

ON "THE FIRST DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR QARA QORUM
FROM THE YEAR 635/1237-8."

Mark A. Whaley*

Since the publication of my Square Script paper (Whaley 2003-2004), a number of coins with the inscription I worked on have surfaced in the intervening years which I was unable to include, the most significant being a coin discovered in 2004 during excavations at Kara Korum by the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and the Universität Bonn, but not publicized until 2005.¹ Since the matter is still pertinent, I think to revisit my conclusions and add further details would be an interesting topic. Before discussing the Middle Mongolian inscription I have some words on the mint-place, announced five times by S. Heidemann, H. Kelzenberg, U. Erdenebat, and E. Pohl as *Qarah* (as in, Kara Korum "Black Boulder" the famed Mongol capital) in "The First Documentary Evidence for Qara Qorum from the Year 635/1237-8 (Heidemann - Kelzenberg - Erdenebat - Pohl 2005, hereafter Heidemann 2005)" despite the coin giving us the following: قره قرم



Simply put, there is no such thing as *karah* in the Turkic and Mongolian languages for the adj. *kara* 'black.'² In fact, the Turkic final *he* in this inscription stands for *elif* and to demonstrate, we move through related words like شيره and شيرا *sira* 'yellow;' بوره and بودا *bora* 'gray;' قرا *kara* 'black.'³ Therefore, the inscription actually reads *Kara* and not *Karah*, and قرم is merely an

* Independent researcher

¹ Axel Burchardt, Stabsstelle Kommunikation/Pressestelle, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. See Burchardt (15.07.2005, 09:48).

² Simply consult Doerfer (1967:3, p. 426, #1440), where both citation forms are cited.

³ Poppe (1938, p. 335): شيره *sira*, желтый 'yellow;'; (1938, p. 447): شيرا *sira*. Cf. Redhouse (1880, p. 381): Turkish زرده *zèrdé* [zenk] 'yellow.' Poppe (1938, p. 121): بوره *bora*, серый 'gray;'; Golden (2000, p. 277): بودا 'gray (horse);' Poppe (1938, p. 292): قرا *kara*, черный 'black.'

abridgement of **قروم** *Korūm*.⁴ We needn't worry of a place name *Qarah Qorum*.⁵

It is interesting that *al-Imām al-A'zam* appears here, referring to an 'Abbāsid caliph as the religious leader of Muslims, and not a declaration of a *pontifex maximus* of shamans (Mongolian: *beki*) at Kara Korum.⁶ Given that there are coins with the same inscriptions of *Allāh* and *al-Imām al-A'zam* from the mint of Pūlād and *al-Imām al-A'zam* and *Tengri kūčün* 'Tngri Force/Strength' from Īmil,⁷ I infer that Kara Korum was simply a mintplace in the currency zone of Turkestan, delineated from North China (which minted cast silver in Chinese style, *Dachao tongbao*). It may even reveal the true extent of Yalavač's influence over monetary policy during this part of Ögödei's reign. So, there is a high degree of conformity to the inscriptions on Islamic coins. Yet, *Allāh* standing as a euphemism for *Tngri* cannot be excluded. With that, I now turn to more substantive material, the Mongolian language inscription on the coin. The statement of an "illegible word in Uighuro-Mongolian script" that appears written beneath *Allāh* (Heidemann 2005 p. 94) doesn't bear out:⁸



A word closely related to this *Uyriyurčün-Mongyol üsüg üge* was read in Whaley (2003-2004, pp. 47-48) as Middle Mongolian *ora* yo and furthermore illustrated (see p. 88, Fig. K, Plate VII). Up to 2004, there were numerous readings published that my research showed to be untenable and here today in 2011 I learned there is yet another one and it is interesting to include it among the others.

On July 4th of 2011, I queried Professor Igor de Rachewiltz (to igor.derachewiltz @anu.edu.au) on Middle Mongolian *ora* and eventually received five emails from him, including 7609KB of word documents, pictures and pdfs.⁹ On July 7, 2011, Professor de Rachewiltz wrote the following:

"I think I know the silver coin in question from Qara Qorum. The single word in Uighur script is written horizontally and is read from right to left (Arabic style). I read it TORE (Uighur spelling for TO:RE), another well-attested form of TO:RO: < Turkic TO:RU: '(state) law, right, rule'. The form TO:RE is prevalent in W. Middle Mongolian. In Mongolian this term designated the fundamental principle of the JASAQ governing the relationship between the Qan and his subjects, also called (as in the Secret History) the YEKE TO:RE or 'Great

⁴ Turkic *koram/ koyam/ kura:m*; see Clauson (1972, p. 660).

⁵ The Chinese form cited as *Holin* (Heidemann 2005, p. 93) is the well-known Chinese transliteration 和林, but it is not the Modern Chinese forms we are looking at here (和 *hé, huò, huó, hè* + 林 *lín*), rather Middle Chinese **hwa-ho* + **lim* = **Holim* (< *Korum*). Cf. *Horim*: Haenisch (1952 p. 59, p. 28, and pp. 31-32). See Doerfer (1967:3, p. 460): Tü. > Sam.: Joki *kōrim, korum*.

⁶ On coins it would look very much like this: *al-Imām al-Mustansir amīr al-mu'minīn*.

⁷ These coins are unpublished.

⁸ The S-shaped cipher shown on the left of *Allāh* was first described in Whaley 2001 (pp. 45-46; Plate III, Fig. 4.2, Fig. 5.10) where it appears as a counterstamp on *Dachao tongbao*. Only Heidemann (2005, pp. 96-97) has taken the huge leap to claim that it is "Ögödei's *tamgā*." I am a bit more cautious. The only *nišan* that can be safely attributed to a Mongol *Qayan* is Möngke's, not Ögödei's, and that is because of what Guillaume de Rubruk wrote: *Volgaris* (4) *moneta Cathaie* (5) *est carta* (6) *de wambasio ad latitudinem et longitudinem unis palme, super quam inprimunt lineas sicut est sigillum Mangu* (7) "The common money of Cathay consists of pieces of cotton-paper, about a palm in length and breadth, upon which certain lines are printed, resembling the seal of Mangu Khan (Michel 1839, p. 133. See also Whaley 2001, pp. 45-49, and Plate III, figure 6)."

⁹ It was really nice of Professor de Rachewiltz to take the time to send it all, unfortunately none of it is suitable for inclusion in this work.

Principle', which became synonymous with 'Mongol Rule (or Government)', i.e. with the YEKE MONGQOL ULUS governance. In a single four-letter word, understood by all Mongol, Turkic and Persian speaking people (TO:RE: became a loan-word in Persian in the 13th c.), we are unambiguously informed on the 'authority' that issued the coin. The word in question cannot possibly be read ORA, for it would not make sense. Hope this clears the air a little. PS Incidentally sa'u- and oro- do not come into the picture in the case of the word ora/oro 'place, throne, etc.'."

Since it was obvious to me the grapheme in question cannot be a *taw/ dāleth*, I offered to send examples from my ensemble (included in this work) that show at least one word with an unambiguous initial *aleph*, and he requested to see one with *ora* on it (July 7); I show the same coin here (without caption, for it will be shown again below):



The unambiguous initial *aleph* is on the image to the right, under the side that reads *al-Ūrdū/ al-A'zam* (Whaley 2001, pp. 26-27, p. 64 Plate I 'Dirhem 3.2-5,' and Whaley 2003-2004, pp. 47-54) a Turkic rendering of the Mongolian national title *Yekes Ordas* (*Yekes Ordas/Ordos/Ordus* or "Great Headquarters/Courts" = Chinese 大朝 *Dàcháo* 'Great Courts; see Whaley 2001, pp. 3-12).¹⁰ The word on the left image seems quite different, and in 2004 I left it unread. However, based on this example, Professor de Rachewiltz responded July 9 with the following:

¹⁰ Juvainī records another Turkic version in *Uluḡ Äv* 'The Great House, Home:': "From *Uluḡ-Ef*, which is the *ordu* of Chingiz-Khan, came other princes (Juvainī 1958, p. 563)." Boyle handles this in two ways, first "Literally, the 'Great House,' *ef* being a variant of the Turkish *ev* (sic, *äb/ äv > öy*) 'house.' This was the name of Chaghatai's *ordu* (Juvainī 1958, p. 504, note 10; also, a place Boyle localizes to modern Yining, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China)," and second, in note 29 on p. 563, Boyle deliberately ignores it: "*Uluḡ-Ef* was the *ordu*, not of Chingiz-Khan, but of his son Chaghatai. However the name means simply 'Great House' and may have been applied to some other *ordu* also. In any case Chaghatai's *ordu* cannot be meant here since his successor Qara-Hülegü has already been mentioned, presumably coming from elsewhere." Precisely. On this occasion it is a reference to *Yekes Ordas* = the Great Mongol Empire, Mongolia (tenuously, Kara Korum); here *äv* is conflated with *yurt* that is conflated with *ürdū*, the "residence of a king" or "royal residence" (Kāšḡarī 1982, part 1, p. 148 and part 3, p. 42). Sources of the Timurid period best show the conflation between those words, where *yurt* acts as a synonym for *ürdū*, plus the connection to the antique Mongolian protocol. For example, in Nizām al-dīn Shāmī's *Zafarnāma* (a history of Tamerlane's conquests down to 1404), the expression *Uluḡ Yurt* appears in reference to the Yuan court. After this, there is Sharaf al-dīn 'Alī Yazdī's *Zafarnāma* (yet another history of Tamerlane's conquests) where *Uluḡ Yurt* is used also in reference to the Yuan court. By the way, I don't doubt Chaghatai (Chagatai) had an *Uluḡ Äv* much in the same way I don't doubt Batu had a *Šira Ordo* (as his arch-enemy Güyük held his *qurilta* at a different place with the same name) because *Yekes Ordas* was in the same vein as *Yeke Mongyol Ulus*. According to Clauson, "In some literary texts *e.v* 'tent, house, etc., depending on the local circumstances' also has the same metaphorical meanings as Arabic *bayt*, e.g. 'celestial mansion (sic, 'sign of the zodiac; Arabic بيت *bait* 'tent [of nomads]; house; palace, etc.):' The phonetic history is unusual; the original form was *e.v* but this had become *ew* in some languages by the XI (sic, century) and from this followed the development *ew > üw > üwl > üy* (sic, öy)." [Clauson 1972, pp. 3-4; cf. Erdal 2004, pp. 63-64].

“Thank you for sending me the picture of your coin. As I thought, it is not the one I was thinking of, which is the last one in my attachment to you which gives a clear reading of the Uighur word. You will also find pictures of a gold coin which belongs to one of my colleagues in Canberra and which has the same word with a slightly different spelling. As you can see from ‘my’ silver coin, the word in question cannot possibly be read ORA, since the first letter cannot be the alif of waw. It is either a taw or a yod. By looking now at ‘your’ coin, I realize that it cannot be a taw, so TORE (TO:RE) is excluded (a pity, because it is a good, meaningful word!). Another problem with TORE is that the final ductus belongs to the resh, which is then the final letter of the word. So, we have (by exclusion) an initial yod and a final resh with waw in the middle, i.e. YOR. In the gold coin of the attachment, we have YORI instead of YOR, and this reading is confirmed by your coin. So, we have two readings: YOR and YORI. This is very good too. In Uighur Turkic there is a verb YOR- alternating with YORI- (exactly as in English we have ‘hearken’ and ‘harken’, ‘hallo’ and ‘halloa’, etc.) meaning ‘to go, to circulate’ - YOR and YORI being the root, i.e. the imperative form, thus: ‘Circulate!’ = ‘For Circulation’, in other words ‘Currency’. This is also the regular term used on Chinese coins (XING ‘to go, to circulate’), and very probably borrowed by the Uighurs from Chinese. The imperative form is clearly formulaic, more mongolico, viz. very much in the command style of other official documents issued by the Mongols to their subject (such as paizas, etc.). In Uighur writings of the 13th-14th c. the two forms YOR- and YORI- can and do indeed appear in the same document. There are very good reasons why Uighur Turkic is used instead of Mongolian - the same reasons in fact that account for O:go:dei assuming the Turkic title of Qa’an (QaGan) instead of retaining the Mongol title of Qan. I will discuss all this in the book I am writing at present”

While I await Professor de Rachewiltz’s book, I shall repeat the following portion of his email, as it is most relevant here:

“In Uighur Turkic there is a verb YOR- alternating with YORI- (exactly as in English we have ‘hearken’ and ‘harken’, ‘hallo’ and ‘halloa’, etc.) meaning ‘to go, to circulate’ - YOR and YORI being the root, i.e. the imperative form, thus: ‘Circulate!’ = ‘For Circulation’, in other words ‘Currency’. This is also the regular term used on Chinese coins (XING ‘to go, to circulate’), and very probably borrowed by the Uighurs from Chinese.”

Sorry to say, but that verb is absurd on a coin.¹¹ The Mongols of the Thirteenth Century didn’t go around on foot. They rode their horses.¹² And any literate Uyghur would not mistake this word as ‘currency.’¹³ Turkic *yorı-* is ‘to walk, march,’ more indefinitely ‘to go;’ as an Aux. V. w. preceding Ger. in *-p* ‘to go on (doing something)’¹⁴ and was used to translate Sanskrit ind. pass. [3. sg.] *caryate* in Uyghur glosses of Buddhist texts (Erdal 1991, p. 688; Erdal 2004, p. 534).¹⁵ Likewise, *caryate* was translated in Chinese texts using 行 *xíng*, 行 *háng*, 行 *xìng*, 行 *hàng*, 行 *héng* ‘go; walk; move, travel; circulate.’

¹¹ “Mongolico” for me should go like this: *nidütei bolbasu ber, soqor bolba. Tartai bolbasu ber, yar ügei bolba. Költei bolbasu ber, doyolang bolba* “In the strength of heaven. Words which we speak. The unsubmitted peoples whom we have got, although they have eyes, they are blind; although they have hands, they have them no more; although they have feet, they are crippled.” See Cleaves (1979, pp. 76-77).

¹² *Yorınu* ‘to ride on’ is the reflexive form of *yorı-*.

¹³ Any literate Mongol would have simply written *qing* (行: Middle Chinese **haeng*~*haengH*; with the regular transcription of the Chinese initial **hae* > Middle Mongolian *qi*). Just so the reader is aware, I could have ended all discussion with the previous observation, but later it will be crystal clear why I did not.

¹⁴ Clauson (1972, p. 957); and in addition to *-p*: *-k*, *-t*, *-l*.

¹⁵ *Yorı-* is a synonym of Sanskrit \sqrt{car} ‘move.’

such as in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, where it appears as:

niraṅkuśam

svairamihādya

caryate

【真】 無鉤制惑隨意行

【玄】 無鉤制惑隨意轉

Notice 行 receives the gloss 轉 *zhuǎn*, *zhuàn* ‘shift, move, turn.’¹⁶ Secondly, what is required if anyone were to ever connect it to Chinese coins or money is 兴 (興) *xīng*, *xìng* ‘thrive, prosper, flourish’ not 行. No one will ever succeed in producing *yoriyu* (= 兴). This is because the Uygurs had a perfectly good word in *ašil* (= 興) ‘prosperity’ that would absolutely be in keeping with the Chinese term and appropriate for a coin inscription if loaned from the Chinese.¹⁷ Yet *ašil* doesn’t appear on the coins. Moreover, the word doesn’t really resemble these examples from *The Uygur-Turkic biography of Xuanzang* (Tuguševa 1991): *kiñürü yori-yur : bu* (V58, p. 72, line 5), *inta yori-miš ol köni* (VIII23, pp. 153-154, line 7) and especially *lalč/laq titir : yora tükädmiš* (line 14).¹⁸ Given that one word stands in contrast to the other, one with an unambiguous initial *aleph* and plain final *aleph* and the other not, I surmise the problem does not lie “in Uygur transcription e/Y is a variant of ä/’ but it is written with *jod* Y (Barat 2000, p. xviii),”¹⁹ because there is no example of an initial *yod* standing as an initial *aleph*. More often the vowels *e/ä* are produced with an initial *aleph* and final *yod*, like these examples: *ešidtür-* = *äšidtür-* / *äšidtür-* ‘to let somebody know,’ *ešitgü* = *äšidgü* ‘hearing,’ and *erklig* (’YRKLYK) a variant of *ärklig* (’RKLYK) although some lexemes such as “*a* vs. *ä* are not information bearing in the in the Turfan dialect of Uygur, e.g. *čapča-čäpčä* ‘spike-toothed metal harrow; wooden or iron lay fork,’ *ajla-äjlä* ‘older sister’ (Yakup 2005, p. 28).” Rather, instead of initial *yod* 𐰽𐰺 this grapheme appears an initial *beth* 𐰽 and the word could be transliterated VWR’ (for Middle Mongolian *ora*). In Turkic, there are examples of ’ ’ for *ä*, but “/o/ appears to have been spelt with two Ws in certain single-syllable stems, apparently to distinguish it from /u/ (Erdal 2004, p. 42; see also pp. 48-50; pp. 63-65).”²⁰ Thus, I recognize the Kara Korum coin inscription is written with an initial *beth* 𐰽.²¹ Therefore, what I am witnessing is a variation of the same word *ora* in ’WR’ and VWR’ and not two

¹⁶ A further example of 行 being used as ‘journey’ may be found directly in *The Uygur-Turkic biography of Xuanzang: sam tso* (sic, the reconstruction) *ačari* (法師) *muntay* (此) *yoriyu* (行) [Barat 2000, p. 267]. 行 in the sense of ‘change; shift; flux’ or noun ‘conduct’ verb ‘do, take, act’ was also used for Turkic *qilinč* ‘act; deed; action.’

¹⁷ *Ašilyusin* (’SYLXWSYN); Barat (2000, p. 101, IX25b, line 21).

¹⁸ 𐰽𐰺 *yora* (YOR’), under *yor-* I. ходить: verb ‘walk, go, attend, run, play, lead;’ идти: verb ‘go, walk, move, follow, run, pass, tread, be on, stand, come along, steer, wade, wend, take one’s way, wade through;’ двигаться: verb ‘move, travel, run, stir, dance, get going, traverse.’ II. толковать: verb ‘interpret, read, construe, explain, expound, comment, translate, flap about, phrase, flap one’s mouth.’ See Tuguševa (1991, p. 391). Lastly, the following quote: “The reading I proposed in my latest, viz. YOR and YORI: (sorry, in the hurry I omitted the two dots of the final I in my letter) is now confirmed and you can take it as certain and forget all about ORA.” Professor de Rachewiltz email. July 10, 2011.

¹⁹ And to complete the observation of *a* vs. *ä* by connection to the Kara Korum coin inscription discussed at the beginning of this work here are two examples using a final *he*, Middle Mongolian 𐰽𐰺𐰽 *qurča* ‘sharp’ (cf. Turkic *qurč*; Kara 2009, p. 242); 𐰽𐰺𐰽 *köhä* ‘net armor’ (Doerfer 1967:1, p. 483, #346).

²⁰ According to Clauson (1972, p. 166 under *o:n* ‘ten’), “the long vowel is shown by sporadic spellings of *oon* in Uyğ.” One can observe this in the Turfan fragments, such as Nr. 21 (Cerensodnom and Taube 1993, pp. 94-95): 𐰽𐰺𐰽 *oon-tur*. In addition, there is also *ooc* (for *öc* ‘vengeance’), a spelling suggested to distinguish it from *üč* ‘three.’ See Müller and Gabain (1972, p. 81).

²¹ Maybe also an initial *waw* 𐰽 is possible, either way it is /w/. Only Professor de Rachewiltz introduced *taw/ dāleth*.

different words.²² But there is one other difficulty. While there is only one word, rendered with two different initials (*aleph* or *beth*) and written with medial *waw*, *resh*, and final *aleph* there is a variety that shows an independent dot on the top and short line on the bottom final *aleph*:



Figure 1



Figure 2

I find the grapheme does not represent a *mēm*, such as this example from the Turfan fragments (Nr. 21) *sūme* (in *sūme-tūr*): . On the coin, it seems not to curve away and down from the axis,²³ and the dot is fully independent. An occurrence of this dot as *nūn* appears in the same Turfan manuscript, , transliterated 'WW' but read *oon* 'year.' It is an unusual orthography, and this variety on the coins might well be transliterated 'WR' but read *orn* 'place, seat, etc.'²⁴ But it does not resolve the additional line/stem on the bottom part. The only other possible word I can think for comparison would be noun *orai* (also, *or-ai*) *вершина* 'vertex, top, peak, summit, apex, tip, pinnacle, superlative' and *макушка* 'top, crown;' German 'gipfel' [noun] 'summit, peak, top, height, pinnacle, crest, acme, hilltop, tip, perfection, meridian.'²⁵ Here is an example from the Turfan fragments (Cerensodnom and Taube 1993, p. 54, Nr. 2, line 2): .²⁶ Barring further evidence, I shall continue to leave this variety unread.

The next illustration is of a coin held in the British Museum, published in Cribb — Cook — Carradice 1990, erroneously describing the coin as a "silver dirhem of the Mongol Khanate, Kucha" (p. 202):

²² With two varieties of *beth*, each representing /w/. In Turkic, there is *vpasi* (for *upasi* < Sogdian 'WP'S'K < Sanskrit *upāsaka* 'worshiper(s); attendant(s); Buddhist male lay devotee(s)') and *vpasanč* (for *upasanč* < Sogdian 'WP'S'NČ < Sanskrit *upāsikā* 'Buddhist female lay devotee(s)'). See Bang — Gabain — Rachmati (1972, p. 268): Turkic *upasi*, *upasanč* > Middle Mongolian *ubasi*, *ubasanč*. Cf. Kalmuck *owši*, Urdu *uwši* see Poppe (1955, p. 32). Gy. Kara (2005, p. 86) writes *beth* "marks sounds originally foreign to the Mongols (it renders the Uygur and Indian *v* and the Tibetan and Chinese *w*; as well as *f* of Chinese words of the Yüan and Ming periods." Actually, Monguor has an initial *f* (Poppe 1955, p. 16). Anyway, I do not see a foreign word represented here, such as Persian *اورل aurā* 'fortress, citadel;' *orā* (inflection of *o*), 'him, her, it; to him, to her, to it' (Steingass 1892, p. 118).

²³ Not that it ever was considered by me, but this means *Korum* is impossible.

²⁴ Clauson (1972, p. 233).

²⁵ *هورى horai* 'crown of the head;' rather, Golden (2000, p. 247): *nirun hora[i]* 'sommet de l'arrête.'

²⁶ See also Cerensodnom and Taube (1993, Nr. 6, line 10).

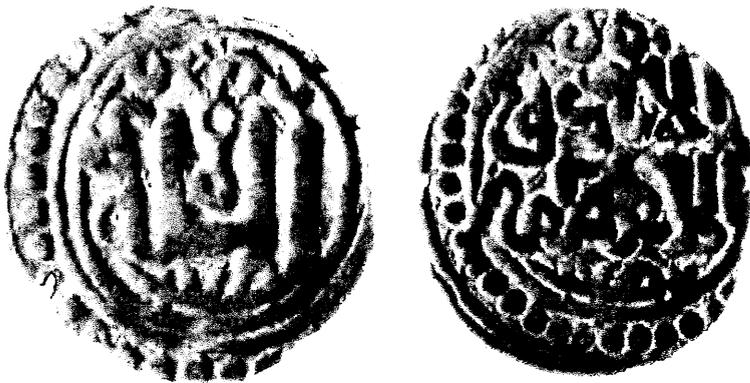


Figure 3

On the example above, the independent dot on the top and short line on the bottom final *aleph* actually joins to the *aleph*, and I find this is the source of the many untenable readings of the word (see Whaley 2003-2004, pp. 47-48 and especially the endnotes on p. 65). On the next example, see *ora* is rendered on the side that reads *al-Ūrdūl al-A'zam* with an unambiguous initial *aleph* and plain final *aleph*:



Figure 4

Here is another example with an unambiguous initial *aleph*:



Figure 5

Next, the word *ora* appears on a Jochid copper *pul*, it is the word on the top of the right image (reverse of the coin):²⁷

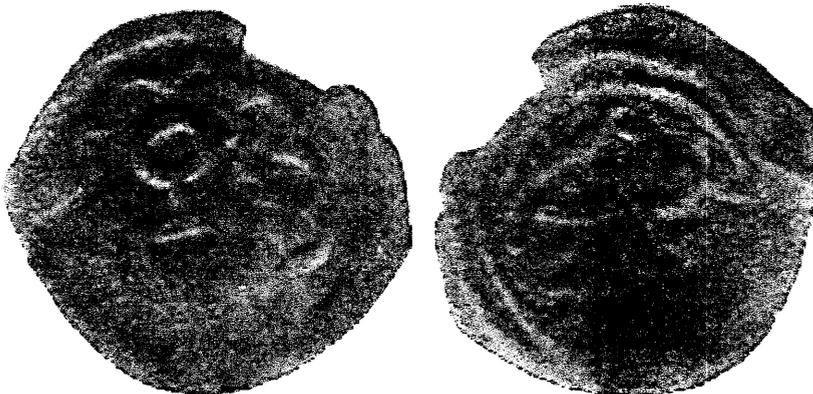


Figure 6

Next is a coin that has the same initial grapheme as on the Kara Korum coin in Figure 1, with the merged dot and line after the *resh* as Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6:

²⁷ The pictured coin is in the possession of the author. A published example can be found on the internet (see Lebedev 2000, p. 33, coin M27), read “кыр[к] сегиз бир... = олин?” but Lebedev is unaware that his inscription has a Mongolian word in Uygur script plus Arabic script.

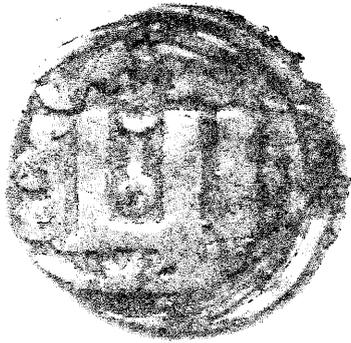


Figure 7

Here are two gold coins that read *ora* (and announce the *tamḡā*-tax in the Mongolian nation *Yekes Ordas?*):²⁸



Figure 8

I tentatively reconstruct the Arabic-script portion of the above coin legends with caveat:²⁹

الأردولاء	الأردولاء
عضاضا	عضاضا
لتمغابالنا	لتمغابالنا
٧٥	٧٥

I attach the caveat because Fyodorov-Davydov (1960, p. 126) and Mayer (1993, p. 21, coins #66-69) have not realized the actual inscription.³⁰ There are simply too many issues to work out with only a few examples. It is clear to me there is more than one die, so it was a prolific issue, but I have not run across one with a full mint and date.

Finally, here is an example from the muled exemplars of unligated Arabic letters and the reversed Uyghur script (only first recognized in Whaley 2003-2004, p. 48). The *resh* shows only one horn, and since it's not pointed down and away, it's not *yod* (in the vowel /ö/), and the final *aleph* has a dot, but not including the short line (hence, *nūn?*):

²⁸ Rather, 'commercial tax' косвенные сборы с городских торгово-промышленных заведений 'indirect taxes from the city's commercial and industrial establishments.' See Poppe (1941): Here are a few Square Script examples, often mentioned in context of the *qubchir* 'poll tax': *t'amqada* (Edict of Mangala 1276, line 7, pp. 59-60); *t'amqa* (Edict of Buyantu 1314 [I], line 18, pp. 63-64); *t'amqa* (Edict of Buyantu 1314 [II], line 19, pp. 67-68); *t'am-qa* (Edict of the Widow of Dharmabala 1321, lines 13-14, pp. 71-72).

²⁹ My reconstruction reveals my inclination with this mixed *naskh* and *kufic* styles inscription to suggest *al-tamḡā bolba* 'became sealed/marked/taxed' [*al-tamḡatai* 'with red seal']. I have additionally written *ora*, but another variation might be intended (see above).

³⁰ Fyodorov-Davydov wrote "an-Nāṣir al-Dīn" and Mayer has many question marks indicating doubt (even with clearly written words such as *tamḡā*). And from the word document Professor de Rachewiltz had sent me, I extract the following "[a]l-Ordū [a]l-A'zam amr bi-a-l-[ta]mḡhā 'li-dunyā "The Ordū The Great commands for a-l-tamḡhā" of the realm," but it is ludicrous and I reluctantly include it.

Figure 9



To conclude, Ögödei's capital Kara Korum, first center of Mongolian writing, was founded in 1236 (Kara 2005, p. 191). The excavated coin has a partial (?) date of *khamṣa wā talatīn*,³¹ so how is it that in 1237-1238 we should receive an illegible word? It is hard to believe, to say the least. These differences and inconsistencies may point to our encountering different renderings of the same word on multiple coin dies used for many years (the muling of dies proves it). Essentially, the significance in the date lies in the fact the Kara Korum coin now has the current distinction of being the first dated inscription in the Mongolian language in Uygur script, predating the Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1240 as well as the Stele of Yisüngge. This, however, is yet another detail Heidemann (2005) does not recognize regarding this important object. Furthermore, the date irrefutably validates my prediction published in 2003-2004 of the correcting dating of the undated coins with the Uygur script inscriptions, a full year prior to the announcement of the coin find at Kara Korum by the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and the Universität Bonn and I quote it:

There are at least four concrete periods to when the one type of "Great Ūrdū" coins could have been struck. The first versions date to Chinggis's Western campaigns ca. 1222, and copy the fabric and style of a prototype from Ghazna named the "Ādil-Jinkiz" type (see Whaley 2001, pp. 19-25; Thomas 1898, p. 385). The only difference between the first "Great Ūrdū" coins and those of the second period is a Middle Mongolian inscription, in Uygur script. This fact gives a likely dating for the second period coins of 630 to 645 Hegira (1232-1247) [Whaley 2003-2004, p. 47].

In addition to the observed orthography of 'WR' and VWR' on these coins, *ora* can also be written  or , with an independent final. This is best observed in the letter of 1305 from the Ilkhān Öljeitü to Philippe le Bel of France, where we find *Edüge tngri-yin kücüntür bida yeke or-a sayursan-dur* "Dans la force du Ciel [maintenant] que nous nous sommes assis sur le grand trône" (Mostaert 1962, lines 11-13, plate VIII), and Mostaert's commentary is concise enough to repeat in full:

L'expression (*yeke*) *or-a sayu-* est commune en Mongol écrit préclassique (cf. les inscr. Sino-mongoles publiées par F. W. Cleaves); de même (*yeke*) *oro sa'u-* en Mongol médiéval (*Hist. secr.*). Le mot *or-a* a été considéré comme un datif-locatif de *or* (Vladimircov, *Sravn. grammatika*, p. 317) ou de *oron* (Kotwicz, *En marge*, p. 395). En fait un mot *or* significatif "place, endroit" n'existe pas et le dat.loc. de *oron* ne peut être *or-a*. Dans l'expression *yeke or-a sayu-* le mot *or-a* "endroit, place, trône" est employé au cas absolu. Cf. F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian Inscr. of 1335*, HJAS 13, p. 106, n 17. Pour un nom resté au cas absolu bien qu'il soit régime indirect d'un verbe de mouvement, cf. *Hist. secr.* §§ 247, 272, *Činggis (Ögedei) qahan Šira degtür ba'uba* "Činggis (Ögedei) qahan descendit à Šira degtür (Loung

³¹ The date is not too clear in the photo to confirm. And why assume this is a Hegira date? The contemporary chronicler Zhao Hong's *Mengda beilu* (or *Detailed Account of the Mongol-Tatars*, written in 1221 and slightly revised in 1227) tells us the inaugural year of the use of a Chinese calendar dating official documents in 1220, observed during his visits as an envoy of the Southern Song court to the camp of Muqali, the Mongol viceroy in North China in 1221. See Whaley (2001, pp. 3-12).

hou t'ai) [Mostaert 1962, p. 66]."³²

While on the coins *ora* is isolated, it does not refer to Turkic noun اورا (Vámbéry 1867, p. 219) or اوره (Doerfer 1967:2, p. 144, #592) 'ein Grube zum aufbewahren der Früchte; fosse où l'on conserve le Blé;' that indeed would make no sense.³³ I associate it with 'throne' in Western Middle Mongolian,³⁴ a dialectal form of what appears in Standard Classical Mongolian as *oron*, meaning 'place, country, bed,'³⁵ and it derives meaning semantically, but not exclusively,³⁶ vis-à-vis Middle Mongolian verb *sayu-* 'to sit,'³⁷ and the adjective *yeke* 'Great [i.e., Glorious, Supreme].' In the subject inscription, the noun *ora* means 'throne' and not generic 'place' (although surprisingly enough, I believe, an actual place)³⁸ based upon the strength of the Chinese translation for it, ancient 踐阼 *jiànzuò* 'to ascend by the eastern steps' the equal of 踐位 *jiànwei* 'to ascend to the throne; position, post; rank, status; seat.'³⁹

From the Sino-Mongolian Inscriptions of 1335, 1338, 1346, and 1362, I meet with various reconstructions of lost parts of Mongolian text using Chinese translations that originally had accompanied them. I find most significant the following:

The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1346: 太祖聖武皇帝之十五年歲在庚辰定都和林。

[53a] "In the fifteenth year [1220] of *Taizu shengwu huangdi* (i.e., Činggis Qan), when the cyclical year was in *gengchen*, he established the capital at **Holim*."

Činggis qan yeke ora sayuysan arban tabuduyar on ging Korum-a sayuyu balayasun oroiyuluysan ajuyu qoyin-a.⁴⁰

"In the cyclical year *ging* (< Chinese 庚) *luu* ("dragon," [sic, graph 路]) [the fifteenth year after

³² *Qan or-a*, absolute of *sayul-* and *sayuysan* the *nomen perfecti* in *-ysan* of the verb *sayu-*. At § 201 (08:18:05) of *The Secret History of the Mongols*: *qan oro čima-dur joriba* 'Kaiserthron.' At § 231 (10:03:08) *oro sa'uqsan* receives the translation 位子坐子: *mona qoyina min-u oro sa'uqsan kö'üt uruq-un uruq-a...* "Činggis Qa'an said "As for my ten thousand personal guards who have come to serve in my presence, chosen for personal service from the ninety-five thousand, you, sons of mine who will later sit on my throne to the offspring of my offspring... (Rachewiltz 2004, p. 160; note *oro sa'uqsan* is missing from Rachewiltz' grammar and lexis index, as well as the additions and corrections errata)."

³³ Middle Mongolian *ora-oro* 'enter!' is out of place on a coin. Cf. Poppe (1955, p. 29) for *oro-* < **ora-*.

³⁴ The Eastern dialectal form is *oro*.

³⁵ Middle Mongolian *oron* 'throne' was an early loan word from Turkic *orun* (*oron*) [Clauson 1972, p. 233; See also Doerfer 1967:1, pp. 163-165, #43]. From the *Secret History*: *ündür-ün oron* 'The high throne,' literally 'the place (= seat) of height' (Rachewiltz 2004, p. 673). Poppe (1941 pp. 154-155) observes these forms appearing in Square Script: *oro(n)* входит 'enter;' *oran(a)* место 'place, seat, etc.'

³⁶ Because at § 248 (11:04:04-05) of the *Secret History*, *yeke oro ye'ütegeküi čaq* 'time of the change of dynasty,' in "Could it be that the time has come when the Great Throne will pass to a new ruler? (Rachewiltz 2004, p. 176)."

³⁷ *Secret History* verb *sa'u* 'to sit, dwell, be.' Middle Mongolian noun *sa'uri* 'seat, place, throne' is often rendered by Chinese 位 (German 'sitz' [noun]: seat, furniture designed for sitting upon, place to sit; residence, domicile; 'platz' [noun]: place, site, spot, location, locality; position; ground; place or district). *Bürin-ü de'ere sa'uri sa'u* 'to occupy a seat over/above all' i.e. to sit (at court ceremonies, banquets, etc.) on a more elevated (= physically elevated) place than that occupied by all other officials' see Rachewiltz (2004, pp. 780-781).

³⁸ *Oro* meaning 'place, seat, throne' appears (late) in a Sixteenth Century Mongolian work *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur* (*Sūtra* Called Jewel-like Translucence, the biography of Altan *Qayan*): [1303] *degedü yeke-oron-dur jal noqai jil-e qayan oro sayubai*: "In the Fire Dog year (sic, 1586), he (sic, Namudai Sechen) took the Khan's place on the Supreme Great Throne." Elverskog (2003: Mongolian text, p. 295, translation, p. 190).

³⁹ The founder of Zhou dynasty was King Wu, and his memory is preserved in a Late Warring States work *Elder Dai's Record of Ritual: The throne accession of King Wu* (*Da Dai liji: Wuwang jianzuò*).

⁴⁰ Middle Mongolian *on-oon* 'year;' Poppe (1938 p. 185): *hōn* 'year,' the *Secret History* has a plural for *hon*: *hont* 'years' (see § 264 [11:51:09]; at § 183 [06:46:01] *hot* meaning 星每). Haensch (1937-1939, p. 77) writes "plural *hot*, *hont*?" it is therefore unresolved due to the ambiguity of the Chinese transliteration (it is rare in the *Secret History*, only the two citations). Cf. Mongour *fän-xuān* 'year.'

Činggis Qan had mounted (i.e. 'sat on') the Great Throne] he established the capital (literally "sitting [i.e., residing] city") at Korum."

However, Cleaves reconstructed the *yeke ora sayuysan* of the Mongolian inscription above vis-à-vis 踐阼 of the Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 (in memory of Chang Ying-jui): 皇上踐阼之祚尊 (...).

[6] "When, in the beginning, His Majesty mounted the throne (...honoring the Empress dowager he put the resources of the Empire at Her disposal...)"

Suu-tu qayan türün yeke or-a sayuyad.

[4] "When, in the beginning, the *Suu-tu* "Fortunate" [5] *Qayan* [6] mounted the Great Throne."

Clearly in these bilingual inscriptions 踐阼 does not act as a euphemism, nor is it a modality of Neo-Confucianism. It is an accurate translation of the noun-verb pair in the Middle Mongolian sentence. Far more than previously acknowledged (Cleaves 1950, pp. 34-35, note 34),⁴¹ *jiànzuò* appears abundantly in numerous ancient historical works.⁴² Mathews (1944, p. 121) defines 踐阼 as "to offer sacrifice while standing on the eastern steps of the imperial ancestral temple, on the occasion of ascending the throne." Institut Ricci (2001, p. 847) says "Gravir les degrés qui se trouvent devant la salle, du côté oriental (occuper la place du maître de maison ou de l'Empereur); monter sur le trône." As a matter of fact, *jiànzuò* has more than a single sense (depending upon which citation it appears in). In one way, it refers simply to an emperor's accession/succession (即位 *jíwèi*),⁴³ in another, an actual place or location of ancestral significance (hence, 'the eastern steps' of a pavilion or temple).⁴⁴ The translations from the Sino-Mongolian inscriptions gives a very strong case to believe that *ora* represented not only a throne (the thing to ascend to, to *sit upon*) but a physical/geographical location, the very place where the *qan* and/or founder of the dynasty was raised to the imperial dignity and from where all of his descendents derived their legitimacy regardless of their standing vis-à-vis the *Qayan*.⁴⁵ I believe it stems from the 1206 *yeke qurilta*, the occasion of the founding of the dynasty that raised Temüjin to supreme power and transformed him to Činggis Qan. That place was none other than Köde'e Aral on the Kerülen. I observe that the "place" is not a building like 宗廟 (*zōngmiào*

⁴¹ 踐阼, 踐祚, 踐作, 踐阼; 坐 *zuò* 'sit, seat (cf. Uygur *olor*: Radlov 1960, p. 1087);' 祚 *zuò* 'throne; bless; blessing, happiness.'

⁴² Beginning in the Warring States period in works such as *Liji: quli-xia*, *Liji: Wen Wang shizi*, and *Da Dai liji: Wuwang jianzuò*. It is found in Han Dynasty works, such as *Bai hu tong de lun*, *Shiji: Lu Zhou Gong shijia*, *Shiji: Taishi gong zixu*, *Han shu: Wang Mang zhuan shang*, and *Hou Han shu: Shundi ji*. It also appears in the *Sanguo zhi: weishu zhun hou yue wang taihou*. Just so the reader is aware, this is hardly an exhaustive list.

⁴³ The Middle Mongolian reconstruction *yeke or-a sayuysan-u qoyina* "After having sat [on] the Great Place," here "Great Place" i.e., 'throne' from the Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 (in memory of Jigünte: Cleaves 1951, p. 54) derives from Chinese translation in the Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 (in memory of Chang Ying-jui): 及即位.

⁴⁴ The third is a temporary administrative power in holding of the office or title.

⁴⁵ At § 281 (12:56:01-03) of the *Secret History: basa Qahan ečige-de-en yeke oro ba sa'öldaju olon ulus-iyen de'ere min-u ačiju ottaju böet bor darasun-a ilaqaqu min-u buru'u bolba* "But, being placed on the Great Throne by my father the Qa'an and being made to take upon myself the burden of many people, I was at fault to let myself be vanquished by wine. This was indeed a fault of mine (Rachewiltz 2004, p. 217; *yeke oro* of § 281 [with Chinese translation 大位子 *dà weizi*] is missing from Rachewiltz' grammar and lexis index, as well as the additions and corrections errata)."

‘ancestral shrine’).⁴⁶ Instead, it is the spot where Činggis (1206), Ögödei (1229), Möngke (1252), and Yisün Temür (1323) held their *yeke quriltas* that raised them to power, and the place where the *Secret History* was recorded for the first time in writing.⁴⁷ The Mongols would have of course known what that “place” meant for them. And it would have additionally denoted an abstraction in “time.” Which is why the word appears on coins of the Golden Horde, in Īlkhānid letters, and on coins minted in Kara Korum during the reign of Ögödei. It preserves the memory of the original momentous event, and repeats it. As I wrote in 2004, but even more profoundly today in 2011, an *ora* was a metaphor for power, and by extension, imperial power. It is equally possible to consider *ora* in the same semantic case as *Yeke Mōngγol-un oron-a* ‘Country of the Great Mōngols,’ as an expression of national identity, perhaps with both senses combined equally in the single word.

In summation, the Kara Korum coin is significant because (1) it is currently the first dated inscription in the Mongolian language in Uygur script; (2) the use of *beth* in VWR’ (= *ora* ‘throne, place, seat, etc.’)⁴⁸ appears connected to using double vowels to render words like ’WW’ *oon* (= *on* ‘year’) and that, [a] for whatever reason, the Mongols did not use it solely for foreign words, or [b] conversely their Uygur teachers thought differently (it is after all not their /w/, nor their word), or that [c] *beth* can act as an initial zero (*aleph*) because finding ’WR’ on the same struck coin could indicate it, and [d] in order to grasp the isolated Middle Mongolian word *ora* one must pay attention to the Chinese 踐阼; (3) as in many words, the Turkic final *he* in this inscription stands for *elif* and therefore, only Kara Korum never “Qarah Qorum.”

⁴⁶ It also is not 大宮殿 (*dà gōngdiàn* ‘Great Palaces/Courts’), the Chinese translation of the Mongolian *Yekes Ordas* (the celestial honorific plural) appearing at § 271 in the *Secret History*. In the passage, Oldaqar Qorči was placed in charge of “Great Palaces/Courts” prior Ögödei’s campaigns against the rump Jin state. Rachewiltz gives no details at all other than to observe that this is the only mention of *Yekes Ordas* in the *Secret History*. I find it means that Oldaqar Qorči was the neutral person all parties found agreeable to hold the Great Mongol State *Yekes Ordas* while Ögödei campaigned, and, in the event of a disaster like his death, Oldaqar Qorči would ensure the stable transition until the proper *qurilta* would be held. Since Ögödei’s campaign was a success, Oldaqar Qorči fulfilled the duty of his temporary station and that’s all we hear of it.

⁴⁷ Güyük held his *qurilta* at a different place (i.e., his encampment at Šira Ordo, near Kara Korum), and Qubilai’s was ad hoc following the debacle in Sichuan.

⁴⁸ I prefer not to write *oora*, and the like. I gather it is an isolated word that does not appear in the Middle Mongolian lexicon except through this inscription and its place in that lexicon is yet to be determined.

Bibliography

- Atwood, C. P. (2004): Validation by Holiness or Sovereignty: Religious toleration as political theology in the Mongol world empire of the Thirteenth Century. *The International History Review*, XVII, 2, pp. 237-256.
- Bang, W.—Gabain, von A.—Rachmati, G. R. (1972): Türkische Turfantexte. In *Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Forschung*. Leipzig, Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, pp. 190-289.
- Barat, K. (2000): *The Uygur-Turkic biography of the seventh-century Chinese Buddhist Pilgrim Xuanzang, ninth and tenth chapters*. Bloomington: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.
- Burchardt, A. (15.07.2005, 09:48): Früheste zeitgenössische Erwähnung der Hauptstadt des mongolischen Weltreiches von Dschingis Khan entdeckt. Online version: <<http://idw-online.de/pages/de/news121495>>.
- Cerensodnom, D. and Taube, M. (1993): *Die Mongolica der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Clauson, G. (1972): *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cleaves, F. W. (1949): The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 12, (1949), pp. 1-133.
- Cleaves, F. W. (1950): The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 in memory of Chang Ying-jui. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 13, (1950), pp. 1-135.
- Cleaves, F. W. (1951): The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 in memory of Jigün-tei. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 14, (1951), pp. 1-104.
- Cleaves, F. W. (1952): The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1346. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 15, (1952), pp. 1-123.
- Cleaves, F. W. (1979): The Initial Formulae in a Communication of a Mongolian Viceroy to the King of Korea. *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 3, (1979), pp. 65-88.
- Cleaves, F. W. and Mostaert, A. (1952): Trois Documents Mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 15, (1952), pp. 419-506.
- Cribb, J. — Cook, B. — Carradice, I. (1990): *The Coin Atlas: the world of coinage from its origins to the present day/ Joe Cribb, Barrie Cook, Ian Carradice; cartography by John Flower, with an introduction by the American Numismatic Association*. New York: Facts on File.
- Doerfer, G. (1967): *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 1, 2, 3. Weisbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Elverskog, J. (2003): *The Jewel Translucent Sūtra: Altan Khan and the Mongols in the Sixteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill.
- Erdal, M. (1991): *Old Turkic Word Formation: a functional approach to the lexicon*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.
- Erdal, M. (2004): A Grammar of Old Turkic. In *Handbuch der Orientalistik. Achte Abteilung, Handbook of Uralic studies*, 3. Boston: Brill.
- Erdenebat, U. and Pohl, E. (2009): The crossroads in Khara Khorum: excavations at the center of the Mongol empire. In *Genghis Khan and the Mongol empire/ edited by William W. Fitzhugh, Morris Rossabi, William Honeychurch*, [Media, PA]: Dino Don: Mongolian Preservation Foundation; [Washington, D.C.]: Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution; [Seattle]: Distributed by Univ. of Washington Press, pp. 137-145.
- Ermers, R. J. (1999): Arabic Grammars of Turkic: The Arabic Linguistic Model Applied to Foreign Languages & Translation of 'Abū Ḥayyān al-'Andalusī's *Kitāb al-'Idrāk li-Lisān al-'Atrāk*.

- In *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics*, eds., T. Muraoka and C.H.M. Versteegh, vol. XXVIII. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.
- Fyodorov-Davydov, G. A. (1960): *Klad zolotikh monet XIII v. iz Srednei Azii. Numizmatika i epigrafika*, 2. Moscow, U.S.S.R.: Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, Institut arkheologii, pp. 118-140.
- Golden, P. B. (2000): *The King's Dictionary: the Rasûlid Hexaglot: Fourteenth century vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian, and Mongol*. Leiden: Brill.
- Haenisch, E. (1937-1939): *Manghol-un niuca tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi) Die geheime geschichte der Mongolen, aus der Chinesischen transkription (ausgabe Ye Têh-hui) im mongolischen wortlaut widerhergestellt von Erich Haenisch*. Vol. 2: Wörterbuch. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz.
- Haenisch, E. (1952): Sino-mongolische Dokumente vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts. In *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrg. 1950*, Nr. 4. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Heidemann, S. (2005a): Das Geld der Mongolen. *Antike Welt*, 5, 2005, pp. 77-84.
- Heidemann, S. (2005b): Münzkatalog. In *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: das Weltreich der Mongolen*. München: Hirmer.
- Heidemann, S. (2006): Älteste Münze aus Karakorum entziffert: Erste urkundliche Erwähnung der mongolischen Hauptstadt. *Uni-Journal Jena (Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena forschung)*, 3, 2006. Online version: <http://www.uni-jena.de/uni_journal_03_2006_forschung2.html?highlight=finden*>.
- Heidemann, S. — Kelzenberg, H. — Erdenebat, U. — Pohl, E. (2005): The First Documentary Evidence for Qara Qorum from the Year 635/1237-8. *Zeitschrift für Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen* 1 (2005), pp. 93-102.
- Honda, M. (1958): On the genealogy of the Northern Yuan. *Ural-Altische Jahrbucher*, vol. XXX. Weisbaden: O. Harrassowitz, pp. 232-248.
- Ilisch, L. (2009): Islamic Numismatics (North Africa to Central Asia). In *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 2002-2007/ general editors, Michel Amandry, Donal Bateson*. Glasgow: International Association of Professional Numismatists, pp. 479-504. Ilisch (p. 491) has attached Whaley (2001) to Heidemann — Kelzenberg — Erdenebat — Pohl (2005) when the more germane work is Whaley (2003-2004), which he fails to observe in its proper context (and I find he has an unexpectedly slipshod bibliography, too).
- Institut Ricci (2001): *Grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise = Lishi Han Fa cidian*. Paris, Instituts Ricci, Desclée de Brouwer–Taipei, Institut Ricci.
- Janhunen, J. (2003): *The Mongolic Languages*. London: Routledge.
- 'Alā al-Dīn 'Ata Malik Juvainī. (1958): *The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. John Andrew Boyle. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press.
- Kara, Gy. (2005): *Books of the Mongolian nomads: more than eight centuries of writing Mongolian/ György Kara; translated from the Russian by John R. Krueger*. Bloomington: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.
- Kara, Gy. (2009): *Dictionary of Sonom Gara's Erdeni-yin sang: a Middle Mongol version of the Tibetan Sa-skya legs bshad: Mongol-English-Tibetan/ by Gyorgi Kara, with the assistance of Marta Kiripolská*. Leiden: Brill.
- Maḥmūd bin al-Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad al-Kāšġarī. (1982): *Dīwān luyāt at-Turk*, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, *Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures*, 7, parts 1,2, and 3. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Printing Office.
- Kollmar-Paulenz, K. (2005): *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur (Sūtra Called Jewel-like Translucence) The Biography of the Altan Qayan of the Tümed-Mongols: A Word-Index of the manuscript preserved in the Institute for History and Literature of the Inner-Mongolian Academy for*

- Social Sciences, Hohot*. Online version: <<http://www.relwi.unibe.ch/pdf/ErdeniTunumal.pdf>>.
- Kuribayashi Hitoshi, and Choijinjabu. (2001): *Word- and suffix-index to The Secret History of the Mongols, based on the romanized transcription of L. Ligeti/ compiled by Hitoshi Kuribayashi and Choijinjab*. Sendai-shi: Tōhoku Daigaku Tōhoku Ajia Kenkyū Sentā.
- Laude-Cirtautas, I. (1961): Der Gebrauch der Farbenzeichnungen in den Türkdialekten. In *Ural-Altäische Bibliothek*, 10. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.
- Lebedev, V. P. (2000): Korpus monet Kryma v sostave Zolotoï Ordy II. Anonimnyĭ chekan rubezha XIII-XIV vv. i monety Uzbek-khana (1312-1339). *Numizmatika i faleristika*, 2, 14, pp. 32-35. Online version: <http://gilgamew.ucoz.ru/_ld/0/1_2000_Lebedev.pdf>.
- Mathews, R. H. (1944): *A Chinese-English Dictionary Compiled for the China Inland Mission*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Mayer T. (1993): *Sylloge numorum arabicorum Tübingen [2] Nord-und Ostzentralasien XV b Mittelasien II*. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag.
- Michel, F. (1839): *Relations des voyages de Guillaume de Rubruk, Bernard le Sage et Sæwulf; publiées en entier pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de Cambridge, de Leyde et de Londres*. Paris: Impr. chez Bourgogne et Martinet.
- Mostaert, A. (1962): *Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Aryun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel [par] Antoine Mostaert et Francis Woodman Cleaves*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Müller, F. W. K. and Gabain, von A. (1972): Uigurica II. In *Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Forschung*. Leipzig, Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, pp. 61-168.
- Pétis de la Croix, F. (1722): *The History of Genghizcan the Great*. London: printed for Darby, Bell, Taylor, the Innys's, and Osborn. Online version: <<http://content.wdl.org/2378/service/2378.pdf>>.
- Pohl, E. (2009): Interpretation without excavation— topographic mapping on the territory of the first Mongolian capital Karakorum. In *Current archaeological research in Mongolia: papers from the First International conference on "Archaeological Research in Mongolia" held in Ulaanbaatar, August 19th-23rd, 2007/ edited by Jan Bemmann [et al.]*. Bonn: Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, pp. 505-533. Pohl seems unconcerned he's published "Qarah Qorum" with Heidemann; even in 2009 he doesn't bother to correct it. See Pohl (2009, pp. 511-512).
- Poppe, N. N. (1938): *Mongol'skii slovar' Mukaddimat al-adab*. Leningrad: Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences.
- Poppe, N. N. (1941): *Kvadratnaya pis'mennost'*. Institut vostokovedeniya AN SSSR. Moskva - Leningrad.
- Poppe, N. N. (1951): Remarks on the Vocalism of the Second Syllable in Mongolian. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 14, (1951), pp. 189-207.
- Poppe, N. N. (1955): *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen Seura.
- Poppe, N. N. (1972): Das mongolische Sprachmaterial einer Leidener Handschrift. In *Mongolica*. Farnborough: Gregg, pp. 1009-1274 [part 1], pp. 55-80 [part 2].
- Rachewiltz, I. de. (2004): *The Secret History of the Mongols: a Mongolian epic chronicle of the thirteenth century/ translated with a historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz*. Leiden: Brill.
- Radlov, V. V. (1960): *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*. Gravenhage: Mouton.
- Redhouse, J.W. (1880): *Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary*. London: B. Quaritch.
- Nizām al-dīn Shāmī. (1984): *Tārīkh-i futūhāt-i Amīr Timūr Gūrkānī: mājarā-yi khūnīntarīn qatl-i*

Mark A. Whaley

- 'ām-i shahrhā-yi Ārān/ talīf-i Nizām al-dīn Shāmī; bā muqaddamah va kushish-i Panāhi Simnānī. [Tehran]: Bāmdād.
- Sohn Ho-min. (1999): *The Korean Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Steingass, F. J. (1892): *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*. London: Routledge and K. Paul. Online version: <<http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/steingass/>>.
- Tuguševa, L. Ju. (1991): *Uygurskaia versiiia biografii Siuan'-tszana: Fragmenty iz leningradskogo rukopisnogo sobraniia Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR*. Moscow: "Nauka," Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry.
- Vámbery, Á. (1867): *Čagataische Sprachstudien*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.
- Vasubandhu. (2009): *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya; Sanskrit text and Chinese translations by Paramārtha and Xuanzang, ed. Zhang Xueshan*. Online version: <<http://www.mldc.cn/sanskritweb/resour/etext/abhk8.html>>.
- Wehr, H. (1976): *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic/ Hans Wehr; edited by J. Milton Cowan*. Ithaca, N.Y., Spoken Language Services.
- Whaley, M.A. (2001): An Account of Thirteenth Century Qubchir of the Mongol "Great Courts." *Acta Orientalia Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 54:1, pp. 1-84.
- Whaley, M.A. (2003-2004): A Rendering of Square Script Mongolian on the Īkhān Ghāzān Maḥmūd's coins. *Mongolian Studies*, vol. XXVI (2003-2004), pp. 39-88.
- Whaley, M.A. (2006): Modern Forgeries of Chinggis Qan Coin. Online version: <<http://www.khaqan.zoomshare.com/>>. Note: It is my opinion Jena 2002.54.1 (Galvano) is a modern forgery published as genuine in Heidemann (2005a and 2005b). Dr. Klaus Dicke, the Rector of Jena University was notified.
- Yakup, A. (2005): *The Turfan dialect of Uyghur*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.
- Sharaf al-dīn 'Alī Yazdī. (2008): *Amir Timur Beg (1336-1396): English rendering of Molana Sharf-ud-din Ali Yezdi's Persian Zafarnamah/ [edited and translated] by Khan Mohammed Atif, Hamid Afaq Qureshi*. Lucknow: New Royal Book Company.