

ДЭЭД ЭРДЭМТИЙН 5 ДУГААР ОНЫ (1640)
НЭГЭН МОНГОЛ ЗАРЛИГ

Ф.В.Кливез (Харвардын Их Сургууль) 1986, Боть №46 /181-200/

Өмнөх үг

Ли Шүэчи (李學智 *Li Xue Zhi*) гуай 1968 онд “Солонгост ууссан Жүрчин буюу Чосөн (Солонгос)-ын хүчирхийллийн бодит шалтгааныг өгүүлэх Чин улсын Тайзун хааны Дээд Эрдэмтийн Гуравдугаар оны (1638) нэгэн манж бичиг” (清太宗崇德三年向朝鮮強索向化女真事的一件滿文檔案) хэмээх өгүүлэл хэвлүүлжээ. БНХАУ-ын Тайваны Тайпэй хотын Хятад Судлалын Академид хадгалагдаж буй энэхүү баримтыг судлаач “*Tamura hakase ryōju Tōyōshi ronsō* (田村博士頌壽東洋史論叢¹)”-д буй өгүүллийнхээ 683-709 дүгээр хуудсанд уран яруу болгон дахин бичжээ.

Уг баримтын талаар Ли гуай онцлохдоо:²

Эл бичгийн агуулгыг нягталваас, эх хувийг (奏本 *Zou ben*) Солонгос улсын хаан (朝鮮 *Chaoxian*) хятад хэлээр (漢文 *Hanwen*) үйлдсэн байлтай. Тухайн үед Чингийн Тайзун хаан (清太宗 *Qing Taizong*) болоод цагаан ястан бусад агь, эрхтэн дархтан сайд ноёд хятадаар хараахан уншдаг болоогүй байсан тул хятад хэлээрх эх хувийг манж хэлнээ (滿文 *Manwen*) орчуулжээ. Гэвч эл бичигт багтсан түүхэн үйл явдлууд Тайзун хааны Магад хуульд (實錄 *Shih-lu*) ч *Yicho sillok* (李朝實錄 *Lichao Shih-lu*)-д ч аль алинд нь тэмдэглэгдээгүй байна. Ийнхүү багтаагаагүй шалтгааныг тухайн үед Магад хуулийг эмхэтгэн найруулсан бичгийн сайд нар (臣工們 *chengongmen*) мөнөөх бичигт буй түүхэн үйл явдлуудыг онцын хэрэггүйд тооцон хассан гэж үзэх үү? Эсвэл тэдгээрийг багтаахгүй өөр шалтгаан байсан уу? Ямартаа ч уг бичгийн агуулгаас үзвэл Чин улсын (清人 *Qingren*) буцааж авчрахыг тэгтэл хүсээд байсан “шиан хуа Жүрчин хүн” (向化女真人 *Xianghua Nvzhenren*) буюу (“Солонгост ууссан Жүрчин”) нь хэрэг дээрээ Солонгост он удаж аль хэдийнээ тэндхийн харьяат (歸化 *Guihua*) болчихсон байжээ. Түүгээр ч үл барам Солонгос улсын (朝鮮人 *Chaoxianren*) сайд ноёдтой цэрэг, зэр зэвсгийн талаар гүнзгий харилцаа тогтоосон байв. Чин улс хүчирхэг орны эрх сүрээр далайлган тэдгээр хүмүүсийг нэр цохон буцаан авах боломжгүй болоход, Солонгос улс ч арга мухардахын эрхэнд улс орон даяар дөрвөн зүг найман зовхист (八道 *Badao*) тэднийг хайх зарлиг (行文 *Xingwen*) буулгажээ. Хэдийгээр Чин улс тодорхой хэдэн хүнийг нэр цохон шаардсан авч Чосөн (Солонгос) сүүлд бүхий л улс үндэстнээ хөдөлгөх хэрэгтэй болсон юм. Тухайн үед манж нарын явуулсан бодлогыг төсөөлөн үзвэл, тэд эхлээд “шиан хуа Жүрчин хүн” буюу (“Солонгост ууссан Жүрчин”)-ийг Чосөн гүо (朝鮮國 *Chaoxianguo*

¹ Tamura Hakase Taikan Kinen Jigyōkai 田村博士退官記念事業會, 1968

² Tōyōshi ronsō, хуу 695, II, 8-15

(Солонгос)-оос албадан гаргах шаардлага тавьсан боловч баривчлах хүнийхээ тоог анхных шигээ хэдхэнээр хязгаарлаагүй бололтой. Чосөн гүо (Солонгос) хэрэг зарга бүрийг нэг нэгээр нь мөрдөж байсан бөгөөд тухай бүрийн эмгэнэлт явдлын талаар ярих ч хэрэггүй юм. Ийм л шалтгааны улмаас энэхүү манж бичгийг онцгойлон орчуулж, тайлбар сэлт хавсаргасан нь эртний Чин улс (清初 *Qing chu*), Чосөн гүо (Солонгос) хоорондын дипломат харилцааны талаар эрдэм шинжилгээний судалгаа хийж буй бусад нөхдөд (同好 *tonghao*) тустай лавлагаа болж магад хэмээн санасных билээ.

Юун түрүүн, ижил цаг хугацаанд хамаарах 1640 оны монгол хэлээрх өөр нэг бичгийн³ талаар судлах боломж олгож, Массачусеттсын Веллесли дэх Веллесли Коллежийн профессор Лү Юэнь жу (劉元珠 *Liu Yuan Zhu*) гуайгаар дамжуулан 5"х4 ½ ", 12"х10" хэмжээтэй хоёр гэрэл зураг илгээн тусласан явдалд гүнээ талархаж. Эх хувийн хуулбарыг энэхүү өгүүлэлд мөн орууллаа.

Хэдийгээр өнгөц харвал Манжийн эзэнт гүрний үед монгол хэлээр зарлиг үйлдсэн нь хачирхалтай санагдаж болох ч Лайош Лигети гуай тайлбартаа, "Deux Tablettes de T'ai-tsong des Ts'ing,"⁴ Манжийн олон овгийг эзлэн нэгтгэсний дараа шинэ эзэнт гүрнийг байгуулагчид Монголчууд руу довтолжээ. Монгол овгууд богино хугацаанд довтолгоог няцааж байсан хэдий ч ар араасаа Манжийн эрхшээлд автав. 1594 онд Хорчин овог нэгдэж, удалгүй Харчин, Ордос, Түмэд зэрэг овог нэгдэжээ. Цахарын Лигданы түр зуурын эзэнт улс задарсаны дараагаас Манжийн хаад Монгол хэлний (бичгийн) асуудлыг авч үзэх хэрэгтэй болсон гэсэн нь манжууд ноёрхлоо тогтоохоос өмнө монгол хэлийг хэрэглэдэг байсантай холбоотой.

Жүрчиний (汝真 *Nvzhen*) хэрэглэж байсан бичиг үсэг хэдий нэг язгуурын хэл боловч хэрэглээг бүрэн хангаж чадахгүйг ойлгох болсон манж нар өөрийн хэлний авианы тогтолцоог тэмдэглэхэд монгол хэл илүү тохиромжтой гэж үзжээ. Лигети үүнийг тайлбарлахдаа:⁵

Манжийн тамгын газарт монгол бичгийг хүчээр хэрэглэх болов. Гэхдээ монгол бичгийн хэрэглээ тийм ч удаан хугацаанд үргэлжилсэнгүй. Монгол бичгийг манж хэлний хэрэгцээ шаардлагад нийцүүлэн шинэчилсэн хэдий ч Манжийн ард түмэн хүлээн авахгүй байсан тул манж хэлээ дахин хэрэглэхээс өөр аргагүй болсон. Монгол хэл (бичиг) эртний нэр хүнд үнэ цэнээ алдаагүй бөгөөд эртний соёлт хэл, албан бичгийн хэл гэдэг утгаар үзэж байв.

Доор бидний харах энэхүү зарлиг нь *olan Mongyol*—д зориулан гаргасан учир тодорхой хүрээний хүмүүст бус бүхий л монголчуудад хандсан шинжтэй юм. Харин зарлигийн доторх агуулгаас үзвэл эл зарлиг нь хил хязгаарын дотор оршин суугаа монголчуудад, наад зах нь Хятадын харьяа нутаг дэвсгэрт буй монгол хүмүүст онцгойлон хандсан байдалтай бөгөөд сүүлийн судалгаагаар тэнд буй хүмүүсийг эзэнт гүрний ноёрхлыг эсэргүүцэн босохыг өдөөн хатгах зорилгоор үйлдсэн хэмээн таамаглаж байна.

Үүнтэй зарим талаар төстэй, хятад хувилбар гэж болох өөр нэгэн бичгийг "Дайчин улсын

³ Чикаго хотноо 1983 оны 7 сард тавьсан "Хятад Судлалын Академийн Түүх Хэл Бичгийн Ухааны Институтийн цуглуулгад буй алтай язгуурын хэлтэй холбоотой Чин улсын үеийн түүхийн ховор хэрэглэгдэхүүний танилцуулга" нэртэй судалгааны илтгэлдээ Ли гуай энэ бичгийг өөр бусад 8 бичиг баримтын бдугаарт нэрлэсэн бөгөөд "Дагаар орсон Монголын Ван гүнд 王公 (Wanggong) хандан 1640 онд монгол хэлээр үйлдсэн Чингийн Тайзун хааны зарлиг" гэж тодорхойлжээ.

⁴ *AOASH* 8.3 (1958): [201]-289 (p.202)

⁵ Deux tablettes, " хуу. 203

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магад хууль” (*Ta-Ch'ing shih-lu* 大清實錄⁶ *ch'uan* 卷)-д тэмдэглэсэн байна.

Түүний эзэн (上 *Shang*) захидал бичин суманд дайж *Ta-ling-ho ch'eng* (大凌河城 *Dalinghe cheng*) руу харвахыг тушаагаад олон монголд (蒙古 *Menggu*) (*Mongyo*[1]) сурган өгүүлэх нь:

“Манай манж (滿州 *Manzhou*) (*Manju*) хийгээд танай монгол (*Mongyo*[1]) болбоос чухамдаа нэг үндэстэн (國 *guo*) билээ. Харин Мин (明 *Ming*) болбоос өөр язгууртай. Та нарын (爾等 *Erdeng*) өөр үндэстний төлөө амь хайргүй (効死 *quansi*) тулалдаж буй нь үнэхээр ухваргүй хэрэг мөн. Юутай харамсалтай (之 *zhi*) ! Намайг хуурмаг аргаар та нарыг эрхшээлдээ оруулаад дараа нь устган сөнөөх гэж байна хэмээн айж, надад итгэхгүй байна уу? Би танай монголчуудыг устгахыг үл түвдэхийн адил бүр миний дайсан болсон Мин улсынхан ч мөн тийм санаа өвөрлөөгүй. Гагцхүү бидний өөдөөс эсэргүүцэн тэмцээд амь эрсэдсэн бол яалтай билээ. Харин манд нийлэн дагаар орогчдод миний ивээлд үл багтах өчүүхэн ч шалтгаан үгүй. Утга учиргүй, дур зоргоороо хүний амь таслах нь миний хүлцдэг зүйл биш. Миний өршөөнгүй сэтгэл дэлхий дахиныг цөм агуулна. Энэ миний зорилго. Олон иргэн миний өршөөнгүйг мэдсэний тулд намайг хүндлэн дагамуй. Миний ихэд өршөөнгүйг та нар үл сонсов уу? Хэрэв миний үгийг худал гэвэл, эгэл хүмүүсийг бас уран үгээр мунхруулжээ гэвэл тэнгэр бурханыг тийн хуурч болно гэж үү?”

Дээрх бичиг нь Хятадын харьяаны нэгэн хот *Ta-ling-ho ch'eng*⁷ -д байсан монголчуудад хандан илгээсэн захидал юм.

Бидний энд авч үзэж буй монгол зарлиг нь арван нэгэн мөрөөс бүрдэх бөгөөд эхний мөрөнд нэг үгтэй ба хоёр болон найм дахь мөр нь дээд ирмэгт тултлаа өргөгдөж *Boyda, Qayan, nadur* зэрэг үгсийн хүндэтгэл илэрхийлсэн утгатай бичигджээ. Сүүлийн арван нэг дэх мөр нь нэгээс арав хүртэлх мөрөөс сондгой, 10 мөрөөс нэг хоосон зай илүү ба хятад хэлээрх тамганы дардастай зэрэгцүүлэн бичжээ.

之	制	chih	Chih	-ийн	Эзэнт гүрэн
寶	誥	rao	kao	тамга	Зарлиг

Бичвэрийн хэлний тухайд, үгзүйн хувьд магадгүй бүр өгүүлбэрзүйн төвшинд энэ төрлийн албан бичигт ховор тохиолдох ярианы хэлний онцлогийг тусгажээ. Харьяалахын тийн ялгалын *-yin* нөхцөл *Kitad-yin* (1.9) үгэнд орсон бол, өгөх оршихын тийн ялгалын *-du* нөхцөл *olan Mongyol-du* (1.2), *yaqun-du* (1.3) үгэнд, мөн өгөх оршихын тийн ялгалын *-tu* нөхцөл *Kitad-tu* (1.3), *-nem* нөхцөл *ikünem* (1.3), *-su* нөхцөл *qayiralasu* (2.6, 2.7)-д тус тус гарч байна. Түүнээс гадна *ge* буюу “хэл” хэмээх үйл үг *-tele* хувилгах холбоосоор хэлбэржсэн *getele* (1.10) хэлбэр, *bisiu* (1.3) хэмээх үг батлан асуух *u*-гаар хэлбэржсэн *bisi<busu* хэлбэр ч тааралдана. Ярианы хэлний эдгээр хэлбэрийг бичгийн хэлний хэв загвартай зэрэгцүүлэн хэрэглэх нь бичгийн хэлний хэрэглээнд тэр тусмаа энэ нөхцөлд хувьсамтгай чанарыг үзүүлж болно.

Энэхүү өгүүлэлтэй хэдий хожуу учирсан боловч хоёргүй сэтгэлээ нээлцсэн хамтран зүтгэгч, Дотоод Азийн судалгаанд нөр их хөдөлмөрөө зориулж, Чин 清 (*Qing*) улсын (1644-1911) эхэн үеийн түүхийн талаар олон бүтээл туурвисан Жозеф Франсис Флетчерийн дурсгалд зориуллаа.

⁶ Hua-wen shu-chü 華文書局, T'ai-pei 台北, 1964

⁷ Lucien Gibert, *Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la Mandchourie* (Hong Kong: Imprimerie de la Société des Missions-Étrangères, 1934), p. 830



- [1] Boyda
[2] Qayan-u ĵarlay biĉig: olan Mongyol-du ögbe: ta öber-e
keletü Kitad ulus-un
[3] tulada yaĵun-du ükünem: Kitad-tu yabubasu:
alaydaĵu baraqu bisiu: ta
[4] bögüdeger eyetüged nigen kücü-ber Kitad-un
noyad ba: ĉerig-üd-i
[5] alayad: qota-yi inu abun oroĵu ögbesü tere
qota-yin ali bögüde-yi
[6] tan-dur öggüged: basa ner-e ĉola ögĉü qayi-
ralasu: olan ba ĉögen ber bosĉu
[7] irebesü be ĵaĵĉa bey-e bosĉu irebesü be: ger
mal ĵaruĉa ögĉü qayiralasu:
[8] nadur bosĉu iregsen Mongyol-i qayiralaqu-yi: ta sonosba ĵ-a:
edüge dergede tan-i
[9] qota bariyad tariyan tarin. asida sayuĵu Kitad-
yin tariyan tariqu: tüliy-e
[10] abqu-yi tasulaqu bui: oro getele ese oroyad
qoyin-a gemsibesü yaĵun tus-a ··
[11] Degedü erdem-tü-yin tabuduyar on

Кириллээр

- [1] Богд
- [2] Хааны зарлиг бичиг. олон Монголд өгөв. Та өөр хэлт Хятад улсын
- [3] тулд юунд үхнэм. Хятадад явбаас алагдаж барах биш үү. Та
- [4] бүгдээр эетээд нэгэн хүчээр Хятадын ноёд ба цэргүүдийг
- [5] алаад хотыг нь аван орж өгвөөс тэр хотын аль бүгдийг
- [6] танд өгөөд бас нэр цол өгч хайрласу. Олон ба цөөн бээр босч
- [7] ирвээс бээр гагц бие босч ирвээс бээр гэр мал зарц өгч хайрлаваас
- [8] надад босч ирсэн Монголыг хайрлахыг та сонсов зээ. Эдүгээ дэргэд тань
- [9] хот бариад тариа тарин, ашид сууж Хятадын тариа тарих түлээ
- [10] авахыг таслах буй. Ор гэтэл эс ороод хойно гэмшвээс юун тус.
- [11] Дээд эрдэмтийн тавдугаар он

Орчуулсан Д. Отгонтуяа* /Докторант/

* Монгол Улсын Их Сургууль, Монгол Хэл Соёлын Сургууль

A Mongolian Rescript of the Fifth Year of Degedü Erdem-tü (1640)

FRANCIS WOODMAN CLEAVES

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS

IN 1968 Mr. Li Hsüeh-chih 李學智 published an article entitled “Ch‘ing T‘ai-tsung Ch‘ung-te san-nien hsiang Ch‘ao-hsien ch‘iang-so hsiang-hua Ju-chen-shih-ti i-chien Man-wen tang-an” 清太宗崇德三年向朝鮮強索向化女真事的一件滿文檔案, that is, “A Manchu Document of the Third Year [1638] of Ch‘ung-te of T‘ai-tsung of the Ch‘ing on the Subject of Wresting from Ch‘ao-hsien (Korea) the Assimilated Ju-chen.” This document, which is in the archives of the Academia Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, is beautifully reproduced on pages 683-709 of his article in *Tamura hakase ryōju Tōyōshi ronsō* 田村博士頌壽東洋史論叢.¹

As for the document in question, Mr. Li stated:²

From the content of this document we see that the original piece was a memorial (奏本) written in Chinese (漢文) by the King of Korea (朝鮮). Only because Ch‘ing T‘ai-tsung 清太宗 or the princes of the blood and the ministers in charge of the administration at that time could not yet read Chinese, the original Chinese document was translated into Manchu (滿文). However, the historical events in this document were recorded in neither the *Shih-lu* 實錄 of T‘ai-tsung nor in the *Yicho sillok* 李朝實錄. Was it or was it not that, because, in the case of the historical events of this document, the officials (臣工們) who were compiling the *Shih-lu* at that time,

¹ Tamura Hakase Taikan Kinen Jigyōkai 田村博士退官記念事業會, 1968.

² *Tōyōshi ronsō*, p. 695, ll. 8-15.

considered that they were too trivial, they were consequently discarded and not recorded? Or was there, perhaps, another reason for which they were left out? Nevertheless, from the content of the entire document we see that the so-called "hsiang-hua Ju-chen jen 向化女真人" ["assimilated Ju-chen"] whom the Ch'ing (清人) requested to be returned by Korea had, in fact, already all been naturalized (歸化) in Korea for quite a long time. Moreover, they had developed marital relations with the Koreans (朝鮮人). There being no way out, the Ch'ing, with the attitude of a victorious country, wrested [them] away by name. Korea had no recourse but to issue writs (行文) to the eight routes (八道) in the whole country to search for [them]. However, only because the Ch'ing people requested a certain person by name, Ch'ao-hsien (Korea) then had to arouse the whole nation. Let us imagine the Ch'ing people of that time: that they raised such cases of wresting the "hsing-hua Ju-chen-jen" ["assimilated Ju-chen"] from the Ch'ao-hsien kuo 朝鮮國 (Korea) was not limited to just a few. And Ch'ao-hsien kuo (Korea) in every case had to investigate [them] one by one. As for the deplorable situation, how grave it was is clear without having to say. Because of this [I] specially translate and annotate this Manchu document hereinafter to present to colleagues (同好) who are doing research on the diplomatic relations between the early Ch'ing (清初) and Ch'ao-hsien kuo (Korea) for reference.

For the opportunity to publish another document³ of the same reign, this one in Mongolian and of the year 1640, I am deeply indebted to Mr. Li who most kindly sent me through the good offices of Professor Liu Yüan-chu (劉元珠) (Ruby Lam) of Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts two photographs—one 5" × 4½" and one 12" × 10". A reproduction of the former is included in this article.

While it may seem surprising at first glance that a rescript of a Manchu emperor should be written in Mongolian, we need only recall the remarks of Louis Ligeti, "Deux Tablettes de T'ai-tsong des Ts'ing,"⁴ relative to the use of the Mongolian language by the Manchus at the outset of their rule:

Il est notoire que les fondateurs du nouvel empire, après avoir vaincu et unifié les tribus mandchoues s'attaquèrent au Mongols. Or, les tribus mongoles, après une résistance de courte durée, se rallièrent, les unes après les autres, aux conquérants mandchous. L'exemple des *Qorčïn* qui se rendirent dès 1594 fut bientôt suivi par

³ In a paper entitled "An Introduction to Some Rare Historical Materials from the Ch'ing Dynasty Related to the Altaic Language in the Collection of the Institute of History & Philology, Academia Sinica" delivered in Chicago in July, 1983 Mr. Li listed this document as the sixth among eight describing it as "A rescript delivered to the surrendered Mongolian Wang Gung [王公] written in Mongolian by Ch'ing T'ai-tsong, 1640."

⁴ *AOASH* 8.3 (1958): [201]-289 (p. 202).

d'autres tribus mongoles, les *Qaračın*, les *Ordos*, les *Tümed* etc., et au lendemain de la dissolution de l'empire éphémère de *Legdan* des *Čaçar*, les empereurs mandchous devaient déjà compter avec une importante population de langue mongole.

Finding the script used by the Ju-chen 汝真 inadequate for their purposes, despite their linguistic kinship, the Manchus concluded that the Mongolian script was more suitable for the notation of the vocables of their language. Hence, as Ligeti further remarked:⁵

L'introduction de l'écriture mongole a amené forcément l'emploi de la langue mongole dans la chancellerie mandchoue. Cependant, le rôle exagéré du mongol ne pouvait durer. L'écriture, réformée s'adaptait aux exigences du mandchou; la langue, restée toujours étrangère au peuple mandchou, devait céder le pas au mandchou. Il n'en est pas moins vrai que, même par la suite, le mongol a conservé son ancien prestige: on l'a considéré comme une langue cultivée, une langue indispensable au protocole. . . .

The rescript, as we shall see, is addressed to the *olan Mongyol*, that is, "Many Mongyol," a locution which would seem to imply that it was addressed to the Mongols at large, rather than to a specific group. From the content of the rescript itself, however, it would also seem that it was more particularly addressed to Mongols who lived within the confines or, at least, within the jurisdiction of China, for, in the last analysis the rescript is designed to incite them to rebellion against its ruling dynasty.

A Chinese version of a somewhat similar document is found in the *Ta-Ch'ing shih-lu* 大清實錄,⁶ *chüan* 卷 9.24r9-25r1:

His Majesty (上) ordered that a letter be tied to an arrow to be shot into Ta-ling-ho ch'eng 大凌河城 instructing the sundry Meng-ku 蒙古 (Mongyo[l]):

"We Man-chou 滿州 (Manju) and you Meng-ku (Mongyo[l]) are actually one nation (國). [As for] the Ming 明, then, they are a different nation. That you (爾等) fight to the death (効死) for a different nation is utterly senseless. I pity you (之) very much. Do you fear in your mind that I shall subjugate [you] deceptively and kill [you] in turn and, therefore, do not trust [me]? I not only would not kill you Meng-ku (Mongyo[l]), [but] even [in the case of] the Ming who are my enemies, as to those who fight in resistance and are killed, then, there are such. [As for] those who come to surrender, there is no instance in which [I] do not nurture them with grace. To butcher arbitrarily is not what I tolerate. [I] extend [My] grace universally. This [is] My usual purpose. [I] am only good at nurturing people. That is why

⁵ "Deux tablettes," p. 203.

⁶ *Hua-wen shu-chü* 華文書局, T'ai-pei 台北, 1964.

people all adhere [to Me]. Whether I am good at nurturing or not, have you not heard? If you say that My words are false, human beings can be cheated, [but] can [25r] Heaven be cheated?"

In this instance the letter in question was addressed to the Mongols in Ta-ling-ho ch'eng,⁷ a city within the jurisdiction of the Chinese.

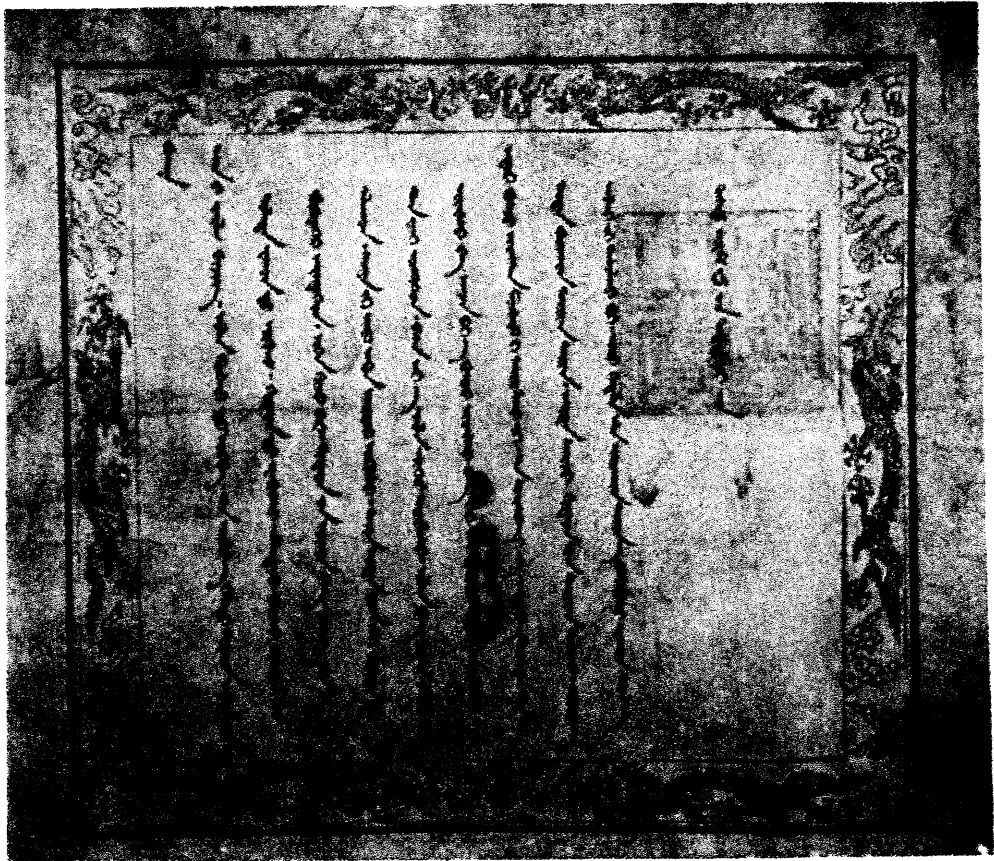
As to the material disposition of our document, it consists of eleven lines, of which the first, consisting of but a single word, second and eighth are elevated to the upper margin out of respect for the words *Boyda*, *Qayan* and *nadur*. The last line, the eleventh, is separated from the tenth by a distance double that between all the other lines from the first to the tenth and is superimposed upon the impression of the seal which reads in Chinese

之	制	<i>chih</i>	<i>Chih</i>	of	Imperial
寶	誥	<i>pao</i>	<i>kao</i>	seal	Edict

As to the language of the text, it reflects morphologically, if not syntactically, features of the spoken language which one might not expect to find in a document of this nature. Thus we find the *genitivus* in *-yin* in *Kitad-yin* (l. 9), the *dativus-locativus* in *-du* in *olan Mongyol-du* (l. 2) and *yayun-du* (l. 3), the *dativus-locativus* in *-tu* in *Kitad-tu* (l. 3), the *praesens* in *-nem* in *ükünem* (l. 3) and the *optativus* in *-su* in *qayiralasu* (ll. 6 and 7). Furthermore we find the verb *ge-* "to say" in the form *getele* (l. 10), a *converbium terminale* in *-tele* and the word *bisiu* (l. 3), an *interrogativus* in *-u* of *bisi* < *busu*. The use of these colloquial features side by side with those characteristic of a more written-language style would appear to reflect an instability in the use of the written language at this particular moment.

It is not without the deepest sorrow that I dedicate this article to the memory of my late, beloved colleague, Joseph Francis Fletcher, Jr., than whom no one in this country ever did more to put the study of Inner Asia on a solid footing and whose work on the early history of the Ch'ing 清 Dynasty (1644-1911) was but one of the facets of his peerless scholarship.

⁷ Lucien Gibert, *Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la Mandchourie* (Hong Kong: Imprimerie de la Société des Missions-Étrangères, 1934), p. 830.



TRANSCRIPTION OF MONGOLIAN TEXT

- [1] Boyda
 [2] Qayan-u jarlay bičig: olan Mongγol-du ögbe: ta öber-e
 keletü Kitad ulus-un
 [3] tulada yayun-du ükünem: Kitad-tu yabubasu:
 alaydaǰu baraqu bisiu: ta
 [4] bügüdeger eyetüged nigen küčü-ber Kitad-un
 noyad ba: čerig-üd-i
 [5] alayad: qota-yi inu abun oroǰu ögbesü tere
 qota-yin ali bügüde-yi
 [6] tan-dur öggüged: basa ner-e čola ögčü qayi-
 ralasu: olan ba čögen ber bosču
 [7] irebesü be γayča bey-e bosču irebesü be: ger
 mal jaruča ögčü qayiralasu:
 [8] nadur bosču iregsen Mongγol-i qayiralaqu-yi: ta sonosba ĵ-a:
 edüge dergede tan-i
 [9] qota bariyad tariyan tarin. asida sayuǰu Kitad-
 yin tariyan tariqu: tüliy-e
 [10] abqu-yi tasulaqu bui: oro getele ese oroyad
 qoyin-a gemsibesü yayun tus-a ∴
 [11] Degedü erdem-tü-yin tabuduyar on

TRANSLATION OF MONGOLIAN TEXT

The Holy

Qayan's¹ Rescript:² [We] have given [this] to³ the Many Mongγol.⁴
 Why⁵ should ye die⁶ for the sake of the Kitad na-
 tion⁷ which hath another tongue?⁸ If [ye] go to
 the Kitad,¹⁰ shall [ye] not¹¹ be killed¹² off?¹³ If ye,
 having all¹⁴ taken counsel¹⁵ and having killed
 with one might¹⁶ the officers¹⁷ (*noyad*) as well as
 the soldiers¹⁸ (*čerig-üd*) of the Kitad, submit¹⁹ for²⁰
 [Us] with²¹ the fortress,²² having given you
 everything²³ of that fortress, [We] shall also be

MONGOLIAN RESCRIPT

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pleased²⁴ to give [you] titles and dignities.²⁵ Whether many or few²⁶ defect²⁷ or²⁸ whether a solitary person²⁹ defects,³⁰ [We] shall be pleased³¹ to give tents, cattle, and servants.³² Ye have heard³³ that³⁴ [I] shall spare³⁵ the Mongyol who have defected to

Me.³⁶ Now ye,³⁷ having built a fortress³⁸ nearby,³⁹ shall reside⁴⁰ perpetually,⁴¹ sowing crops,⁴² and discontinue⁴³ sowing the crops and gathering the firewood⁴⁴ of the Kitad.⁴⁵ If, inasmuch as [We] have said,⁴⁶ "Submit,"⁴⁷ [ye], not having submitted, repent⁴⁸ afterward,⁴⁹ what help⁵⁰ [would that be]?⁵¹ The fifth⁵² year [1640] of Degedü erdem-tü⁵³

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NOTES TO TRANSLATION OF MONGOLIAN TEXT

¹ In *Boyda Qayan-u* we have a *genitivus* in *-u* of *Boyda Qayan*, an abbreviated form of the full title, *Ayuda Örösiyegçi Nayiramtaγu Boyda Qayan*, of the second emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty (see note 53 below). For *boyda* cf. J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire Mongol-russe-français*, 3 vols. (Kasan, 1846), 2:1211a-b: "saint, divin, vénérable révérend, seigneur, maître (titre de grands personages)." Cf. also Louis Ligeti, "Documents sino-ouigours du Bureau des Traducteurs," *AOASH* 20.3 (1967): [253]-306 (p. 304, n. (8)). For another example of *Boyda Qayan-u* as such cf. Ligeti, "Deux Tablettes," p. 212, "Tablette II," 1. 6. Cf. also the *Erdeni-yin tobči* of Sayang Sečen *apud* Isaac Jacob Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses, verfasst von Ssanang Sselsen Chungtaidschi* (St. Petersburg, 1829), p. 244, 1. 6: *Boyda Qayan-u čing* [7] *süjüg bisirel-ün joriy medetügei*: "als der aus unerschütterlicher Frömmigkeit entspringende Glaubensmuth des Bogda Chagan's es entscheiden, . . ." (Schmidt, p. 245). For an example of *Yeke Boyda Qayan-u* in the *Erdeni-yin erike* cf. Монгольская Хрестоматія для первоначальнаго преподаванія составленная А. Поздньевымъ, Изданія факультета Восточныхъ Языковъ Императорскаго С.-Петербургскаго Университета, No 7 (Санктпетербургъ, 1900), p. 195, 1. 10.

² The complex *jarlay bičig* (lit., "rescript-writ," i.e., "a writ in the nature of a rescript") in which *jarlay* ~ *jarliy*, is registered in Kowalewski, 3:2307, as *jarliy bičig* with the definitions "un oukase, édit, ordonnance, ordre par écrit (ch. tchao), diplôme, patente." However, no examples of its usage are given. There are, nonetheless, several which can be readily adduced. In the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Schmidt, p. 286, 1. 2) we read: *tegün-eče qoyin-a ulam ulam jarliy bičig anu gün yarču*: *auγ-a küčün anu yeke bolun yabuqui-dur*: . . . "als hierauf die Macht des Taitsong von Tag zu Tag zunahm, und sich in Thaten und Befehlen kräftig äusserte, . . ." (Schmidt, p. 287). A literal rendering of this passage might be: "After that, at the moment when *jarliy bičig* gradually emerged profoundly and *auγ-a küčün* ('power-might') was becoming great, . . .". For another example cf. Bernhard Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung, Die Neun Märchen des Siddhi-Kür nach der Ausführlicheren Redaction und die Geschichte des Ardschi-Bordschi Chan* (Innsbruck, 1868), p. 39, 1. 9: *Qormusda tngri-yin jarliy bičig* which Jülg translated, p. 181: „Allerhöchster Befehl vom Gotte Churmusta (Indra). . .". We find it also as *jarlay bičig* and *geriyes jarlay bičig* in the *Manju-yin ünün mayad qauli* 8 [86r4-86v3] in the passage which reads: . . . *erte-eče jarlay bičig bičijü noyad-tur öggügsen bülüge. olan noyad. Tayisu Gegen Qayan-u. geriyes jarlay bičig-ün üge-yi yeke* [86v] *qatun-dur. qayan ečige. qatun eke-yi daya kemen jarlay boluγsan bülüge. geγü ilegegsen-dür* . . . " . . . from early time he had written a *jarlay bičig* and had given [it] to the *noyad*. At the moment when the many *noyad* sent the words of the *geriyes jarlay bičig* of Tayisu Gegen Qayan to the Yeke [86v] Qatun, saying that he had made a decree saying that she should obey the Qayan Father and the Qatun Mother. . . ." To both *jarlay bičig* and *geriyes jarlay bičig* correspond the words 遺言 (*i-yen*) "testament" (86r5 and 86v1-2 respectively) in the Chinese text. We also find *geriyes jarlay* as such in 85r3 corresponding to 遺命 (*i-ming*) in the Chinese text (84v4-5). For the latter cf. Kowalewski, 3:2514a (registered as *geriyes jarliy*) "un testament." For *geriyes jarliy* (~ *jarlay*) cf. Louis Ligeti *apud* Francis Woodman Cleaves, "Daruya and Gerege," *HJAS* 16.1-2 (June 1953): 237-259 (p. 258). Cf. also *geriyes üge* "un testament, les dernières volontés" (Kowalewski, 3:2514a). For *jarlay* ~ *jarliy* cf. Ligeti, "Oeux Tablettes," pp. 219-221, n. 12. Cf. also Alice Sárközi, "Toyin Guiši's Mongol Vajracchedikā," *AOASH* 27.1 (1973): [43]-102 (pp. 92-93, "3. Orthographical features"). For *jarliy* (< Turkish *yarliq*) as such cf. Paul Pelliot, "Sur la légende d'Uγuz-khan en écriture ouigoure," *TP* 27 (1930): [247]-358 (p. 292, XII). For *bičig* as such cf. Ligeti, p. 223, n. 20. Cf. also the discussion of the Turkish *biltürgülüg* "substantif verbal du causatif de *bil-*, 'savoir'," in Pelliot, pp. 292, XII and 358. For *bičig* as such of Ligeti, "Deux Tablet-

tes," p. 223, n. 20. For the early variant *bīcīg jārliy* "writ-rescript," that is, "a rescript in the nature of a writ" cf. Gerhard Doerfer (Göttingen), "Mongolica aus Ardabil," *Zentral-Asiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens, der Universität Bonn*, 9 (Wiesbaden: Kommissionsverlag Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), pp. [187]–263 (p. 191, Al, 1. 14), who read *bīcīg* as *bīcīn*, that is a *converbum modale* in *-n* of *bīcī* "to write." Although his translation on p. 191 (12–15) does not reflect its presence, it is registered in his "Wörterliste" (p. 231) as "*bīcīn* (1. 14) schreibend." In conjunction with the word *jrlγ* at the beginning of the next line *bīcīg* constitutes a compound—*bīcīg jrlγ*—which occurs in the *Bīcīg* of Busayid Bayatur Qan of 1320 as *jrlγ-ud bīcīgūd-i* (*acc.*) and *jrlγ bīcīgūd-i* (*acc.*) in Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Téhéran," *HJAS* 16 (1953): 1–107+Pl. I–II (p. 29, Document III [Fig. 31/Page 43], 11. 1 and 4 respectively). Cf. also Cleaves, "The Mongolian Documents," p. 72, n. 3. Here, however, the words in question would appear to have their individual meanings, to wit, "rescripts and writs" in the first instance and "rescript and writs" in the second. Although I translated the latter "Edicts and writs" (Cleaves, "The Mongolian Documents," p. 29), it is conceivable that it should be taken in the sense of "rescript-writs," that is, "writs in the nature each of a rescript." For the orthography *jrlγ* instead of the *scriptio plena jārliy* cf. Cleaves, "The Mongolian Documents," p. 21. For an example of *bīcīq zarlig* in an Oirat document cf. John R. Krueger, "Three Oirat-Mongolian Diplomatic Documents of 1691," *CAJ* 12.4 (1969): [286]–295, wherein we read (p. 291, 11. 5–6): *bīcīq [6] zarligi* (*acc.*) which Dr. Krueger translated "the letter-order." In this instance I should prefer to translate "a rescript" (lit., "a rescript in the nature of a writ").

³ In *-du* we have a colloquial form of the suffix of the *dativus-locativus* corresponding to the literary form *-dur*. Cf. Ligeti, "Deux Tablettes," pp. 208–209, B). For examples of the *dativus-locativus* in *-du* in the *Allan tobči* cf. also М. Н. Орловская, Язык «Алтан тобчи», Издательство "Наука," Главная редакция восточной литературы, Академия Наук СССР, Ордена Трудового Красного Знамени (Институт Востоковедения, Москва 1984), pp. 37–41.

⁴ Another interesting example of *olan Mongγol* in a text cited by Walther Heissig, "Zur lamaistischen Beeinflussung des mongolischen Geschichtsbildes," *Serta Cantabrigiensia*, pp. 37–44 (p. 43, n. 4) is found in the *Allan tobči*, *A Brief History of the Mongols by bLo·bzān bsTan·jin with a Critical Introduction* by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M., Arlington, Virginia and an *Editor's Foreward* by Francis Woodman Cleaves, Associate Professor of Far Eastern Languages, Harvard University, *Scripta Mongolica I* (Harvard-Yenching Institute; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), *Dooradu debter*, p. 124, 1. 7, wherein . . . we read: *olan Mongγol-un tōrō [8]-yi Dayiming qayan-dur abtaju* "The 'principle' (= 'empire') of the Many Mongγol was taken by the Dayiming Qayan and. . ." [Here *tōrō* is the equivalent of *yeke tōrō* "great principle" (= "empire").] In a little work entitled *Mongγol ulus-un quriyangγui teūke* [Short History of the Mongolian Nation], *Mongγol arad-un nam-un nom-un sang* [Library of the Mongolian People's Party], *Mongγol arad-un nam-un tōb qoriyan-ača keblen yaryabai* [Published by the Central Press of the Mongolian People's Party], *Olan-a ergügdegsen-ū arban dörbedüger on* [Fourteenth Year of Olan-a ergügdegsen], *Neyislel Küriyen-deki Oros Mongγol keblel-ün qoriy-a* [Russo-Mongolian Printing Press Which is in the Capital Precinct] we read (p. 68, 1. 1–2) . . . *busud olan Mongγol-un [2] qayučin teūke-yi olju ungsibasū* . . . if one were to get and read other old histories of the Many Mongγol." In the *Mongγol-un niuča[=ni'uča] to[b]ča'an* or *The Secret History of the Mongols* §272 we find the complex *olon Mongγol ulus* "The Many Mongγol people." Cf. the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史, *Hsü chi* 續集 [Supplement] 2.23v4. The same complex is found in the *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語 in Marian Lewicki, *La Langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIV^e siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389. Édition critique précédée des observations philologiques et accompagnée de*

la reproduction photographique du texte, *Prace Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego/Travaux de la Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Wrocław*, Seria A, Nr 29 (Wrocław 1949), p. 201, HyIIa, 27r in the following passage: *olon Mongyol[1] ulus-i abu'ad* "having taken the Many Mongyol people." Cf. also *olan Mongyol ulus čin-u*. "Your many Mongol peoples; . . ." (Bawden, p. 144, §47). [It seems to me that *olan Mongyol ulus* here, as in *The Secret History*, means "The Many Mongyol people," that is, "The people (or nation) consisting of the Many Mongyol." For the complex *olan Mongyol irgen* in the *Arban qoyar jokiayangyui üiles* cf. Nicholas Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha, A Mongolian Version of the Lalitavistara, Mongolian Text, Notes, and English Translations*, Studies on Asia, no. 16 (Far Eastern and Russian Institutes; Seattle: University of Washington), p. 68, 65r10, translated "the numerous Mongols" (p. 162, F65r). Cf. further *olan Mongyol ulus ir* [13] *gen-i* (*acc.*) in Louis Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé*, Vol. I, *Catalogue. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, (Budapest, 1942), p. 167, 11. 12-13.

Igor de Rachewiltz, "Qan, Qa'an and the Seal of Güyüg," *Documenta Barbarorum, Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 70 Geburtstag*, Herausgegeben von Klaus Sagaster und Michael Weiers, Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altica, Band 18.37 (1983): [272]-281, taking exception to the interpretation of *Yeke Mongyol ulus* proposed by the late Antoine Mostaert and myself (pp. 274-275), compares the locution to two others, one of which, *olon Mongyol ulus*, he rendered "the numerous Mongol people" (p. 275). Although I shall not discuss the matter of the *Yeke Mongyol ulus* at this juncture, I am constrained to say that I do not share his view, insofar as *Olon Mongyol ulus* is concerned, for, in my opinion, it is equivalent to *Yeke Mongyol ulus* syntactically if not semantically. The locution *olon Mongyol* itself is too well established to admit of another construction. *Olon Mongyol ulus*, in turn, may also be compared with *Köke Mongyol ulus*, a locution in which *köke* does not, by any stretch of the imagination, qualify *ulus*.

⁵ Lit., "For what." In *yayun-du* we have a colloquial form of the *dativus-locativus* in *-du* of *yayun* "what." For the literary form *yayun-dur* cf. Kowalewski, 3.2251a: "Ta *yayun-dur* irelüge pourquoi êtes-vous venu?" For other examples of *yayun-dur* cf. Bawden, p. 83, §87, 1. 2: *ta yayun-dur ese ködelbe* "Why did you not move?" (p. 172, §87) and p. 84, §87, 11. 4-5: *či yayun-dur* [5] *niyunam* "Why do you make a mystery?" (*op. cit.*, p. 174, §87). [I should prefer to translate the latter: "Why dost thou conceal (it)?" Cf. also Injanasi, *Köke sudur, Terigün debter, Öbör Mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a* [*South Mongolian People's Publishing House*] for further examples of *yayundu* on pp. 311, 11. 4 and 5, 398, 11. 12 and 14, and 549, 1. 13.

⁶ In *ükünem* we have a *praesens* in *-nem*, a colloquial equivalent of the literary *-mü/-müi*, of *ükü* "to die." For an interesting discussion of the suffix *-nam/-nem* as well as *-mu/-mü ~ -mui/-müi* cf. Ts. B. Tsydendambaev, "On the Language of the Mongol and Buriat Versions of the Geser Epic," *Mongolian Studies* Edited by Louis Ligeti, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* (Amsterdam, 1970), pp. 213-246 (p. 233, 1. 4). For the suffix *-nam/-nem* in the *Altan tobči* cf. Орловская, Язык, pp. 92-93. For still other examples of the *praesens* in *-nam/-nem* cf. Bawden, p. 53, §34, 1. 12: *bayinam*, p. 90, §97, 1. 6: *genem*, p. 64, §53, 1. 6: *öggünem*, p. 73, §70, 1. 4: *sayulyanam*, and p. 64, §54, 1. 11: *üjegenem*. Cf. also the *Erdeni-yin erike* (Schmidt, p. 88, 1. 3) *yabunam* and *genem*, (p. 104, 1. 9) *taranam j-e*, (1. 10) *irenem j-e*, and (1. 17) *yabunam j-e*.

⁷ The locution *Kitad ulus* here refers to Ming 明 China (1368-1644). In *The Secret History* §272 (YCPs, Hsü, 2.23v5) we find *Kitad irgen* "the Kitad people" referring to the Chin 金 Dynasty (1115-1234) in North China. Cf. e.g., the same passage in which the complex *olon Mongyol ulus* is found. See note 4 above. For the same usage cf., e.g., the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Schmidt, p. 210, 1. 3) . . . *Kitad ulus yekede ayužu elčis-i ileged*: ". . . dass die Chinesen, in grosse Furcht gesetzt, Gesandte schickten . . ." (p. 211). (Translated more literally this reads: ". . . the Kitad nation having greatly feared and sent messengers . . ."). Cf. also in the same text (Schmidt, p. 289, 11. 14-15) . . . *Kitad ulus-tur* [15] *ayalan morilan atala*: "Als er aber im Begriffe war, den Feldzug gegen China zu eröffnen, . . ." (p. 289). (Translated

more literally this reads: "While he was setting forth [15] on a campaign to the Kitad nation, . . ."). For instances in which Kitad is associated with Dayiming cf., e.g., *Kitad-un Dayiming qayan-u bariyad* in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Schmidt, p. 152, 1. 8) "dass du den chinesischen Daiming Chaghan gefangen nehmen" (Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 153). Cf. also in the same text (Schmidt, p. 210, 1. 5) *Kitad-un Dayiming Lung čing-luy-a yeke törö-yi jokiju*: ". . . schloss . . . mit dem chinesischen Daiming Longisching Frieden . . ." (Schmidt, p. 211). [*Lung čing* is the Chinese *Lung-ch'ing* 隆慶, reign title (1567-1572) of the Emperor Chu Tsaihou 朱載堉 (4 March 1537-4 July 1572)—F.W.C.] and (Schmidt, p. 254, 1. 15) *Kitad-un Dayiming Wan li qayan-u elčis* "von dem chinesischen Kaiser Daiming Wanli . . . an der Spitze einer Gesandtschaft" (Schmidt, p. 255) (literally, "messengers of the Dayiming Wan li Qayan of the Kitad"). [*Wan li* is the Chinese *Wan-li* 萬曆, reign title (1573-1620) of the Emperor Chu I-chün 朱翊鈞 (4 September 1563-18 August 1620)—F.W.C.]

⁸ The locution *öber-e keletü* "possessing another (i.e., different) tongue" is reflective of a linguistic facet of early Manchu diplomacy *vis-à-vis* the Mongols. This is eminently clear in a passage in the *Manju-yin ünen mayad qauli* which reads as follows (6[.47r4-47v2]): *Dayiming Solongy-a qoyar ulus öber-e* [5] *keletü bügesü ber. emüsüsen qubčad* [6] *terigün-deki üsün inu adali-yin* [7] *tulada tere qoyar ulus nigen ulus* [8] *metü yabun amu. bida qoyar ulus* [47v] *öber-e keletü bügesü ber. emüsüsen* [2] *qubčad terigün-deki üsün adali buyu*. "Although Dayiming (i.e., China) and Solongy-a (i.e., Korea)—both nations—have other tongues, because of [the fact that] the clothes which [they] wear (lit., 'have worn') and the hair which is on (lit., 'in') the head [are] alike, those two nations live as one nation. Although we—both nations—have [47v] other tongues, the clothes which [we] wear (lit., 'have worn') and the hair which is on (lit., 'in') the head [are] alike." The Chinese version of the same text reads as follows (49v4-50r3): 且明 [5] 與朝鮮 [6] 異國也。言雖殊而 [7] 衣冠相類。二 [8] 國尚結為同 [50r] 心爾我異國 [2] 也。言雖殊而 [3] 服髮亦相類。 "Moreover, Ming and Ch'ao-hsien are different countries. Although the languages are different, yet the clothes (lit., 'garments and caps') are alike. The two countries still are tied into the same [50r] heart (=are allies). Ye and We are different countries. Although the languages are different, yet the clothing and hair are also alike." With *öber-e keletü* we may compare *öber-e öber-e keleten* in Ligeti, *Catalogue*, p. 58, 1. 16, wherein we read *uridu* [16] *uridu kelemürčid öber-e öber-e keleten-dür jokiyaysan bui*. "Former, former (=divers former) interpreters have composed [it] for those having other, other (=divers other) tongues."

⁹ In *-tu* we have a colloquial form of the suffix of the *dativus-locativus* of which the corresponding literary form is *-tur*. Cf. Ligeti, "Deux Tablettes," pp. 208-209, B). For the same suffix in the *Altan tobči* cf. Орловская, Язык, pp. 37-39.

¹⁰ The locution *Kitad-tu yabu-* may be compared with that of *Kitad-tur morila-* which occurs twice in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* as *Kitad-tur morilan* (Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 258, 11. 6-13), translated in each instance "zog . . . gegen China zu Felde" (Schmidt, p. 259).

¹¹ In *bisiu* we have a colloquial form (pronounced *bišiu*) of the literary *busuyu*, i.e., *busu + yu*, for an example of which in the *Arban qoyar jokiyangyui üiles* cf. Poppe, p. 48, F40r6, translated (p. 140, F40r) "is . . . not . . . ?" Cf. also Poppe, "Notes," p. 98, F40r6. Cf. also Michael Weiers, "Zum Frage des Verhältnisses des Altmongolischen zum Mittelmongolischen," Ligeti, *Mongolian Studies*, pp. 581-590 (p. 586). As for *bisiu* as such, cf. Kowalewski, 2:1134b: "particule interrogative: est-ce, est-ce que?" Cf. also *bisiyu* in Kowalewski, 2:1134b: "partic. interrog. est-ce que?" For *busu* cf. Kowalewski, 2:1169a: "non, pas; . . ." For another example of *bisiu* cf. Bawden, p. 78, §77, 1. 3: *kelečigsen üge man-u ünen bisiu* "Is it not true that we have said. . . ?" (p. 166, §77). [This may be rendered more literally, "Are the words of us whereby [we] have said on the one side and the other . . . not true?" For another example in the *Altan tobči* cf. Орловская, Язык, p. 216. For an exam-

ple in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* cf. Schmidt, p. 92, 1. 10: . . . *nigen-e es-e duradbai bisiu čimayi*: "hat er aber deiner auch nur in einem Stücke gedacht?" (Schmidt, p. 93). For other examples of *bisiu* cf. Jülg, p. 18, 1. 4: *či ger sakiysan bisiu?* translated, p. 157: „Hast du denn nicht . . . das Haus gehütet? . . .“ and p. 97, 11. 2-3: *ükükü kümün [3]-dür erdeni kereg ügei: amidui tan-dur keregtei bisiu* translated, p. 248: ". . . „für die Menschen, die sterben sollen, ist ein Edelstein unnützlich; sollte er nicht euch lebenden einmal dienlich sein? . . .“ Cf. also . . . *či mededeg bisiu* "Dost thou not know that . . .?" and *ebül metü bisiu* "Is it not like winter?" in Inĵanasi, p. 219, 1. 3, and 695, 1. 9 respectively. Cf. also *busu uyu* in p. 549, 1. 4. For still other examples cf. G. Kara, "Une Version ancienne du récit sur Geser changé en âne," *Mongolian Studies*, pp. 213-146 (pp. 233, 1. 5, 234, 1. 21, and 238, 1. 19).

¹² In *alaydaĵu* we have a *converbum imperfecti* in *-ĵu* of *alayda-*, a *passivus* in *-ĵda-* of *ala-* "to kill." For *ala-* as such cf. Kowalewski, 1:72a: "tuer, faire mourir, assassiner, assommer."

¹³ In *baraqu* we have a *nomen futuri* in *-qu* of *bara-* "to finish," for which cf. Kowalewski, 2:1093a-b: "finir, terminer, achever;" For the collocation of *ala-* and *bara-* in the *Erdeni-yin tobči*. cf. *alaju baran aĵiyu* in the passage reading (Schmidt, p. 152, 1. 19): *egüber bügesü manu Mongyol-i alaju baran aĵiyu* "es hat den Auschein, als habe er die Absicht, uns Monghol zu tödten und zu vernichten" (Schmidt, p. 153). From his translation it is clear that Schmidt misunderstood the function of *bara-* which is used here "en fonction d'auxiliaire d'achèvement." Cf. Antoine Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Harvard-Yenching Institute (Cambridge, 1953), XXXIX §194, p. [114]/364, n. 106. "To kill off" or "to exterminate" are appropriate English equivalents for *alaju bara-*, "to be killed off" of "to be exterminated" for *alaydaĵu bara-*. For still other examples in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* cf. Schmidt, p. 64, 1. 18: *egün-če qoyinaysida ta nigen nigen-iyen alaju baraqi-a yayun* "Was wird daraus werden, wenn ihr fortfahret, Einer den Andern zu tödten, und euch unter einander zu vernichten!" (Schmidt, p. 65) and Schmidt, p. 152, 1. 19: *alaju baran aĵiyu* "zu tödten und zu vernichten" (Schmidt, p. 152, 1. 19). In translating *baraqi-a* as "zu vernichten" and *baran* as "zu vernichten" Schmidt also seemed not to have recognized that here too *bara-* is an auxiliary of achievement. Cf. also *bid [erratum pro bida] alan barabai* in Walther Heissig, "Engänzungen zu einem mongolischen Text fragment über Galdan," *Sinologische Arbeiten* 3 (1945): [169]-176 (p. 172), translated "hatten ihn getötet" (p. 176). Cf. further *alaju baraysan qoyin-a*, *alaju baratal-a* and *alabasu baraba* in Inĵanasi, pp. 431, 11. 3, 495, 1. 4 and 461, 1. 14 respectively. For examples of *bara-* used as an auxiliary of achievement with still other verbs in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* cf. Schmidt, p. 84, 1. 12: *qamuy ulus-i eĵelen baray-a edüi qayan buyu* "Ist der Chaghan noch nicht fertig mit Unterwerfung aller Völker?" (Schmidt, p. 85)—Kowalewski, 2:1093b, translated the same text "le khan n'a pas encore achevé la conquête de tous les peuples." Given the difference between the two translations it is obvious that Schmidt took *buyu* as *buiu*, that is, as an interrogative—and Schmidt, p. 8, 1. 14: *tabtayar qoyosun galab inu ĵal usun-iyar ebdereĵü baraysan-u qoyina* "der fünfte Kalpa, Choghassun genannt, tritt ein nach der gänzlichen Vernichtung und Auflösung durch Feuer oder Wasser. . . ." (Schmidt, p. 9). For *ketülün barabasu* in the *Altan tobči* cf. *The Mongol Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century* by C. Z. Žamcarano translated by Rudolf Loewenthal, (Wiesbaden, 1955), p. 79, 1. 26. It is not translated on p. 84. Cf. also *kürün baraju*, p. 82, 1. 10 and translation p. 85: "He has reached the place. . . ."

¹⁴ In *bügüdeger* we have an *instrumentalis* in *-ger* of *bügüde* "all." For *bügüdeger* cf. Kowalewski, 2:1259a: "tout, tous, tous ensemble." Cf. also *qotalayar*, *instrumentalis* in *-yar* of *qotala* "all."

¹⁵ In *eyetüged* we have a *converbum perfecti* in *-ged* of *eyetü-* "to take counsel." It is already attested in *The Secret History* (YGPS) in the form *eyetüĵü*, *eyetüye*, *eyetüldüba*, *eyetüldüd*, *eyetüldüĵü* and *eyetüldürün*. Cf. Igor de Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*, Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, 121 (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1972), p.

226a. It also occurs in the Alexander Romance as *ayetürün*, a *converbum praeparativum* in *-rün* of *ayetü-* (= *eyetü-*). Cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "An Early Mongolian Version of the Alexander Romance," *HJAS* 22 (Dec. 1959): 1-99 + Pl. I-VIII (p. 42, [10r], 1 and 83, n. 228, wherein "Kowalewski 2.279a" is an error for "Kowalewski 1.279a.") The word is registered incorrectly in Kowalewski, *op. cit.*, 1:279a as *indugu/indükü* with the definitions "s'unir, se réunir, se rencontrer:² consentir, se donner le mot, convenir, s'engager, s'obliger." Among the references there cited is that in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Schmidt, p. 22, l. 12-13): *qotalayar indüjü noyan-a ergügsen* [13] *-iyer* "riefen ihn als Oberhaupt aus und liessen ihm die Huldigung Aller empfangen" (Schmidt, p. 23). As a matter of fact, the word *indüjü* should be read *eyetüjü*, a *converbum imperfecti* in *-jü* of *eyetü-* "to take counsel." The text should be translated "by [virtue of] the fact that they all took counsel and elevated him to [the office of] *noyan*." Excellent examples of this word are found in the *Manju-yin ünen mayad qauli*. Cf., e.g., *eyetür-ün* in 1[.15r6] and 1[.89.v1-2] (the latter reading *olan sayid* [2] *-luy-a-ban eyetür-ün* "When He took counsel with his many *sayid*"). Cf. also *eyetüldüjü*, a *converbum imperfecti* in *-jü* of *eyetüldü-*, a reciprocal in *-ldü* of *eyetü-*, in 1[.55v6]. In Pentti Aalto, *Qutuy-tu Pañcarakṣa kemekü tabun sakıyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur nach dem Stockholmer Xylograph 15.1.699, Asiatische Forschungen, Band 10* (Wiesbaden, 1961), p. 127, 1149, we find *eyetüldüjü*(?). Here again we must read *eyetüldüjü*, a *converbum imperfecti* in *-jü* of *eyetüldü-*, a reciprocal in *-ldü* of *eyetü-*. For *eyetüldümüi* and *eyetüldübei* in the *Arban qoyar jokiyangyui üiles* cf. Poppe, 16, pp. 30, F15r13 and 31, F16r25, translated "are discussing" and "conferred with each other" respectively (p. 121, F15r and F16r). Cf. also Walther Heissig, "Einige Bemerkungen über die *Köke sudur*, eine neuerer Mongolische Darstellung der Yüan-Zeit," *MS* (1943): 244-259, for an occurrence of *eyetüjü* (p. 250) translated "befriedet waren" (p. 251). For *eyetüldü-* in the *Hua-i i-yü* cf. Lewicki, pp. 200, IIa, 26v1, 213, IIb, 12r3, 216, IIb, 15r3, 219, IIb, 17v1, and 222, IIb, 21r4. For both *eyetü-* and *eyetüldü-* cf. also Louis Ligeti, "Les Fragments du *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* mongol en écriture 'phags-pa," *AOASH* 17.3 (1964): [239]-292 (p. 270, §61). In James E. Bosson, *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels: The Subhāṣitaratnanidhi of Sa Skya Pañḍita in Tibetan and Mongolian*, Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, 92 (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1969), we find *ey-e* as such in the *dativus-locativus* (*ey-e-dür*) on p. 147, §97 and the verb *eyetü-* in the forms *eyetübesü* (p. 135, §15) (cf. also p. 305, §15), *eyetüküi-dür* (pp. 147, §96 and 185, §373), *eyetügsen-ēce* (p. 159, §172), *eyetüjü* (p. 185, §372), and *eyetügedküi* (p. 185, §373).

¹⁶ In *nigen kücü-ber*, in which *kücü- ~ kücün*, we have a locution which appears to be somewhat singular. It is comparable to a locution such as *niken joriy-iyar* "with one purpose" in the *Hua-i i-yü*. Cf. Lewicki, p. 178, IIa, 2r5. Cf. also *nigen üge-ber* in the *Manju-yin ünen mayad qauli* 1[.80v1-2]: . . . *aq-a degü bügüdeger nigen üge-ber* [2] *alaysan-u tulada* ". . . because the brethren had all [2] killed [him] with one word (= in unison)." I presume that by "by one might" the Emperor meant "by concerted might." As for *kücü-ber*, it is an *instrumentalis* in *-ber* of *kücü*, a variant of *kücün* "might" for which cf. Kowalewski, 3:2615a-2617b. For examples of *kücün-iyer* in Kowalewski cf. *ünen kücün-iyer* (3:2615b), *Burqan-u kücün-iyer* (3:2616a) and *kücün-iyer* (3:2616a). For *kümü*, a variant of *kümün* "man," cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 in Memory of Jigün-tei," *HJAS* 14.1-2 (June 1951): 1-104 + Pl. I-XXXII (p. 53, l. 4).

¹⁷ In *noyad* we have a plural in *-d* of *noyan* "officer (civil or military)." Cf. Kowalewski, 2:694a.

¹⁸ In *čerig-üd* we have a plural in *-üd* of *čerig* "soldier." Cf. Kowalewski, 3:2128a. Cf. also 2184b-2186b for the variant *čirig*.

¹⁹ In *oroju* we have a *converbum imperfecti* in *-ju* of *oro-* "to enter." Kowalewski, 1:450a-451b does not include the meaning "to submit" among the sundry definitions of the word in his entry.

²⁰ In the locution *oroju ögbesü, ögbesü*, a *converbum conditionale* in *-besü* of *ög-* "to give," we have a pattern of speech which is extremely common in Mongolian. When an action is performed by someone in the interest or favor of another, the verb *ög-* is used in conjunction with the verb of action to express that concept. For identical examples in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* cf. e.g., Schmidt, p. 88, l. 10: *oroju ögsügei* "um ihm seine Unterwerfung anzuzeigen" (Schmidt, p. 89). [A more literal translation would read: "I shall submit for (him)."], Schmidt, p. 210, ll. 17-18: *ta man [18] -dur oroju ögbesü: bida šajin nom kiy-e: oroju ese ögbesü: bida tan-a dobtulumui:* "„Wenn ihr euch unterwerft, so werden wir eure Religionslehren befolgen; wenn ihr euch nicht unterwerft, so behandeln wir euch als Feinde.“" [A more literal translation would read: "If ye submit for us, we shall practise the *šajin* ('doctrine') and *nom* ('law'). If (ye) do not submit for (us), we shall rush upon you."']

²¹ In *abun* we have a *converbum modale* in *-n* (with the union vowel *-u-*) of *ab-* "to take." Meaning literally "taking" *abun* came to be used very commonly as a comitative meaning nothing more than "with." The word is used in other forms in the same sense. Cf. the words *Üiyudun qan inu Barčuy Ard iduy qud medelün irgen-iyen abuyad oroju* "the *iduy qud* (= *iduy qud*), Barčuy Ard (= Barčuy Art), *qan* of the Uighurs submitted with the people of [his] realm" in Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu," *HJAS* 12.1-2 (June 1949): 1-133 + Pl. I-XXVII (pp. 62, 1. 4 and 83). For other examples of *abun* as such cf. the *Manju-yin ünen mayad qauli* 4[.94r7] *čerig-üd-iyen abun* "taking (i.e., with) their soldiers"; 5[.97v5-6] *olan noyad* [6] *čerig-üd-iyen abuyad* "When the many *noyad*, having taken (i.e., with) their soldiers, . . ."; 6[.99v5-6] *Tayisu Gegen qayan* [6] *čerig-üd-iyen abun ögedeboluyad* "When Tayisu Gegen Qayan, having, taking (i.e., with) his soldiers, advanced, . . ." (in this instance the word 率 (*shuai*) in the Chinese text (88v4) corresponds to the word *abun*); 6[.89r5] *darui deger-e čerig-üd-iyen abun* "straightaway taking (i.e., with) his soldiers; 7[.3r1-3] *Gegen qayan jėgün* [2] *yar-un čerig-üd-i abun urida kürčü* [3] *üjebesü* "When Gegen Qayan, taking (i.e., with) the soldiers of the 'left hand,' arrived ahead and looked, . . ." (In this instance the word 率 (*shuai*) in the Chinese text (7[.3r1]) corresponds to the Mongolian *abun*.); and 7[.3v6-4r1] *Qayan-u dötöger köbegün* [4r1] *inu noyan siljaysan jirad-iyen abun kürčü ireged.* . . ." *Noyan*, fourth son of the *Qayan* having, taking (i.e., with) his crack (lit., 'selected') guard, arrived. . . ." (In this instance the word 領 (*ling*) in the Chinese text (7[.3v6]) corresponds to the Mongolian *abun*).

²² For *gota* cf. Kowalewski, 2:908a-909b: "demeure ou résidence d'un personnage important; ²fortresse, citadelle, château; ³ville; ⁴morceau, amas, tas de qc." The word is already attested in the plural, that is, *gotad*, in *The Secret History* §248 (*YCPS*, *Hsü* 1.6v2-4) in the locution *gotad gotad-tur* "in the divers towns."

²³ In *ali bügüde* we have a use of *ali*, for which cf. Kowalewski, 1:76a-77a, comparable to that in the locution *ali bolqui*, "tout, tout en général" (Kowalewski, 1:76b) as well as the locution *ab ali* "tout ce qu'on aurait besoin, tout ce qui est nécessaire" (Kowalewski, 1:76b). Cf. also *ab ali qotala* in the *Arban qoyar jokiyangyui üiles*, for which cf. Poppe, pp. 33, F19v24 and 123, F19v, where it is translated "all." For its use as an interrogative cf., e.g., Schmidt, p. 22, l. 7: *či ali yažarun köbegün bui* "Aus welche Lande bist du?" (p. 23).

²⁴ In *qayiralasu* we have an *optativus* in *-su*, a colloquial equivalent of the literary *qayiralasuyai*. For *qayirala-* as such cf. Kowalewski, 2:713a-714a: "aimer, être bien disposé, . . . ²avoir pitié, témoigner de la compassion, . . . ³ménager, épargner, vouloir conserver qc . . ." For the suffix *-su/sü* in Middle Mongolian cf. Lajos Bese, "Some Investigations on the History of the Verbal Inflection in Mongolian," *Tractata Altaica Denis Sinor Sexagenario Optime de Rebus Altaicis Merito Dedicata* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp. [81]-86 (pp. [81]-83, §§1-2). For examples of the suffix *-su/-sü* in the *Altan tobči* cf. Орловская, Язык, p. 80. As to the nuance of *qayirala-* as such in the context at hand cf. Joseph Fletcher, "An Oyiroad Letter in the British

Museum," *Mongolian Studies*; edited by Louis Ligeti, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, 14 (Amsterdam, 1970), pp. 129 [136] (p. 134, n. 13).

²⁵ The locution *ner-e čola-ög-* is, with occasional variations, of frequent occurrence in texts of the Ch'ing 清 period. Cf., e.g., *ner-e čol-a öggüye* "We shall give titles and dignities" in the *Manju-yin ünen mayad qauli* 4.[36v6]. Cf. also *ner-e čola-yi inu* [7] *qayarayai-a ilyaju* "Clearly distinguished titles and dignities" (4.[42v6-7]), *ter-e yajar-a* [90r] *noyad sayid ba. olan čerig-üd-ün* [90r2] *ner-e čola silyaju sang öglige* [90r3] *soyurqayad* "In that land, having examined the titles and dignities of the *noyad* and the *sayid* as well as the many soldiers and having granted rewards and gifts, . . ." (4.[89v8-90r3]). *ner-e* [100v] *čola-yi ilyan soyurqayad* "having selectively granted titles and dignities": (4.[100r7-100v1]) and *ta öber-ün ner-e čola-ban küiyejü* . . . "if ye strive excellently for your titles and dignities each and every one . . ." (7.[86v6-7]). The same locution occurs as *čolo ner-e-yi ög-* in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Schmidt, p. 236, 1. 10), where we find *čolo ner-e-yi öggün* "wurden . . . Titel und Auszeichnungen ertheilt" (Schmidt, p. 237), and *čol-a ner-e-yi ögčü* (Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 266, 1. 4) "erhielten . . . grössere und kleinere Titel und Ehrennamen" (Schmidt, p. 267). Cf. also *čola ner-e-yi inu bayurayul-* in the *Manju-yin ünen mayad qauli* 6[.100r6], where we find *čola ner-e-yi inu bayurayulbai* "He sent down dignities and titles." For an example of *čolas-i ögčü* as such, cf. Schmidt, p. 296, 1. 4, "gab er die Titel" (Schmidt, p. 297). Cf. also Schmidt, p. 150, 1. 9, for *erte-ki Mongyol-un qad-un yosuyar qan čolo absuyai* "will ich, nach der Sitte der frühern Fürsten der Monghol, den Chanischen Titel annehmen" (Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 151). In his entry on *čola/čolo* Kowalewski, 3:2204a-b, altered the words *qan čolo absuyai* to *qan čolo abqu* "accepter la dignité du khan" in the examples of its usage (p. 2204b). As for *čola ~ čolo*, it should be observed that the latter is a development from the former in that the *-a* vowel of *čola* was attracted to the *-o* vowel by retrogressive assimilation.

²⁶ With *olan ba cögen ber* (lit., "many as well as few also") we may compare *bi cö'en ber bö'esü olon-ni ülü eri'ülgü büle'e* in *The Secret History* §177 (YCPS 6.22v4-5). Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages*, p. [100]/350, translated these words "bien que je sois 'peu nombreux', je ne te faisais pas rechercher [d'autres qui fussent plus] nombreux." Cf. also *olon-nača olon cö'en-neče cö'en qor* "adversities [either which are] more than many [or which are] fewer than few" in *The Secret History* §195 (YCPS 7.32r1). Cf. also *olan cögeken* (a diminutive in *-ken* of *cögen* in the *Manju-yin ünen mayad qauli* 3.[19r6-7]: *olan cögeken* [7] *ilyal ügei* "without distinction of many or few." For *olon cö'en* in the *Hua-i i-yü* cf. Lewicki, p. 207, 5v4.

²⁷ In *bosču irebesü* we have a *converbum imperfecti* in *-ču* of *bos-* "to arise" and a *converbum conditionale* in *-besü* of *ire-* "to come." The locution literally means "if . . . arise and come." However, the verb *ire-* "to come" has here the function of a directional auxiliary. For *bos-* cf. Kowalewski, 2:1172a: "se lever debout: ²fuir, se mettre en fuite."

²⁸ Although I read . . . *be . . . be*, it is possible that these words should be read. . . *ba . . . ba*. In *The Secret History* §66 (YCPS 1.46v4-5) we find *ökin-iyen be ögsü. kö'un-iyen be güreged-te talbijü ofd* "I will both give [unto thee] my daughter. And go [then] leaving thy son as son in law." Cf. also Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The *Lingji* of Aruy of 1340," *HJAS* 25 (1964-1965): 31-79 + plate, wherein we find *ade ötögüs be irgen be* "these—both the elders and the people" (11. 8 and 9). Cf. also Cleaves, "The *Lingji*," p. 57, n. 37. [Although I read . . . *be . . . be* in this instance, it is possible that we should read . . . *ba . . . ba*.] As a matter of fact, Kowalewski, 2:1043b has an example in which, to judge by his entry ("ba") (1043a), we are to read . . . *ba . . . ba*, that is, "*nadur altan ba mönggün ba ügei moi je.n'ai ni or ni argent*." As in the case of *beler > balar, j-e > j-a*, etc., it is difficult to know at precisely what time in the course of linguistic history the Mongols shifted in their pronunciation of the word from . . . *be . . . be* to . . . *ba . . . ba*. For an example in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* cf. Schmidt, p. 200, 1. 2: *siregen-ü ejen qayan čolo be abun törö be tübsidkebei či* "Du hast den Titel und die Würde eines Herr-

schers und Chaghan's des Thrones angenommen" (Schmidt, p. 201). For another in the Mongolian *Suvarnaprabhasa* cf. Louis Ligeti, "Le Mérite d'ériger un stupa et l'histoire de l'éléphant d'or," *Mongolian Studies*, pp. 223-284 (p. 232, 11. 1-2): *iḡayur-tanu köbegüd be: iḡayur-ianu ökid be*: "ceux des fils de nobles ou des filles de nobles."

²⁹ For *γayča bey-e* cf. Kowalewski, 2.980a: "seul, un seul, tout seul."

³⁰ See note 27 above.

³¹ See note 24 above.

³² For *ḡaruča*, a derivative in *-ča* of *ḡaru-* 'to employ' cf. Kowalewski, 3:2314a: "un homme de service, un serviteur, valet, domestique: ²employé pour des commissions." Cf., e.g., *bariča*, a derivative in *-ča* of *bari-* 'to take.' Cf. Kowalewski, 2:1106b: "but où l'on vise dans l'exercice de la flèche: ²don, offrande: ³gage, assurance, garantie, caution: ⁴union, réunion." Cf. also *oluča*, a derivative in *-ča* (=the union vowel *-u-*) of *ol-* 'to find.' Cf. Kowalewski, 1:405a: "découverte, trouvaille, acquisition." For additional examples, cf. N. Poppe, "Die Nominalstammbildungssuffixe im Mongolischen," *Kelete szemle* 20 (1923-27): [89]-126.

³³ In *sonosba* we have a *praeteritum perfecti* in *-ba* of *sonos-* 'to hear.' For *sonos-* (<*sonas-*) cf. Kowalewski, 2:1380b-1381a: "écouter, entendre, exaucer."

³⁴ Lit., "the fact that." The whole clause *nadur . . . qayiralaqu-yi* is the object of the verb *sonosba*. The construction *-qu/kü ~ -qui/-küi (nomen futuri) + -yi (acc.) sonos-* and *-ysan/-gsen (nomen perfecti) + -i (acc.) sonos-* is well attested. Cf., e.g., the *Erdeni-yin erike* (Schmidt, p. 68, 1. 15): *činu ḡobaju yabuqui-yi sonosuluyai bi*: "Ich habe von deinen Leiden und harten Schicksalen gehört; . . ." (Schmidt, p. 69). Cf. also Schmidt, p. 190, 1. 10: *tedüi barayun ḡurban tümen qayan-u morilaysan-i sonosču*: ". . . und zog gegen die drei Baraghon Tümen zu Felde. Diese, als sie die Annäherung des Chaghan's erfuhren, . . ." (literally, "And so they heard that the *Qayan* had set forth against the Right ['Western'] Three Tümen ['Myriad'] and . . ."). Cf. also the *Manju ulus-un ünén mayad qauli* 2[.75r2-3]: *üdesi manayar ireküi-yi* [3] *sonosču* "heard that they shall come soon (lit., 'evening or morning'); 2[.70r4-5]: *ḡurban sübe-ber* [4] *čerig morilaju ayisqu-yi* [5] *sonosču*. "Hearing that the soldiers would set forth and approach by three routes"; and 7[.24v1-2]: *Šen yang qota-yi abuysan-i* [2] *sonosuyad* "having heard that [the Great Army of the *Manju* nation (*Manju ulus-un yeke čerig*)] had taken the city of Šen yang (*Shen-yang* 瀋陽)."

³⁵ See note 24 above.

³⁶ An interesting parallel to the words *nadur bosču iregsen Mongyol-i* is found in the words *nadur urbaḡu iregsen. aq-a* [6] *degüner-i činu* "thy brethren who have defected (lit., 'turned and come') to me" in the *Manju-yin ünén mayad qauli* 3[.51r5-6].

³⁷ As the subject of *bariyad*, a *converbum perfecti* in *-yad* of *bari-* 'to build,' *tani* is the *accusativus* of *ta* "ye." For the subject of a verb in a dependent clause to be in the *accusativus* is by no means unusual in Mongolian. Cf., e.g., the words *Činggis qayan-i soyurqa'asu* "If Činggis Qa'an favor [us]" in *The Secret History* §249 (YCPS, Hsü 1.9r3-4).

³⁸ For the expression *qota bari-* cf. Kowalewski, 2:909a: "construire une forteresse." For other examples cf. the *Manju-yin ünén mayad qauli*: 1[.39r4] *qota bariju sayuyad* "having built a fortress and settled [therein] and 3[.24r3-6]: . . . *qota bariju sayubai. qota* [4] *bariqu alban-i kümün-dür* [5] *üker qonin olan-da* [6] *alaju. . .*" ". . . built a fortress and resided [therein]. He slaughtered in great number oxen and sheep for the corvée persons who that built the fortress. . . ." [In *alban-i kümün* we have a colloquial form of *alban-u kümün*.] Cf. also Bawden, p. 68 sec. 61: . . . *Köke qota barin ögü tendé sayuyaba*. ". . . and built Köke Qota outside the wall, and gave it to him and settled him there." [I should prefer to translate this: ". . . and built Köke Qota for (him) outside the wall and had (him) reside (there)."]

³⁹ As a rule the word *dergedé* functions as a postposition. Cf., e.g., the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Schmidt, p. 22, 1. 6): *dörben qayaly-a-tu subury-a-yin dergede kürün* "und kam in die Nähe der

“Da sie [= die Vorzüge—F. W. C.] das edle Leben des Chaghan’s nicht hat erhalten können, welchen fernern Nutzen kann sie für uns haben?” (Schmidt, p. 243). [A more literal translation would read: “After it (i. e., the *sayin* ‘good’) has not yet become a help for the ‘golden life’ of the Qayan, what other help would it be?”] Cf. also the locution *yayun-u tusa* in Sárközi, p. 96. Cf. also Bawden, p. 70, §65, 1. 4 for a similar example: *kejiye úkübesü yayun-u čima*. “Supposing I die, what regret would there be?” (p. 158, §65). Cf. also p. 158, §65, n. 2. Cf. also [*yayun*] *tus-a* “[what] [9] use?” in the Alexander Romance. Cf. Cleaves, “An Early Mongolian Version,” p. 44, [12r], 8–9 ([*yayun*] [9] *tus-a*). Cf. further *yayun tusa* “what use?” in *The Secret History* §92 (YCPS 2.34r1–2). For *tusa* as such cf. Kowalewski, 3:1824b–1825b: “utilité, avantage, intérêt, profit, bien.”

⁵¹ The words *qoyin-a gemsibesü yayun tus-a*, apparently formulaic in nature, are singularly reflective of the words *Qoyina ber genübesü* [24] *yayun tus-a* “Même si ensuite tu le regrettais, quelle utilité cela aurait-il?” in lines 23–24 of the *Büig* of Aryun of 1289 to Philippe le Bel. Cf. Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M., Arlington, Virginia et Francis Woodman Cleaves, Professor of Far Eastern Languages, Harvard University, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Aryun et Öl-jeitü à Philippe le Bel*, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Scripta Mongolica, Monograph Series, 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1962), pp. 17–18. For *genü-* cf. Kowalewski, 3:2446a “s’inquiéter, se mettre en peine, être chagrin, être troublé: ²se repentir.” Cf. also Mostaert et Cleaves, *Les lettres*, p. 33. For a variant of *gemsibesü ber yayun tusa* cf. *gemsibečü ber* [5] *ülü güyčėkü* “even though [ye] repent, it will be to [5] no avail” in the *Iledkel šastir* 110.23v4–5. In the Chinese *Piao chuan* 表傳 we find 悔無 [8] 及矣 (*hui wu* [8] *chi i*) 110.8v7–8.

⁵² I. e., 1639–1640. Inasmuch as there is no indication of a moon, let alone a day, it is impossible to know at precisely what time during that year the rescript was issued. For *tabuduyar* which Kowalewski read “*daboudoughar*” cf. Kowalewski, 3:1604a: “cinquième; cinquièment.” For other forms of the same ordinal numeral cf. Ligeti, “Deux Tablettes,” p. 224, n. 24. For *tabuduyar* ~ *tabtuyar* cf. Igor de Rachewiltz, “The Preclassical Mongolian Version of the Hsiao-ching,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 16(1982): 7–109 (p. 63, n. 86).

⁵³ For this *nien-hao* 年號 or “reign title,” a translation of the Chinese Ch’ung-te 崇德 via the Manchu *Wesixun erdemunge*, cf. Ligeti, “Deux Tablettes,” p. 213. Cf. also the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Schmidt, p. 286, 11. 11–23): *tere metü Mongyol-un qayan-i törö-yi abuyad*: [12] *döcin dörben nasun-ıyan ii yaqai jil-e Ayuda örösiyegči Degedü erdemtü nayiramtaıyu Boyda Sečen qayan kernen aldar-sibai*: “Nachdem er solchergestalt sich der Regierung der Chaghane des Monghol-Volkes bernächtigt hatte, nahm er in demselben *Ji-Schweine*-Jahre (1635), seines Alters vier und vierzig Jahr, den Titel an *Aghoda Örösch*i jäktschi *Deghedu Erdemtu Nairamtacho Bogda Ssetsen Chaghan*” (Schmidt, p. 287). In Ligeti’s translation (“Deux Tablettes,” p. 213) the same text reads: “Ainsi ayant pris les rênes du gouvernement des *qayan* des Mongols, à l’age de 44 ans, l’année *yi yaqai* [1635], il [*T’ai-tsong*] devint célèbre sous titre de *Ayuda örösiyegči degedü erdemtü nayiramtaıyu boyda sečen qayan*.” Cf. also Ligeti, “Deux Tablettes,” pp. 235–236, n. 58 for variant readings. For the title *Ayuda örösiyegči nayiramtaıyu boyda qayan* as such given to T’ai-tsong 太宗 by the 49 *beile* and high officials of his Court on 15 May 1636 cf. Ligeti, “Deux Tablettes,” p. 213. As remarked by Ligeti, “Deux Tablettes,” p. 213: “Le titre de T’aitsong rapporté par l’historien mongol est authentique de toute pièce, seulement, son titre d’honneur y est amalgamé avec son titre de règne (*Degedü erdem-tü*) et avec son ancien titre (*Sečen qayan*), courant 1627 à 1636.”

The Mongolian *Ayuda örösiyegči nayiramtaıyu boyda qayan* is a translation of the Manchu *Gosin ončo xöwaliyasun enduringge xan* which, in turn, is a translation of the Chinese *K’uan-wen jen-sheng huang-ti* 寬溫仁聖皇帝, all three of which are fully explicated by Ligeti, “Deux Tablettes,” pp. 212–213. For another example of *Degedü erdemtü* in the Mongolian text of the great trilingual inscription—Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian—of 1640 cf. Ligeti, “Deux Tablet-

tes," pp. 217-218, n. 9. In *Degedü erdem-tü* "Possessing Superior Virtue" we have a translation of the Chinese (*Ch'ung-te*) "Exalted Virtue." For *degedü erdem* as such cf. Kowalewski, 3:1738a: "grand mérite, qualité supérieure." For *erdem* cf. Kowalewski, 1:260b-261a and for *erdem-tü*, 1.261a.

As for T'ai-tsung 太宗 himself, the second emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty, cf. the entry on "Abahai" by Fang Chao-ying in Arthur W. Hummel, Ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 1:1a-3b, where his dates are given as 28 November 1592 to 21 September 1643. "He had two reign titles, T'ien-ts'ung 天聰 (1627-36), and Ch'ung-tê 崇德 (1636-44)" (p. 1a). "On May 14, 1636, he proclaimed himself emperor, changed the name of his dynasty to Ch'ing 清 and his reign-title to Ch'ung-tê" (p. 26).