foot of a kid (seigne) is something which is almost less than nothing.

55 I.e., Temüjin.
56 An alda, properly, the span of the arms, is a measure of approximately six feet.
54 I.e., “it does not satisfy his appetite.”
58 This word is glossed “name of [a kind of] arrow.” It is an arrow with a forked tip.
64 This word is glossed “name of [a kind of] arrow.”
87 I.e., to transfix, as on a spit.
88 I.e., enemies.
If, drawing [his bow], in a great manner, he shoot, He shooteth at a place [at a distance] of nine hundred alda. If, pulling and drawing [his bow], he shoot, He shooteth at a place [at a distance] of five hundred alda. He is other [in countenance] than [all other] men. He is called Joči Qasar which was born a gürelgü python.

He is that [one]." [39r] Then, when Tayang Qan spake, saying, "If it be so, let us strive for the height of the mountain. Ascend [ye] upward!," ascending the mountain, he stood [there]. Again, when Tayang Qan asked of Jamuya, he said, "Who are [those] who draw nigh behind him?" When Jamuya spake, he said, "That is Odčigin, the youngest son [§8v] of Mother Hö'elün. He is said [to be one] which hath a [sluggish] liver." [He is] one which sleepest early and one which ariseth late.

[Yet] even he remaineth not behind from the multitude. [Yet] even he remaineth not behind from the [battle]array."

When Tayang Qan spake, he said, "If it be so, let us go up on the top of the mountain."

§196 [42r] Jamuya having thus spoken these words unto Tayang Qan, separating himself from the Naiman, going out, being alone, when he sent, letting a message go in unto Činggis Qahan, when he sent, speaking, saying, "Speak unto the anda," he sent, saying, "Tayang Qan,

At my word,
Losing [his] head,
Striving for the heights,
Being terrified, is gone up. [42v]
Being killed

"For a similar remark see §84 above.
"This word is glossed " name of a [kind of] python."
"I.e., "which is a sluggard." In the continuous translation (FCPS 7.41v3) the word heligetu (" having liver") is rendered "lazy by nature."
"Cf. Proverbs VI §6: "How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? When wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?"
"See also §170 above for a similar episode, when Jamuya defected from Ong Qan.
By [my] mouth,\textsuperscript{44}  
Being afraid,  
He is gone up,  
Ascending  
The mountain.

\textit{Anda, be [thou] prudent! The same are gone up into the mountain.}

These do not have the countenance [of daring] to set face against [thee]. As for me, I have separated myself from the Naiman.”  
Činggis Qahan, the sun becoming evening. [43r] halted and passed the night compassing the mountain of Naqu Qun. That night, as the Naiman began to escape and to remove, tumbling down from on Naqu [Qun], heaping themselves up \textsuperscript{66} the one on top of the other, their bones falling to pieces, they crushed one another so that they stood [like] rotten trees \textsuperscript{88} and [thus] they died. On the morrow they made an end of Tayang Qan. [43v] Whereas Güçüllüg Qan was elsewhere, when, removing, revolting, [being but] few persons [in number], he was overtaken, he made a \textit{güre’en} at the Tamir [River]. Not being able to stand in that his \textit{güre’en}, removing, fleeing away, he went out and departed. They assembled the nation of the Naiman people, making an end of [it], at the front of the Altai. The Jadaran, the Qataqin, [44r] the Salji’ud, the Dörben, the Tayiqi’ud, the Unggirad and others which had been with Jamu-ya also submitted themselves there. When Činggis Qahan, making [one] to bring Gürbesü, the mother of Tayang, spake, saying, “Wast thou not saying, ‘The scent of the Mongol [is] bad?’ \textsuperscript{67} Why art thou now come?”, Činggis Qahan took [her to wife].

\section*{§197 \textsuperscript{45r} In the autumn of the same year of the rat [1204]}
Činggis Qahan, setting himself in battle array with Toyto’a Beki

\textsuperscript{44} For this expression, see also §§300 and 355 below.  
\textsuperscript{45} The word \textit{qutaylaldu}, the conserbium imperfecti in -\textit{fu} of \textit{qutayla}-, the reciprocal form in -\textit{Idu-} of a verb \textit{qutayla}-, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. In his letter dated 31 August 1954, the Reverend Antoine Mostaert suggested: “\textit{Qutaylaldu-} could have the meaning of ‘to heap themselves up.’” It is this meaning, therefore, that I have tentatively adopted here.  
\textsuperscript{66} Although the word \textit{hunelfi} is not glossed, we find it used again in the same figure in §247 (YCPS, Hsü 1.2r5), where the gloss reads: “rotten trees.”  
\textsuperscript{67} See §189 above.
of the Merkid at Qaradal Huja’ur, making Toyto’a to remove, spoiled his people and folk and nation in the Sa’ari Steppe. Toyto’a [45v] with his sons Qudu and Cila’un, [being but] few persons [in number], with [nothing other than their] bodies, fled away and went out. And so, when the Merkid people were spoiled, when Dayir Usun of the Qo’as Merkid drew nigh, taking his daughter, Qulan Qatan, saying, “I shall present her unto Cinggis Qahan,” being hindered by soldiers on the way, encountering Nayā Noyan ** the Ba’arid, [40r] when Dayir Usun spake, he said, “I draw nigh, saying, ‘I shall present this my daughter unto Cinggis Qahan.’” Then, when Nayā Noyan spake, he detained [him], saying, “We shall present thy daughter together.” When he detained [him], saying, “If thou go alone, on the way the soldiers will not suffer even thee to live in [this] time of trouble and [46v] thy daughter also will suffer trouble,” he detained Dayir Usun three days and three nights. Then, with Qulan Qadun, having taken Dayir Usun, Nayā Noyan brought [them] together unto Cinggis Qahan. Then, Cinggis Qahan being greatly wroth, saying, “Why hast thou [47r] detained [her]?,” at the moment when he was asking, saying, “Asking in a hard manner and in a minute manner, I shall make [it a matter of] ordinance,” ** when Qulan Qadun spake, she made [one] to report, saying, “Nayā spake. He warned [us], saying, ‘I am a great chief of Cinggis Qahan. We shall together present thy daughter unto the Qahan. On the way the soldiers will make trouble.’ Now, if we had encountered soldiers other than [those of] Naya’a, would we [not] be entered into being gendered in trouble?” Peradventure our encountering this Naya’a was good. Now, instead of asking of Naya’a, if the Qahan favour [me], if he ask of the flesh it which, by the destiny of Heaven, [my] father and mother did beget, [he will find that it is perfect and entire]. When Naya’a was asked, he said, “A face of me other than [that devoted unto] the Qahan there is not. If I encounter

** In the name Nayā Noyan, Nayā – Naya’a. See, for example, below.

** I.e., “I shall make a precedent which shall serve as law for the future.” See also §§197 and 257 below for other instances of the application of the faswy.

*** The anticipated answer is “Yes!”

** I.e., “the pudenda madiebroia.”
Chapter VII

A maiden or lady fair of cheek,
A gelding good of rump

of a foreign people, I am saying, 'They are, indeed, [possessions] of my Qahan.' If there be [48v] a thought of me other than this, I shall die!" Cinggis Qahan, approving the report of Qulan Qadun, when, on the same day, then, examining [her], he tried [her], finding [it] to be like [unto] the report of Qulan Qadun, Cinggis Qahan was pleased to love Qulan Qadun. Finding [it] to be like [unto] the words of Naya's, approving, saying, "He is [a man] which hath true words," he favoured [him], saying, "I shall commit great matters [unto him]."
Spoiling the Merkid people, from both Tügei and Döregene, qadund of Qudu, the eldest son of Toyto’a Beki, [Činggis Qahan] then gave Döregene unto Ögödei Qahan. Half the people of the Merkid [1v] revolted and fortressed a fortress on the top of a mountain.1 Then, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he sent Cimbai, son of Sorqan Sira, to be chief, making [him] to attack by [means of] the troops of the left hand the Merkid which had fortressed. Činggis Qahan pursuing [2r] Toyto’a, which, together with his sons Qudu and Čila’un, few [in number and with nothing other than their] bodies, was gone out, revolting, [Činggis Qahan] wintering at the front of the Altai, as, in the spring of the year of the ox [1205], he went, passing by the Arai, Güčüüg Qan of the Naiman suffering [Činggis Qahan] to take his people, since, revolting, he was gone out—few [2v] persons [in number]—both [he and] Toyto’a of the Merkid, joining [forces], uniting themselves at the Buydurma Fountain of the Erdis,* were setting their soldiers in order. As Činggis Qahan, arriving, stood in array, Toyto’a, being shot there by a stray arrow, is fallen. His sons, not being able to take his bones in hand,4 not being able [3r] to take his body away, cut off his head and, taking [it], departed. Then, when the Naiman and the Merkid, uniting themselves together, not being able to stand in array, removed, escaping, when they

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1 Although the word taqal is glossed “mountain-top” here and immediately below (8.4v4), it is, in both cases, rendered as a proper name in the continuous translation (YCP8 8.5r4 and 5v5).

2 Although I transcribe this name as it appears in the text, it must be observed that, in his review, in the T'oung Pao 31 (1935).157-167, of Erich HAENSCHE'S "Die letzten Feldzüge Činggis Han's und sein Tod nach der ostasiatischen Überlieferung" in Asia Major 9 (1935).403-551, Paul FELLOT remarked (p. 159): "I shall show elsewhere that we must find here the name of the Alai, that which is not without interest for the itinerary of Gengis-khan."

* Erdis—Erdiš below.

* I.e. “not being able to bury him.”

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crossed the Erdiš [River], sinking [therein], they suffered their more part to die in the water. The Naiman and [3v] the Merkid which were gone out few [in number], after passing over the Erdis, removed, separating themselves. Güçülig Qan of the Naiman, passing the Ul'urtai and the Qarlu'ud, went to join himself unto the Gür Qan of the Qara Kidad which were at the Čui River in the land of the Sarta'ul. The Merkid [4r] having at their head Qudu, Qal,* and Cila'un, sons of Toyto'a of the Merkid, departed, passing [by] the Qanglin and the Kimça'ud. Then Činggis Qahan, returning, passing by the Arai,' pitched at the a'uru'ud. Čimbaši destroyed the Merkid which had fortified a fortress on the top of a mountain. Then, [as to] the Merkid, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, suffering one to kill [those] of them [4v] whom one should kill, he suffered [those] of them who were left to be spoiled by the soldiers. Again the Merkid which aforetime had submitted themselves, revolting, arose from the a'uru'ud. Our servants which were in the a'uru'ud overcame those [which had so revolted]. Then, [5v] when Činggis Qahan made a decree, saying, "[We] had said, 'Let us suffer [them] to live as [an] entire [tribe].' But the same [Merkid] have revolted," he made one to part the Merkid, [distributing them] unto every quarter, to the point that he extinguished [them as an entire tribe].

§199 [6r] In the same year of the ox [1205], when Činggis Qahan made a decree, when he sent Sübe'etei—[him] with an iron cart * —making [him] to pursue the sons of Toyto'a having at their head Qudu, Qal, and Cila'un, when Činggis Qahan, making a decree, caused [one] to bear [6v] a message unto Sübe'etei, he made a decree, saying, "The sons of Toyto'a having at their head Qudu, Qal, and Cila'un, departing, being affrighted, returning, shooting, departed as [if] they were wild horses [each] having a pole with a noose [over his neck] or deer [each] having an arrow [in his body]. If those, becoming winged, flying, ascend unto Heaven, shalt thou,

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* See also §177 above.
* The text has Qad. See, however, Qal in §199 below.
* See note 2 above.
* See note 1 above.
* See §236 below. See also note 21 below.
Sübe’etei, [7r] becoming a gerafalcon, flying, not seize them? If, becoming marmots, digging with their nails, they enter into the Earth, shalt thou, becoming an iron rod, boring, seeking [them], not overtake [them]? If, becoming fishes, they enter into the Tenggis Sea, shalt thou, Sübe’etei, becoming a net which is cast or a net which is dragged, catching and [7v] taking [them] up, not take [them]? Again, I have sent thee to pass high passes and to pass over broad rivers. Being mindful of the far [distances] of the land, spare [ye them], at the moment when the horses of the army are not yet wasted away. Husband [ye them], at the moment when [ye] have not yet finished your provision. If a gelding be [already] wholly wasted away, if [ye] spare [him], it will [8r] not do.10 If [ye] have [already] wholly finished the provision, if [ye] husband [him], it will not do. The wild beasts on your way are many. At the moment when ye go, mindful of that which is beyond, suffer [ye] not the men of the army to gallop unto the wild beasts. Hunt [ye] not without limit. If [ye] hunt, saying, [8v] ‘Let there be increase and addition in provision for the men of the army,’ hunt [ye], limiting [the hunting]. Suffer [thou one] not to crupper the crupper of the saddle of a man of the army apart from limited 11 huntings. Let one, not putting on the bridle, go [forward], leaving the bit out of the mouth.12 If, so ordering themselves, they go [forward], how will the men of the army be able to gallop?13 [9r] Thus making [it a matter of] ordinance, then, let one seize and beat [those] who shall have transgressed the ordinance. Come [ye], giving unto Us those who shall have transgressed Our decree—the ones which are such as to be known by

10 I.e., “it is useless, one can not mount it any more.” Cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [107].
11 I.e., limited by order of the commanding general.
12 I.e., leaving it so that it hangs under the chin.
13 In a letter dated 5 October 1304 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked:
“Činggis means that in this manner the soldiers will not be able to gallop their horses, because, if they gallop their horses without having shackled the mouth with the bit, the horses can not be directed or mastered, and if they gallop their horses without having put on the crupper, they will not be able to go down a slope on the gallop, because the saddle being no longer held at the back will slip forward and the rider will fall from his mount. The aim of Činggis is to render all galloping impossible while the soldiers are en route, in order that they do not uselessly fatigue their mounts.”
Us. Cause [ye], then, [one] to behead even there [in the field] the many [ones] which are not [such as] to be known by Us.

Beyond the rivers
Ye will separate yourselves.
Go [ye, then,] [9v] in the same manner.

Beyond the mountains
Ye will divide yourselves.
Think [ye, then,] not of [aught] apart [from]
and other [than your task].

If, might and power being increased by Everlasting Heaven, [ye]
make to enter into your hands the sons of Toyto'a, [to go] so far as to bring [them], what is it? Forsake ye [them] there."

Again when Cinggis Qahan spake [10v] unto Sübe'etei, saying,
"When I make thee [now] to go a warfare, [I do so because] in my childhood by the Uduyid of the Three Merkid which made [me] thrice to go round about Burqan Qaldun" I was made to be afraid. Such hating people—now again, loosing mouth and tongue [not to submit themselves unto me], they are departed—may [thou] meet at the extremity of [that which is] [10v] long and at the bottom of [that which is] deep," making [him] to pursue [them], making [him] to go to the extremity, beating out an iron cart," he made him to go a warfare in the year of the ox [1205].

He made a decree, saying, "If [ye] go, thinking that, even if We be out of [your] sight, [it will be] as if [We were] visible and, even

14 "Cinggis means: 'If in the course of the expedition it happens that you are obliged to march in several columns, let each corps of troops observe the same prescriptions which I have just given for the whole army and think only of faithfully fulfilling the mission with which it is charged.'" Cf. Antoine Montaill, op. cit., p. 125, n. 118.

15 I.e., "What reason would there be to bring them?" Cf. Antoine Montaill, op. cit., p. 125.

16 I.e., "kill them."

17 See §108.

18 I.e., "which have hate for me."

19 I.e., "making a solemn promise," "swearing an oath."

20 See §166 above.

21 Cf. Joshua XVII §18: "for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have iron chariots, and though they be strong."
if [We] be far, [it will be] as if [We were] near, ye [11r] shall also be protected by Heaven above."

§200 [12r] When [Činggis Qahan] had made an end of destroying the Naiman and the Merkid, when Jamuya was with the Naiman, as his people was taken there, the same becoming a robber having five companions, ascending on [Mount] Tanglu, killing a moufflon, roasting [it], when they ate [it], then Jamuya spake unto his companions. He said, "The sons of whom, [12v] killing this day a moufflon, eat thus [as ye]?"

Whilst they were eating the flesh of that moufflon, his five companions, laying hand upon Jamuya, seized and brought [him] unto Činggis Qahan. As Jamuya, being come unto and seized by his companions, spake, saying, "Say unto [mine] anda, the Qahan,

' Black crows
Are come [13r] to take a qarambai *duck. Commoners and slaves
Are come to lay hand
Upon their qan.
Why would mine anda, the Qahan, err?"

Brown buzzards
Are come to take a borēin sono.*
Slaves and servants,
Compassing [him] and conspiring [against him],
are come to take
Their proper lord.
Why would my holy anda err?;"

at that word [18v] of Jamuya, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "How shall one suffer to live persons

* "Jamuya means: 'Esteem yourselves happy to be able to eat moufflon meat, whereas so many people must content themselves with a food less exquisite.' Cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [126].

** "This term, not elsewhere attested, is glossed: "name of a [kind of] black duck."

*** "Jamuya means: 'I am sure that my anda, the Qahan, will not be mistaken on the nature of the crime which my 'companions' have just committed in betraying me, me, their legitimate lord, and that he will punish them promptly.' Cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [127].

**** This term is glossed: "name of a [kind of] duck."
which have laid hand upon their proper qan? Such persons shall be companions unto whom? Make [ye one] to behead unto their seed the people which did lay hand upon their proper qan!" In the presence of [14r] the same Jamuya he made [one] to behead for [him] the people which had laid hand upon him. When Cinggis Qahan spake, saying, "Speak unto Jamuya," as he spake, saying, "Now we twain have united ourselves. Let us be companions. As we are together becoming [each of us] one of two shafts of a cart, thou thinkest of severing thyself and [14v] [of] separating thyself [from me]. Now, being together in one [and the same place],

Let us be the one and the other making to remember our [one] which shall have forgotten
And [let us be] the one and the other making to awake our [one] which shall be fallen asleep.**

Though [thou] wert gone elsewhere apart,
[Thou] wast my fortunate and happy anda.
Verily the day when [in the field] the one died with the other
Thou [15r] wast pained as to thy bosom and heart.

Though [thou] wert gone apart elsewhere,
The day when [in the field] the one killed the other
Thou wast pained as to thy lungs and heart.

If [thou] say, ‘When?’ [the answer is,] at the moment when I was fighting with the Kereyid people at the Qalaqaljid Sands," [15v] having sent [unto me], making [me] to be aware of thy words which [thou] hadst spoken unto Father Ong Qan, was thy service [which thou didst for me]. Again thy having sent [unto me] a message, [reporting] that thou hadst made the Naiman people to be afraid,

Making [them] to die
By [thy] words,
Killing [them]
By [thy] mouth 28

** See §§255 and 272 below.
* See §170 above.
** See §196 above.
saying, 'May thou regard [it] as such,' was a service [which thou didst for me].''

§201 [16v] when Jamuya spake, as he spake, saying, "[At] an early day, at the time [when we were] little," when I declared myself anda [17r] with [mine] anda, the Qan, at Qorqonay Valley, 

Together eating food which one digesteth not,
Speaking unto each other words which one forgetteth not,
we were [at night] in our covering, dividing [it] with each other.

Being stirred up
By [persons] which were in the way,
Being pricked
By [persons] which were at the side,**
We wholly separated ourselves.
Saying [unto myself], 'We have spoken weighty words unto each other,'

From the fact that my black face
Had been flayed [from shame],
Not being able ** to approach,
I am gone not being able [again] to see the warm " face
Of mine anda, the Qan.
Saying [unto myself], 'We have spoken unto each other
words which one forgetteth not, '

From the fact that my red face
Had been peeled [from shame], [18r]
I am gone, not being able [again] to see the true face
Of mine anda with a long memory.

Now mine anda, the Qan, hath favoured [me] and hath said [unto me], 'Let us be companions.' At the time in which I should have been [his] companion, I was not together a companion. Now, [mine] anda,

**I.e., "in our childhood."
††See §§110-117 above.
***I.e., "no longer daring."
‡‡See §177 above.
'I.e., "sympathetic."
Chapter VIII

[Thou] hast pacified
All the nations.
Thou hast united
Every foreign realm.

The throne of qan hath betaken itself unto thee. Inasmuch as the world is now become [18v] ready [for thee], were [I] a companion, [of] what service would I be [for thee]? Yet, of [thee, mine] anda,

I shall enter into thy dreams of the black night;
I shall trouble thy thoughts of the bright day.**

I shall become
A louse of thy collar,
A thorn of thine inner lapel.

I have had many paternal grandmothers.** Beginning to think of [attaining unto] [19r] that which is beyond [mine] anda, I committed an error. Now, in this life—[that] of the twain, [mine] anda and us*—my name hath reached from the sun which riseth unto the sun which setteth.** [Mine] anda hath a wise mother. Being born a külüg by birth, he hath skilful younger brethren. As he was at [the side of] his valiant [19v] companions and with his seventy and three geldings,** [I] have been excelled by [mine] anda. As for me, being bereaved, [whilst yet] little, of mother and father, [I was] without younger brethren.** My wife [is] a babbler. [I] had companions [which were] unworthy of confidence. Because of that, [20r]

** See Chapter IX, §819.

* In his letter of 5 October 1954 the Reverend Antoine Mostaret remarked:

"... Jamuqa had lost his father and his mother when he was still quite young (eke eńe-deę cüüge qońorę) and he must have been reared by the wives of his grand-father, his paternal grandmothers."

† I.e., me.

* See also §260 below.

* This allusion is obscure. There is no reference to these geldings elsewhere in the Secret History.

** This seems to be contradicted, however, by §128 (and §129), where we read: "when Taićar, the younger brother of Jamuqa, was at Ołegi Spring, etc." Pelliot and Hammar, op. cit., p. 30, have proposed a solution of the difficulty: "As to the quality of 'younger brother' of Jamuqa indicated for Taićar by the §§128 and 129 of the Secret History, whereas in the §201 the same Jamuqa says not to have had any 'younger brothers,' it must not be forgotten that in this latter passage Jamuqa speaks of 'brothers' in the strict sense, instead of which in the other two it can be a
[I] have been excelled by [mine] anda having [his] destiny from Heaven. If [thou, mine] anda, favour me, if [thou] make me to pass away swiftly, anda, thou wilt be at peace as to thy heart. When [thou, mine] anda, favouring [me], shalt make [one] to kill [me], make [one] to kill [me], not shedding [my] blood.\(^{41}\) When I shall die and shall lie [in my grave], my dead bones—in a high place\(^{42}\) for ever and ever [I] shall offer protection unto the seed of [20v] thy seed—I shall become a prayer. [By] origin I have a nature other [than that of mine anda]. I have been crushed by the majesty of [mine] anda with a nature more than plenteous [in excellence]. Not forgetting my words which [I] have [now] spoken, remembering [them] evening and morning, ye will speak [them] unto one another. Now let [mine anda] dispatch [21r] me,\(^{43}\) at these his words, when Čingga Qahan spake, having said, "Though mine anda be gone apart [from me], (while he hath been) talking in mouthfuls against Us, it hath not yet been heard that he thinketh of \(^{44}\) harm for [Our] life. [He] is a man from which [something] might be learned. [However, as for him,] it will not do, [because he is not willing]. If I say, 'Let us cause [him] to die,' it would not come into the divination.\(^{45}\) If I do harm to [his] life without reason, it would not be fit. [He] is a man having a grave way.\(^{46}\) Ye might speak [unto him] this his reason. May ye speak, saying, 'Formerly, because both Čoji Darmala and Taičar had robbed their herds of horses from one another,' Anda [22r] Jamuya, thou, contrariwise,\(^{47}\) coming, plotting rebellion, joining battle at Dalan Baljud, making me to flee for refuge unto the Jerene\(^{48}\) Narrows, question, following the Mongolian practice, of cousins even rather distant, and even of people to whom one gives by affection the name of 'younger brother' even when they are not of your relatives."

\(^{41}\) Because of his noble origin.

\(^{42}\) See Chapter V, note 44.

\(^{43}\) I. e., "make me promptly to die." Cf. Antoine Morsztyn, op. cit., p. 344, n. 223.

\(^{44}\) I. e., "is plotting."

\(^{45}\) I. e., "a sign to do so would not manifest itself in the course of the divinatory operation."

\(^{46}\) I. e., "he is an important man."

\(^{47}\) See §128 above.

\(^{48}\) I. e., "contrary to our expectations."

\(^{48}\) Although Jerene is glossed, in this instance, as if it were a dative-locative in -s of *Jeren, it is clear from §129 above, where the name occurs twice, once as Jerene
Chapter VIII

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didst thou not cause me to be afraid there? 60 Now if I say, "Let us be companions," it will not do, [because thou art not willing]. When I assayed to spare thy life, thou didst not permit [it]." 22v Now speak [unto him], saying, "Let one now, according to thine [own] words, cause [thee] to pass away, not shedding [thy] blood," he made a decree, saying, "Caus[ing] [him] to pass on, not shedding [his] blood, abandon [ye] not openly his bones. Take [ye them] decently in hand." 22v Causing Jamûya to pass away there, he caused [one] to take his bones in hand. 22v

§202 [24r] And so

Making straight 44 The people having skirts of felt [which cover their tents as outward walls]

and, in the year of the tiger [1206], assembling themselves at the head of the Onan [River], having made [one] to set up a white standard having nine feet, 44 then they gave unto Činggis Qahan the title qan. Then also [24v] he gave unto Muqali the title gui ong. 55 Making Jebe to pursue Güçülüg Qan of the Naiman, then also he made him to go a warfare. When he had made an end of setting in order the Mongyoljin people, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made [25r] a decree, saying, "For [those] who are gone with [me], together setting up a nation, I shall, making bands of thousands and appointing captains of the thousands, speak words of favour." When, appointing the captains of the thousands, he named [them], Father Münglig, Bo'orçu, Muqali Gui Ong, Qorçì, Ilügei, Jürêdei, Yünan, Qubilai, Jelme, Tüge, Degei, Tolon, Önggür, Čülgetei, Boroyul, Siqi Qutuqu, Güçü, Kökocü, Qoryosun, Hüüsün, Quyildar, Silügei, Jetei, Tayai, [25v]

(YCPS 4.4v8) and once as Jerene-de ("unto Jerene) (YCPS 4.4v4), that the absolute form of the name is Jerene.

ff See §129 above.
1 I.e., "bury him decently."
2 I.e., "bury him."
3 I.e., subduing.
4 I.e., tails.
5 I.e., the Chinese title of Kuo-wang 王 ("Prince of the Realm").
§203 When, together with the sons in law—when again Činggis Qahan [27v] made a decree—he had [thus] appointed [over] a thousand [each of] these captains of the ninety-five thousands which he had named, when, [concerning the men which were] within that [number], Činggis Qahan made a decree, saying, "I shall grant favours unto those who have [done] service," at the moment when he was saying that the captains having at their head Bo’orcu and Muqali should come, Šigi Qutuqu was within the tent. As he spake unto Šigi Qutuqu, saying, "Go [28r] for to call [them]," when Šigi Qutuqu spake, he said, "Bo’orču, Muqali, and others have done more service than who? They have given more might than who?" In [respect of] being given favours, [as to] whatsoever, I did not service which was too little. [As to] whatsoever, I gave not might which was too little.

From [the time when I] was [28v] in the cradle,
At thy high threshold,
Growing,
Until there grew

**I. M**

They have devoted themselves to thee more than who?

**Cf. the catalogue of the captains of the ships in the second book of the Iliad.**
So much beard [as thou now seest]
On [my] chin,
I have not thought otherwise.**
From [the time when I had] the urinal at [my] crotch,***
Being at thy golden threshold,
Growing,
Until the beard at the mouth
Grew so much [as thou now seest],
I have not trodden in error. [29r]
Making me to lie at her feet,
[She] hath made me to grow as a son [of her].
Making me to lie at her side,
[She] hath made me to grow as a younger brother [of thee].

Now what favour givest [thou] unto me? " At that word, [29v] when Činggis Qahan spake unto Sigi Qutuqu, he made a decree, saying, "Art thou not the sixth younger brother? For thee, Our late-[born] younger brother, [let one] part 41 favours according to the part of younger brethren. Again, because of thy services, let one not punish [thee] unto nine transgressions." He made a decree, saying, "At the moment when [I am] being protected by Everlasting Heaven and [30r] am rectifying 42 the entire people, becoming

[Mine] eyes for seeing,
[Mine] ears for hearing,**

the entire people part thou and give [as] parts unto [Our] Mother, unto Us, unto [Our] younger brethren, and unto [Our] sons, according to the names of the people,

**I. e., "I have not been unfaithful to thee."
***For a picture of a child in a cradle with a tube from which drops of urine are trickling, cf. P. G. Pallas, Sammlen historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften, Erster Theil, St. Petersburg 1776, "Tab. III."
****See §155 above, where it is told how Mother Ho'eliin reared Šikiken Quduqu.
††The form qubtdud, as it stands, is the imperative of the second person singular. From the context, however, it is almost certain that this is an error for qubtdudtyai "let one part." See aldattuyai ("let one punish ") immediately below (9.29v4).
**I. e., "conquering."
†††See §183 above and §255 below.
Dividing
Those who have skirts of felt [which cover their tents as outward walls],
Making to separate themselves
Those who have doors of boards [on their tents]. [29v]

Let not anyone violate thy word.” Again saying that Šigi Qutuqu, of the entire people,

Making thieves to beware,
Making lies to be vain,
should make to die [those] for whom holdeth the custom that they should be made to die and should make to punish [those] for whom holdeth the custom that they should be made to be punished, he committed [unto him] the judgments of over all [the people]. Again he made a decree, saying, “Let him, writing writing [in] the blue register, make into registers the fact that, of the entire people,

He shall have parted parts
and the fact that

He shall have judged judgments

and, unto the seed of the seed, let one not alter the blue writing which Šigi Qutuqu, [after] taking counsel with me, shall, [after] deciding [it], have made into registers on white paper. Let the people which shall alter [aught] be [31v] guilty.” When Šigi Qutuqu spake, he petitioned, saying, “How shall a late[-born] younger brother like me, take a part alike and equally? If he favour me, let the favour of the Qahan know [how] he may give [unto me] from the cities having walls of earth.” [32r] At this word, Činggis Qahan said, “Thine own person, thou hast determined [thy part]. Know thou [what it shall be].” Šigi Qutuqu, making an end of causing [him] so to favour himself, going out, calling the chiefs Bo’orču, Muqali and others, made [them] to enter.

§204 [33r] Then when Činggis Qahan, making a decree, spake unto Father Münglig, he made a decree, saying, “Thou, fortunate and happy,
Which wast born together with [my] being born,
Which didst grow together with [my] growing."

[33v] thy services and protection, how many were they [not in number]? Among those, at the moment when the twain, Father Ong Qan and Anda Senggum, beguiling, called me, when I drew nigh, as, on the way, I passed the night at the tent of Father Münglig, if thou, Father Münglig, hadst not stayed [me]." [I] fear that [I] would be entered

Into water that was whirling, [34r]
Into fire that was red.

Only being mindful of that service, how could it be forgotten unto the seed of the seed? Being mindful of that service, now causing [thee] to sit [on] a seat at the base of this corner, consulting [thee] in [each] year or in [each] moon, I shall give gifts and favours unto thee. I shall be serving [thee]. Unto the seed [34v] of the seed!

§205 Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Bo'orçu, he made a decree, saying, "[35r] At the time when [I was] little, the eight horses—the isabella geldings—being stolen, at the moment when, on the way, passing three nights, pursuing [them], I was drawing nigh, we encountered each other. Then, when thou didst speak, saying, 'I shall together be a companion unto a companion which, being in distress, draweth nigh,' without a message even unto thy father in the tent, when thou wast milking thy mares, concealing thy [35v] leathern bucket and leathern milkpail in the steppe, making [me] to loose my strawyellow [horse] with the hairless tail, causing a grayish white horse with a black stripe along the backbone " [horse] with the swift pale-yellow [horse], loosing without a lord thy herd of

§811 below.
§168 above for this episode.
The word benglcniju, not glossed, is almost certainly an alteration of the word mungtaniju which occurs in §90 (Y CPS 2.20v3), §92 (Y CPS 2.23v3), and §93 (Y CPS 2.24v5). Such an alteration is possible in the Uighur script in which the text was written.

See Chapter I, note 13, and Chapter II, note 35.
See Chapter I, note 13.
horses, hasting, from the steppe, then, being a companion with me, again, pursuing [for] three days and nights, when we arrived at the giire'en which had stolen [the eight horses]—[36r] the isabella geldings—, stealing [them] as they were standing at the edge of the giire'en, driving [them] out, fleeing away, we twain brought [them] back.68 Thy father is Naqu Bayan. Thou, his only son,70 knowing what [in respect of me], [36v] art become a companion unto me? Thou art become a companion by the courage of [thy] heart. After that, when, continually thinking [on thee], I sent Belgüeti and said, 'Let us be companions,' when thou, Riding a strawyellow [horse] with a curved back, Tying behind the saddle thy gray mantle of felt, art come as a companion,71 the Three Merkid coming against Us, at the moment when they made [me] thrice to go round about [37r] [Mount] Burqan, thou wentest round about with [me].72 Again, after that, when, [being so close to them that we were as] propped over against the Tatar people at Dalan Nemürges, we passed the night, at the moment when, day and night, the rain continually fell, saying that I should be asleap at night, [37v] having continued to cover [me with] thy [rain] covering, not suffering the rain to fall upon me, standing [there] until the night was spent, thou wast only once shifting one of thy two feet.73 It was a sign of the courage of thee. What [signs of] courage of thee other than that could I finish telling? Both Bo'orcü and Muqali, Drawing my [38r] right so that it went forward, Staying my wrong so that it halted,74 have [thus] made [me] to attain unto this throne.75 Now, [let

68 See §§90-93 above for this episode.
69 See Chapter III, note 47.
70 See §§95 above for this episode.
71 See §§92 above for this episode, where, however, there is no mention of the fact that Bo'orcü went around Burqan Qaldun with Temüjin. See also §§146 above, where Činggis Qahan says that Jelme once saved his life on the same occasion.
72 See §§102 above for this episode, where, however, there is no mention of the fact that Bo'orcü rendered this service.
73 I.e., "encouraging me to do what was right and dissuading me from doing what was wrong."
74 See §§230 below.
them] sit [on] seats over all and let one not punish [them] unto nine transgressions. Let Bo’orču govern the ten thousand of [those] of the right hand which take the Altai as [their] pillow.” **

§206 [39r] Again, when Cinggis Qahan spake unto Muqali, he made a decree, saying, “When we pitched at the Branching Tree of Qorqonay Valley, under which Qutula Qan danced,\* because of [the fact that] the words which the foretoken of Heaven had [fore]told unto Muqali [were] clear, I, then thinking on [his father] Gii’iin Qo’a,\* did pledge [my] word unto Muqali. According to that, saying, ‘Let one sit on a seat and, [40r] unto the seed of the seed of Muqali, let one be gui ong of all the people,’ [I] have given [unto him] the title gui ong. Let Muqali Gui Ong govern the ten thousand of [those] of the left hand who take Qara’un Jidun as [their] pillow.” **

§207 [40v] When Cinggis Qahan spake unto Qorči, he made a decree, saying, “[Thou] didst [once] prophesy [unto me]\* and, from [the time when] I was little until now, for a long time,

Suffering the wet with [me],
Suffering the cold with [me],\* thou [41r] hast been conducting thyself as a god which bringeth happiness. When, at that time, Qorči, [thou] didst speak, thou didst say, ‘If the prophecy be fulfilled and if, by Heaven, it be made to come to pass [according] to [thy] desires, suffer me to have thirty women.’ Now, because [it hath been] fulfilled, I shall favour [thee]. [41v] See [for thyself which are] the best women and the best maidens of these peoples which have submitted and choose thirty women.” Again he made a decree, saying, “Over [and above the fact] that Qorči [hath] three thousand Ba’arin, with both Tayai and Aši”y, there being the Činos, Tö’ölös, and

**I.e., “which live in front of the Altai Mountain.”

See §§57 and 117 above.

\*See §137, where the name is written Gu’iin U’a.

I.e., “which live in front of the Qara’un Jidun Mountain.”

See §211 above.

\*See §212 below.
Telenggūd of the Adarkin, the ten thousand being [thus] full, Qorčī governing [them], encamping as a freeman [in] an encampment [42r] unto the People of the Forest along the Erdis [River], and, making [them] to hold in subjection the People of the Forest, let Qorčī govern the ten thousand." He made a decree, saying, "Let the People of the Forest not act on this manner or on that manner without leave from Qorčī. Why [on the part of Qorčī] should there be any doubt as to [the manner on which he should deal with one] who acteth without [his] leave?"

§208 [43r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Jūrčedēi, [he made a decree, saying], "[As for] thy weighty service, at the moment when [we were] fighting at the Qalaqaljid Sands with the Kereyid and when I was anxious [concerning the outcome of the battle], Anda Quyildar [then] swear an oath." [Howbeit], his work, Jūrčedēi, thou didst perform. When thou didst perform [it], Jūrčedēi, because, thou, rushing against [them], overcoming the Jirgin, [43v] the Tūbegen, the Dongqayid, the Quri Šilemūn, the thousand dayguards, the weighty troops—all [of them]—arriving at the great middle, didst shoot the red cheek of Senggiim with an učumay [arrow], by Everlasting Heaven * the door and the reins were opened. ' If Senggiim had not been wounded, [44r] how, indeed, might we have been? As for Jūrčedēi, the weighty, great service was that. When that [one] separated himself [from me], journeying down along the Qalqa [River], I was continually thinking on Jūrčedēi as [if he were] the shelter of a high mountain. When that [one] was departed, we arrived for to water [our beasts at] Lake Baljuna. Moreover, when we set forth from [44v] Lake Baljuna, sending Jūrčedēi as a spy, setting forth against the Kereyid, [our] might being increased by Heaven and Earth, we destroyed and spoiled the Kereyid people. The weighty peoples being cut off, [as to] the Naiman and the Merkid, their look being
[quite] broken," they were not able to set themselves in array and were dispersed. In the strife in which [45v] the Merkid and the Naiman dispersed themselves, Jaqa Gambu of the Kereyid, by reason of his two daughters," had been with his own subject peoples as [an] entire [tribe]. Jürčedei, enticing [him] who had separated himself [from us], becoming an enemy a second time, by a device [45v] laying hand upon [him], seized and made an end of Jaqa Gambu which had wholly separated himself [from us]. Destroying a second time the people of that Jaqa Gambu, we spoiled it. This was the second service of Jürčedei." **

The day when [in the field] the one killed the other, Because he [could have] cast away his life; The day when [in the field] the one died with the other, Because he [could have] fought unto death, when Cinggis Qahan, favouring [him], gave Ibaqa Beki unto [46r] Jürčedei, when he spake unto Ibaqa, saying, "I have not said [unto myself] that thou [art] without thine ulige and bosom" and that [thou art] bad [as to thy] beauty and appearance. When I present unto Jürčedei thee who art ' entered into [my] breast and into [my] legs' ** and who art 'descended,' taking place in the row," being mindful of the great principle," I have given thee [unto him], being mindful of the principle [of recompense] of his services whereby [46v] Jürčedei

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** I.e. they no longer have the appearance of daring to fight. Cf. the words of Jamuya in §196: "These do not have the countenance [of daring] to set face against [them]." Cf. also the words in §246: "[as to] the Qongqotan, the confident countenance diminished." Cf. also the words in §277: "Breaking asunder the countenance, thou wentest."

** See §186 above.

** This seems to contradict what is related in §186 where it is specifically stated that Jaqa Gambu was spared by Cinggis Qahan.

** In the expression ulige d'efi, the first element is not glossed. The second means "bosom." In the continuous translation (Y CPS 8.48v5) we find 無性行 (wu kæng-kiing) "without character."

** I.e., "who art my wife." Cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [74].

** I.e., "who the day when thou art become my wife hast taken place among the imperial wives." Cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [74].

** I.e., the great principle of recompense of good deeds.
Became a shield [for Us]
The day of battle;
Became a shelter [for Us]
Against the enemy people;
United [for Us]
The people which had separated themselves [from Us];
Gathered [for Us]
The people which had dispersed themselves."

Long [here]after, when my seed shall sit on Our [47r] throne, being mindful of the principle [of recompense unto him who] did service like this, not violating my words, let them not abolish the place "of Ibaqa unto the seed of the seed." Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Ibaqa, having taken [her], saying, "Thy father Jaqa Gambu gave unto thee two hundred ingjes " and [gave] unto thee both the cook [47v] Ašiỳ Temür and the cook Alčiy. Now when thou goest unto the Uru'ud people, go, giving unto me [as] remembrance of thee one hundred from thine ingjes, [together with] thy cook Ašiỳ Temür," again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Jür-čedей, favouring [him], he made a decree, saying, "I have given mine Ibaqa [48r] unto thee. Shalt thou not be governing, thou, thy four thousand Uru'ud?"

" See §§ 96 and 104 above.
"I.e., the place which she had formerly occupied among the imperial wives and at the head of her ordo.
"I.e., slaves (male or female) presented as dowry by the bride to the groom. See §48 above.
§209 [lr] Again, when Cinggis Qahan spake unto Qubilai, favouring [him], he made a decree, saying, "Thou hast pressed for me
The necks
Of the mighty ones,
The buttocks
Of the strong men.

These, Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe, and Sübegetei, when [I] sent you, my 'four dogs,' making [you] to betake yourselves unto that which [I] had thought; ye were

Shattering the stones,
At the moment when [I] said, [lv] 'Arrive';
Smashing the cliffs,
At the moment when [I] said, 'Assault';
Breaking the bright stones,
Cutting asunder the deep waters."

Sending Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe, and Sübegetei, you, my 'four dogs,' unto the place which [I] had pointed out, if Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroyul, and Čila'am Ba'atur, these my 'four [sr] küli'ūd,' were at my side, if it was a day of battle, if [I] made both Jürçedefi and Quyildar to stand in front of me with their Uru'ud and Mangyud, I was at ease as to all my thoughts. [2v] Wilt thou, Qubilai, not have charge of the affairs of the army—all [of them]?

"Again he said, "Because of the stubbornness of Bedi'ūn, I have been displeased [with him] and have not given

1 I.e., "toward that which I had in view." Cf. Antoine Montalet, op. cit., p. [163].
2 See also §72.
3 I.e., "I had no more worries."
4 The word mojirqay, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. Cf., however, the continuous translation (YCPS 9.3r3): 性拗 (kōng niú) "stubborn by nature."
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[unto him] a thousand. Thou wilt be right for him. Let him, commanding a thousand with thee, take counsel [with thee].” Again he said, “[Hereafter] We shall observe [how] Bedii’ün [doeth].”

§210 [3v] Again, when Cinggis Qahan spake unto Runan of the Geniges—he made a decree, saying, “For you, the chiefs having at their head Bo’orču and Muqali, and for [you,] the stewards Dodai, Dqolqu and others—this Runan, being a male wolf” in the black night and a black crow in the bright day,

Tarried not, at the moment when we were journeying,
Journeyed not, [4r] at the moment when we were tarrying,
Put not on another face
With bosu* people,
Put not on a separate face With hating people—

perform [ye] not without leave from both Runan and Kökő Cos. Perform [ye, only after] taking counsel with both Runan and Kökő Cos”—[4v] he made a decree, saying, “The eldest of my sons is Joci. Let Runan be at the head of his Geniges and be a captain of ten thousand under Joci.” Runan, Kökő Cos, Degei, and Old Man Üsün—these four—

Were not hiding what they had seen,
Were not concealing what they had heard.10

[5r] These are the four.

* I. e., “He will listen to thee.”
* There is no further reference to Bedii’un in the Secret History.
* Regarded by the Mongols as the most cunning of animals.
* This allusion is not clear. On 16 October 1953, Professor Serge Elüesætf suggested that it might be a reference to the “crow in the sun.” Cf., e. g., Marcel Granet, Danse* et Ugendes de la Chine ancienne, Tome premier, Paris, 1920, p. 378, n. 3: “Le corbeau est un animal solaire.”
* This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. It is probably a synonym of ḏiṭa (“hating”) immediately below.
* See §216 below.
§211 [5v] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Jelme, he made a decree, saying, "When Old Man Jarci'udai, carrying his bellows on his back—from [the moment when] Jelme was [yet] in the cradle—came, descending from Burqan Qaldun, he was giving swaddling clothes of sable at the moment when I was born at Deli'ün Hill of the Onan [River]." From the fact of becoming a companion, he is become

A slave
Of [my] threshold,
A private slave [6r]
Of [my] door.12

The services of Jelme are many. He

Who was together born with [my] being born,
Who together grew with [my] growing,14

had as origin [of brotherhood] the swaddling clothes of sable. [6v] Let the fortunate and happy Jelme, if he transgress [but] nine transgressions, not be subject to punishment."

§212 [7r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Tolun, he made a decree, saying, "How [is it that ye,] father and son, are to command [each] a separate thousand? Because, [aforetime] together assembling the people, being one of the two wings of [thy] father, [thou] didst together draw and didst together assemble the people, I have given [unto thee] the title of čerbi:"16 Now, with [all the people] which thou hast [7v] found and gathered of thyself, becoming [captain of thine] own thousand, shalt thou not take counsel with Turuqa?" 17

§213 [8r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto the cook Önggür, as he said, "The three Toyura'ud, the five Taryud, thou, Önggür,

11 See §97. This is an allusion to the first time that Jarci'udai came.
12 I. e., Jelme.
13 See §§137 and 180 above.
14 See §904 above.
15 See §904 above.
16 I. e., "made efforts."
17 I. e., "steward."
18 In the continuous translation (YCPS 9.7v6) this name is transcribed Toruqaq.
son of Monggetii Kiyan, with the Čangši'ud and the Baya'ud, ye becoming one gure'en for me, thou, Önggür,

Thou didst not go astray in the mist.
Thou didst not separate thyself in the revolt. [8v]
Thou wast,
Suffering the wet with [me],
Suffering the cold with [me].

Now what favour wilt thou take?" when Önggür spake, as he said, "If [Cinggis Qahan] suffer me to choose a favour, [it is this:] my Baya'ud brethren are scattered and dispersed in each of the divers tribes. If [Cinggis Qahan] favour [me], I would collect my Baya'ud [9r] brethren," [Cinggis Qahan] made a decree, saying, "Yea! So collecting thy Baya'ud brethren, command thou a thousand!" Again, when Cinggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Both Önggür and Boro'ul, when ye two cooks distribute food [on] the right and the left sides, [9v]

Not suffering [it] to be wanting unto [those] who have stood or have sat
[On] the right side,
Not suffering [it] to be wanting unto [those] who have taken their places in the row or have not
[On] the left side,
if ye twain so distribute, my gullet not choking, [my] mind will be at ease. Now [10r], both Önggür and Boro'ul, departing, go [ye] and distribute food unto many persons." Saying, "When [ye] sit [on] the seat, sit [ye], overseeing the food [on] the right and the left sides of the great wine table. May ye sit with Tolun and others, setting your faces toward the North," he pointed out the seat for [them].

§214 [11r] Again, when Cinggis Qahan spake unto Boroyul, he made a decree, saying, "My mother getting you four, Ŝigi Qutuqu, Boroyul, Gūčū, and Kökčū, from the encampments of [other] people, from the ground,

18 See §807.
When, placing [you] in her legs, she nourished [you], taking care of [you],
Adopting [you] as sons, taking care of [you],
In pulling [you] by your necks, (11v)
Causing [you] to be equal in stature with a man,
In pulling [you] by your shoulders,
Causing [you] to be equal in stature with a male,
she would cause [you] to be companions for us her sons, she nourished [you]. As benefit for having nourished you, who knoweth how many benefits and services ye have returned unto my mother? Boroyul, being a companion unto me,

In [12r] the swift warfare
Thou didst not suffer [me] to spend the night empty in a night of rain.22
In [the face of] the enemy over against which we were propped
Thou didst not suffer [me] to spend the night without broth.

Again bringing down the hating and vengeful Tatar people which had made an end of [our] grandfathers and fathers,

Avenging
The avengement,
Requiting
The requital,
at the moment when [we] were destroying and slaying (12v) the Tatar people, by comparing them unto a linchpin,28 when they were being killed, Qargil Sira of the Tatar becoming a robber, going out, moreover, being in a strait, hungering, coming in, entering into the tent, saying unto the mother, 'I am one that

20 I.e., "between."
21 In order to wash you, dress you, comb your hair, etc.
22 See §254.
23 I.e., "Although one cannot make a fire when it rains, in spite of that, thou didst not let me go hungry."
24 See §154.
seeketh good things,' being told, [13r] 'If [thou] be one that seeketh good things, sit there,' at the moment when [he] was sitting at the extremity—at the back of the door—of the bench on the west side [of the tent], Tolui—which [was] five years old—entered [coming] from the outside, and, at the moment when, in running, he was going out and was departing, Qargil Sira, being arisen, [took and] pressed the child in his armpit, and when, going out, he went forward, at the moment when he was feeling and drawing [13v] his knife, Altani, the wife of Boroyul, was sitting on the east side in the tent of [my] mother. With [my] mother's crying out and saying, ' [He] hath made an end of the child!,' Altani, following [her], going out with [her], overtaking Qargil Sira, seizing his [14r] braids [of hair ] with one hand] and seizing with her other hand his hand which was drawing the knife, with [her] pulling [it from him], he lost his knife. At the moment when both Jetei and Jelme were slaughtering a hornless, black ox north of the tent for food, at the cry of Altani, [14v] both Jetei and Jelme, taking [each] an axe in hand, their fists being red [from blood], came, running, and by axe and by knife slew even there Qargil Sira of the Tatar. As Altani, Jetei, and Jelme—all three—disputed with one another the desert for having saved the life of the child, when both Jetei and Jelme spake, they said, [15r] 'If we had been absent, if, quickly running and arriving, we had not slain [him], what would Altani, a woman, have done? [He] would have done harm unto the life of the child. The desert is ours.' When Altani spake, she said, 'If ye had not heard my cry, how [16v] would ye be come? If, when I ran, overtook [him], seized his braids [of hair], and pulled his hand which had drawn the knife, the knife were not fallen, would he not have done harm unto the life of the child, whilst both Jetei and Jelme were arriving?' When she had made an end of speaking, [16r] [it was agreed that] the desert was [that] of Altani. The wife of Boroyul, becoming a second shaft for Boroyul, was a help unto the life of Tolui. Again, Boroyul, at the moment when [we] were fighting with the Kereyid [at] Qalqaljid Eled, as Ögödei had been shot

*I.e., "a beggar." Cf. Antoine Montaret, op. cit., p. [86].

**See Chapter I, note 38.
in his neck vein by an arrow, [16v] as he was fallen [from his horse], Boroyul, lighting off [his horse] over [him], sucking by his mouth his blood which had clotted, at night spending the night with [him], on the morrow causing [him] to ride on a horse, by making [him] which was not able to sit [alone] to ride double, embracing Ögödei from behind, sucking and sucking the blood which had blocked [the wound], being red along the corners of [his] mouth, is come, bringing the life of [17r] Ögödei secure: The benefit for the fact that my mother, in rearing [him], hath suffered, hath been a service unto the lives of my two sons. Boroyul being a companion unto me did not remain behind

From beck and call,
From shout and echo.

[17v] [Even] if Boroyul transgress nine transgressions, let him not be subject to punishment." Again, he said, "Our daughter seed, [We] shall recompense." 26

§215 [19r] Again, he said, "Our daughter seed, [We] shall recompense." 27

§216 Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Old Man Üsün, he made a decree, saying, "Üsün, I'ranan, Kôkô Cos, and Degei—these four—not hiding and concealing, have been wont to declare what they have seen and [19v] what they have heard.28 They have been wont to tell what they have perceived and what they have thought. [After] the principles of the Mongol, [as to] the way of chief, there is a custom whereby one may become a bekî. [Üsün] is the seed of the Ba'arîn Elder Brother.29 [As to] the way

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26 This line, identical with that which constitutes §215, seems to be a scribal inadvertence which should be suppressed.

27 In the Altan tobô, however, we read: basa ökin uruy[18]-tavan soyurgyal ögyitg-e kemebe. "Again, he said, ' [We] shall grant favours unto Our daughter seed.' " Cf. Altan Tobö, Scripta Mongoliae I, Vol. I, p. 145, 11. 11-12. By the words ökin uruy "daughter seed" Činggis Qahan meant the female members of his family of which the first and the principal ones, of course, were his own daughters.


29 In a letter dated 1 November 1854 the Reverend Antoine MONTAIGNE remarked: "I understand that 'the Ba'arîn elder brother' is Ba'arîdai of §43, who was, as the
of beki, from among and above Us, let [20r] Old Man Üsün become a beki. Having raised [him] up as a beki, [with one's] causing [him], wearing white raiment, to ride [upon] a white gelding,* causing [him] to sit upon a seat, and serving [him], and, again [with his] considering the year and the month, let it so be."

§217 [20v] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, he made a decree, saying, "Because of the service of the Anda Quyildar which, in battle, exposing his life, first opened [his] mouth," let one receive the 'grant of orphans' [21r] unto the seed of the seed.

§218 Again, when Činggis Qahan spake [21v] unto Narin To'oril, son of Čayan Qo'a, [the same] being told, "Thy father, Čayan Qo'a, being zealous, beginning to fight in behalf of me, at the moment when [we] were fighting at Dalan Baljud, was killed by Jamuya. Now let To'oril for his father's sake take the 'grant of orphans,'" when [22r] To'oril spake, as he said, "If [Činggis Qahan] favour [me]—my Negiš brethren are scattered and dispersed in every tribe—if [Činggis Qahan] favour [me], [I] would gather my Negiš brethren," when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "If it be so, shalt [22v] thou not gather thy Negiš brethren and govern [them] unto the seed of the seed?"

Secr. Hist. says, the eponymous ancestor of the Ba'arin (Ba'arin-u ebüge). This Ba'aridai was son of Bodončar, founder of the family from which Činggis issued, but born of the wife whom Bodončar had carried off, whereas Činggis descended from Bodončar by Qabiçi Ba'atur, son of the principal wife of Bodončar. Ba'aridai must have been born before Qabiçi Ba'atur; hence the name of aqa 'elder brother' by which he is designated. That is the way in which I understand the appellation Ba'arin aqa."

* For a parallel case of this "particular privilege" in the Boyda Negiš Teğin Dalai Manjurri-yın domory-i todorqai-a gejiğilikçi Čindamanı erike kemeqdekkii orosiba ([The Book] Which is Called The Rosary of Wishing-Stones, Which Clearly Elucidates the Tradition of the Holy Negiš Teğin Dalai Manjurri Has Taken Its Place (Herein)] cf. Walther Heissig, op. cit., p. 518, where he states: "The bğa tağiçi rides a white stallion. . . ."

* To determine what action it might be appropriate to take.
* See §171. See also §175 for the death of Quyildar
* See §§171 and 185 above.
§219 [23r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Sorqan šira, he said, "At the time when I [was] little, when Taryutai Kirultuy of the Tayići'ud, [because I] was envied by [his] brethren, seized [me], then ye, Sorqan šira, with your sons Čila'un and Čimbai, saying, 'He is envied by his [Tayići'ud] brethren,' causing your daughter, Qada'an, to care for [me] [23v], hid [me] and releasing [me], sent me [from thence]." Being mindful of that your service and goodness, I went, being mindful of [them]

In [my] dreams in the black night,
In [my] bosom in the bright day.*

Ye are come lately unto me from the Tayići'ud. Now, if I favour you, what favour would [24r] ye love? " When Sorqan šira, being with his sons Čila'un and Čimbai, spake, [he said,] "If [Činggis Qahan] favour [me], I would that I freely choose an encampment. I would that I freely choose [it], counting the country of the Merkid, [the region of] the Selengge [River], as an encampment. Again, [as to] other favours, let Činggis Qahan know [what they might be]." When Činggis Qahan spake, he made a decree, saying, "Counting[24v]the country of the Merkid, [the region of] the Selengge [River], as an encampment, choose [ye] even freely an encampment and be [ye], unto the seed of the seed, freemen, causing [your seed] to be quiverbearers and to drink the ṭōg. Let them not be subject to punishment unto nine transgressions." Again, when Činggis Qahan favoured both Čila'un and Čimbai, he made a decree, saying, "Being mindful of the words which were spoken aforetime of [24r] both Čila'un and Čimbai, how could I forget?" [them]? Ye, Čila'un and Čimbai, ye twain,

*See §28 above.
*See, however, §§34-67, where (§65) it is specifically stated that it was the sons of Sorqan šira, Čimbai and Čila'un who, "not loving the word [25v] of their father . . . made their younger sister named Qada'an to care for [him], . . . ."

See §201 above.

"The word qandayu (? qandayu) is the nomen futuri in -yu of an unattested verb qanda- (? yanda-). Although glossed by the seemingly unintelligible words 慶立的 (man-ii-tt) (? "that which stands full"), it would appear from the continuous translation (VCPS 0.27v): 如何忘得 (Ju-ho wong-te) ("How could I forget?") that qanda- (? yanda-) somehow implies the meaning of " to forget."
If [ye] would speak your thoughts,
If [ye] would request your wants,
tell [ye them] not unto a person [which is] between. By your own bodies 44 and by [your own] mouths
Tell [ye] unto me what [ye] yourselves shall have thought.
Again [26r] he made a decree, saying, "Sorqan Sira, Badai, and Kišiliy, ye freemen, again, when ye are freemen,
Rushing at the many enemies,
If [we] get spoil,
Take [ye] as much as ye can take.
If [we] hunt wild beasts,
Take [ye] as many as ye can kill."
As to Sorqan Sira, he was a bondman of Todege of the Tayičī'tud.
As to both Badai and Kišiliy, they were the keepers of horses of [Yeke] Čeren. Now, [with my] causing [you], [by] my support, to be quiverbearers and to drink the ötöy, rejoice [ye] as freemen."

§220 [27r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Naya'a he made a decree, saying, "When Old Man Širgūtī 44 drew nigh unto us with you, his sons Alay and Naya'a, holding Taryutai [27v] Kiriltuy, on the way arriving at Qutuqul Nu' u, then, when Naya'a spake, saying, 'How shall we go, forsaking and holding our proper qan?,’ not being able to forsake [him], releasing [him] and sending [him away], Old Man Širgūtī, coming with his sons, Alay and Naya'a, then, when [28r] Naya'a Bilji'ur 41 spake, as he said, 'When laying hand upon our proper qan, Taryutai Kiriltuy, we drew nigh, yet not being able to forsake [him], releasing [him], sending [him away], we came to give [our] might 42"
unto Činggis Qa’an. As we came, laying hand upon our qan, we said [unto ourselves], [28v] “We shall be said [to deserve the words]: ‘People which have laid hand upon their proper qan, [here] after how shall they be trusted, these?’” [Therefore,] [we] were not able to forsake our qan,” then, [when I heard these words,] saying [unto myself], “[As to] the reason for which he hath not been able to forsake his proper qan, [it is that] he hath been mindful of the great principle,* approving his words, [I] said, ‘[I] shall assign [him] unto one affair.’ “ Now, for Bo’orçu, let him govern the ten thousand of the right hand. Giving unto Muqali the title gui ong, [I] have made [him] to govern the ten thousand [29r] of the left hand. Now let Naya’a govern the ten thousand of the middle.”

§221 [29v] Again he said, “Let the twain, Jebe and Sübe’etei, command as captains of thousands as many [of those] of theirs as they have gotten and gathered themselves.”

§222 Again, causing to assemble by the shepherd Degei the concealed people,44 he caused [him] to govern a thousand.

§223 [30r] Again he said, “As [subject] people are wanting unto the carpenter Gucugur, levying [them] from hence and from thence—from the Jadaran, Mulqalqu hath been a ‘companion’ in an upright manner—both Gucugur and Mulqalqu, together commanding the thousand, take [ye] counsel with each other.”

§224 [30v] Causing to be captains of thousands [those] who had set up the nation with [him] and who had suffered with [him], dividing [the people] into thousands, so as to form thousands, appointing [over them] captains of thousands, of hundreds, and of tens, dividing [the people] into ten thousands, [31r] appointing [over them] captains of ten thousands, to the captains of ten thousands and of thousands, unto those unto whom it seemed to be fit that they be given favour, giving favour, unto those for whom it was fit that he make [for them] decrees of favour, making [decrees

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* I.e., “among.”

4 See §140 above. I.e., “let one levy.”

44 I.e., unregistered households.
of favour], when Cinggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Aforetime [I] was wont to have eighty nightguards and seventy guards [which were] dayguards. Now, in the might of Everlasting Heaven, [31v][my] might and power being increased by Heaven and Earth, at the moment when I have made straight " the whole nation and have caused [it] to enter into mine only reins, now for me choose [ye] from the divers thousands dayguards [which are] guards and make [them] to enroll. When [ye] shall make [them] to enroll, when [ye] shall make nightguards, quiverbearers, and dayguards to enroll, make [ye them] to enroll, filling ten thousand." [32r] Again, when Cinggis Qahan proclaimed unto the divers thousands a decree that one should choose and enroll the guards, he made a decree, saying, "When one shall enroll guards for Us, when the sons of the captains of ten thousands, of thousands, and of hundreds or the sons of ordinary persons shall enter [into Our service], let one enroll those who have ability and [are] good of appearance—who apparently are apt for serving in Our presence. When one shall enroll the sons of captains [32v] of thousands, let them come [each] with ten companions and bringing with them a younger brother. When one shall enroll the sons of captains of hundreds, let them come [each] with five companions and bringing with them a younger brother. When one shall enroll the sons of captains of tens or when one shall enroll the sons of ordinary persons, let them come [each] with three [33r] companions and also bringing with them a younger brother, and, from [their company of] origin, making ready " horses [to ride on]. When one shall strengthen [on this wise the number of] those whom one shall make to serve in [Our] presence for Us, let one give the ten companions unto the sons of captains of thousands, levying [them] from the thousands and the hundreds from which they originally come. If there be " a part and portion [of goods] given by their fathers, or whatever be the quantity of men and geldings which by [their own] persons [33v] they have gotten and have established [as their own], let one, apart from " See §202 above. "I.e., "providing themselves with." "I.e., "if they have."
their personal part [of goods], levy [beasts to ride and men] according to the measure measured of Us, and let one, so levying [men] and making ready [beasts to ride], give [them unto them]. And let one, after the very same manner, apart [84r] from their personal part of goods, and even so levying, give five companions unto the sons of captains of hundreds and unto the sons of captains of tens as well as three companions unto the sons of ordinary persons.” [Again,] he made a decree, saying, “The captains of thousands, of hundreds, and of tens, and the many [ordinary] persons having suffered [one] to bring this Our decree [unto them] or having heard [it], let the people which shall transgress [it] be subject to punishment. [As to those] people which shall have been made to enter [into] their turn [of service] for Us, if [among them] people which, avoiding [their turn of service], are [34v] not fit look upon their service in Our presence as [too] difficult, enrolling others, we shall punish those persons and shall send [them] unto a distant place out of eye[sight].” He said, “[35r] Let one not stay people which shall say that they would learn to serve inside in Our presence and [for this purpose] come unto Us.”

§225 [35v] According to the fact that Činggis Qa’an had made a [80r] decree, [80r] choosing [them] from the thousands, according to the very same decree, choosing the sons of the captains of hundreds and of tens, bringing [them] forth—aforetime there were eighty nightguards—[89]—one caused there to be eight hundred [nightguards]. He said, “[Over and] above the eight hundred let one fill [the band so that there be] a thousand.” He made a decree, saying, “Let one not stay those who shall enroll themselves in the nightguards.” [36v] He made a decree, saying, “Let Yeke Ne’ürin be captain of the nightguards and let him command a thousand.” Aforetime he had chosen four hundred quiver-bearers. Choosing [them], he said, “Let Yesïn Te’e, son of Jelme, be a captain of quiverbearers and let him take counsel with Bugidai, son of Tüge.” He made a decree, saying, “When, with the dayguards, [37r] the quiverbearers enroll themselves with

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88 See §§191 and 192 above.
89 This fact has not been previously mentioned in the text.
[others] within the divers companies, let Yesün Te’e enroll himself, being a captain of one company of quiverbearers. Let Bugidai enroll himself, being a captain of one company of quiverbearers. Let Horquday enroll himself, being a captain of one company of quiverbearers. Let Lablaqa enroll himself, being a captain of one company of quiverbearers. Let [these four], enrolling for to carry quivers [their] divers companies [37v] of dayguards and their quiverbearers, so be [their] captains. Let Yesün Te’e, filling [a band of] the quiverbearers [so that there be] a thousand, be a captain.”

§226 [38r] [Over and] above the dayguards which aforetime had enrolled themselves with Ögele Čerbi, filling [a band so that there were] a thousand, he said, “From the family of Bo’orçu let [38v] Ögele Čerbi command [them].” He said, “One thousand dayguards, from the family of Muqali let Buqa command one thousand dayguards.” He said, “From the family of Ilügei let Alcíidai command one thousand dayguards.” He said, “Let Dodai Čerbi command one thousand dayguards. Let Doqolqu [39r] Čerbi command one thousand dayguards.” He made a decree, saying, “From the family of Jürcedei let Čanai command one thousand dayguards. From the family of Čiói let Aquai command one thousand dayguards. Let Arqai Qasar command one thousand dayguards, one thousand chosen ba’atud, and [39v] let them be dayguards on the many “ days. On the day of battle let them stand in front and be ba’atud.” There were eight thousand dayguards which came, being chosen from the thousands and thousands. There were two thousand with nightguards and quiverbearers. There were [in all] ten thousand guards. When Činggis Qahan made [40r] a decree, he made a decree, saying, “Let one strengthen the ten thousand guards [which remain] in the presence of Us and let them become the great middle [of the army].”

§227 [40v] Again, when Činggis Qahan, making a decree, appointed those who should be the elders of the four companies of the dayguards, saying, “Let Buqa, commanding one company [41r] of guards, dispose the guards and enter [into] service in the...
CHAPTER IX

Let Alcidai, commanding one company of guards, dispose the guards and enter [into service in the guard]. Let Dodai Cerbi, commanding one company of guards, dispose the guards and enter [into service in the guard]. Let Doqolqu Cerbi, commanding one company of guards, dispose [41v] the guards and enter [into service in the guard].” he appointed the elders of the four companies.” When he proclaimed a decree whereby one should enter [into his] turn [of service], he made a decree, saying, “When one entereth [into his] turn [of service], let the chief of the company, mustering the guards which shall have served [their] turn [of service] with himself, entering [into his] turn [of service,] passing three nights, change [places] with [the company of relief]. [42r] If a man of the company neglect [his] turn [of service], let one instruct by three strokes of the rod that [man] of the company which shall have neglected [his] turn [of service]. If the same guard again, a second time, neglect [his] turn [of service], let one instruct [him] by seven strokes of the rod. If again the same man, without that [his] body be sick and without consultation [beforetime] with the chiefs of the company, again, [if] the same guard thrice neglect [his] turn [of service], having instructed [him] by [42v] thirty seven strokes of the rod—he looketh upon his service at [the side of] Us as [too] difficult—[We] shall send [him] out of sight unto a distant place.” He made a decree, saying, “Elders of the companies, cause [ye] this decree to be heard by the guards at every third turn [of service]. If they cause it not to be heard, [43r] let the elders of the companies be subject to punishment. When they shall have heard the decree, if they transgress [it], if, after the principle of the decree, they neglect [their] turn [of service], let the guards be subject to punishment.” He said, “Elders of the companies, saying [unto yourselves], ‘They have been excelled [by us] incaptaincy,’ rebuke [ye] not, without leave from me, my guards which have enrolled themselves [in my guard] equal [unto you]. [43v] If one disannul the ordinance, declare [ye it] unto me. If there be those for whom holdeth the rule that they are fit to be beheaded, We shall behead [them]. If there be those

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"I. e., Buqa, Alcidai, Dodai Cerbi, and Doqolqu Cerbi.

** See also 8378 below.**
for whom holdeth the rule that they are fit to be beaten, making [them] to lie down, [we] shall beat [them]. Saying [unto yourselves], 'We excell [them] in captaincy,' if, laying hand [upon them], ye smite with the rod my guards equal [unto you], let one repay strokes of the rod as repayment of strokes of the rod and [44r] fists as repayment of fists."

§ 228 [44v] Again, when Cinggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "My guards are higher than the outward," captains [45r] of thousands. The companions of my guards are higher than the outward captains of hundreds and of tens. If outward captains of thousands, making themselves equal unto my guards and equaling themselves unto [them], quarrel with [one of my guard[s], we shall punish the persons which are captains of thousands."

§ 229 [45v] Again, when Cinggis Qahan made a decree, when he proclaimed a decree unto the captains of the divers companies, he made a decree, saying, "Let the quiverbearers, the dayguards, [and the cooks], [46r] entering [into their] turn [of service], severally each in his [own] way, walking the walk of the day," yielding unto, the nightguards at the moment of the sun's having fire," going out, pass the night. Let the nightguards at night pass the night at [the side of] Us. Let the quiverbearers depart, rendering unto the nightguards quivers, and the cooks bowls and vessels. [On the morrow, in the morning] let the quiverbearers, the dayguards, and the cooks which shall have passed the night outside, until We eat [Our] broth, [46v] sitting at the kirü'e ** and telling [it] unto the nightguards, when [We] finish eating [Our] broth, return, the quiverbearers unto the quivers, the dayguards unto their seats and the cooks unto their bowls and vessels. Let those who shall enter [into] divers turns [of service], in the same and same

** Cf., e.g., Leviticus XXIV §20: "Breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth: . . . ."

** I.e., outside of the imperial guard.

** I.e., performing the duties of the day as opposed to those of the night which are performed by the nightguards.

** I.e., when the sun is at the point to set, the moment when it appears on the horizon as if it were on fire.

** This word is glossed: "place where one assembles the horses." See also Chapter IV, note 8.
manner, so do according to this regulation." [47r] He said, "After
that the sun hath set, seizing [whatsoever] person shall go
athwart at the back side or at the front side of the ordo, the
nightguards seizing [him], passing the night, on the morrow, let
the nightguards ask his words. When the company shall change
[places] with [the company of relief], let the nightguards [of the
company of relief] remit their tablets and come in. Let the night-
guards which shall change [places with the relief] and [47v] shall
go out also remit [them], go out, and depart." He said, "The
nightguards lying round about the ordo at night, [ye] night-
guards which shall have stood, stopping the door,61 cleaving
the people which shall enter at night in such a way that their
heads are sundered and [cleaving them] so that their shoulders
fall, cast [them] away. [48r] If at night there come people
which have an urgent message, let them tell [it] unto the night-
guards.62 Let one let [them] tell [the message] north of [my] tent,
while standing together with the nightguards."63 He made a
decree, saying, "Let not any one sit [upon] a seat above the
nightguards.64 Let not any one enter without word from the
nightguards. Let not any one walk at the upper side of the
nightguards.65 [48v] Let one not walk between the nightguards.
Let one not ask the number of nightguards. Let the nightguards
seize the people which shall walk at the upper side of the night-
guards. Let the nightguards seize the people which shall walk
between. The person which shall have asked the number, the
nightguards, let the nightguards seize that person, the gelding
which he shall have ridden that very day—[together] with the
saddle and [together] with the bridle 66—[49r] together with the
garment which he shall have worn." Eljigedei, although he was
worthy of confidence, at eventide, adventuring to walk at the
upper side of the nightguards, how was he seized by the night-
guards? 67

61 I.e., on the outside. For another example see §246 below.
62 I.e., "saying that they have an urgent message unto me, Cinggis Qahan."
63 Even though Cinggis Qahan be inside his tent, he can hear perfectly what is
said outside. See also §169 above.
64 I.e., at a place which is between the nightguards and the tent.
65 I.e., between the nightguards and the tent.
66 See §278 below.
67 See §278 below.
Chapter X

§230 [1r] When Cinggis Qahan spake, he made a decree, saying, "Mine elder nightguards
Which, [in] the cloudy night,
Lying round about
My tent with a hole at the top,
Making [me] to sleep [in] peace and quiet,
Have [thus] made [me] to attain unto this throne. ¹ [1v]

My happy nightguards
Which, [in] the starry night,
Lying round about
My palace tent
Have not made [me] to be affrighted within the coverings
Have [thus] made [me] to attain unto the high throne.

My sincere-hearted nightguards
Which, in the snowstorm which is moving,
In the cold which is making [one] to shiver,
In the rain which is pouring [down],
Standing, not taking [their] rest,
Round about my tent with [a frame of] lattice,
Have caused [my] heart to be at peace
Have [thus] made [me] to attain unto the throne of joy.

My trusty nightguards
Which, in the midst of enemies which are making trouble,
Round about [2r] my tent with a band of felt ²
Have, not winking an eye,
Stood, staying [their assault].

¹ See §205 above.
² "In effect, the word igs designates the broad band of felt which protects on the outside the bottom of the tent by encompassing it." Cf. Antoine Montagne, op. cit., p. [137].
My vigilant nightguards
Which, at the moment when the quivers of birch-bark [of the enemy]
Hardly moved,  
Stood without delay!

My nightguards of swift gait,
Which, at the moment when the quivers of willow-wood [of the enemy]
Hardly moved,
Stood not too late! [2v]

My happy nightguards,
[Henceforth,] call [ye yourselves] the ‘elder nightguards.’

Call [ye] the seventy dayguards which are entered with Ölögöl Çerbi the ‘great dayguards.’ Call [ye] the ba'atud of Arqai the ‘elder ba'atud.’ Call [ye] the quiverbearers such as Yesin Te’e and Bugidai the ‘great quiverbearers.’”

§231 [3v] He said, “Of my ten thousand guards [which are] private servants [which remain] in the presence [of] my person, which are come, being chosen as private servants from the ninety five thousands, [ye, my] sons which long [here]after shall have sat on my throne, unto the seed of my seed, [of] these guards, being mindful [even] as of a remembrance bequeathed [by me] and, not causing [them] to murmur, excellently take [ye] care of [them]. Will these ten thousand guards not be called [4r] my gods which bring happiness?”

§232 Again, when Cinggis Qahan spake, he said, “Let the nightguards look to [4v] the maids [which are] stewards of the ordo, the ‘sons of the tent,’ the keepers of camels, and the keepers of oxen and let them take care of the tent-carts of the ordo. Let the nightguards collect the spears at the foot of the standards and

*See §105.
4 See §105.
5 I.e., menservants.
6 This interpretation of doro as a postposition was suggested by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert in an oral communication of 8 September 1053.
drums. Let the nightguards also collect the bowls and vessels. Let the nightguards oversee our drink and food. And let the nightguards oversee and cook the thick flesh of food. If drink and food be wanting, we shall seek them from the nightguards which shall have been made to oversee them."

He said, "When the quiverbearers distribute drink and food, let them not distribute them without leave from the nightguards which shall have been made to oversee them. When they distribute food, let them first distribute [it], beginning from the nightguards."

He said, "Let the nightguards order the going in and the coming out at the palace tent. At the door let the doorkeepers of the nightguards stand [in] the tent at hand. Let two from [among] the nightguards enter and hold in hand the great wine table."

He said, "Let the keepers of the encampment from [among] the nightguards go and pitch the palace tent."

He said, "At the moment when we are falconing or hunting, let the nightguards go, together falconing and hunting with us. Let them, measuring their half, place [it] at the carts."

§233 [6v] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "If the person of us do not go to war apart from us." He made a decree, saying, "Having let themselves be told thus [by us], let the stewards which command soldiers, which, transgressing the decree, being jealous of the nightguards, make them to go to war, be subject to punishment." He said, "Ye say, 'How is it that the soldiers of the nightguard are not made to go to war?' The nightguards watch over my golden life. At the moment when I go falconing and hunting, they labour with me. Being made to oversee the ordo, at the moment when it journeyeth or at the moment when it is at rest, they take care of the carts. Is it easy to pass the night watching over my person? Is it easy to take care of the tent-carts near the carts, whereas the other half must accompany Činggis Qahan. See also §278 below.
Chapter X

at the moment when the 'great a'uruy' journeyeth or at the moment when it sitteth? Saying [unto Ourself], 'The nightguards so have double and quite distinct tasks,' such [8r] is [the reason for which We] say, 'Let them, apart from Us and separately, not go to war.'"

§234 Again, when he made a decree, he said, "Let [some] from [among] [8v] the nightguards together hear judgments, judgments with Sigi Qutuqu." He said, "Let [some] from [among] the nightguards take care of the quivers, bows, breast-plates, and weapons and distribute them [unto the others]. Let them, collecting [some] from [among] the geldings, go, lading the nets [for taking prey]."

He said, "Let [some] from [among] the nightguards, with the stewards, distribute the satin." He said, "When the quiver-bearers and [9r] the dayguards proclaim the encampment, let the quiver-bearers such as Yesün Te'e and Bukidai and the dayguards such as Alcidai, Ögele, and Aquai go [on] the right side of the ordo." He said, "Let the dayguards such as Buqa, Dodai Cerbi, Doqolqu Cerbi, and Canai go [on] the left side of the ordo." He said, "Let the ba'atud of Arqai go in front [9v] of the ordo." He said, "Let the nightguards, having taken care of the ordo tent-carts, go in the neighbourhood of the ordo, [on] the left side." He appointed [him], saying, "Let [10r] Dodai Cerbi constantly watch over all the dayguards which are guards, round about the ordo, the 'sons of the tent' of the ordo, the keepers of horses, the shepherds, the keepers of camels, and the keepers of oxen, and the ordo." He made a decree, saying, "Let Dodai Cerbi, being constantly [there], behind the ordo, go,

Eating remnants [of blades] of grass [for food],

Burning dried dung [for fuel]."


See note 6 above.
§236 Siibe’etei Ba’atur—[he] with an iron cart—going a warfare, pursuing the sons such as [11r] Qutu and Cila’un of Toyto’a of the Merkid, overtaking [them] at the Cui River, destroyed [them] and came [back].

§237 Jebe, pursuing Güçülük Qan of the Naiman, overtaking [him] at the Sarı Qun, destroy Güçülük and came [back].

§238 The iduud of the Ui’ud sent ambassadors unto Cinggis Qahan. When he came, petitioning by the two ambassadors, Adkiray and Darbai, he came, petitioning, saying,

“[Even] as having seen Mother Sun,”
When the clouds become clear;
[Even] as having found the water of the river,
When the ice becometh clear,

I greatly rejoiced, when I heard [12v] the name and the fame of Cinggis Qa’an. If [thou], Cinggis Qahan, favour [me], if I get [were it but one]

From the rings of [thy] golden girdle;
[were it but one]

From the shreds of [thy] crimson garment,

I will become thy fifth son and give [my] might [unto thee].”

At that word, [13r] when Cinggis Qahan, favouring [him], sent, speaking in answer, when he sent, saying, “I shall also give [unto him] my daughter. Let him become my fifth son. Let the idu’ud come, having taken gold, silver, [little] pearls, [big] pearls, brocades, damasks, and silks,” the idu’ud rejoiced, saying, “[I] have been favoured,” and [13v] having taken gold, silver, [little] pearls, [big] pearls, silks, brocades, damasks, and satins, the idu’ud came and presented himself unto Cinggis Qahan. Cinggis Qahan favoured the idu’ud and gave [unto him] Al Altun.

16 See §199 above.
14 I.e., “Yellow Cliff.”
14 Although glossed as the name of a person, idu’ud, in reality, is the Turkish title idaq qut “Holy Luck.”
36 See Chapter II, note 8.
35 Cf. St. Mark VI §56: “and besought him that they might touch if it were but the border of his garment.”
§239 [14r] In the year of the hare [1207] [Činggis Qahan] made Ḫoči to set forth with the soldiers of the right hand unto the People of the Forest. Buqa went, guiding [him]. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirad, before the ten thousand Oyirad, submitting himself, came in [unto Ḫoči]. Coming, [14v] leading Ḫoči, guiding [him] unto his ten thousand Oyirad, he made [them] to submit themselves at Śiṣid. Ḫoči, having brought into subjection the Oyirad, Buriyat, Baryun, Ursud, Qabqanas, Qangqas, and Tubas, when he arrived at the ten thousand Kirgisud, the chiefs of the Kirgisud, Yedi Inal, Al Di’er, and [15r] Öre Beg Digin, chiefs of the Kirgisud, coming in to submit themselves, coming, having taken white gerfalcons, white geldings,17 and black sables, presented themselves unto Ḫoči. From the Sibir,18 Kesdiyim,19 Bayid, Tuqas, Tenleg,20 Tö’eleś,21 Tas, and Bajigid22 hither, Ḫoči, subjeguating the People of the Forest, coming, having taken the captains of the ten thousands and of the thousands [15v] of the Kirgisud and the chiefs of the People of the Forest, suffered [them] to present themselves unto Činggis Qahan with the white gerfalcons, with the white geldings, and with the black sables. Going to meet Quduqa Beki of the Oyirad, saying, “He is come, aforetime submitting himself and [16r] leading [hither] his ten thousand Oyirad,” he favoured [him] and gave Čečeyigen unto his son, unto Inalči. He gave Holuiqan, daughter of Buqa, unto Torolči, elder brother of Inalc. He gave Alaqa Beki unto the Činggis. When Činggis Qahan, favouring Ḫoči, spake, he made a decree, saying, “Eldest of my sons, being [16v] but issued from the tent,23 thou hast been one of whom the way [is] good.”24 Not wounding or not making to suffer men or geldings in the lands in which [thou]

17 See Chapter I, note 45.
20 This is an error for Telee. Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 142, n. 1.
23 L.c., “having but attained to manhood.” See also §277: “issuing [but] once from in the tent.”
24 L.c., “thou hast had good luck.”
art gone, thou art come, having brought into subjection the fortunate " People of the Forest. I will give the people unto thee."

§240 [17v] Again he made Boroyul Noyan to go a warfare unto the Qori Tumad people. As Daiduql Soqor, chief of the Tumad people had died, his wife Botoqui Taryun [18r] was governing the Tumad people. When Boroyul Noyan arrived, three men departing from the great army to go in front, at eventide, not perceiving, as they were going along a path in the difficult forest, being robbed in the rearward by their watchmen, stopping the path, [the watchmen] seized and killed Boroyul Noyan. Knowing that the Tumad [18v] had killed Boroyul, as Činggis Qahan, being exceeding wroth, was ready to set forth himself, both Bo'orėcu and Muqali did advise so that Činggis Qa'an halted. Moreover, when he appointed Dörbei Doysin of the Dörbed, he made a decree, saying, "Setting the army in order with severity, praying Everlasting Heaven, [19r] assay to bring the Tumad people into subjection." When Dörbei set the army in order, first making [one] to spread abroad [something] empty at the ways, paths, and passes along which the army would [be expected to] go and over which the watchmen would [be expected to] keep watch along the ways on which the hula'an buqa went—when he made an ordinance unto the soldiers, as for all the men of the army, if [their] hearts were to fail [them], in [respect of each] man, making [him] to carry ten rods on the back [19] to beat [him, if he refused to go forward], making [one] to prepare axes, bills, saws, chisels, and weapons of war for the men—along the way on which the hula'an buqa went, making [one], felling [them], to hew and to saw the trees which stood at the way, making a way, when he went out upon the mountain, [as one might say,] from on the hole at the top of the tents of the Tumad [20r] people, at the moment when, unawares, they were sitting, feasting, he spoiled [them].

"I. e., fortunate, because they now belong to the Mongols.
"I. e., Dörbei "The Fierce."
"I. e., false rumors.
"The term hula'an buqa, glossed "name of a wild beast" appears literally to mean "red ox." Inasmuch as the term is only transcribed, not translated, in the continuous translation (YCPS 10.30v), I have preferred to leave it untranslated. It may designate a kind of elk.
"For this figure see §§106 and 109 above.
§241 [20v] Beforetime both Qorci Noyan and Quduqa Beki, being seized by the Tumad, were there at [the side of] Botoqui Taryun. As for the manner in which Qorci [21r] had been seized, at the moment when [Činggis Qahan] had made a decree, saying, "Let him take thirty women which are beautiful maidens of the Tumad people," 20 as he was going, saying, "[I] shall take the maidens of the Tumad," the peoples which formerly had submitted themselves, moreover, made a rebellion and seized Qorci Noyan.21 When Činggis Qahan knew that Qorci [21b] had been seized by the Tumad, when, saying, "Quduqa knoweth the ways of the People of the Forest," he sent [him], Quduqa Beki also was seized.22 When he had made an end of bringing the Tumad people into subjection, because of the bones 23 of Boroyul, he gave [unto his sons] a hundred Tumad. Qorci took thirty maidens. 22r He gave Botoqui Taryun unto Quduqa Beki.

§242 [22r] Činggis Qahan making a decree, saying, "I shall part and give the people unto the mother, unto the sons, and unto the younger brethren," when he gave [them unto them], saying, "She who, assembling the nation, hath suffered is the mother." The eldest of my sons is Joci. The youngest of my younger brethren [28r] is Odčigín, unto [his] mother, together with the part of Odčigín, he gave ten thousand people. The mother, [although] considering the number too few, did not utter [her voice]. Unto Joci he gave nine thousand people. Unto Ča'adai he gave eight thousand people. Unto Ögödei he gave five thousand people. Unto Tolui he gave five thousand [23v] people. Unto Qasar he gave four thousand people. Unto Belgütei he gave two thousand people. Unto Alcidai he gave two thousand people. Unto Da'aritai hath been together with the Gereyid," when he said, "I shall destroy [him] out of the sight of the eyes," when Bo'orču, Muqali, and [24r] Śigi Qutuqu—[all] three—spake, being told [by them],

20 See §207.
21 This fact has not been previously related.
22 This fact has not been previously related.
23 I.e., death. See §240 above.
24 This is an allusion to the achievement of Hū'elūn Ījin, related in §75 above.
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"[It is] like quenching one's own fire, [It is] like destroying one's own tent.

As remembrance of thy good father there is left behind [for thee] but thine only paternal uncle. How shalt [thou] forsake [him]? Inasmuch as he did not understand [what he was doing], he let him be. Let the youngest brother of thy good father together with [his kinsmen] let the smoke of the encampment whirl up," and being talked with

Clearly
So as to snatch
The smoke from his nose," saying, "Yea! That [sufficeth]!" thinking on [his] good father, at the words of the three, Bo'orcu, Muqali, and Siğ Qutuqu, he appeased himself.

§243 [25v] "I, giving unto mother and unto Odçigin ten thousand people, [for them] have appointed from the chiefs Güçü, Kököçü, Jungsai, and Qorqasun—all four. [I] have appointed for Joci Tunan, Mönge'tür, and Kete—all three. I have appointed for Ça'adai Qaraçar, Mönge, and Ido-yudai—all three." Again, when Cinggis Qahan spake, he made a decree, saying, "Ça'adai is hard. He hath a fine nature. Let Köke Cos be at [his] side [26r] evening and morning and tell [unto him] what he hath thought." For Ögödei he appointed both Ilüge and Degei. For Tolui he appointed both Jadai and Bala. For Qasar he appointed Jebke. For Alcidai he appointed Ça'urqai.

§244 [26v] The sons of Father Müngli of the Qongqotad were seven. The middlemost [27r] of the seven was Kököçü Teb Teng-

"I. e., kill.
"I. e., "inasmuch as he did that unintentionally."
"Cf. Psalm XVIII §8 "There went up smoke out of his nostrils, . . . ."
"I. e., a nature given to making fine distinctions. In other words, he is a man who busies himself with minutiae or minor details. Hence, he is "narrow-minded."
"See, e. g., §254 below, for an example of the eloquence of Köko Cos.
geri. Those seven Qongqotan made a league with one another and smote Qasar. When Qasar kneeled to Činggis Qa’an, saying, “[I] have been smitten by the seven Qongqotan which made a league with one another,” whilst Činggis Qahan was wroth in [respect of] other [things], as he spake, [27v] when Činggis Qahan, in his wrath, spake unto Qasar, being told, “Thou hast been [doing nothing other] than [saying] that [thou] wouldst not be overcome by [any] living thing. How hast thou been overcome?,” 41 Qasar, having shed tears, arose and departed. Qasar, being vexed, came not [unto Činggis Qahan] three days. Then when Teb Tenggeri spake unto Činggis Qa’an, being told, “The decree [28r] of Everlasting Heaven, heavenly foretokens concerning the Qan do speak. Once they say, ‘Let Temüjin hold the nation.’ Once they say, ‘[Let] Qasar [hold the nation].’ If [Činggis Qahan] surprise not Qasar, there is no knowledge [as to what may come to pass],” Činggis Qahan, setting forth the [self]same night, when he went for to seize Qasar, both Gücü and Kókóčü declared [it] unto the mother, saying, “He is gone [28v] for to seize Qasar.” The mother, having [thus] known [it], it having been [yet] night, straightway harnessing a white camel, departed in a black cart, travelling all the night. As, with the rising of the sun, she arrived, at the moment when Činggis Qahan, binding the sleeves of Qasar, taking his hat and girdle, 42 was questioning [29r] his words, being come unto by the mother, Činggis Qahan was terrified and was afraid of the mother. The mother, being furious, arriving, being lighted from the cart, the mother herself having undone and loosed the sleeves of Qasar which had been bound [by Činggis Qahan], giving unto Qasar his hat and girdle, the mother being wroth, not being able [29v] to subdue her fury, sitting with legs crossed, bringing forth her two breasts, making [them] to spill over upon [her] two knees, when she spake, she said, “Have [ye] seen [them]? The breasts which ye have sucked are these. These qadaļun da’un, 43 they have bitten their afterbirth 44 and have cut their navel.”

What hath Qasar done? Temüjin [30r] was wont to empty this one

41 I. e., “How hast thou now been overcome by the seven Qongqotan?”
42 See Chapter II, note 67.
43 This expression, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
44 See §78. 44 I. e., have cut their umbilical cord.
breast of me. Qači’un and Odçigin, the twain together, were wont not to empty one breast. As for Qasar, emptying the two breasts each of me, causing [me] to be at ease so that my bosom became broad," he was wont to cause [my] bosom to be broad.

Thereby the able
Temüjin of me
[Is] one having the ability of bosom.46

Because Qasar of me
[Is] one having the ability [30v] of shooting
and of might, Those who went out, shooting arrows with [him],48
He was wont to shoot and to cause to submit themselves.

Those who went out, being affrighted,
He was wont to shoot with distant arrows and to cause to submit themselves.

Now, saying, ' [I] have destroyed the people [which are] enemies,' ye are not able to see Qasar.” When, after letting the mother appease herself, [31r] Ćinggis Qahan spake, saying, "Suffering the fact that mother was wroth, and being afraid, [I] have been afraid. And being ashamed, I have been ashamed," and, saying, "We shall withdraw," he withdrew. Not letting [it] be known by the mother, stealthily taking the people of Qasar, he gave unto Qasar [only] a thousand four hundred people. Such [was] the manner in which the mother, [thus] knowing [it], [31v] in that thought went straightway [unto old age].60 Jebke of the Jalayir then, going out in fright, fled away into Baryujin.61

§245 [38r] After that, the peoples of the nine tongues " assembled themselves in [the service of] Teb Tenggeri and from the kirü'e
of Chinggis Qa’an many went so far as to assemble themselves in [the service of] Teb Tenggeri. At [their] so assembling, the peoples subject to Temüge Odśigin [also] went unto Teb Tenggeri. Odśigin Noyan sent his messenger named Soqor [38v] for to request his people which was gone. When Te[b] Tenggeri spoke unto the messenger Soqor, saying, “Odśigin and ye, [ye] twain, are [ones] having a benefit,” 55 smiting his messenger Soqor, made [him] to return on foot, making [him] to carry his saddle on [his] back. Odśigin, [forasmuch as] he had suffered the fact that his messenger Soqor, [after Teb Tenggeri] had smitten [him], was come [back] [34r] on foot, on the morrow when Odśigin himself, going unto Teb Tenggeri, spake, being told, “When I sent my messenger Soqor, smiting [him, ye] did send [him back] on foot. Now I am come for to request my people,” the seven Qongqotan, compassing Odśigin from hence and from thence, saying, “Thy sending thy [34v] messenger Soqor is right,” when he was being [so] done unto, [apart] from seizing [him] and [apart] from smiting [him], being afraid, when Odśigin Noyan spake, he said, “My sending the messenger [was] wrong.” When the seven Qongqotan spake, saying, “If [it be] wrong, kneel, repenting,” they made [him] to [35r] kneel behind Teb Tenggeri. And his people being not yet given [unto him], when Odśigin, on the morrow early, entering at the

55 The words Odśigin ta jirin elśiten boli’us, as they stand, mean “Odśigin and ye, [ye] twain, are [ones] having messengers.” Such a statement, however, is not in consonance with the context of the rest of the passage.

In a letter dated 2 December 1964 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert proposed the following solution:

“Elśiten must be a textual error. The Altan tobüi (noua) has the reading aśitan instead of elśiten. Cf. Altan Tobüi, A Brief History of the Mongols, Vol. II, p. 40, II. 8-7. Aśitan means ‘having a benefit (= conferring a benefit.)’ There is a great chance that aśitan is the original reading. Then it must be understood that Teb Tenggeri scolds at Odśigin and at Soqor, just as he will the next day at Odśigin alone, when he will say in irony to the latter: Soqor elśiten tēgūr ēnu fōb bai ‘Thou hast been right to send thy messenger Soqor.’ He confiscates the horse ridden by Soqor and, feigning to consider it as a gift or a present which Soqor had come to present to him, he said: Odśigin ta jirin elśiten boli’us. ‘Odśigin and ye, both of you, ye are benefactors’ (= Odśigin and thou, I thank you for the gift).

“Aśitan kūmiūn is still what is said today for ‘benefactor.’

“I incline very much toward this solution, not only because it is the reading which the Altan tobüi (noua) presents, but also because an error elśiten for aśitan is rather easily explained. Aśitan and elśiten resemble each other graphically.”
moment when Činggis Qa’an was not yet risen up, at the moment when he was yet in bed, having wailed, kneeled and spake, and having said, “The people of the nine tongues having assembled themselves in [the service of] Teb Tenggeri, I did send a messenger named Soqor [35v] for to request from Teb Tenggeri my people subject to me. Suffering the fact that they had smitten my messenger Soqor, had made [him] to carry the saddle on [his] back, and had sent [him back] on foot, when I myself am gone for to request [my people], by the seven Qongqotan compassing [me] from hence and from thence and making [me] to repent, I was made to kneel behind Teb Tenggeri,” [36r] he wailed. At the moment when Činggis Qa’an had not yet uttered [his voice], Börte Újin, rising up and sitting in the bed, covering her breast with the edge of the covering, see that Odćikin was wailing, having shed tears, when she spake, having said, “[They are] Qongqotan which have done what, those?” Lately they made league with one another and [36v] smote Qasar. Now, again, why make they this Odćigin to kneel behind them? What manner of behaviour is it? They thus secretly harm even these thy younger brethren [which are] like [unto] cypresses and pines. And verily, afterward,

When thy body like [unto] an old tree
Falleth down, [37r]
Thy peoples like [unto] entangled hemp 

by whom will those let govern?

When thy body like [unto] the base of a pillar
Tumbleth down,
Thy peoples like [unto] a flock of birds 

by whom will those let govern? Peoples which thus secretly harm thy younger brethren like [unto] cypresses and pines, [37v] how will [those] suffer that my three [or] four little ‘bad ones’ govern whilst they grow up? Those are Qongqotan which have done what, those? “Letting it so be done unto thy younger brethren by those, how art thou seeing [that]?” Börte Újin shed

45. I.e., “What have those Qongqotan done?”
46. See §264 below.
48. See §264 below.
49. I.e., “what have those Qongqotan done?”
tears. At this word of Börte Üjin, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Odögin, he said, "Teb Tenggeri cometh now. [38r] Howsoever thou may perform, so well as thou art able, decide thou [how thou shouldst perform]." At that, Odögin being risen up, having wiped his tears, going out, stood [at hand], with three strong men in readiness. While it was [yet but] a moment, Father Münglig, coming with his seven sons, the seven each entering, with Teb Tenggeri sitting on the [38v] right side of the wine table, Odögin seizing the collar of Teb Tenggeri, saying, "Thou wast making me to repent yesterday. Let us prove ourselves [at wrestling]," holding his collar, drew him toward the door. Teb Tenggeri, in the face of Odögin, seizing the collar, wrestled with The hat [39r] of Teb Tenggeri, at the moment when he wrestled with [him], fell at the head of the firepan. Father Münglig, understanding, having shed tears, when he spake, with [his] saying, "I have been a companion

From [the time when] the brown Earth was [only] the size of a clod;
From [the time when] the sea and the rivers were [only] the size of a stream,

his six Qongqotan sons, [40v] stopping the door, standing round about the firepan, when their sleeves had been rolled up, Činggis Qahan being afraid, being pressed [by them], having said, "Withdraw! I shall go out," with [his] going out, quiverbearers and

**See §55.**
**I. e., outside?**
**I. e., "which was measurable." See Chapter VI, note 3.**
dayguards stood round about Činggis Qa’an. Činggis Qahan seeing that, having broken [his] backbone, [41r] one had cast Teb Tengeri unto the extremity [of the row] of carts, making [one] to bring a gray tent from behind, making one to place [it] over Teb Tengeri, saying, “Harness the harnessings. We shall journey,” he journeyed from thence.

§246 [42v] When, having covered the hole at the top of the tent in which one had placed Teb and [43r] having stopped [its] door, one had caused people to watch over [it], the third night, at [the moment when the brightness of] day [was] yellow, he opened the hole at the top of the tent and came out together with [his] body. When one examined, it was established that verily [it was] Teb [at] its [place] there. When Činggis Qahan spake, he said, “Because Teb Tengeri had laid hand upon my younger brethren and because [to sow discord among them] he had uttered among my younger brethren a slander without [43v] fundament, he was no more loved by Heaven, and his life, together with his body, was carried away.” When Činggis Qahan then reviled Father Müngilg, saying, “Not staying the nature of your sons, as [ye and your sons] are begun to think to equal [me], [44r] ye have attained unto the head of Teb Tengeri.” If [I] had perceived such a nature of you, ye would have been caused to be ones having the manner [of punishment] of Jamuya, Altan, Quçar, and others,” [so] reviling Father Müngilg, making an end of reviling [him], furthermore, saying, “If one undo at eventide that which one hath said in the morning and [44v] if one undo in the morning that which one hath said at eventide, certainly one may be talked of to his shame. Aforetime [my] word was pledged. Yea! That [sufficeth]!”, he favoured [him] and, furthermore, [his] anger was abated. He said, “If [ye] had stayed your nature [which is] beyond [measure], who in the seed of Father Müngilg would have equalled [me]?” One having caused Teb Tengeri to vanish away, [45v] [as to] the Qongqotan, the confident countenance diminished.

“I.e., “at twilight.”
“I.e., “the tent’s.”
“I.e., “above the hole at the top of the tent.”
“I.e., “Ye have paid for it with the head of Teb Tengeri.”
“See §206 above.”
§247 [1r] After that, Činggis Qahan in the year of the sheep [1211] set forth against the Kitad people. Taking Wujiu,\(^1\) passing by Hünegen Daba’an,\(^2\) taking Söndüwu,\(^3\) he sent the twain, Jebe and Güyigüneg Ba’atur, as vanguard. [1v] Arriving [at] Çabčiýal,\(^4\) the Çabčiýal pass being defended, then when Jebe spake, saying, “When, enticing them and making [them] to remove, I shall make [them] to come, then I shall try [them],” he returned. It being returned [by him], the soldiers of the Kitad, saying, “Let us pursue [him],” draw nigh in pursuit till the valleys and the mountains become full [of them]. Arriving at the spur of Söndüwu [sr] Jebe turned about backward, rushed upon [them], and overcame the enemies which were drawing nigh in succession. Činggis Qahan—[his] middle army following hard after [Jebe]—making the Kitad to remove, crushing the bold and courageous soldiers of the Jüyin of the Qara Kidad and of the Jürčed, slaying [them] until Çabčiýal, till they stood like rotten trees,\(^5\) Jebe, taking [2v] the gate of Çabčiýal, wrestling the passes, passing by [them], Činggis Qahan pitched [at] Sira Değtür.\(^6\) Assaulting Jungdu \(^7\) and, sending troops unto divers towns and [unto] cities, he made [them] to assault. He sent Jebe, making [him] to assault the city of Dungčang.\(^8\) Jebe, arriving at the city of Dungčang, [3r] assailing [it], [but,] not being able to take [it], returning, arriving at a place [at a distance] of six days [of marching], causing [the enemy] to be unaware, moreover, turning about, [his soldiers]

\(^{1}\) I.e., Fu-chou 抚州.

\(^{2}\) I.e., Yeh-hu-ling 野狐嶺 ("Wild Fox Pass").

\(^{3}\) I.e., Hšt-tše-fu 宣徳府.

\(^{4}\) I.e., Chü-yüng-kuan 居庸關.

\(^{5}\) See §106 above and §§261 and 272 below.

\(^{6}\) I.e., Lung-hu-t’ai 龍虎寨.

\(^{7}\) I.e., Chung-tž 中都.

\(^{8}\) I.e., Tung-ch’ang 東昌.
having [each] a hand led horse, at night marching all night, arriving, at the moment when [the enemy] was unaware, he took the city of Dungčang.

§248 [4r] Jebe, taking the city of Dungčang, returning, coming [back], joined himself unto Cingga Qahan. When Jungdu was attacked, when Ongging Čingsang,* the great chief of the Altan Qan, recommended unto the Altan Qan, when he recommended, saying, "[It is] the destiny and the time of Heaven and Earth." Is the time when one shall exchange the great throne arrived? The Mongyol [4v] coming exceeding mightily, overcoming our bold and courageous weighty soldiers of the Juyin of the Qara Kitad and of the Jürčed, have slain till they have destroyed [them]. And they have wrested and taken the trusty Cabciyal. Now, if we, again setting [our] troops in order, send [them] forth and if again they be overcome by the Mongyol, they will certainly disperse themselves [5r] unto their divers cities, those. Moreover, if they suffer themselves to be gathered by us, not being willing, becoming enemies against us, they will not be companions, those. If the Altan Qan favour [us], we shall, in the present time, submitting ourselves, take counsel 11 with the qan of the Mongyol. If, entering into counsel, the Mongyol withdraw themselves, [5v] after that [we] have made [them] to withdraw themselves, again we shall then counsel other thoughts. And, it is said, "The men and the geldings of the Mongyol, finding the country not fit [for themselves], are consumed by pestilence." Let us give a maiden unto their qan. Let us heavily send out and give unto the men of [their] army gold, silver, satins, and goods. How may it be known whether they will [6r] not enter into this our counsel?" The Altan Qan, approving these words of Ongging Čingsang, saying, "Let it, then, be thus," submitting himself, sending out to Činggis Qa'an a daughter named Gungju,12 sending out from Jungdu for the men of the army gold, silver, satin, goods,

10 See §194: "It is the time and the destiny of the Mongyol."
11 I.e., "negotiate with."
12 I.e., Kung-chu, which, in reality, is not a personal name, but the Chinese word for "Princess."
and possessions, [6v] letting be decided by the might [of each of them how much] and as much as [their beasts] could carry, he came, sending Ongging Cingsang unto Cinggis Qahan. Being come unto [by them] to submit themselves, Cinggis Qahan, entering into their counsel, made the soldiers which, assaulting, were descended unto the divers towns to return and he withdrew. Ongging Cingsang, accompanying Cinggis Qa'an until [7r] the spurs named Mojiu 18 and Wujiu, returned. Our soldiers lading [their beasts with] satins and goods as many as they could carry, tied their burdens with silks and went their way.

§249 [8r] By that fact of having set forth, 14 he departed unto the Qaśin people. As, betaking himself unto [them], he arrived, Burqan [Qan] of the Qaśin people, saying, "Submitting myself, becoming thy right hand, [I] shall give [my] might 15 [unto thee]," brought forth and gave unto Cinggis Qa'an his daughter named Çaqa. Again, when Burqan Qan spake, he petitioned, saying, [8v] "Hearing the name and the fame of Cinggis Qa'an, we have been afraid. Now, thy majestic person arriving, being come unto [by thee], we have been afraid of [thy] majesty. Being afraid, we Tang'ud people, have said, 'Becoming thy right hand, [we] shall give [our] might [unto thee].' When [we] give [our] might,

[We] are ones which have a stable encampment;
[We] are ones which have pounded city walls. 16

Being companions, [9r]

At the moment when one campaigneth a swift campaign,
At the moment when one fighteth a sharp fight,
[We] shall not be able to haste unto the swift campaign.
We shall not be able to fight in the sharp fight.

If Cinggis Qa'an favour [us], we Tang'ud people, raising [them] in the shelter of the tall deresin, 17 [9v] shall bring forth many

camels and, causing [them] to become qa," shall give [them unto him]. Weaving woolen garments and making satins, [we] shall give [them unto him]. Teaching birds which one may cast [aloft], assembling [them], [we] shall cause [one] to send the best of them [unto him]." Speaking, keeping to his word, levying camels from his Tang'ud people, bringing [so many of them] that one was not able to drive [any more of them], he gave [them unto Cinggis Qa'an].

§250 [10v] Cinggis Qahan, at that fact of having set forth,* making the Altan Qa'an of the Kitad people to submit himself, took many satins; making Burqan of the Qasin people to submit himself, he took many camels; Cinggis Qahan, at that fact of having set forth, in the year of the sheep [1211], making [11r] the Altan Qan of the Kitad people, named Aqutai, to submit himself and making Iluq Burqan of the Tang'ud people to submit himself, returning, pitched [on] the Sa'ari Steppe.

§251 [11v] Again, after that, his many ambassadors having Jupqan at their head, [ambassadors] which he had sent to make peace with Jau Gon,* being hindered by the Altan Qa'an, [named] Aqutai, of the Kitad people, Cinggis Qahan in the year of the dog [1214] again set forth against the Kitad people. When he set forth, saying, "After having submitted themselves, how may they hinder the ambassadors which [I] have sent unto Jau Gon?*, Cinggis Qahan, betaking himself [unto] the Tunggon Pass, made Jebe [to betake himself] by [the way of] Cabciyal. The Altan Qan, knowing that Cinggis Qa'an [was betaking himself] by [the way of] the Tunggon Pass, suffered [his] soldiers to be commanded by

18. i.e., government property.
19. i.e., falcons.
20. i.e., on that expedition.
21. i.e., Chao kuan 趙官, the "Emperor Chao," or Ning-tsung 宁宗 (1195-1224) of the Southern Sung, kuan being an abbreviation of kuan-chia 官家 "government," "emperor," a colloquial epithet of the Sung period. The theory of the Chinese scholar Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 (1877-1927) that 官 (kuan) is a phonetic error for 官 (k'uo), the personal name of Ning-tsung seems less plausible, although it appears to have been accepted by Paul Pelliot on page 130 of his article "L'édition collective des œuvres de Wang Kuo-wei" in T'oung Pao 26(1929).113-192.
22. I.e., Tung-kuan 潭關.
Ile, Qada, and Höbötür—all three—and, saying, “[Our] troops stopping [the passage], setting in order the Hula'an Degelen, putting [them] in the van, [18v] contesting the Tunggon Pass, suffer [ye them] not to pass the pass,”—the troops hasting—he sent Ile, Qada, and Höbötür—all three. When Činggis Qahan arrived at the Tunggon Pass, the soldiers of the Kitad, saying, “[Let us defend our] soil,” came to stay [his] passage. Činggis Qahan, joining battle with Ile, Qada, Höbötür—all three—made [18r] Ile and Qada to remove.

Both Tolui and Čügü Gürgen, rushing upon [them] from athwart, making the Hula'an Degelen to withdraw themselves, arriving, making Ile and Qada to remove, overcoming [them], slew the Kitad till they stood [as] rotten trees. Altan Qan, knowing that his Kitad troops had suffered [their] slaying and making an end of [them], [18v] going out from Jungdu, fleeing, entered the city of Namging.

When their soldiers which remained grew lean and died, among themselves they together ate the flesh of men. Saying, “Both Tolui and Čügü Gürgen have done well,” Činggis Qahan exceedingly favoured both Tolui and Čügü Gürgen.

§252 [14v] Činggis Qahan being come down Qosiwu, pitched [on] the Sira Ke'er of Jungdu. Jebe, breaking down the gate of Čabčiyal, making the soldiers which were holding Čabčiyal to remove, came and joined himself unto Činggis Qahan. When the Altan Qan went out from Jungdu, within Jungdu he appointed Qada, making [him] to be liūšu,[29] [15r] and departed.

The words Hula'an Degelen, glossed by the single word 種 (chung) (“sort”) and transcribed, but not translated in the continuous translation (YCPS, Heü 1.14r?), literally mean: “Red Garment.” That they designated a category of soldiery is clear from the words 軍人 (chün-jen) (“soldiers”) which immediately follow the transcribed words in the continuous translation. The term is comparable to that of “Red Coats” (= British soldiers) in American history.

See note 5 above.

* I.e., Ho-hsi-wu (i.e., “Yellow Plain.”)

** I.e., liū-chou 留守 (“[he who] stays behind to guard”).
Činggis Qahan made [one] to count the gold, silver, goods, satins, and goods and things of Jungdu, he sent the cook Önggür, Arqai Qasar, and Ŝigi Qutuqu—[all] three. Saying that these three are drawing nigh, Qada, going to meet [them] face to face, having taken in hand satins having gold and having patterns, [15v] going out from within Jungdu, came face to face. When Ŝigi Qutuqu spake unto Qada, [16r] saying, “Beforetime the goods of this Jungdu and the [self]same Jungdu were [the possessions] of the Altan Qan. Now Jungdu is [the possession] of Činggis Qa’an. The goods and satins of Činggis Qa’an, behind [his] back, how, stealing and bringing [them], givest thou [them]? I shall not take [them],” Ŝigi Qutuqu took [them] not. Both the cook Önggür and Arqai took [them]. These three counted the goods and the things of Jungdu and came [back]. Then Činggis Qahan asked of Önggür, Arqai, and Qutuqu—[all] three—saying, “What hath Qada given?” When Ŝigi Qutuqu spake, he said, “He hath brought and given [16v] satins having gold and having patterns. When I spake, saying, ‘Beforetime this Jungdu was [the possession] of the Altan Qan. Now it is become [the possession] of Činggis Qa’an. Thou, Qada, stealing the goods of Činggis Qa’an behind [his] back, how givest thou [them]? I did not take [them].’ Both Önggür and Arqai took the [goods] which [17r] he gave [unto them],” Činggis Qahan then exceedingly rebuked both Önggür and Arqai. Exceedingly favouring [him], saying, “Thou, Ŝigi Qutuqu, hast been mindful of the great principle,” 60 he made a decree, saying, “Shalt thou not be

Mine eyes for seeing,

Mine ears for hearing?” 61

§253 [18r] The Altan Qan, entering Namging, himself, submitting himself, making obeisance, sent his son named Tenggeri—[him] with a hundred companions—saying, “Let him be a dayguard unto Činggis Qahan.” Being submitted unto by him, when Činggis Qahan, saying, “I shall withdraw,” then withdrew by [the way

60 I. e., the principle that everything belongs to the qan.
61 See §§138 and 203 above.
62 “A euphemism for “hostage.”
of Čabčiyan, when he sent Qasar along the Sea ** with the troops of the left hand,** he sent, saying, "Pitch [ye at] the city of [18v] Buiging."** Making the city of Buiging to submit itself, going yonder, passing Wuqanu of the Jürčed, if Wuqanu think rebellion, fall [ye] upon [him]. If he submit himself, passing their cities of the frontier, going along the Ula and Na'ur rivers, passing over up along the Ta'ur River, come [ye], [19r] joining forces at the "great a'uruy." He sent with Qasar from the chiefs, Jürčedei, Alči, and Tolun Čerbi—all three. Qasar, bringing into subjection the city of Buiging, making Wuqanu of the Jürčed to submit himself, having brought into subjection the cities which were on the way, Qasar, coming up along the Ta'ur River, came to pitch at [19v] the "great a'uruy."

§254 [20r] After that, Činggis Qahan—his hundred ambassadors having Uqana at their head being hindered and being killed by the Sarta'ul people—when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "How was my 'golden tether' broken by the Sarta'ul people," at the moment when he set forth, saying, "I shall set forth against the Sarta'ul [20v] people, of my hundred ambassadors having Uqana at their head," then when Yesii Qadun, petitioned, recommending unto Činggis Qa'an, as she petitioned, saying, "The Qahan, of my hundred ambassadors having Uqana at their head," then when Yesii Qadun, petitioned, recommending unto Činggis Qa'an, as she petitioned, saying, "The Qahan,

Avenging
The avengement,
Requiting
The requital
Passing high passes,
Passing over wide rivers,
Campaigning a long campaign,
Hath thought of setting in order his many peoples.

** I.e., the Gulf of Chih-li.  
** I.e., "the left wing."

** I.e., Pei-ching 北京 or "Northern Capital" (in Manchuria), glossed Ta-ning 大事, the name by which it was known during the Yuan and Ming dynasties. Cf. Lucien Griener, Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la Mandchourie (Hongkong, 1934), pp. 737 and 881-882.

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** See also §255. "The 'golden tether' seems to be the bond of suzerainty which, besides commercial relations, the Mongolian envoys had had mission to establish between Činggis and the sovereign of Hwarezm." Cf. Antoine Morawetz, op. cit., p. [209].
When thy body like [unto] [21r] a great tree Falleth down, To whom wilt thou bequeath thy peoples like [unto] stalks of hemp? 37
When thy body like [unto] the base of a pillar Tumbleth down, To whom wilt thou bequeath thy peoples like [unto] a flock of birds? 38

Whom of thy four sons [which are] kiilü'iid which are begotten [of thee] wilt thou name? [I] have recommended [unto thee] that of us which, at the moment when we considered [it], hath been comprehended by the sons, by the younger brethren, by the many common people and also by us, [21v] bad one. 39 Let the [imperial] decree decide [which of them it shall be], when Cinggis Qahan made a decree, having said, "And [even] if she be [but] a lady," the words of Yesüü [are] tighter than right. Whosoever [ye be], younger brethren and sons, and ye, Bo'orçu, Muqali and others, [22r] ye have not thus recommended [unto me]. I also was forgetting [it] as if [I] would not follow the forefathers. [I] was sleeping as if [I] would not be seized upon by death," he said, "The eldest of my sons is Joci. What sayest thou? Tell [it]."

Before that Joci had uttered [his voice], when Ça'adai spake, with [his] saying, "When [thou] sayest that Joci [22v] should tell [it], speakest [thou thereby], charging Joci [with the succession]? How shall we let ourselves be governed by this čul (?čul) uža'ar "of the Merkid?" Joci being arisen, when, holding to the
collar of Ça'adai, he spake, he said, "[I] have not [ever] been said [to be] other [than my brethren] by the father the Qan. How distinguisthst thou me? By what ability [art] thou more [able than I]? [33r] Only by thy hardness 14 [art] thou, perhaps, more [able than I]. If, in striving to shoot farther, I am excelled by thee, I shall cut off and cast away my thumb. If, in wrestling, I am defeated by thee, I shall not arise from the ground where [I] shall be fallen. Let the decree of the father the Qan decide [which of us it shall be]." At the moment when both Joći and Ça'adai are standing, holding each other by the collar and at the moment when Bo'orcu is pulling Joći by the arm and Muqali is pulling Ça'adai by the arm, Cinggis Qahan is listening and is sitting speechless. Then, when Kōkō Ėos, standing [on] the left side, spake, 48 he said, "Ça'adai why makest thou haste? Thy father the Qan, among the sons, had hoped for thee." [34r] Before that ye were born, 

The Heaven with stars
Was turning round about.
The many peoples were at strife. 46
Not entering into their beds,
They were spoiling one another.

The earth with crust
Was turning backward and forward.
The whole nation was at strife.
Not lying down in his covering,

attested, cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., pp. [185]-[187], n. 167. That they probably mean "bastard, son of the Merkid" (cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [186]) is suggested by the vigorous defense of the honor of Börte by Kōkō Ėos (see below) in reply to Ça'adai who, in calling Joći a ćul (tćul) uđja'ur, not only evidenced disbelief of his elder brother's legitimacy, but also indirectly insulted his own mother, Börte. 46 I.e., a bad, not a good quality.

48 Kōkō Ėos, it will be recalled, had been ordered by Cinggis Qahan to be near Ça'adai evening and morning in the capacity of an advisor. See §343 above.
49 I.e., "Among the sons it was of thee that thy father the qan had conceived hopes." Cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [306].
50 Cf. II. Samuel XIX §9: "And all the people were at strife throughout all the tribes of Israel, . . . ."
The one was assaulting the other.  

At such a time, she did not desire [it].

It was come to pass at the moment when the one encountered the other [with weapons in hand].

She did not steal away, [fleeing away from home].

It was come to pass at the moment when the one was fighting the other. She was not in love [with another man].

It was come to pass at the moment when the one was killing the other.

Thou speakest so as to harden the 'butter affection' and so as to sour the 'milk heart' of thy mother, the holy Qadun.

From the warm [womb]  
Suddenly [issuing] were [25r] ye [—thou and Joci—] not born from the [self]same belly?

From the hot [womb]  
Suddenly [springing] are ye [—thou and Joci—] not issued from an only womb?

If [thou] cause to rebuke [thee]  
Thy mother which hath borne [thee] from her heart,  
Her affection [for thee]  
Waxing cold,  
[Even] if [thou] appease [her], it will not do.

44 Such was the anarchy which had preceded the birth of the sons of Öngis Qahan. In this connection, Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [194], remarked: "By the words hodutai tengeri koriga bül'e; körinüütei etüügen körbœjü bül'e 'the starry heaven was turning on itself'; 'the earth with epidermis was turning and returning.' Kök-tö means that the country was full of troubles and that, even the most stable of everything, heaven and earth, was in movement, that is to say, that all was upside down and that there were no longer government nor laws."

47 "When thy mother was abducted by the Merkid." Cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [807].

"I.e., 'soft (= warm) affection.'

"I.e., 'sweet (= kindly) heart.'

"I.e., Börte.
If [thou] cause to murmur [against thee]
Thy mother which hath borne [thee] from [her] belly,
Her murmuring [against thee],
[Even] if [thou] make [it] to cease, it will not do.
When your father the Qan
Established the whole nation,

at the time when,

Tying his black head to [his] saddle,
Pouring his black blood into a great leathern bucket,\(^{1}\)
Not winking his black eyes,
Not putting his flat ear at a pillow,
Making a pillow of his sleeve,
Spreading the skirt of his garment [for a mattress],
Quenching his thirst with his spittle,
Eating the flesh betwixt [his] teeth for supper,

he was pressing forward till the sweat of [his] forehead attained
unto the soles [of his feet] and till the sweat of [26r] the soles [of
his feet] ascended unto [his] forehead and was diligently applying
himself, when your mother, together [with him], toiled and when,

Putting [her] boyta [on her head] so as to
make [it] fast,
Girding herself so as to tuck up her skirt,\(^{2}\)
Putting [her] boyta [on her head] so as to make
[it] firm,
Girding herself so as to tighten her waist,
She raised you up, hers,
While she swallowed [her food],
Giving [unto you] her half [of it],
And, as [having compassion] she was obstructed
as to the gullet,\(^{3}\)

\(^{1}\) "Kökös-ös means that, in founding the empire, Čingis lived continually in
danger of death: 'His head was no longer found on his neck, but he had attached it
to his saddle as he did with his baggage, and he could lose it at any instant; his
blood no longer flowed in his veins, but he had poured it into a bucket, and it
risked being shed at any moment.' Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [800].

\(^{2}\) See §74 above.

\(^{3}\) See §213 above.
She gave [unto you] [28v] her all
And she [herself] went empty.
Pulling you by the shoulders,
[Saying unto herself,] 'How shall I make [them]
to be equal [in stature] with males?'
Pulling you by the neck,
Saying [unto herself], 'How shall I make [them] to
be equal [in] stature with men?','
Cleansing your buyi;""'
Making you to lift up your heels [whilst teaching
you how to walk],
she made [you] to attain
Unto the shoulders of the males,
Unto the cruppers of the geldings,
[27r] and [yet] now thinketh she not [unto herself], saying, 'I
shall see the happiness of you, mine '? The holy Qadun of us [in
raising you up] had a heart

Bright like the sun,
Wide like a lake."

§255 [28r] Then, when Činggis Qan spake, he made a decree,
my sons, is it not Joči? [Here]after say [ye] not so." At this word,
when Ca'adai, smiling, spake, he said, "Not speaking [concerning]
Joči's [being] mighty nor the answer [to give in respect] of [his
supposed] ability [I shall but say]:

That [prey] which one hath killed
[But] with [his] mouth,
If one [wish to] lay it [on his beast], it
will not do.
That [prey] which one hath made to die
[But] with [his] words,

*See §214 above.
* This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
If one [wish to] pluck off [its] skin, it will not do.  

The eldest [29r] of the sons are the twain, Joči and we." We shall, associating ourselves, give [our] might unto the father the Qan. We shall cleave asunder the one of us which shall have avoided [his duty]. We shall cleave in twain our heels of the one of us which shall be fallen behind. Ögödei is honest. Let us say Ögödei. Ögödei being at the side of the father the Qan, if [the latter] make [him] to recognize the precepts of the hat of which [29v] the appearance is great, it will do."  

At this word, when Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "Joči, what sayest [thou]. Speak!" When Joči spake, [30r] he said, " Ça'adai hath spoken [it]. The twain, Ça'adai and we," shall together give [our] might [unto him]. Let us say Ögödei." When Činggis Qahan made a decree, having said, "[To go] so far as to associate yourselves, what is it?" Mother Earth is broad. The rivers and waters are many. Making broad the encampments [which are] like [such as easily] separate themselves and making [you each] to rule over a realm, we shall separate you," having said, "Both Joči and Ça'adai, keep to your word.

Suffer yourselves not to be derided 

By people.

Suffer yourselves not to be laughed [to scorn] [30v] 

By men.

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"See § 196 above. In quoting this saying, Ça'adai answers the boastful words of Joči in § 254 above: "If, in striving to shoot farther, I am excelled by thee, I shall cut off and cast away my thumb. If, in wrestling, I am defeated by thee, I shall not arise from the ground where [I] shall be fallen." Ça'adai means that Joči's boasting is in vain so long as Joči has not vanquished him in reality, just as to be able to load game on a beast or to skin it, it is not adequate merely to say that one has killed, for one must have killed it in reality. Cf. also Antoine Mostakri, op. cit. p. [188].

*I.e., "I."

*I.e., devotion.

*I.e., the sign of imperial authority. See Chapter II, note 67.

*As seen from afar.

*I.e., "If our father teach him the duties of the station of qan, it will do."

*I.e., "I."

*I.e., "What reason would there be for you to cooperate, by staying here to govern the people?"
Formerly both Altan and Qučar pledged [their] word like this, 
but, because they did not keep to their word, how were they done unto? How were they made to be? Now, [some] from [among] the seed of both Altan and Qučar, together with you, we shall separate. [31r] Seeing those, how will ye be negligent?" he said, "Ögödei, what sayest thou? Tell!" When Ögödei spake, he said, "If, the father the Qahan favouring [me], I am told, 'Speak,' I shall speak my what? How shall [I] speak, saying, 'I cannot.' I shall say, 'I shall be diligent according to [mine] ability.' Long [here]after [31v], indeed, if, among my seed, there be born [those so void of valour that],

If one wrap [them] in green grass,
They will not be eaten by an ox;
If one wrap [them] in fat,
They will not be eaten by a dog,

will they [not] miss an elk [which appeareth] breadthwise [as well as] a rat [which appeareth] lengthwise? I say so much as this of mine. What else shall I speak?" [32r] At this word, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he said, "If Ögödei would speak such words, it will do." Again he said, "Tolui, what sayest thou? Tell!" When Tolui spake, as he spake, saying, "I, being in the presence of mine elder brother which the father the Qahan hath named,

Making [him] to remember that which he shall have forgotten, [32v]
Making to awake [him] which shall be fallen asleep.

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44 See §122 above.
45 See §128 above.
46 I.e., "The very sight of those peoples who belonged to Altan and Qučar will remind you that you cannot do as those two did."
47 See note 73 below.
48 In a letter dated 30 December 1954 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked that: "The figure is taken from a hunter so unskilled that he misses beasts easy to shoot as well as those which one shoots only with difficulty."
49 See §200 above.
Becoming

A 'companion of the [word] "yea,"'70
A 'whip of the chestnut [coloured] horse,'71
Falling not behind from the 'yea,'72
Missing not from the rank,

[I] shall for [him]

Campaign a long campaign,
Fight a short fight,"

when Cinggis Qahan, approving, made a decree, having made a decree, saying, "Seed of Qasar, make one of you to govern. [38r] Seed of Alcidai, make one of you to govern. Seed of Odçigin, make one of you to govern. Seed of Ögödei be born [so void of valour that],

If one wrap [it] in green grass,
It be not eaten by an ox;
If one wrap [it] in fat,
It be not eaten by a dog,73

will there not be born among my seed [even] one which may be good?"

§256 [35r] When Cinggis Qahan set forth and when he sent ambassadors unto Burqan of the Tang'ud people, as he sent, saying,

"I.e., "a companion of the word by which one expresses his consent." In other words, "I shall keep to the promise which I promised." See Chapter III, note 16.

"I.e., "I shall be the whip by which the chestnut-colored horse will be made to advance." See Chapter III, note 17.

"I.e., "Once I shall have said, 'Yea,' I shall keep to my word."

As remarked by Antoine Mostaert, op. cit. p. [168], n. 164: "This saying quoted by Cinggis still lives in the dialects. The Ülemiş üpen-ü ügedesüm, a collection of sayings and proverbs collected by Cynbilig of the Çaqar in collaboration with Nasundalai of the Čuay banner of the Ordus and published in 1948 in Nanking, gives it on page 9 under the following form: Ebesin-dü boyobaçu öher singikü ügei, ügêkin-dü boyobaçu noqai singikü ügei. 'One envelopes it in grass in vain, an ox does not [even] scent it; one envelopes it in fat in vain, a dog does not [even] scent it.'"
"Thou hast said, 'I shall be [thy] right hand.' My 'golden tether' being broken by the Sarta'ul people, "I have set forth to take account of [him]." Set [thou] forth, being [my] right hand," [35v] before that Burqan had uttered [his voice], first, when Ása Gambu spake, saying, "Since [his] might is not able [to overcome others], why [go] so far as to become qan?," not adding troops [unto those of Cinggis Qahan], speaking great words, he sent [back the ambassadors]. Then, when Cinggis Qahan spake, saying, "How could [we] have been thus spoken [unto] by Ása Gambu?," saying, [As for the best of the [divers] devices considered], [36r] if [we] sent unto them, then betaking ourselves circuitously, [we] would have what difficulty? [But,] at the moment, indeed, when we betake ourselves unto other people, yea, that [sufficeth]! If I be protected by Everlasting Heaven, if I come [back], strongly pulling [in] the 'golden reins,' " then, indeed, let that be [done]."

§257 [36v] In the year of the hare [1219], when, passing by Arai," he set forth against the Sarta'ul people, when Cinggis Qahan, taking Qulan Qutun "from the qatun, [37r] went a warfare, from the younger brethren he assigned Odëgin Noyan unto the " great d'uruy " and set forth. He sent Jebe as vanguard. He sent Sübe'etei as succourer of Jebe. He sent Toqucar as succourer of Sübe'etei. When he sent these three, he sent, saying, "Go outside. Go out to the yonder side of the Sultan," and, [37v] waiting until We arrive, assault [him] from your side." Jebe—that [one]—going out, passing the cities of Qan Melig, "not touching [them], passed by outside. Behind him, Sübe'etei after the same manner, not touching [them], passed by. Behind him, Toqucar robbed the frontier cities of Qan Melig and [38r] spoiled his husbandmen. Qan Melig, saying, "My cities have been robbed," removing in revolt, joined himself unto Jalalding Sultan." Both Jalalding Sultan and Qan
Melig set forth against Ćinggis Qa’an. In front of Ćinggis Qa’an, Sigi Qutuqu went as vanguard. [38v] Standing in array with Sigi Qutuqu, both Jalalding Soltan and Qan Melig overcame Sigi Qutuqu and, at the moment when, overcoming [him] until they arrived at Ćinggis Qahan, they were going forward, Ėbe, Sūbe’etëi, and Toqucar—all three—entering behind both Jalalding Soltan and Qan Melig, moreover, overcoming [them], having slain [them], overcoming them, not suffering [them] to join forces in the cities of Buqar, Semisgab, and [39r] Udarar, when, pursuing [them], they suffered the fact that they went unto the Śin River, as they began to enter, hurling themselves into the Śin River, their many Sarta’ul perished there in the Śin River. Both Jalalding Soltan and Qan Melig, saving their lives, fled away [39v] up along the Śin River. Ćinggis Qahan departing up along the Śin River, going, spoiling Badkesen, reaching the Eke Stream and the Ge’in Stream, pitched [on] the Baru’an Plain. Sending Bala the Jaliyar, making [him] to pursue both Jalalding Soltan and Qan Melig, exceedingly favouring both Ėbe and Sūbe’etëi, saying, “Ēbe, thou [40r] hadst the name Jiryo’adai. Coming from the Tayiči’ud, thou art become Ėbe.” Toqucar, by his own will, robbing the frontier cities of Qan Melig, made Qan Melig to revolt. Making [this a matter of] ordinance, [we] shall behead [him],” making an end of [so] saying, moreover, not beheading [him], exceedingly rebuking [him], punishing [him], made [him] to descend from his [40v] commanding an army.

81 I. e., B (u) xără.
82 Although I transcribe this name as it appears in the text, it is an obvious error for Semisgen attested in 50v1 below. On page 159 of his review of Erich Hänisch’s “Die letzten Feldzüge...” (see Chapter VIII, n. 2) Paul Pellizzi remarked: “The transcription supposes simply ‘Semisgab’; I shall show elsewhere how Sämigab must have been born, by graphic alteration, from Sämigant = Samiz-kant, Samarkand.” The name Sämis Känd is Turkish and means “Fat City.”
83 I. e., Utrar (−Otrár).
84 I. e., the Sindh or Indus.
85 I. e., B (a)daxän.
86 I. e., “Mother Stream.”
87 I. e., “Mare Stream.”
88 I. e., “P(a)rwan Plain.”
89 Jalijartai is a variant of Jalayirtay. See §240 below.
90 See §147 above.
And so Cinggis Qahan returning from the Barula Plain,1 sent the three sons, Joči, ̄Ča’adai, and Ögedei, saying, “Passing over the Amui River 2 with the soldiers of the right hand,”3 pitch [ye at] the city of Ürünggeci.”4 He sent Tolui, saying, “Pitch [ye at] the many cities having Iru 5 and Isebûr 6 at their head.” Cinggis Qahan himself pitched [at] the city of Udirar.7 When the three sons, Joči, Ča’adai, and [42r] Ögedei, sent petitioning, as they sent petitioning, saying, “Our armies are completely assembled. We have reached the city of Ürünggeci. According to the words of whom of us shall we act?” when Cinggis Qahan made a decree, he sent, saying, “Act [ye] according to the words of your [brother] Ögedei.”

And so Cinggis Qahan, bringing into subjection the City of Udurar,8 removing from the city of Udurar,9 [43r] pitched [at] the city of Semisgab.10 Removing from the city of Semisgab, he pitched at the city of Buqar. Then Cinggis Qahan, awaiting Bala, [at] the ridge of Altan Torqan,101 summering [at] the summer house of the Soltan, sent messengers unto Tolui. As he sent, saying, “The year 102 is become hot. The other armies are pitching. Join thou thyself unto Us,” Tolui taking cities [43v] such as Iru and Isebur, breaking the city of Sisten,103 at the moment when he was breaking the city of Çiigceren,104 returning, being come, pitching, joined himself unto Cinggis Qahan.

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1 Barula is an obvious error for Baru’an found in §257 above. See note 81 above.
2 I. e., the Amu Darya or Oxus.
3 I. e., wing.
4 I. e., G(u)rganj.
6 This unquestionably is an error for “Nisebûr, i. e., Nišâpûr.
7 Udirar – Udarar in §257 above.
8 Udurar – Udarar (§257) – Udirar (§228).
9 The text has Uduber, an obvious error for Udurar which occurs immediately above.
100 See note 76 above.
101 This is glossed “place-name.”
102 I. e., “the weather.”
103 I. e., Siatan.
104 I. e., Č(u)qê (a) rûm or Herat. Cf. Boyle, op. cit., pp. 404-405.
§260 [44r] The three sons, Joči, Ca’adai, and Ögödei, bringing into subjection the city of Öringgeči, parting the one unto the other the peoples of the cities all three, did not bring forth a part for Činggis Qa’an. When these three [44v] sons came to pitch, Činggis Qahan, rebuking the three sons, Joči, Ca’adai, and Ögödei, for three days did not suffer [them] to present themselves. Then, when Bo’orçu, Muqali, and Šigi Qutuqu—[all] three—petitioned, as they petitioned, saying, “Making the sultan of the Sarta’ul people which had not submitted themselves to stoop down, we have taken their cities and [45r] people. The city of Öringgeči which, being parted, is taken and the sons which part and take [it] all are [possessions] of Činggis Qa’an. Our might being increased by Heaven and Earth, at the moment when we have made the Sarta’ul people to stoop down so much as this, we, thy many men and geldings, [45v] are rejoicing and...?... Why is the Qahan thus wroth? The sons, perceiving their wrong, have been afraid. Let them learn their after[math]. [We] fear lest the princes become negligent [as to] their nature.106 If [thou] favour [them] and if [thou] suffer [them] to present themselves, will it [not] do?,” Činggis Qahan being pacified, suffering the three [46r] sons, Joči, Ca’adai, and Ögödei, to present themselves, when he rebuked them,

Quoting
Old words,
Citing
Ancient words,107

chiding [them]

Till they almost sank into the earth [at the place] where they were standing:

106 The word maqatfu, not glossed, is the converbum imperfecti in -fu of a verb maqai, not elsewhere attested.
107 In his letter of 30 December 1954 the Reverend Antoine Montfaton remarked: “The sense is: ‘We fear that, if you treat them so harshly, the princes may be discouraged and lose the seal to fulfill their duty of which they have given evidence up to the present.’”
108 See §78 above.
Till they were not able to wipe the sweat of [their] foreheads,\textsuperscript{108}

at the moment when he was proclaiming by rebuke and by admonition, when Qongqai Qorci, Qongtayar Qorci, and Cormaqan Qorci—these [46v] three quiver-bearers—petitioned unto Cinggis Qa'an, when they petitioned, saying, "At the moment when, [even] as gray falcons but enter into training, the sons are learning to go a warfare but so much as this, breaking the spirit of the sons, why rebukest [thou] thus as if in heaps?\textsuperscript{109} We fear lest the princes, being afraid, become negligent [as to] their thoughts. From [the place] where the sun setteth unto [the place] where the sun riseth, there are enemy peoples. [47r] When, provoking [us], [thou] sendest us, thy 'Toobodid dogs,'\textsuperscript{110} enemy people, we—[our] might being increased by Heaven and Earth—gold, silver, satins, possessions, [subject] people and folk shall bring for thee. If [thou] say, 'Which people?,' [47v] [one] saith, '[In] this west there is he who calleth himself the Qalibai Soitan\textsuperscript{111} of the Baytad\textsuperscript{112} people.' [We] shall go a warfare against him," the Qahan, abating [as to his anger], being pacified at these words, when Cinggis Qahan, approving, made a decree, favouring the three quiver-bearers, Qongqai, Qongtayar, and Cormaqan, [he said,] 'Let both Qongqai of the Adargid and Qongtayar of the Dolonggir be at my side.' He made Cormaqan of the Oteged to go a warfare against the Baytad people, against the Qalibai Soitan.

§261 [49r] Again he made Dörbei Doyśin of the Dörbed to campaign against Aru,\textsuperscript{113} Maru,\textsuperscript{114} and the city of Abtu\textsuperscript{115} of the Madasari\textsuperscript{116} people between both the Hindus people and the Baytad people.

\textsuperscript{108} Because there was so much of it.
\textsuperscript{109} I. e., "with volubility." See §41 above. The three quiver-bearers mean that Cinggis Qahan uttered a continuous stream of maledictions.
\textsuperscript{110} I. e., "Tibetan dogs."
\textsuperscript{111} I. e., Nāṣir (i)īr, caliph of Baghdad.
\textsuperscript{112} I. e., Baghdad.
\textsuperscript{115} This place has not yet been identified.
\textsuperscript{116} These people have not yet been identified.
§262 Again he made Sübe’etei Ba’atur to go a warfare northward unto these eleven tribes of realms and peoples: Qanglin,117 Kib-ča’ud,118 [40v] Bağjigid,119 Orusud,120 Majarad,121 Asud,122 Sasud,123 Serkesüd,124 Keşimir,125 Bolar,126 and Kerel 127 and, making [him] to cross the Idil 128 and the Jayay 129 rivers full of water, [he made] Sübe’etei Ba’atur [to go a warfare] unto the city of Kiwa Men-kermen.130

§263 [50r] Again, when, making an end of taking the Sarta’ul people, Činggis Qahan had made a decree, appointing daruyazin in cities and cities, there coming from the city of Ürunggeçi two [50v] Sarta’ul of the Qurumsi clan, father and son, whose names were Yalawaçi 131 and Masqud,132 speaking unto Činggis Qa’an the customs and laws of the city, [the latter] being told so as to know [the custom after which cities are governed] like unto [that

118 This is the plural of Kipêy (= Qipêy). Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 183.
119 This is the plural of *Bağjig (= Bağjîy – Bağjîy). Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 183.
120 This is the plural of Orus. Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 183.
121 This is the plural of Majar. Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 183.
122 This is the plural of Asa. Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 183.
123 This is the plural of *Sas or *Sasun. Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 183. In §270 below, however, the name is transcribed Sâsûd.
124 This is the plural of Serkes (= Čerkes). Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 183.
125 This constitutes a problem. Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 183.
126 This is erroneously transcribed Buqar in §270 below.
127 The text has Rarâl, an obvious error for Kerel. Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 181, n. 2, and p. 182, n. 3.
130 This is a compound city-name. Although the text has Kiwamen Kermen, it is clear from Kiva in §274 below as well as Mehedmen Kermen Keyîbe (itself an error for Meked Menkermen Keyîbe) in §270 below that the final syllable -men of Kiwamen is, in reality, the initial syllable of Kermen. Kiwa (§§262 and 274) – Keyîbe ([§270] is the Russian Kiev. Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 129, n. 4. Menkermen was the Turkish name of Kiev. Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 114, n. 1, and p. 192, n. 4.
131 Qurumsî is a metathetic form of *Qurumsi, i. e., Xwdr(i)âmi, the ethnic of Xwdr (i) zm. Cf. Paul Pelliot, “Le nom du xwdrîzm dans les textes chinois,” Tsung Po 34 (1928-1930) 140-182 (p. 180).
133 I. e., Mas’ûd.
which the custom [truly is], appointing his son—the Qurumši Masqud,—making [him] to govern with our daruyas cities having at their head Buqar, Semisgen, Üringgeći, Udan, Kisyar, Uriyang, and Güsen Daril and bringing his father, Yalawaci, he brought [him], making [him] to govern the city of Jungdu of the Kitad. Because among the Sartaytai people both Yalawaci and Masqud are skilful in the laws and customs of cities, he appointed [them], with [our] daruyas, making [them] to govern the Kitad people.

§264 [51v] [Činggis Qahan] going seven years in [the countries of] the Sarta'ul people, then at the moment when he was awaiting Bala the Jalayir, Bala [52r] passing over the Šin River, pursuing both Jalalding Soltan and Qan Melig unto the country of the Hindus, losing both Jalalding Soltan and Qan Melig, seeking [them] unto the middle of the Hindus, not being able [to find them], returning, having spoiled the people of the frontier of the Hindus, having taken many camels and many gelded he goats, he came [back]. [52v] Then Činggis Qahan, returning, summing on the way at the Erdiš, in the autumn of the year of the cock [1225], the seventh year [of the campaign], pitched at the ordos in the Black Forest of the Tula [River].
Wintering that winter, saying, "I shall set forth against the Tang'ud people," newly numbering the number, in the autumn of the year of the dog [1226] Chinggis Qahan set forth against the Tang'ud people. From the qadund, taking [with him] Yesüi Qadun, he departed. As, on the way, in the winter, he hunted the many wild horses of [1v] Arbuqa, Chinggis Qahan was riding Josotu Boro. When the wild horses came, passing by, Josotu Boro being terrified, when Chinggis Qahan fell from the horse, his flesh paining exceedingly, he pitched [at] Co'orqad. As he passed that night, when, on the morrow, [2r] Yesüi Qadun spake, she said, "Princes and chiefs, talk [ye] unto one another. The Qahan, at night, hath passed the night, [his] flesh [being] hot." Then when the princes and chiefs assembled themselves, when Tolun Čerbi of the Qong-qotad spake, advising [them], as he said, "The Tang'ud people are

Ones which have pounded city walls;
Ones which have a stable encampment. They [2v] will not depart, carrying their pounded city walls, those.
They will not depart, forsaking their stable encampment, those.

We, withdrawing, when the flesh of the Qahan becometh cool, again, moreover, we shall set forth," all the princes and chiefs approving this word, when they petitioned unto Chinggis Qahan, when Chinggis Qahan spake, saying, "The Tang'ud people will say that we, [our] hearts [3r] failing [us], are returned. If then, sending ambassadors, [while] trying the sickness at this [self]same Co'or-

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1 See §191 above.
2 This is the name of a horse, signifying "Red-Earth Gray."
3 See §240 above.
4 I.e., "while seeing what turn the sickness will take." For the reading ebčin-i . . . sobijafu ("trying . . . the sickness") instead of the reading dčin-i . . . sobilafu ("trying . . . the ambassadors") cf. Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., pp. [217]-[220].
qd, we shall withdraw ourselves [after] considering their * word, it will do, ' then when he sent, letting [his] voice * be carried by the ambassadors, as he sent, saying, "When, beforetime, Burqan, thou didst speak, [thou] didst say, ' We Tang'ud people shall be thy right hand." Being so told [3v] by thee, when I sent, requesting, saying, ' [Forasmuch] as it was not entered into agreement by the Sarta'ul people, I shall set forth [against them], thou, Burqan, not keeping to thy word and not giving troops, art come, deriding [me] by [thy] word. 10 At the moment when I betook myself elsewhere, saying, ' I shall verify [this here] after,' setting forth against [4r] the Sarta'ul people, being protected by Everlasting Heaven, making the Sarta'ul people to submit themselves unto uprightness, " I draw nigh, saying, ' Now, to [the face of] Burqan, [I] shall verify the word,' " when Burqan spake, he said, ' I spake not [unto thee] words of derision. ' When Aša Gambu spake, he sent, saying, " I spake words [4v] of derision. And, as to now, if ye, Mongyol, being accustomed to battle, say, ' Let us join battle,' —as for me, I have an Alašai encampment, terme 12 tents, and camels' burden 13—betaking yourselves [unto] Alašai, come [ye] unto me. Let us there join battle. If [ye] [5r] need gold, silver, satins, and possessions, betake [ye] yourselves to Eriyaya or Erije'ui. ' When they brought this word unto Činggis Qahan, when Činggis Qahan—when [his] flesh was [yet] hot—spake, he said, " Yes! That [sufficeth]! Suffering [him] to speak such great words, how can [we] withdraw ourselves? When [we] die," let us go,

I.e., of the Tang'ud.

I.e., reply.

"Činggis means: ' We shall not return now, for fear that the Tangyud may say that we are cowards. We shall send messengers to them and meanwhile we shall stay here and shall see what turn my malady will take. If it is aggravated, we shall always be able to take the road back, after we shall have taken cognizance of the reply that our envoys will have brought back to us.' " Antoine Moreau, op. cit., p. [213].

I.e., message.

See §§249 and 266 above.

This is an allusion to the words of Aša Gambu in §266 above.

For a similar figure, see, for example, the words " making straight " in §205 above.

A type of tent glossed " spread tent."

Cf. II. Kings §9: " So Hazael went to meet him, and took a present with him, even of every good thing of Damascus, forty camels' burden, . . . ."

I.e., " although we may die."
relying upon the great words,” and, saying, “Everlasting [5v] Heaven, decide thou [which of us is right].” Cinggis Qahan, be-taking himself [unto] Alaśai, arriving [there], joining battle with Aśa Gambu, overcoming Aśa Gambu, causing [him] to fortress himself on Alaśai, taking Aśa Gambu, caused [one] to spoil his people which had terme tents and which had camels’ burden, till they blew away after the manner of the ashes [of the hearth]. He made a decree, saying, “Slaying the bold and the courageous, the male and the good Tang’udud, take [ye] for the men of the armies such and such Tang’udud as many as ye can hold in hand and as many as ye can get.”

§266 [7r] Cinggis Qahan, summering on [Mount] Časutu, sent soldiers and caused [them] to spoil till they wholly 18 destroyed the Tang’udud having terme tents and having camels’ burden, [7v] which with Aśa Gambū 16 had gotten them to the mountain and had rebelled. Then, when he shewed favour unto the twain, Bo’orču and Muqali, he made a decree, saying, “Let them take till they know by [their] might [how much of it they shall take].” Again, when Cinggis Qahan made a decree, when he gave favours unto the twain, [8r] Bo’orču and Muqali, he made a decree, saying, “Saying [unto myself,] ‘[I] have not given [unto you a part] from the Kitad people,’ ye twain, equally parting [them], take the Jūyin of the Kitad people. Making their good sons to hold your falcons in hand, go [ye], making [them] to follow [you]. Raising up their good daughters, [8v] make [ye them] to order the skirts [of the garments] of your wives. The trusty favourites of the Altan Qan of the Kitad people are the Qara Kitad Jūyin people which made an end of the grandfathers and fathers of the Mongyol. Now my trusty favourites are ye twain, Bo’orču and Muqali.”

§267 [9r] Cinggis Qahan, removing from [Mount] Časutu, [9v]

16 In an oral communication of 10 September 1953, confirmed by a written communication of 17 September 1953, the Reverend Antoine Mostaert interpreted the word amsayyar “according to the fact of having counted” to signify “totally” or “entirely.”
10 To judge by the comitative suffix -i’s (“with”), the name transcribed Gambu elsewhere in the Secret History was here read Gembū.
pitching [at] the city of Uraqi, removing from the city of Uraqi, at the moment when he was breaking the city of Dörmegei, Burqan came for to present himself unto Činggis Qahan. Then, when Burqan presented himself, at the moment when he presented himself with [gifts consisting] first [in] golden images of Buddha, and, besides those, in bowls and [other] vessels of gold and of silver, nine and nine, [in] boys and girls, nine and nine, [in] geldings and camels, nine and nine, and [in yet] every kind of [other] things, having distributed [them] after their colours and forms, nine and nine, [Činggis Qahan] made Burqan to present himself at the outside of the tent in a manner in which the door [was] closed. At that presenting himself, within Činggis Qahan the heart revolted. On the third day, when Činggis Qahan made a decree—giving unto Iluqu Burqan the name Siduryu and suffering the fact that Iluqu Burqan Siduryu was come—then Činggis Qahan, saying, “Cause [ye] Iluqu to pass away,” made a decree, saying, “Let Tolun Čerbi lay hand [upon him] and cause [him] to pass away.” Then, as Tolun Čerbi made [one] to report, saying, “[I] have laid hand upon Iluqu and have accomplished [the deed],” when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, “At the moment when I was drawing nigh unto the Tang’ud people to verify the words [of Iluqu Burqan], he who, when, [11r] on the way, I had hunted the wild horses of Arbuqa, dealing sparingly with my life and body advised [me] words [of advice], saying [concerning] my flesh which ached, ‘Let it heal,’ was Tolun. At the word of poison of a “companion,” coming, [Our] might being increased by Everlasting Heaven, making [him] to enter into Our hands, We have taken Our vengeance. Let Tolun take [11v] this journeying palace which Iluqu hath brought, together with the bowls and the vessels.”

§268 [12r] Spoiling the Tang’ud people, making Iluqu Burqan to be Siduryu, accomplishing him, causing the mothers and the

17 The word sīme is glossed (Fo-mei) “Buddhas,” but the meaning, as indicated by Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [223], is “figures.”
18 I.e., “Upright.”
19 See Chapter VII, note 25.
20 I.e., killing.
fathers of the Tang'ud people, unto the seed of the seed, to vanish muquli musquli. He made a decree, saying, "While [I] eat [food], saying, '[They are] vanished muquli musquli,' making [them] to die and destroying [them], be [ye], saying [this]." Because the Tang'ud people, [after] speaking a word, kept not to the word, Cinggis Qahan going a warfare a second time against the Tang'ud people, destroying the Tang'ud people, [coming back], in the year of the pig [1227] Cinggis Qahan is ascended to Heaven. After that he was ascended, one gave exceedingly unto Yesii Qadun from the Tang'ud people.

§269 [13v] In the year of the rat [1228] the princes of the right hand having at their head Ca'adai and Batu, the princes of the left hand having at their head Od6igin Noyan, Yegii, and Yesiinge, the princes of the middle having at their head Tolui, the daughters, the sons in law, the captains of ten thousand and [those] of a thousand, being a multitude, [14r] wholly assembling at Köde'tt Aral of the Keliiren [River], according to the same decree by which Cinggis Qahan had named [him], raised up Ögödei Qahan as qan. Elder Brother Ca'adai, raising up his younger brother Ögödei Qahan as qan, both Elder Brother Ca'adai and Tolui delivered unto Ögödei Qahan the nightguards, the quiverbearers, and the eight thousand dayguards which had been guarding the "golden life" of their father Cinggis Qahan and the private slaves and the ten thousand guards which had been walking in the presence of the person of [14v] his father the Qan. After the same manner they delivered the people of the middle.

§270 [15r] Ögödei Qahan suffering himself to be raised up as qan, after suffering [one] to cause the ten thousand guards which walk within and the people of the middle to be for himself, first [of all] taking counsel with Elder Brother Ca'adai, made to go a warfare

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21 These two words (here and immediately below), not glossed, are not elsewhere attested, but they obviously are descriptive of the manner in which the Tang'ud people were annihilated.
22 I.e., wing.
23 See §269 above.
24 The word 其訟 (miisu) "my" unquestionably is an error for 質訟 (insu) "his."
both Oqotur and Munggetü, succours of Čormaqan Qorëi 39 which was gone a warfare against the Qalibai Sultan of the [15v] Baytad people of the peoples which his father Činggis Qahan had left undone. Again, aforetime, Sübe'eti Ba'atur crossing the Adil 40 and the Jayay rivers full of water [16r] unto the Kanglin, Kibča'ud, Bağjigid, Orusud, Sesüd, 47 Majar, Keşimir, Sergešíid, 48 Bolar, 49 and Kerel peoples, Sübe'eti Ba'atur which was gone a warfare against the cities having at their head Meked, 50 Menkermen, 51 and Keyibe, 52 being exposed to difficulties by those peoples, he caused to set forth the princes having at their head Batu, Büri, Güyük, and Möngge, succours of Sübe'eti. He made a decree, saying, “Let Batu command all these princes [16v] which are gone a warfare.” He made a decree, saying, “Let Güyük command those who are come out from the middle.” Having made a decree, saying, “As to these who go a warfare, let the princes which govern peoples make to go a warfare the eldest sons of their sons. And let the princes which govern not peoples, the captains of ten thousands, of thousands, [17r] of hundreds, and of tens, [these] many persons whosoever they be, 53 make the eldest of their sons to go a warfare. Let the daughters and the [imperial] sons in law, after the same manner, make the eldest of their sons to go a warfare,” again, when Ögödei Qahan spake, [he said.] “And this manner in which one maketh

39 I. e., “Quiverbearer” Čormaqan.
40 See §260 above, where it is transcribed Ìdil.
47 See § 263 above, where it is transcribed Sænäd.
48 See § 292 above, where it is transcribed Serkesüd.
49 The text has Bugar which, unquestionably, is an error for Bolar. Cf. Pelliot, Notes sur l’histoire de la Horde d’Or, p. 219, n. 6, and p. 220, n. 2.
50 Although the text has Mekedmen, it is clear from the occurrence of Meged (-Meked) in §§274 and 275 below that the syllable -men is, in reality, the initial syllable of the following name Kermes, i.e., Menkermen. For a discussion of the name Meked (-Meged), cf. V. Minorsky’s article, “Caucasica III: The Alkin Capital Magas and the Mongol Campaigns,” cited in Chapter II, note 68.
51 See also Chapter XI, note 130.
52 See also Chapter XI, note 130.
53 In a letter dated 13 February 1335, the Reverend Antoine Monfray remarked: “... Or do the clan gëlin form another category of people of whom the eldest sons shall have to leave on campaign? In this case clan gëlin would be a synonym of dàr-gëlin gëlin, and it would be necessary to translate by ‘the people who form the great number, whosoever they be.’”
the eldest of the sons to go a warfare [17v] is from [the part of] Elder Brother Ça'adai. When Elder Brother Ça'adai came, speaking, he came, saying, ‘[I] shall make Büri, the eldest of my sons, to go a warfare [as] succourer of Sübe'etei. If the eldest of the sons go a warfare, the army [will be] vast.‘ If the soldiers which go out be many, they shall go in a manner whereby [their] appearance [is] high and mighty. The enemy peoples [which are] yonder are many realms [in number]. At that extremity, [they are] hard [18r] peoples—those. If they be wroth, [they are] peoples which would die at their own weapons—those. They are said [to be] ones of whom the weapons [are] sharp.’ When Ögödei Qahan spake, saying, ‘At that word, and by the prudent might of Our Elder Brother Ça'adai let us send out the eldest of the sons,”proclaiming [it unto] every quarter, such was the manner in which he made to go a warfare the princes having at their head [18v] Batu, Büri, Güyük, and Möngge.

§271 [19r] Again when Ögödei Qahan sent, taking counsel with Elder Brother Ça'adai, as he sent, taking counsel, saying, ‘I have sat on the [throne made] ready of my father [19v] Cinggis Qahan. Shall I [not] be spoken of [by others], saying, ‘By what ability hath he sat?’ If Elder Brother Ça'adai approve—our father the Qahan left undone the Altan Qan of the Kitad people—now I shall set forth against the Kitad people,” Elder Brother Ça'adai, approving, [20r] sent, saying, “What hindereth? Assigning good men unto the a’uruy, set ye forth. I from hence shall send out and shall send soldiers.” Assigning Oldayar Qorci 33 unto the great palaces,

§272 [20v] in the year of the hare [1231] Ögödei Qahan set forth against the Kitad people and sent Jebe as vanguard. And so, overcoming the soldiers of the Kitad and having slain [them] till they stood like rotten trees, 88 passing Cabciyal, making [them] to assault their towns and cities [21r] in every quarter, making the soldiers to march, Ögödei Qahan pitched at Şira Degtür. There Ögödei Qahan was attained of sickness. When, losing mouth and  

44 I.e., More so than that of others.  
45 I.e., the “Quiverbearer” Oldayar.  
46 See §§106 and 247 above.
tongue," he was in distress, when one caused to divine by divers sorcerers and by diviners, [they said], "The lords and qand of the land and the waters of the Kitad people, [now] when their people and folk are spoiled and [now] when their cities and towns are destroyed, rage violently [against the Qahan]." When they divined by bowels, saying, "We shall give in [his] stead people and folk, gold and silver, cattle and food," [the sickness] not abating, [the lords and qand of the land and the waters] rage more violently. When they divined by bowels, saying, "Could [somebody] from the persons of the [imperial] family serve [in his stead]?," the Qahan, opening his eyes, requesting water, [22r] drinking [it], when, being asked [by him], saying, "What hath befallen?", when the sorcerers reported [unto him], as they reported [unto him], saying, "The lords and qand of the land and the waters of the Kitad people, [now] when their land and waters are destroyed and [now] when their people and folk are spoiled, rage violently [against thee]. When we divine by bowels, saying, 'We shall give in [his] stead whatsoever other thing [they may request],' [22v] they rage more violently. When we say, 'Would [somebody] from the persons of the [imperial] family serve [in his stead]?, [the sickness] abateth. Now the decree shall decide [how we shall do]," when [Ögödei] made a decree, as he said, "Who is there from the princes in [my] presence?" Prince Tolui was in [his] presence. When [Tolui] spake, saying, "Our fortunate father Činggis Qahan, while there were elder brethren above and younger brethren below, choosing thee, elder brother the Qahan, [even] as [one chooseth] a gelding, and feeling [thee, even] as [one feeleth] a wether," pointing out his great throne unto thy person and laying the many peoples upon thee as burden, gave [them unto thee]. As for me, I was told, 'Being in the presence of the elder brother the Qahan go,

77 I. e., speech.
78 This is a plural in -d of qan "sovereign."
79 In his letter dated 13 February 1855, the Reverend Antoine Mottamay remarked: "'to feel' = 'to feel the castrated ram in order to assure oneself that it is fat enough to be slaughtered and eaten.'"
80 I. e., "charging thee with the governing of the numerous peoples."
Chapter XII

Making to remember him which shall have forgotten. [23v]
Making to awake him which shall be fallen asleep." 44

Now if I lose thee, mine elder brother the Qahan,

Of whom shall I make to remember him which shall have forgotten?
Of whom shall I make to awake him which shall be fallen asleep?

Verily, if mine elder brother the Qahan 'become not right,' 45

The many Mongyol
People would be orphans;
The Kitad people
Would rejoice.

I shall serve in the stead of mine elder brother the Qahan.

I have cleft
The back [24r] of the tulu [fish].
I have cut in twain
The back of the kileme 46 [fish].
I have conquered
The visible.
I have pricked
The outside.
Fair of face,
Long of back

am I. Sorcerers, incant and conjure!," when the sorcerers conjured, Prince Tolui drank the water of conjuration. [24v] When, sitting [but] a moment, he spake, having said, "I am become drunk. While I rouse [myself from] my drunkenness, let the elder brother the Qahan decide how he may care for his younger brethren, orphans and young, and his younger sister in law, Beride, a widow, until they attain unto intelligence." 44 I have

44 See §§200 and 255 above.
45 I. e., die. See also below.
46 A kind of sturgeon.
47 I. e., sufficiency. See Chapter V, note 9.
spoken my words whatsoever [I had to speak]. I am become drunk," he went out and departed. Such [is] the manner in which he "became not right."

§273 [25v] And so destroying the Altan Qan, giving [unto him] the name Se"use, spoiling their [26r] gold and silver, satins having gold and having patterns, possessions, alašas, and little slaves, placing spies and tammacín, placing daruyacin in the cities, in divers quarters [such as] Namging and Jungdu, peaceably returning, he pitched at Qara Qorum.

§274 [26v] Cormaqan Qorči made the people of Baytad to submit themselves. Knowing that that land was said [to be] good and that its things [were said to be] good, when Ögödei Qahan made a decree, he said, "Cormaqan Qorči sitting even there [as] tamna, making [one] to bring [unto Us] in [each] year yellow gold, [27r] naqad, brocades, having [all three] yellow gold, [little] pearls, [big] pearls, tobiča'ud: long of neck and high of leg, ġüring elő'ud, d'a'ust, kćiđud, mules of burden, and mules [to ride upon], be [ye], sending [them]." The many [27v] princes

I. e., "Little Slave," this being the Chinese Haiso-su 小厮.

This word is glossed 涼馬 (Huai ma) "Huai horses," but, as asserted by Dr. William Huvv on 19 August, 1955, the character 涼 (Huai) is erroneous. As for alašas, it is a plural in -s of alaš, a word of Turkish origin, meaning "horse" or "gelding.


The word tamna seems to be the equivalent of tammacín.

This is "a kind of gold brocade." Cf. E. Bretschenider, M. D., Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources, Vol. II, London, 1910, p. 124. As demonstrated by Paul Pelliot in note 1 on pages 269-271 of his article "Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols" in the Journal asiatique 811 (1927). 261-270, naqad is a plural in -ud of *naq < Persian n (s)a.

This is a silk stuff interwoven with gold." Cf. Bretschneider, op. cit., p. 194.

See also §283 above.

This is "a stuff embroidered in gold." Cf. Bretschneider, op. cit., p. 194. See also §283 above.

This word is glossed "Western horses." Cf. also Bretschneider, op. cit., p. 125.

These words are glossed "name [of a kind] of camel.

This word is not glossed. It probably is a kind of camel.

This word, a plural in -ud of kićid, itself a plural in -d of (?) *kičir, is glossed "name of [a kind of] camel.

In his letter of 13 February 1955 the Reverend Antoine Montaulet remarked in
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having at their head Batu, Büri, Güyük, and Möngge which had gone a warfare, the succourers of Sübe’etel Ba’atür, causing the Qanglin, the Kibča’ud, and the Bajigird to submit themselves, [passing over] 66 the Ejil 66 and the Jayay 66 [rivers] and breaking the city of Meged, slaying the Orusud, spoiled till they destroyed [them]. Spoiling and making the people of the cities having at their head Asud, 66 Sesiid, 66 Bolar, 66 Mankerman, 66 and Kiwa, placing daruyacin and tammaın, they returned. [28r] He made to go a warfare Yesider Qorči, the succourer of Jalayirtai Qorči which aforetime had gone a warfare against the Jürčed and the Solangyas. 66 He made a decree, saying, “Let him sit [there] as tamma.”

§275 [28v] When Batu, from on the Kibčay warfare, petitioned, by messengers, unto Ögödei Qahan, he sent, petitioning, saying “In the might of Everlasting Heaven and [29r] in the fortune of [mine] uncle the Qahan, breaking the city of Meged, spoiling the Orusud people, making to submit themselves in an upright manner eleven realms of people, withdrawing ourselves, pulling the ‘golden reins,’ saying unto one another, ‘Let us feast a feast at which we shall separate ourselves from one another,’ pitching a great tent, at the moment when we are feasting, I, saying, [29v] ‘As [I] am somewhat the eldest of all these princes, [I] have first drunk one or two bowls of the ötög,’ both Büri and Güyük being

good regard to lausas-ud (a plural in -ud of lausas, itself a plural in -e of lausas < ? Chinese la-tan 蘆子): “I think that by this word are indicated especially the mules destined to be mounted.”

66 It is obvious that a word such as kešülfi (“passing over”) has been omitted from the text. Cf. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 130, n. 1.

66 The gloss “city name” is an obvious error for “river name.”

66 The gloss “city name” is an obvious error for “river name.”

66 Asud, glossed “city name,” unquestionably is out of place in a list of city names. Cf. also Pelliot, op. cit., p. 130, n. 2.

66 Sesiid, glossed “city name,” may also be out of place in a list of city names. Cf. also Pelliot, op. cit., p. 130, n. 2.

66 The text has Bolarman, but the syllable -man unquestionably is the initial syllable of the following name.

66 Although the text has Kerman, the syllable -man of the preceding name unquestionably is the initial syllable of this name, hence Mankerman.

66 This is a reference to the expedition of 1218, not previously mentioned in the Secret History. Cf. the Yuan shih 元史 1 (t’a 1).30r1-3.
displeased with me, [I] suffered the fact that, not feasting the feast, they set forth. When, setting forth, Būrī spake, he said, 'As Batu, then, is equal [unto us], why should he have drunk first?

The women with beards,"
Becoming equal [unto us], [30r]
Pushing [them] with [my] heels,
[I] shall tread on [them] with [my] feet.

When Güyūg spake, he said, 'Those women with quivers, let us, thou and we, smite their bosoms with a stick of firewood—those!' When Haryasun, 68 son of Eljigidei, spake, he said, 'Let us join a wooden tail—[unto] those!' 68 of us, being made to set forth unto a rebellious people with a different liver, at the moment when [we] were saying, 'Is it become being right? fit,' 68 having been so told by both Būrī and Güyūg, we were separated without mutual agreement. Now let the decree of [our] uncle the Qahan decide [how we shall do].'

§276 [31v] When, at this word of Batu, the Qahan was exceeding wroth and, not suffering Güyūg to present himself, spake, he said, "This inferior one, hearkening unto the words of whom, speaketh, the mouth full, [against] a person [which is his] elder brother? Let the only egg rot!" 68 He is rebelling at the bosom of the same person [which is his] elder brother.

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67 I.e., "of a different race," as is clear from the continuous translation (YCPs, Hsu 2.27r-2) this is rendered: "To abandon thee is like casting away a rotten egg." I am deeply indebted to Dr. William Hung for the excellent suggestion made on 31 December 1954 that the character 鴞 (niao) ("bird") is a graphic error for 糬 (ch'ou) ("rotten"). With this emendation the passage would read: "To abandon thee is like casting away a rotten egg." With the aid of the interpretative continuous translation we may understand the words 'Let the only egg rot!' to mean "Let the only Güyūg rot as an egg!"
Placing [him as] a spy
Let us make [him] to climb into the walls of
cities like mountains
Till the nails of [his] ten fingers
Are worn away through rubbing.¹⁰

Placing [him as] a tamma,
Let us make [him] to climb into pounded
hard walls of cities
Till the nails of [his] five fingers
Disappear through wear.¹¹

Thou, beter," bad, inferior Haryasun," imitating whom, the
mouth full, hast spoken [32v] great words unto Our seed? Let us
send the twain, Güyük and Haryasun,¹⁴ together. [We] could have
made [one] to behead Haryasun." Ye would have said that [We]
had shewed partiality. If [ye] say, 'As for Būri, [what will ye do
with him]?' Tell [my decision] unto Batu. Let him send [Būri]
unto Elder Brother Ĉa'adai, telling [unto him that which is come
to pass]. Let Elder Brother Ĉa'adai decide [how he shall punish
Būri]." ⁷⁸

§277 [33r] When from [among] the princes Menggei and from
[among] the chiefs, the chiefs [33v] having at their head Alcidai,
Qongqortai, and Janggi petitioned, advising [Ĉinggis Qahan [saith],

"See §58 above.

"See §58 above.

²⁷ This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. Cf. qatar in §111 above.

²⁸ The text has Qaryasun.

²⁹ The text has Qaryasun.

²⁰ The text has Qaryasun.

²¹ In his letter of 13 February 1956 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert commented on
this passage as follows: "Here Ĉinggis follows the yosum. Güyük is his son; he can
then punish him as seems good to him. Haryasun is a simple subject; he could have
him decapitated, but he does not do it, because he could be accused of partiality. As
to Būri, he does not take any decision, because Būri is the grandson of Ĉa'adai aqa.
He says then that Batu must send Būri to Ĉa'adai in order that the latter punish
Būri. In §277 the chronicler recounts how Ĉinggis takes another decision, after Meng-
gei, Ĉa'adai and others have recalled to him the principle posed by Ĉinggis: ke'er-üü
üüde ke'er-a gü nogalaryu bile'e, etc."
'If it be] a matter of the steppe, one shall decide [it] on the very steppe. [If it be] a matter of the tent, one shall decide [it] in the very tent.' If the Qahan favour [us]—the Qahan is wroth at Giiyiig. It is a matter of the steppe—if, charging [him with it], we send [it] unto Batu, [34r] will it [not] do?," when the Qahan, approving this word, mollifying himself, suffering Giiyiig to present himself, uttered words of admonishment, saying, "When [thou] goest, going a warfare, on the way," thou art said [to deserve the words]:

Of a person with buttocks,
His buttocks were not suffered to remain [not touched]."

Thou art said [to deserve the words]:

Of the man of the army,
Breaking asunder the look," thou wentest.

Art thou looking upon the Orusud people as having submitted themselves, fearing for [cause of] [34v] that thy fury and wrath? Thinking like as [thou] by [thyself] alone hadst brought the Orusud people into subjection, taking in hand [thine] heart of violence, goest thou forward, rebelling against the person [which is thine] elder brother? It was in the decree of Our father Cinggis Qahan. Was he not wont [35r] to say, 'A multitude causeth [one] to be afraid.
A depth causeth [one] to die'?

Like as [thou] hadst accomplished [it] by [thyself] alone, going in

"I.e., between Mongolia and Russia.
"In his letter of 16 February 1955 the Reverend Antoine MOUHARREZ remarked:
"The sense is: 'of all the soldiers of Giiyiig, there is none of them who has not received whiplashes on the backside.'"
"See Chapter VIII, note 87. I.e., "By thy brutality thou brakest the spirit of the soldiers.'
"I.e., "giving thyself up to thy violent nature.'
"In the continuous translation these words which seem to constitute a proverb are interpretatively rendered (YCPs, HsI 2.30v1):
"[If] people (= enemies) [are] numerous, then people (= ye) will be afraid.
[If] water [is] deep, then people (= ye) will die [by drowning]."
the shelter of both Sübe'etei and Bujeg, joining thyself by the multitude and by all, bringing into subjection the Orusud and the Kibča'ud, getting one or two Orusud and Kibča'ud, at the moment when [thou] hadst not yet gotten and gathered the lower leg of a kid, presuming on [thy] manliness, issuing [but] once from in the tent, like as [thou] hadst accomplished [35v] even aught by [thyself] alone, provoking words, thou [art] coming. By Menggei, Alcidai, Qongqortai, Janggi and others, 

Letting—[they] being companions [always] at hand—to restrain

[Our] heart which was risen;

Letting—[they] being broad spoons—to be caused to pacify

The kettle which boileth,

[We] have said, 'Yea! That [sufficeth]! [It is] an affair of the steppe. [Ye] have said that Batu [should judge it]." Let Batu decide [concerning] [36r] the twain, Güyüg and Haryasun," as he sent [them unto him]. He said, "Let Elder Brother Ça'adai decide [how he shall punish] Bürü." 

§278 [36v] Again when Ögödei Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "When I proclaim a decree which newly proclaimeth the duties of [37r] all the guards—the nightguards, the quiver-bearers, and the dayguards—which are gone at [the side of] my father, Chinggis Qahan, when I make a decree, saying, 'How afore-time were they wont to act by the edict of [my] father the Qahan? Let them now act in the same manner,' let the quiverbearers and the dayguards after the former decree, at day, walking, [each] in his [own] way, [37v] yielding unto the nightguards at [the moment] when there is [yet] sun, pass the night outside." Making a

See Chapter VII, note 51.

See also §§194 and 239 above for other references to "issuing from the tent." See Chapter X, note 23.

* This is an allusion to the words: "if, charging [him with it], we send [it] unto Batu" above.

* The text has Qaryasun.

* I.e., "which have served at [the side of] my father."

* See §229.
decree, saying, “At night let the nightguards pass the night, at [the side of] Us. Let the nightguards stand at the door and round about the tent. Let the nightguards go round about at the back side and the front side of the ordo. The people which shall walk at night, after that the sun shall be set, let the nightguards seize and [thus] pass the night. Let the nightguards which have seized the people which, mingling themselves [with them], shall enter inwardly, other than the nightguards, which shall have passed the night after that the multitude [38r] shall be scattered, cut asunder their heads and cast [them] away. If at night there come a person having an urgent message, let him tell [it] unto the nightguards and, north of [my] tent, while standing together with the nightguards, let him talk with [me of the message unto me]. Let the orderers Qongqortai, Siracan, and others, together with the nightguards, order the coming in and the going out at the ordo [38v] tent. Saying [unto myself], 'Eljigidei, although he was worthy of confidence, at eventide, adventuring to walk at the upper side of the nightguards," was seized by the [same] nightguards " and the nightguards which [even as those that aforetime took Eljigidei] violate not the decree are worthy of confidence," he made a decree, saying, "Let one not ask the number of [39r] nightguards. Let one not walk above the seat of the nightguards. Let one not walk in the midst of the nightguards. Let the nightguards seize the people which shall have walked above or shall have walked in the midst of the nightguards. Let the nightguards seize the gelding which the person which shall have asked the number of the nightguards shall have ridden that day—[together] with the saddle and [together] with the bridle—[together with [39v] the garment which he shall have worn. Let not anyone sit above the seat of the nightguards." Let the nightguards collect, at the foot of the standards and drums, the spears, bows and vessels. Let the nightguards oversee drink and food—the thick flesh." He made a decree, saying, "Let the nightguards take care of the ordo tent-carts. If [40r] the person of Us go not out [to] war, let the nightguards go not out [to]

**I.e., between the nightguards and the tent. See Chapter IX, note 64.**

**See §229 above.**

**See Chapter IX, note 64.**

**See Chapter X, note 6.**

**See Chapter X, note 8.**
war apart and separately from Us. At the moment when We are falconing or hunting, [the nightguards] measuring and setting their half at the ordo tent-carts, let the [other] half of the nightguards go with Us. From the nightguards let the keepers of the encampment go and pitch the ordo. Let the doorkeepers [which are] nightguards stand hard to the door. Let the [captain of a] thousand, Qada'an, command all the nightguards. Again, when he appointed captains of the divers companies of nightguards, he said, "Let the twain, Qada'an and Bulqadar, becoming one company, taking counsel, entering [into] one [and the same] turn [of service], separately sitting on the right and on the left side of the ordo, set [affairs] in order. Let the twain, Amal and Čanar, taking counsel, becoming one company, entering [into their] turn [of service], separately [sitting] on the right and on the left side of the ordo, set [affairs] in order. Let the twain, Qadai and Qori Qacar, taking counsel, entering [into] one [and the same] turn [of service], separately sitting on the right and on the left side of the ordo, set [affairs] in order. Let the twain, Yalbay and Qara'udar, taking counsel, becoming one company, entering [into their] turn [of service], separately sitting [on the right] and on the left side of the ordo set [affairs] in order. Again let the company of Qada'an and Bulqadar and the company of Amal and Čanar—these two companies—enter [into their] turn [of service], encamping on the left side of the ordo. Let the company of both Qadai and Qori Qacar and the company of both Yalbay and Qara'udar—these two companies—enter [into their] turn [of service], encamping on the right side of the ordo." He made a decree, saying, "Let Qada'an command these four companies of nightguards. Again let the nightguards stand round about the ordo hard by my person and let them lie, stopping the door. From the nightguards let two men enter into the ordo and hold in hand the great wine table." Again he made a decree, saying, "[As to] the quiverbearers, let Yesün Tö'e, Bukidai,
Horquday, and Labalqa,\(^\text{9}\) becoming four divers companies, setting in order their quiverbearers of \([43r]\) the bodyguards, enter into the four divers companies of the dayguards for to carry quivers.”

Again, when he appointed elders of the companies of the dayguards from the seed of those who aforetime were commanding [them], [he said], “Let the twain, Alêidai and Qongqortaï, who aforetime were commanding [them], taking counsel, setting a company of dayguards in order, enter [into service in the guard].

Let the twain, Temüder and Jêgû, \([43v]\) taking counsel, setting a company of dayguards in order, enter [into service in the guard].

Let Mangyutai, having commanded the succourers, setting a company of dayguards in order, enter [into service in the guard].”

Again, when the Qahan made a decree, having said, “Let all the chiefs, Eljigidei being chief, perform according to the word of Eljigidei,” again, when he made a decree, he said, “If a man of the guard, at the moment when one entereth [into his] turn [of service], neglect [this service], let one, after the manner of the former decree,\(^\text{10}\) instruct [him by] three strokes of the rod. If the same man of the guard again, a second time, neglect [his] turn [of service], let one instruct [him by] seven strokes of the rod. If again the same man, without sickness or reason and without consultation [beforetime] with the elder of the company, a third time, neglect [his] turn [of service], [it is a sign that] he looketh upon his service \([44v]\) at [the side of] Us as [too] difficult. Having instructed [him by] thirty seven strokes of the rod, [We] shall send [him] out of sight unto a distant place. Again, if the elders of the companies, not mustering the guards which shall have had [their] turn [of service], neglect [their] turn [of service], [We] shall punish the elders of the companies. Again let the elders of the companies, at the moment when one entereth [into] every third \([45r]\) turn [of service] and at the moment when one changeth [place with the relief], make this decree to be heard by the guards. Having heard the decree, if the guards neglect [their] turn [of service], [We] shall punish [them] after the manner of the decree. If they do not make this decree to be heard by the guards, let the elders of the com-

\(^9\) Labalqa – Lablaqa in §225 above.

\(^10\) See §227 above.
panies be subject to punishment. Again, let the elders of [46v] the companies, saying [unto themselves], 'They have been excelled [by us] in captaincy,' not punish, without leave from Us, my guards which shall be entered equal. If one disannull the ordinance, let one declare [it] unto Us. If there be one for whom holdeth the rule that he is fit to be made to die, We shall behead [him]. If there be one for whom holdeth the rule that he is fit to be punished, We shall instruct [him]. If, saying, 'He hath been excelled in captaincy,' not declaring [it] [46r] unto Us, one lay his own hand upon [him], let one repay fists as payment of fists and strokes of the rod as payment of strokes of the rod.'°° Again he made a decree, saying, "My guards are higher than the outward°°° captains of thousands. The companions of my guards are [46v] higher than the outward captains of hundreds and of tens. If the outward captains of thousands quarrel with my guards, [We] shall punish the captains of thousands."

§279 [46v] Again when Ögödei Qahan spake, when he sent, saying, "[We] shall not make to suffer the nation which my father Cinggis Qahan established [47r] with labour. Making [them] to set

Their feet
On the ground,°°°
Their hands
On the earth.

°° See Chapter IX, note 55.
°°° See Chapter IX, note 57.
°°° The continuous translation of this long section in which much of §277 is repeated consists of but a single statement (YCPs, Heii 3.46v4): "Emperor Wo-ko-tai 幫歌歹 (Ögödei), according to the old regulations, once again promulgated anew the several duties of the guards and the numerous officials of the time of Ch'eng-chi-su 成吉思 (Cinggis)."
°°° Cf. Deuteronomy XXVIII §65: "And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest: . . . ."
°°°° I. e., "to be at peace." See also §281 below. Other examples of this interesting figure of speech are encountered in Mongolian literature. Cf., e. g., the Altan Tobci, A Brief History of the Mongols, Vol. I, p. 27, ll. 3-7: tere Cinggis qayan . . . [6] yar [7] гэжээр хол хязээр амнутгайfa Çaikravati [sic] qayan метэ алдарахаа: "That Cinggis Qayan . . . , making to repose [their] hands on the earth, [their] feet on the ground, became famous [even] as the Çaikravati (Cakravarti) Qayan." The same text is
[We] shall make [them] to rejoice. [As We are] sitting on the throne made ready of Our father the Qahan, not making the people to suffer, for broth, from these peoples, in year after year, let one give one sheep of two years old of [every] flock. Let them, bringing forth one sheep from a hundred sheep, give [it] unto the poor and the needy [47v] amongst the same.\footnote{104} Again, when the brethren,\footnote{106} the many men and the geldings, and the [many] guards assembly themselves, how could drink be levied each time from the people? Bringing forth mares from the divers thousands of the divers quarters, having milked [them], those who are [their] milkers having herded [them], those who are keepers of encampments continually bringing forth replacements, let them [in their turn] be [48v] keepers of the milch mares. Again, when the brethren assemble themselves, [We] shall give gifts and favours. Pouring [into storehouses] the satins, the axes [of silver],\footnote{108} the quivers, the bows, the breast-plates, the weapons, and the grains of the tax on the land, [We] shall make [one] to keep watch over the storehouses. Let one, choosing keepers of storehouses and keepers of grain from the divers quarters, make [them] to keep watch over [these storehouses]. Again, parting encampments and waters, [We] shall give [them] unto the people. If [We] choose keepers of encampments from the divers thousands for to make [them] [48v]

found in the Altai töbi in the Činsepis qoyan-nu šadüü, p. 31, 1. 8, with the reading Čakraxvarti. Cf. also the Qad-un ündüürün-i erdeni-gün töbi [Precious Button of the Origin of the Sovereigns] by Sayang Sečen (1604-1677). In the edition of this text published by Isaac Jacob Schneider under the title of Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihrer Fürstenthauser, we read (p. 296, II. 18-10): . . . kömün amitan . . . (10) yar yefar-a kıl köser-e küsüg-iyey jiryabaı 6 . . . the living beings which are men (=men) . . . , [their] hands [set] on the earth, [their] feet [set] on the ground, according to [their] desires, havejoyed." A rather different version of the same text is found in L. X. Jamićević, Монгольские летописи XVII века [C. Z. Čamcarano, Mongolian Chronicles of the XVIIth Century] (Moscow-Leningrad, 1930), p. 28, II. 1-4: teygın kū ejen qoyan-u aši-bar: kūr yeke ulan. (2) yar yefar-a, kıl kösēra küsüg-iyey jirya-baı 6 "So by the grace of the Lord Emperor [of the Manchu Dynasty], the entire, great people, [its] hands [set] on the earth, [its] feet [set] on the ground, according to [its] desires, has joyed."

\footnote{104} In his letter of 13 February 1955 the Reverend Antoine Montarey remarked: "The sense is ‘in the same unit,’ that is to say that one must give sheep to the poor belonging to the unit on which the owners of these sheep depend."

\footnote{106} I. e., of the imperial family.

\footnote{108} I. e., "silver ingots."
to encamp in the encampments, will it [not] do? Again, there is nothing other than wild beasts in the Çol\(^{107}\) country. For the people, somewhat widely, making both Čanai and Uı’urtai to head the keepers of encampments, making [them] to dig the wells of the Çol, let them brick [them]. Again We, when the messengers haste, [49r] make them to haste, making [them] to go round about the people. And the going of the messengers which run is slow. And it is a suffering for the nation and the people. Now We, determining [the matter] once and for all, if, bringing forth keepers of post stations and keepers of post horses from the divers thousands of the divers quarters, establishing seats and seats of post stations, not making [them] to go round about the people without urgent matters, [We] make the messengers to haste along the post stations, [49v] will it [not] do? When the twain, Čanai and Bolqadar, comprehending these matters, recommended [them] unto Us, thinking, saying [unto Ourself], 'Are they right?' [We said,] 'Let Elder Brother Ča’adai decide. If these matters which are spoken of [in Our message to him] are fit, if he approve [them], let [the decision] be from [the part of] Elder Brother Ča’adai,' \(^{108}\) Elder Brother Ča’adai came [in the person of a messenger], saying, "[As] I approve [50r] these very matters concerning which [Ye] have sent, inquiring—all [of them]—let one, then, so do!" Again when Elder Brother Ča’adai came [in the person of a messenger], speaking, having said, "From hence I would cause post stations to join themselves over against [yours]. Again from hence I would send messengers unto Batu. And let Batu [50v] cause his post stations to join themselves over against [mine]," again, when he came [in the person of a messenger], speaking, he came, saying, "Of all [matters, it is] the matter of making [one] to establish post stations [which Čanai and Bolqadar] recommended [in a manner] more fitting than fit."

\(^{107}\) I.e., "Desert." See Chapter VII, note 11.

\(^{108}\) I.e., "wing."
having Ödögin Noyan and Yegü at their head, all princes, daughters and sons in law of the middle, and captains of ten thousands, of thousands, of hundreds, and of tens have all together approved. When they approved, if for the broth of the Qahan of the Sea \(^{109}\) in one year they bring forth one [\(^{52v}\)] wether of two years old of [every] herd, what is it? \(^{110}\) To bring forth one [sheep] of one year old from a hundred sheep and to give [it] unto the poor and the needy is good. If, making [one] to establish post stations, [we] bring forth keepers of the post stations and keepers of the post horses, it is peaceful for the many people and convenient for the messengers to go," all together, saying that they approved, the decree of the Qahan, [\(^{53r}\)] [the Qahan] consulting with Elder Brother Ça’adai, being approved by Elder Brother Ça’adai, from all the people, from the divers thousands of the divers quarters, by the decree of the Qahan, [one] made to bring forth in year after year for broth one wether of two years old from [every] flock and one sheep of one year old from a hundred sheep. Making to bring forth mares, [one] made keepers of mares to sit [over them]. [One] made to bring forth keepers of mares, [\(^{58v}\)] keepers of storehouses, and keepers of grains. Making to bring forth keepers of post stations and keepers of post horses, making to measure [the distance of] the place of seat after seat, when [one] made to establish post stations, making both Arasen and Toqucar to set [them] in order, [one] caused there to be twenty keepers of post horses at the one seat of [every] post station. At every seat, [one] made there to be twenty keepers of post horses each. [The Qahan] made a decree, saying, "[As for] the geldings [performing the service] of post horses, the sheep [\(^{54r}\)] [brought forth for the purpose] of provisions, the milch mares, the oxen which one putteth to carts, and carts, from the limit limited from Us from hence,

If they make a short cord to be wanting,
Let them be condemned to [what is called]
"cleavage [following a straight

\(^{109}\) I.e., "Qahan of all within the Seas."

\(^{110}\) I.e., "nothing at all."
CHAPTER XII

line passing] along the (?) hinder
part of the neck.'

If they make a spoke of a wheel in the form
of a spoon to be wanting,
Let them be condemned to [what is called]
'cleavage [following a straight line
passing along] the nose.'” 111

§281 [54v] When Ögödei Qahan spake, he said, “[After] sitting
on the great throne of my father, [as to] that which I did after
my [55r] father the Qahan, going a warfare unto the people of
the Jaqud,” 112 I destroyed the Jaqud people. [As to] my second
deed, [I] made one to establish post stations for that Our
messengers, hasting on the way, make speed, and again for that [We]
make [them] to convey our needs and necessities. [As to] yet
another deed, making [one] to dig [55v] wells in places without
water, making [one] to bring [them] forth, [I] made [one] to bring
the nation and the people unto water and grass. Again placing
spies and tammačin unto the people of cities in the divers
quarters, of the nation and the people, causing [them] to set [them],
I caused

The feet to be
On the ground
The hands [to be]
On the earth.” 113

111 In his explanation of these difficult lines, Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [149], n. 144, remarked: “I consider the expressions orqol-iyar qayas, qabar qayas as manners of speaking fixed by usage, kinds of technical terms which designate a legal confiscation affecting the goods of an individual condemned for a misdemeanour, in virtue of which his goods having been parted into two equal parts, the one is assigned to the Treasury while the other rests in his possession. The figure seems to be drawn from a man of whom the body has been split down the middle following a vertical line passing, from behind, by the nape of the neck and, in front, by the nose.”

“Ögödei means that no matter what negligence affecting the service of the postal relays, were it as trifling as that in consequence of which there would come to lack a piece of cord, or more grave, as that which would be cause that there lack a spoke for a wheel, will be punished in the same manner, namely by the confiscation of half of the goods of the culprit.” Antoine Mostaert, op. cit., p. [149], n. 144.

112 I. e., the Chin. Pelliot, Histoire secrète des Mongols, p. 119 §281, transcribed this name “Ja(b)qult.”

113 See §879 above.
After my father the Qahan [I] added [these] four deeds [to all those done by him]. [56r] And, again, being made to sit [on the] great throne by my father the Qahan, being gone, carrying [as a burden] upon myself my many people, then, to be conquered by grape wine was my wrong. This was one of my wrongs. [As to] my second wrong, to hearken unto the word of a woman without principle and to cause [one] to bring the daughters of the [56v] ulus of Uncle Odōgin were [mine] errors. Although I be the Qahan, Lord of the Nation, to deliver myself unto deeds [which were] errors without principle, this was one of my wrongs. Again secretly to harm Doqolqu [was] one wrong. If one say, *How was it a wrong?* [57r] secretly to harm Doqolqu which, in the service of his proper [lord], my father the Qan, pressed forward was a wrong and an error. Now, in the service of me, who will so press forward for [me]? I myself have declared as wrong the fact that, not comprehending, I secretly harmed a man which, in the service of my father the Qahan and [of] all, was prudent [in] principle. Again, being covetous, [57v] saying, *I fear lest the wild beasts which were born having [their] destiny from Heaven and Earth will go toward [my] brethren,* making one to build in beaten earth fences and walls [to contain the prey], as I was [thus] staying [them], I heard words of murmuring from the brethren. It, also, was a wrong. After my father the Qahan, I added four [good] deeds [to all those done by him] and four deeds were wrongs.”

§282 [58r] [We] finished writing at the moment when the Great Assembly was assembled and [when], in the year of the rat [1228], in the moon of the dam, the palaces were pitched at Dolo'an Bolday of Köde'e Aral of the Kelüren, between both Šilgin Čeg and...

114 Of the eight deeds enumerated in this public confession of Öğdiei—four good and four bad—there is no mention elsewhere in the Secret History of the four which are enumerated as “wrongs.”

128 I.e., the seventh moon. See also § 269 above.

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[N.B. The names in this index are given, insofar as is practicable, in the forms in which they occur in the original text, although the case suffixes, as a rule, are dropped. Inasmuch as names in the genitive case, however, constitute complements of nouns and postpositions, it has seemed preferable to register the complexes as such, thus retaining the names in their genitive form. The numbers after the names refer to the sections of the text in which they occur. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of occurrences within a section. The English equivalents of accompanying titles, epithets, or terms designating natural features, whether used in the translation or not, are, for the most part, included in parentheses. Where possible, the names of persons are briefly identified. The following abbreviations are used: acc. = accusative, cl. = clan, ct. = city, des. = desert, is. = isle, lc. = lake, mt. = mountain, pop. = people, pers. = person, pl. = place, plur. = plural, rv. = river, and tr. = tribe.]

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(N.B. This index consists of all the Mongolian words which appear in the translation, but which, for a variety of reasons, have been left untranslated. Some of them are árúk legyerga of unknown meaning. Others are technical terms for which there is no precise English equivalent. Still others such as ba'atur, q.v., etc., are already so well established, albeit under diverse transcriptions, in occidental languages that it has seemed preferable to leave them without translation. The English translations of the Chinese glosses on all words (except those of unknown meaning) have been inserted in brackets. As in the case of the "Index Nominum," the numbers after the words refer to the sections of the text in which they occur. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of occurrences within a section. The abbreviations are the same as those used in the "Index Nominum."]

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cyclopaedia], Commercial Press, 
Shanghai, 1938, p. 100a: “Lilium
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qadalun da'un [not glossed] 244
qadar (“name of a (kind of) fish”) 75
qadun (“lady” (= “empress”) 189, 254 (3); v. Qorjin Qadun, Qurban Qadun, Qu'urcin Qadun, Yesiigen Qadun, Yesii Qadun in the “Index Nominum"
qadund (“ladies” (= “empresses”) (plur. in - of qadun) 198, 265
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qahan-u jårliy (“the decree of the Qahan”) 280
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qan oro (“thrones of the qan”) 201

qand (plur. in -d of qan) 272 (3)

qaraya’u (“something”) like a clump of grass”) (Cf. Kalmuk “xaryono Caraganan (a bean meal used by Papilionaceae)” in RAMSTEIN, op. cit., p. 169a) (a thorny shrub which grows in thick clumps on the steppe; cf. the American sage brush) 195

qarambai (“name of a (kind of) black duck”) 200

qaratu [not glossed] 111

qatar [not glossed] 111 (cf. beter)

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qatun sa’urin-tur (“on the qatun throne”) 64

qal’tuqa [not glossed] 75

qayiru’yana (“small bird with white feathers”) 160

qokir [not glossed] 111

qo’oçay (“name of a (kind of) arrow”) 112

qoyira’ud [not glossed] 75

quda (“family related (to another by marriage)”) (Cf. the Ordos “xzilqüax qula les chefs de deux familles alliées par le mariage de leurs enfants, les membres des familles alliées entre elles par le mariage de leurs enfants...”) in ANTOINE MORTAERT, Dictionnaire ordos, Tome I, pp. 346b-353a.) 65, 66; v. Quda Yesü-gei in the “Index Nomini

qul (“yellow horse”) (“properly a horse with a fallow coat which has a black mane and tail, a black stripe covering the spine.”) Cf. AN- TOINE MORTAERT, Sur quelques pas-sages, pp. 96[107]) 117 (2)

qunar [not glossed] 111

qu’v. ča’ud quri, Ja’ud quri

qu’urda’ul- (“to cause to pluck (the strings of the qu’ur)”) i.e., “to cause to play the qu’ur”) 189

saqal bayan (“hag-bristles grass”) (lit., “beard rich”) 105


soltan (“king”) (Persian sultán) 260; v. also Sarta’ul ğen-ġi soltan-i (acc.) in the “Index Nomini

soltan-u jasalang (“the summer house of the soltan”) 288

sono v. bortin sono

sogosun (“name of a (kind of) fish”) 76 (8)

soyiluy [not glossed] (fan exclamation) 178

sudun (“name of the root of a (kind of) plant”) 74

šïdkül (“gift offered to the father and to the mother of the husband when [the new daughter-in-law] presents herself before them”) (Cf. ANTOINES MORTAERT, Sur quelques passages, p. [93]) (synonym of emiskel q.v.) 96

tamama (“official title”) 274 (8), 276

tamamčin (“official title”) 273, 274, 281

terman (“spread tent”) 184, 265 (2), 266

tobicäs’ud (“western horses”) (plur. in -ud of *tobicäs) 274

toloy (“big felt carpet”) 189

torluy [not glossed] (Cf. the Ordos “toroløy nom d’une plante qui croît dans les sables” Hedysarum fructi- cosum L., d’après Potain) ...” ANTOINE MORTAERT, Dictionnaire or- dos, Tome II, p. 671a.)

törülmii (not glossed) (Turkish törülmii) (In a letter dated 19 August
1954, Professor Nicholas POPPE stated: “As for törülmiš, this should be considered as a verbal noun in -miš from törül-, a deverbal (passive) verb in -l- from törü- ‘to bear, to be born.’”

tulu [“name of a (kind of) fish”] 272 (Cf. KOWALEWSKI, op. cit., p. 1850b: “le thymalle”) (a kind of salmon) 272


učumáy [“name in archery”; “name of (a kind of) arrow”] 174 (učumáyar)

ulja’ur v. čul (? čul) ulja’ur

üligе [not glossed] (In the continuous translation [YCP 8.48v5] we find 無性行 (wu hēng-hēng) “without character”)

yeke a’uryī [“great camp for the old and the young”] 236, 253, 257; v. a’uryı

yor [“tip of a sounding p’o 筸 (‘bone [-tipped] arrow’)”] (Cf. K. U.-KÖHALMI, op. cit., pp. 54-61.) 116

Addendum

buya’u [“chia 蕃”] (a kind of wooden collar placed on a prisoner’s neck; a cangue) 81 (9x), 83, 84, 85, and 112