

165 'On top of affection let there be more affection!', Činggis Qa'an thought; and requesting the younger sister of Senggüm, Ča'ur Beki, for *his son* Joči he said, 'I shall give in exchange our *daughter* Qoĵin Beki to Senggüm's son Tusaqa.'

When *this* request was made, Senggüm, then, imagining himself *to be very* important, said, 'If a kinswoman of ours goes to them, she would have to stand by the door and only face towards the back of the tent; but if a kinswoman of theirs comes to us, she would sit in the back of the tent and face towards the door.'¹ So, imagining himself *to be very* important, he spoke disparagingly of us; he was not pleased *with our proposition* and would not give Ča'ur Beki.

Because of these words, Činggis Qa'an in his heart lost affection for Ong Qan and Nilqa Senggüm.

166 Ĵamuqa realised that Činggis Qa'an had in this way lost his affection for them. In the spring of the Year of the Pig (1203), Ĵamuqa, Altan and Qučar, Ebügeĵin and Noyakin of the Qardakin² tribe, To'oril of the Söge'en tribe and Qači'un Beki, all these, having come to an understanding, set out and went to Nilqa Senggüm at Berke Elet,³ on the northern side of the Ĵeje'er Heights.

Slandering Činggis Qa'an, Ĵamuqa spoke: 'My sworn friend Temüĵin has messengers *sent* with secret communications to Tayang Qan of the Naiman. His mouth is saying "father" and "son", but his behaviour is *quite* otherwise. Are you going to trust him? If you do not *take him* by surprise *and* strike at him, what will become of you? If you

¹ The place of honour was, and still is, at the back of the tent facing the door. The least honourable place is next to the door facing the back of the tent. Senggüm says that Ča'ur Beki would be treated like a servant in Joči's tent, whereas Qoĵin Beki would expect to be treated like a lady in Tusaqa's tent.

² Almost certainly a mistake for Qarta'an. See the Commentary.

³ I.e., 'Difficult Sands.'

move against my sworn friend Temüĵin, I will join you *and* attack his flank!

Altan and Qučar said, 'As for the sons of Mother Hö'elün, for you,

We shall kill the elder brother,

And do away with the younger brother!'

Ebügeĵin and Noyakin – the *two* Qarta'at – said, 'For you,

We shall seize his hands,

And grasp his feet!'

To'oril said, 'The best plan is to go *ahead* and capture Temüĵin's people. If his people are taken away *from him* and he is *left* without them, what can he do?'

Qači'un Beki said, 'Prince Nilqa Senggüm, whatever you decide I shall go with you,

To the farthest limit,

To the bottom of the deep!'

167 Having been told these words, Nilqa Senggüm reported to his father Ong Qan those *very* words through Sayiqan Töde'en.

When he was told this,¹ Ong Qan said, 'How can you think such *things* about my son Temüĵin? Until now we had him as our support, and if now we harbour such evil intentions towards my son, we shall not be loved by Heaven. Ĵamuqa has a glib tongue. Is he right in what he says? Is he correct?'² He was displeased and sent back *Sayiqan Töde'en*.

Senggüm sent another message saying, 'When *any* man with a mouth and a tongue says *these things*,³ how can one not believe him?' He sent messages twice, three times, but could not *convince Ong Qan*. *Finally*, he went to him in person and said, 'Even *now*, at a time when you are *still* so

¹ Lit., 'these *very* words.'

² A rhetorical question implying that he is untrustworthy.

³ I.e., it is common knowledge. See the Commentary.

lively and well, *Temüjin* has not the slightest regard for us. Truly, when you, his father the Qan, will have reached the age when men

Choke on the white milk,

And are stifled by the black meat,

will he let us govern your people – *the people* that your father Qurčaqus Buyuruq Qan gathered laboriously in such great number? How will he let anyone govern it?

At these words, Ong Qan said, 'How can I do away with my child, my son? Because until now he has been our support, is it right to harbour evil intentions against him? We shall not be loved by Heaven.'

At these words, his son Nilqa Senggüm became angry; he pushed off the tent-door and left. But Ong Qan, concerned about *losing* the affection of his son Senggüm, called him back and said to him, 'Who knows whether we shall be loved by Heaven after all? You say, "How shall we do away with the son?"¹ Just do what you can – it is for you to decide!'

168 Senggüm then spoke with the others and said, 'Those same *people* requested our Ča'ur Beki. Now, having fixed a day, let us invite them to come and dine at the betrothal feast and, there and then, seize them!' They *all* agreed and made a compact with *Ong Qan to that effect*.

They sent word to *Činggis Qa'an*: 'We shall provide Ča'ur Beki. Come and dine at the betrothal feast!' Činggis Qa'an, being *so* invited, drew near with ten men. On the way he spent the night in Father Mōnglik's tent. Then Father Mōnglik said, 'When we requested Ča'ur Beki, those same *people* despised us and would not provide her. How is it that now, on the contrary, they invite you to dine at the betrothal feast? Why do people who think themselves *so* important invite you, and contradicting themselves, *now* say,

¹ I.e., with *Temüjin*.

"We shall provide her"? Are they right? Are they correct?¹ Son, you must proceed with caution. Let us send a *message* giving as an excuse that it is spring, our herds are lean, and we must fatten our horses *first*.'

Činggis Qa'an did not proceed, but sent Buqatai and Kiratai telling them to dine at the betrothal feast *in his place*; then from the tent of Father Mōnglik he returned home.

When Buqatai and Kiratai arrived, *Senggüm and the others* said, 'We have been found out. Early tomorrow we shall surround and capture them!'

169 Having thus pledged their word that they would surround and capture them, Altan's younger cousin, Yeke Čeren, said when he came home, 'We have decided to capture *Temüjin* early tomorrow. What sort of a reward might be expected by someone who delivers a message with this news to *Temüjin*?²

When he spoke in this way, his wife Alaq It said, 'What is this idle talk of yours? *Some people here* might take it seriously!' As they were so conversing, their horse-herder Badai came to bring in the milk; he *overheard* this conversation and withdrew.

After leaving *the tent* Badai reported to his companion, the horse-herder Kišiliq, the words Yeke Čeren had spoken. Kišiliq said, 'I too shall go and find out *the truth of it*', and went to *Yeke Čeren's* tent. *Yeke Čeren's* son, Narin Ke'en, was sitting outside, sharpening his arrows. He said, 'Whatever were we talking about a short while ago? We should have had our tongues taken out! Whose mouth can we *now* stop from repeating it?'

Having spoken thus, Narin Ke'en also told Kišiliq, his horse-herder, 'Fetch and bring in³ the white Merkit horse

¹ I.e., they are not trustworthy. See above, § 167, n. 2.

² I.e., the reward was certain to be handsome.

³ From the pasture.

and the bay with the white muzzle, and tether them: tonight, towards daybreak, we'll ride out *to attack*.' So he said.

Kišiliq left and told Badai, 'I have checked what you said a short while ago. It is true. Now the two of us will go and take the news to Temüjin.' Having both agreed, they brought in the white Merkit *horse* and the bay with the white muzzle, and tethered them. That very evening, in their travel-tent they killed one of their lambs and cooked it with their bedboards *as fuel*. Then they mounted on the white Merkit *horse* and the bay with the white muzzle that were tethered ready, and set off into the night.

That night they reached Činggis Qan's *camp*. From the back of his tent Badai and Kišiliq reported the words spoken by Yeke Čeren, and what his son Narin Ke'en had said when he was sitting, sharpening his arrows: 'Fetch and tether the two geldings, the white Merkit *horse* and the bay with the white muzzle' – all the words that had been said they reported for Činggis Qan *to know*. Badai and Kišiliq also spoke, saying, 'If Činggis Qa'an favours us *with his trust*, he will not hesitate *to act*: they have pledged to surround and capture you.'

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER SIX

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On this intelligence Činggis Qa'an believed the words of Badai and Kišiliq; that same night he informed the trusted men who were at his side and, abandoning his baggage to lighten *his train*, set out and fled in the night.

Proceeding by way of the northern side of Ma'u¹ Heights, he left behind Jelme Qo'a of the Uriangqat, for he trusted him, as his rearguard on the northern side of Ma'u Heights. He set up patrols and moved on. As he continued his advance, at noon of the following day he reached Qalaqaljit Sands, where he halted to rest and eat, waiting for the sun to set.

While they rested and ate, Čigidei and Yadir, the horseherders of Alčidai, led their geldings to pasture, some here and some there, on the fresh grass. As they moved *about*, they saw the dust *raised* by the enemy coming in pursuit, passing by Hula'an Burqat² on the southern side of Ma'u Heights. 'The enemy has arrived,' they said and came *back* driving the geldings before them.

When they were told that the enemy had arrived, they *all* looked out and observing the dust *raised by the enemy* passing by Hula'an Burqat on the southern side of Ma'u Heights, they said, 'That is Ong Qan coming in hot pursuit'. Then Činggis Qa'an, having seen the dust, had his geldings brought in,³ loaded them, and rode off *with his followers*. If on that occasion *these two herdsmen* had not noticed *the enemy's approach*, he would have been *caught* unprepared.

¹ Written Mau for Ma'u ('Evil') throughout. See the Commentary.

² I.e., 'Red Willows.'

³ From the pastures.

As they approached, Ĵamuqa was advancing together with Ong Qan. While they advanced Ong Qan there and then asked Ĵamuqa, 'Who are those with son Temüĵin who are likely to fight?' To his question Ĵamuqa said, 'There are his people called the Uru'ut and the Mangqut; those people of his do indeed *know how to fight*:

Every time they turn about,
Their battle array holds;
Every time they wheel round, too,
Their ranks hold.

Those people are accustomed to swords and spears from childhood. They have black and multicoloured standards – they are the people of whom we must be wary!

On these words Ong Qan said, 'If this is so, Qadaq, *the leader of our brave Ĵirgin*, shall meet them: we shall send our brave Ĵirgin to the attack. We shall have Aĉiq Širun of the Tümen Tübegen attack *next* in support of the Ĵirgin. The brave Olon Dongqayit we shall send to attack in support of the Tümen Tübegen. Qori Šilemün Taiši in support of the Olon Dongqayit shall attack at the head of *my* – the Ong-qan's – thousand bodyguards. In support of the thousand bodyguards we, the main body *of the army*, shall move to the attack.' Ong Qan also said, 'Younger brother Ĵamuqa, you set our troops in battle array!'

At these words Ĵamuqa drew apart and told his companions, 'Ong Qan tells me to set these troops of his in battle array, but I have never been able to fight against *my sworn friend*. For Ong Qan to say that I should set these troops in battle array *means that* he is less capable than I am. Not much of a companion, is he! Let us send word to *my sworn friend* to be on his guard.'

So Ĵamuqa secretly sent the following message to Činggis Qa'an: 'Ong Qan asked me, "Who are those with son Temüĵin who are likely to fight?" To his question I said, "I rate first the Uru'ut and the Mangqut." Thus I spoke, and at these words of mine those same Ĵirgin were

ordered to the forefront as vanguard. Aĉiq Širun of the Tümen Tübegen was appointed to support the Ĵirgin. [The Olon Dongqayit were appointed to support the Tümen Tübegen.] Qori Šilemün Taiši, leader of the thousand bodyguards of Ong Qan, was appointed to support the Olon Dongqayit. For his¹ support, they decided that the main body of Ong Qan's own army should stand *in readiness*. Ong Qan also told me: "Younger brother Ĵamuqa, you set these troops *of mine* in battle array!", saying that he relied on me. From this I realized that he is not much of a companion. How can I set his troops in battle array *for him*? I have never been able to fight against *my sworn friend*, and Ong Qan is less capable than me. Sworn friend, do not be afraid; be on your guard!' That was the message he sent.

171 When Činggis Qa'an received this news he said, 'Uncle Ĵürĉedei of the Uru'ut, let us make you the vanguard; what do you say?' Before Ĵürĉedei could utter a word, Quyildar Šeĉen of the Mangqut said, 'I shall fight in front of *my sworn friend*! As for how one shall afterwards take care of my orphaned children, *my sworn friend* will decide.' Ĵürĉedei *then* said, 'Let us, Uru'ut and Mangqut, fight as vanguard in front of Činggis Qa'an!'

So saying, Ĵürĉedei and Quyildar arranged themselves in battle order in front of Činggis Qa'an with their Uru'ut and Mangqut *troops*. As they stood *thus*, the enemy arrived with the Ĵirgin as vanguard. When they came *forward*, the Uru'ut and the Mangqut rushed against them and overcame the Ĵirgin. As they advanced, crushing them, Aĉiq Širun of the Tümen Tübegen charged *ahead*.² In the attack, Aĉiq Širun stabbed Quyildar and brought him off *his horse*. The Mangqut turned back and *stood guard* over Quyildar.

¹ I.e., Qori Šilemün Taiši's.

² In support of the Ĵirgin who were being overcome by the Uru'ut and the Mangqut.

Ĵürĉedei *then* went on the attack with his Uru'ut *troops* and overcame the Tümen Tübegen. As he advanced, crushing them and driving them back, the Olon Dongqayit charged against him, but Ĵürĉedei crushed also the Dongqayit. After overcoming them, as he went forward, Qori Šilemün Taiši attacked him with the thousand bodyguards. When Ĵürĉedei had also repulsed and defeated Qori Šilemün Taiši and was pressing ahead, Senggüm, without permission from Ong Qan, began to charge against him, but was shot by an arrow in *one of his* bright red cheeks. Senggüm fell there and then *from his horse*. When Senggüm fell all the Kereyit turned back and stood *guard* over him.

Having defeated them, when the setting sun touched the hilltops our *troops* withdrew, taking back with them Quyildar who had fallen *from his horse* wounded.

Ĉinggis Qa'an and our *men* moved away from Ong Qan – from the place where they had fought each other. They set out in the evening and spent the night some distance from there.

172 They spent the night standing *in battle order*. At daybreak, when they held a roll-call, Öködei,¹ Boroqul and Bo'orĉu were not there. Ĉinggis Qa'an said, 'Bo'orĉu and Boroqul as true friends have remained behind with Öködei. How could they part from each other, whether living or dying?'

When night *came*, our *men*, having brought in their geldings,² spent the night *in readiness*. Saying, 'If the *enemy* pursues us we shall fight,' Ĉinggis Qa'an arranged the *troops* in battle order.

When the day grew light, they beheld a man approaching from the rear. As he came *closer*, it was Bo'orĉu.

¹ = Ögödei.

² From the pastures.

When he arrived Ĉinggis Qa'an beat his breast and said, 'Let Eternal Heaven decide *what should be!*'

Bo'orĉu said, 'When we went on the attack my horse was shot by an arrow and fell *under me*. I ran away on foot and as I was going *like this*, those same Kereyit, having turned back, stood *guard* over Senggüm; in the fighting's lull, I *noticed* a pack-horse standing *there* whose pack had slipped on its side. I cut off its pack, got on the pack-saddle and came away. Following the tracks left by our *men* when they withdrew *from the battlefield*, I went on, found them and here I am.'

173 Then, a moment later, another man approached. He advanced and drew closer, his feet dangling under him;¹ yet, when one looked, it seemed like a single person *riding*. When he came up and drew to a halt, it was Boroqul mounted double behind Öködei with blood trickling from the corners of his mouth.

Öködei had been hit by an arrow in the neck vein; as the blood was clotting, Boroqul had sucked the *wound-clogging* blood, letting it trickle from the corners of the mouth: *that's how* he came.

When Ĉinggis Qa'an saw this, tears fell from his eyes and his heart was pained. He speedily ordered a fire to be prepared, had the wound cauterized, and drink sought for Öködei and given to him. 'If the enemy comes *after us*, we shall fight him!', he said.

Boroqul said, 'The dust *raised* by the enemy *has shifted* in the opposite direction towards Hula'an Burqat on the southern side of Ma'u Heights – rising in a long trail, the dust has moved away in the opposite direction.'

At these words of Boroqul, Ĉinggis Qa'an said, 'Had he come *after us*, we would have fought him; *but* if we are *now* witnessing the enemy take flight, we shall regroup our troops and fight him *later!*' So saying, he departed. After

¹ I.e., as if someone else was riding.

he left, he moved upstream along the Ulqui Šilügeljit River and came into Dalan Nemürges.

174 Then, from the rear,¹ Qada'an Daldurqan came up, leaving *behind* his wife and children. When he arrived, Qada'an Daldurqan reported Ong Qan's words saying, 'When Ong Qan's son Senggüm was shot in *one of* his bright red cheeks by an *učumaq* arrow and fell from his horse, and the *Kereyit* turned back and stood guard over him, Ong Qan then said:

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

But having arrived in time to *save my son's* life, let us *now* together rush *against them!*" Thus he spoke and Ačiq Širun said to him, "Qan, Qan, desist! Pleading for a son who was yet to come, we made magic strips and uttered *the prayer Abui babui* – we prayed, pleading for him. So at last *your* son Senggüm was born, let us take care of him! Most of the Mongols are on our side, with Ĵamuqa, and with Altan and Qučar. As for the Mongols who have rebelled *against us* and who left with Temüjin, where can they go? They are those

Who have *but* a horse as a mount,
Who have *but* a tree as a shelter.

If they do not come *and join us of their own accord*, we shall go *out*, wrap them up like dry horse dung in a skirt, and bring them here!" To these words of Ačiq Širun, Ong Qan said, "Correct! If this is so, I fear my son may be exhausted. Take care of my son, and do not shake him

¹ I.e., after Činggis Qan – to join him.

while you carry him!" Having said this he withdrew from the battlefield and returned *home*'. So spoke Qada'an Daldurqan.

175 Then Činggis Qa'an departed from Dalan Nemürges following the course of the Qalqa River downstream, and counted his forces. When numbered, there were two thousand six hundred *men*. With one thousand three hundred *men* Činggis Qa'an moved along the western bank of the Qalqa *while* the Uru'ut and Mangqut moved with one thousand three hundred *men* along the eastern bank of the Qalqa.

They were moving on in this way, hunting for provisions as they went, when Quyildar, whose wounds had not yet healed,¹ without paying heed to a warning by Činggis Qa'an rushed after the game. He had a relapse and died. Činggis Qa'an then buried him at Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend² of the Qalqa.

176 Činggis Qa'an, knowing that just where the Qalqa River flows into Lake Buyur there stayed the Onggirat *chief* Terge Emel and others, sent Ĵürčedei to them with the Uru'ut troops. When he sent him off he said, 'If they say that the Onggirat, from olden days,

Live thanks to the good looks
Of their granddaughters
And the beauty
Of their daughters,³

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

Because he had been sent with this message, *the Onggirat* submitted to Ĵürčedei. As they had submitted *peacefully*, Činggis Qa'an did not touch anything of theirs.

¹ See above, § 171.

² Or 'at the slanting cliff of the Or Bend of the Qalqa.' See the Commentary.

³ Cf. above, § 64.

177 Then, after having obtained the Onggirat's submission, Činggis Qa'an departed and, pitching camp east of Tüנגge Stream, he gave Arqai Qasar and Sügegei Ĵe'un a verbal message to be delivered to *Ong Qan*, saying, 'Tell this to my father the Qan: "We have pitched camp east of Tüנגge Stream; the grass is good and our geldings have gained strength."' He *further* said, 'My father the Qan, out of what grievance did you frighten me? If you must frighten me, why don't you frighten me in such a way *at least* as to let your poor sons and poor daughters-in-law sleep to their heart's content?'

Bringing down the couch on which they sat
According to their rank,
Scattering the smoke that rose upwards
From their tents,

Why have you frightened them so? My father the Qan,
Have you been stung
By someone standing at the side?
Have you been stirred up
By someone coming between us?²

My father the Qan, what did we agree upon, the two of us?
At Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut of Ĵorqal Qun did we not say to
each other that

Should a snake with *venomous* teeth
Provoke discord *between us*,
Let us not succumb to his provocations.
By explaining *only* mouth to mouth³
We shall believe *each other!*⁴

¹ In view of Ong Qan's adoption of Činggis Qa'an as his son (see above, § 164), by 'poor sons' and 'poor daughters-in-law' are meant Činggis' own brothers and sisters-in-law. If Činggis is to be blamed for something, why should they be involved too?

² Cf. above, § 127, and below, § 201.

³ Lit., 'by teeth and mouth.'

⁴ Cf. above, § 164. For Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut of Ĵorqal Qun ('Red Hills of Deer [?] Cliff'), see the Commentary.

Did we not agree to this? And now, my father the Qan, when you parted from me, did you explain mouth to mouth?¹

Should a snake with *venomous* fangs
Spread slander about us,
Let us not give in to his slander
By explaining *only* face to face²
We shall believe *each other!*³

Did we not agree to this? And now, my father the Qan, when you separated from me, did you explain face to face? My father the Qan, even if I *and my followers* are few in number, I gave you no cause to seek for a more numerous group; even if I am bad, I gave you no cause to seek for *someone* better. If a two-shaft cart breaks the second shaft, the ox cannot pull it. Like that, was I not *also* your other shaft? If a two-wheel cart breaks the second wheel, it cannot move. Like that, was I not *also* your other wheel? If we speak of former days, after your father Qurčaqus Buyirūq Qan you became *qan* because you were the eldest of forty sons. When you became *qan* you killed your two younger brothers Tai Temür Taiši and Buqa Temür; when your younger brother Erke Qara was about to be killed *too*, he escaped, saving his life, and submitted to Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman. Because you had become the murderer of your younger brothers, your paternal uncle Gür Qan moved against you. When he came *upon you*, you saved your life by fleeing with a hundred men; you escaped following the Selengge River downstream and sneaked away through the Qara'un Gorge.⁴ Then, when you got out of there, you gave your daughter Huja'ur Üjin *in marriage*

¹ Lit., 'by teeth and mouth.'

² Lit., 'by mouth and tongue.'

³ Cf. above, § 164.

⁴ Cf. above, § 150.

to Toqto'a of the Merkit to please him.¹ Having got out from the Qara'un Gorge you came to my father Yisügei Qan and there and then said to him: "Rescue my people for me from my uncle Gür Qan." Approached by you in that manner, my father Yisügei Qan took with him Qunan and Baqaji from the Tayiči'ut. Saying, "I shall rescue your people for you," he arrayed his troops and set out. He pursued Gür Qan, who was at Qurban Telesüt, and twenty or thirty of his men towards Qašin; he rescued your people for you. From there you came to the Black Forest by the Tu'ula River and you, my father the Qan, became a sworn friend of Yisügei Qan. Then, Ong Qan my father, you gratefully said, "As for the favour of this good action of yours, I will repay your favour *even* to the children of your children – let *only* the protection of Heaven Above and Earth decide *how*, and *in what measure!*"² You spoke *thus* and were grateful.

'After that Erke Qara³ requested troops from Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman and moved against you. When he came *upon you*, you saved your life by abandoning your own people and, fleeing with a few men, you went to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat on the Čui River, in the country of the Sarta'ul. In less than a year you rebelled against the *gür qan* and departed once more. Reduced to straits as you went through the country of the Ui'ut and the Tang'ut,⁴ you fed yourself by milking five goats, muzzling *their kids*; you fed yourself *also* by bleeding your camel, and came to me with only a blind yellowish-white horse with a black tail and mane. When I learned that you, *my father the Qan*, had arrived in such straits, remembering that you and my father Yisügei Qan had formerly declared yourselves sworn friends, I sent as envoys Taqai and Sükegei to meet you;

¹ I.e., to establish friendly relations with the Merkit.

² Cf. § 163 ad fin.

³ Written Erge Qara. Cf. § 151.

⁴ Cf. above, §§ 151 and 152.

furthermore, from the Bürgi Escarpment on the Kelüren River, I in person went to receive you, and we met at Lake Güse'ür. Since you had arrived in *such* straits, I levied taxes and gave them to you. Because of your former declaration of sworn friendship with my father, the two of us declared ourselves father and son at the Black Forest by the Tu'ula: is that not the reason *why we did it?*¹

'That winter I brought you into *my* camp and took care of you. When winter was over and summer had passed, in the autumn I rode against Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit. I fought with him at Mürüče Se'ül by the Qadiqliq² Ridge. I pursued Toqto'a Beki in the direction of the Barqujin Lowland. I plundered the Merkit: I seized their many herds of horses and palatial tents, their *grainstores* – all – and gave it to *you*, *my father the Qan*. Your hunger I did not allow to last until noon, your leanness I did not allow to last until the middle of the month.

'Then we pursued Buyıruq Qan the Güčügür and forced him to cross the Altai from Soqoq Usun by the Uluq Taq; and, going along the Ürünggü River downstream, we finished him off³ at Lake Kičil⁴ Baš.

'As we were returning from that place, Kökse'ü Sabraq of the Naiman had arrayed his troops at the Bayıdaraq Confluence and was ready for battle. But, as evening fell, we said, "We shall fight early tomorrow!" and spent the night in *battle* order. Then you, *my father the Qan*, had fires lit in the place where you were stationed and in the night moved up along the Qara Se'ül River. When I looked out early next morning, you were no longer in your position; you had moved out. I said, "They certainly treat us like burnt offerings *at the sacrifice for the dead*," and I moved

¹ See above, § 151.

² = Qadingliq. For these localities see the Commentary.

³ Cf. above, § 158.

⁴ = Kišil.

out too. Crossing *the river* at the Eder Altai Confluence, I came *back* and pitched camp in the Sa'ari Steppe.¹

'Then Kōkse'ü Sabraq pursued you and seized the wife and people of Senggüm – all of them. He captured *also* half the people and livestock belonging to² you, *my* father the Qan, which were at Telegetü Pass. Qudu³ and Čila'un, the sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit, and their people were with you, but at the time of that engagement they deserted you and left, moving into the Barquĭn Lowland to join their father. Then you, my father the Qan, sent a message saying, "I have been robbed of my people by Kōkse'ü Sabraq of the Naiman; my son, send me your 'four steeds.'"⁴ Not thinking the way you do, I there and then sent you Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un Ba'atur, these "four steeds" of mine, and arrayed my troops. Before my "four steeds" arrived, Senggüm had just joined battle with Kōkse'ü Sabraq at Hula'an Qut; his horse had been shot in the thigh by an arrow and he *himself* was about to be captured. At that moment, my "four steeds" arrived and saved Senggüm, and they recovered *also* his wife together with his people for him – all of them. Thereupon you, my father the Qan, gratefully said, "My son Temüĭin, by sending his 'four steeds', has rescued my lost people for me."⁵

'Now, my father the Qan, out of what grievance do you reprimand me? To *explain* the nature of *this* grievance, send me *your* messengers. When you send them, send Qulbari Quri and Idürĭgen.⁶ If you do not send both *of them*, send me *at least* the latter.'

178 To these words, Ong Qan said, 'Oh! Sinful *that I am!*
By abandoning my son

¹ Cf. above, §§ 159, 161.

² Lit., 'of.'

³ I.e., Qutu. Cf. §§ 141, 142, 144, 157, 162.

⁴ See above, § 163.

⁵ Cf. above, §§ 162-163.

⁶ Called Itürĭgen in § 184 below.

I abandoned the norm;
By parting from him
I parted from *my* duty.'

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

179 Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to sworn friend Ĵamuqa: 'Because you cannot bear the sight of *me*, you caused a rift between my father the Qan and me. *In the past*, the first of us to rise could drink of the blue cup of *my* father the Qan. As I got up first and drank of it you were jealous. Now you may drain the blue cup of *my* father the Qan, but how much more will you *be able* to consume?'

Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to Altan and Qučar: 'When you rejected me, you two, did you say that you would leave me, *breaking with me* openly, or did you say that you would leave me after you had consulted *only* among yourselves? Qučar, when I said that, of *all of* us, you as the son of Nekün Taiši should become *qan*, you declined. When I said that you, Altan, should then become *qan* and govern us like your father Qutula Qan had been governing us, you too declined. And when I said, "You, Sača and Taiču, become the *qans*," because they were the sons of Bartan Ba'atur¹ from the senior line, I was unable to *obtain their consent*. Because my urging you to become *qan* had no effect, when I was told by you to be the *qan* I governed *the people*. Had you become *qan*, when as vanguard I would have been sent speeding after many foes, *then*, with Heaven's protection, while plundering the enemy people,

¹ An error for Barqaq Ba'atur. See the Commentary.

Maidens and ladies with beautiful cheeks,
 And geldings with fine croups, for you
 I would have brought.
 When ordered to go ahead and round up
 Wild beasts *in a battue*, for you
 I would have driven the beasts of the cliffs
 Until their forelegs pressed together.
 For you I would have driven the beasts of the
 steep banks
 Until their thighs pressed together.
 For you I would have driven the beasts of
 the steppe
 Until their bellies pressed together.¹

'Now, be the good companions of my father the Qan,
 for I fear *people* might say that you grow *easily* tired of *your*
friends. Don't let it be said that *your achievements* were
 only *due to* the support of *me*, the *ča'ut quri*.² And do not let
 anyone settle at the source of the Three Rivers!³ He sent
 this message.

180 Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to
 younger brother To'oril: 'The reason for calling you
 "younger brother" *is this*: Once Oqda Bo'ol⁴ was brought
 as captive by Tumbinai and Čaraqai Lingqu. Oqda Bo'ol's
 son was Sübegei Bo'ol. Sübegei Bo'ol's son was Kököčü
 Kirsan. Kököčü Kirsan's son was Yegei Qongtaqar.⁵
 You, To'oril, are Yegei Qongtaqar's son. You constantly
 flatter *Ong Qan* saying, "I will give you people" – whose
people? Altan and Qučar are surely not going to let anyone
 rule my people! The reason for my calling you "younger
 brother" *is that you are*

¹ Cf. above, § 123.

² = *ja'ut quri*. Cf. above, § 134.

³ I.e., the Onon, the Tūla and the Kerulen. The 'source' of the three rivers is
 the area of Mount Burqan Qaldun.

⁴ I.e., 'Oqda the Slave.'

⁵ = Yegei Qongdaqor. See above, § 120.

The threshold slave
 Of my great-great-grandfather,
 The personal door slave
 Of my great-grandfather.¹

Such is my message for you.'

181

Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to
his sworn friend Senggüm: 'Although I was a son born
 clothed and you were a son born naked,² *our* father the Qan
 looked after both of us equally; but you, sworn friend
 Senggüm, drove me out because you were jealous that I
 might come between *you and our father*. Now do not pain
 our father the Qan's heart. Evening and morning, coming in
 and going out, always be of comfort to him. Do not distress
 or rend the heart of our father the Qan by saying, without
 giving up your earlier intentions and while our father the
 Qan is still alive, that you will become *qan!*' And he *also*
 sent this message: 'Sworn friend Senggüm, send me *your*
 messengers. When you send them, send me Bilge Beki and
 Tödö'en. [If you do not send both *of them*,] send *at least* the
 latter. When you send messengers to me, father the Qan,
 send two messengers; sworn friend Senggüm, you also send
 two messengers; sworn friend Jamuqa, you also send two
 messengers; Altan, you also send two messengers; Qučar,
 you also send two messengers; Ačiq Širun, you also send
 two messengers; Qači'un, you also send two messengers!
 And he had these messages conveyed by word of mouth
 through Arqai Qasar and Sügegei Je'un.

When the messages were delivered in this way,
 Senggüm said, 'When did he *ever* say "*our* father the Qan"?'
 Didn't he *rather* say "the old murderer"? When did he *ever*
 call me "sworn friend"? Didn't he *rather* say that *I am like*
 "Toqto'a the shaman wearing the tail of a Sartaq sheep"³? I

¹ Cf. §§ 137 and 211.

² I.e., 'I am the adopted son and you the natural son (of Ong Qan).'

³ I.e., somebody to laugh at. See the Commentary for this saying.

do understand the scheme behind these words *of his*: they are the words that precede a fight. You Bilge Beki and Tödö'en raise the war standard and fatten the geldings; there is no *time for hesitation!*'

And so Arqai Qasar returned from Ong Qan, but because the wife and children of Sügegei Je'un were there with To'oril,¹ Sügegei Je'un did not have the courage to go with Arqai and stayed behind. When Arqai arrived he reported these words *of Senggüm* to Činggis Qa'an.

182 Činggis Qa'an then left and pitched camp at Lake Baljuna. When he was about to encamp, he met right there the Qorulas of Čo'os Čaqān.² These Qorulas submitted to him without fighting.

From Alaquš Digit Quri of the Önggüt came Asan³ the Sartaq. He had a white camel and was driving a thousand wethers along the Ergüne River downstream in order to buy *pelts of sables and squirrels*. As he drew in to water *his wethers* at Lake Baljuna he met Činggis Qa'an.

183 Činggis Qa'an was also watering *his animals* at the same Lake Baljuna when Qasar, leaving *behind* his wife and his three sons Yegü, Yisüngge and Tuqu with Ong Qan, departed with his companions – few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies. Saying, '*I will join my elder brother,*' he searched for Činggis Qa'an. He climbed the ridges of Qara'un Jidun,⁴ but he could not find him *there*; being in *dire* straits he ate hides and sinews and went on, *eventually* joining Činggis Qa'an at Lake Baljuna.

Činggis Qa'an received Qasar and rejoiced. They agreed to send messengers to Ong Qan. Through Qali'udar of the Je'üret and Čaqurqan⁵ of the Uriangqai Činggis

¹ This To'oril is Sügegei's brother mentioned in § 180 above.

² Cf. § 141. See the Commentary.

³ = Hasan.

⁴ I.e., 'Dark (or Black) Ridge.'

⁵ = Ča'urqan. See above, § 120.

So why
did he
not go?
Ch. 11, § 11?

Qa'an sent a message. He told *Qali'udar and Čaqurqan*, 'Tell *my father* the Qan that these are the words of Qasar,' saying:

'I watched for my elder brother
But lost sight of him;
I searched for his tracks
But could not find his trail,¹
I called him but my voice
He did not hear.
I *now* lie gazing at the stars
I with a clod of earth as my pillow.

My wife and sons are with *you*, *my father* the Qan. If, hopefully, I get *from you someone I can* trust, I will come *back* to *my father* the Qan. Tell him that *Qasar* sent this message!' He also said *to them*, 'We shall follow close behind you and meet at Arqal Geügi² on the Kelüren River. You must come there!'

Having agreed on the time and place of meeting, Činggis Qa'an forthwith sent Qali'udar and Čaqurqan on *their mission*. He sent Jürčedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre, and at once set forth from Lake Baljuna together with *the army*. They rode out and arrived at Arqal Geügi on the Kelüren River.

184 Qali'udar and Čaqurqan reached Ong Qan and gave him the verbal message sent from here,³ saying, 'It is Qasar's message.' Ong Qan had set up his golden tent of thin woollen cloth and was feasting, not suspecting anything. Upon the words of Qali'udar and Čaqurqan, Ong Qan said, 'If it is so, let Qasar come!' He *then* said, 'I shall give Itürgen in trust.'⁴ And he sent him with them.

¹ Cf. above, § 56.

² I.e., 'Dry Dung Hook.' See the Commentary.

³ I.e., from Lake Baljuna, by Činggis Qa'an.

⁴ I.e., as guarantor, as requested by Qasar.

And so they came, and as they were reaching the appointed place at Arqal Geügi, the envoy Itürgen seeing the signs of a multitude *in the distance*, turned back and fled. Qali'udar's horse being swifter, Qali'udar caught up with him, but did not venture to seize him; *instead*, going *now* in front of him, *now* behind him, he kept on obstructing *his way*. Čaqurqan's horse was slower; at an arrow's shot from the rear,¹ he hit Itürgen's gold-saddled black gelding on the tip of its rump, so that it sat *on its haunches*. Qali'udar and Čaqurqan then took Itürgen captive and brought him to Činggis Qa'an. Not speaking to Itürgen, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Take him to Qasar; let Qasar decide *how to deal with him!*' They took him to Qasar who, without saying a word to him, cut Itürgen down and cast away *his body* there and then.

185 Qali'udar and Čaqurqan said to Činggis Qa'an, 'Ong Qan is off his guard; he has pitched his golden tent and is feasting. Let us quickly move *forward from here* and, travelling through the night, let us attack him by surprise and surround him!'

Činggis Qa'an approved these words and sent Jürčedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre. They travelled through the night and having reached *Ong Qan's camp*, which was at the Jer Gorge pass of Jeje'er Heights, they surrounded it.

They fought for three nights and three days, but *our men* stood *firm*, surrounding *the Kereyit*, who on the third day were exhausted and surrendered. Ong Qan and Senggüm escaped during the night – how *they did so* was not known. One who fought *longer than the others* was Qadaq Ba'atur of the Jirgin. When he came out to surrender, Qadaq Ba'atur said, 'We fought three nights and three days. I said to myself, "How can I let my rightful lord² be seized and killed before my eyes?"' Unable to forsake

¹ Lit., 'from the furthest point an arrow would reach from behind.'

² Lit., 'qan.' Cf. above, § 149.

him, I struggled and kept on fighting so that he could escape and save his life. Now, if I shall be made to die, I shall die, but if Činggis Qa'an favours me, I will serve him.'

Činggis Qa'an approved Qadaq Ba'atur's words, saying, 'Is he not a *true* fighting man who says that he is unable to forsake his rightful lord and lets him escape, saving his life? He is a man worthy to be one's companion.' And favouring him, he did not have him killed. 'Because Quyildar *lost* his life,¹ Qadaq Ba'atur and one hundred Jirgin must serve Quyildar's wife and children. If boys are born to them, they must in turn serve Quyildar's *descendants* to the offspring of *his* offspring. If girls are born to them, their parents must not betroth them according to their own wishes, for *their daughters* must be servants and attend to Quyildar's wife and children.' He gave this order favouring *Qadaq Ba'atur*.

Because Quyildar Sečen had opened his mouth *and spoken first, even before Jürčedei*², Činggis Qa'an favoured him with the following order: 'On account of Quyildar's service, Quyildar's *descendants* to the offspring of *his* offspring shall receive the bounty *granted* to orphans.'

¹ See above, § 175.

² See above, § 171.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER SEVEN

186 Thus Činggis Qa'an crushed and despoiled the Kereyit people, distributing them on all sides. He gave Taqai Ba'atur of the Suldus one hundred Ĵirgin *in reward* for his services. Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered *as follows*: Ong Qan's younger brother Ĵaqa Gambu had two daughters. The elder one, Ibaqa Beki, Činggis Qa'an took for himself. The younger one, Sorqaqtani Beki, he gave to Tolui. For that reason, saying that Ĵaqa Gambu and the personal subjects belonging to him should be kept together and be *regarded like the second shaft of a cart for himself*, he showed favour to Ĵaqa Gambu and did not take *his people* away from him.

187 Činggis Qa'an also gave the following order: 'Because of Badai's and Kišiliq's service, they shall have Ong Qan's golden tent *just* as it stands, with his golden bowls and vessels, together with the people who looked after them, and the Ongqoĵit Kereyit as their bodyguards. You, *Badai and Kišiliq*, enjoy *the privilege of* being freemen to the offspring of *your* offspring, allowed to carry quivers and drink the ceremonial wine!

When swiftly pursuing many foes, .

If you get booty,

What you get you shall take away.

When *in a battue*

You slaughter wild beasts,

What you slaughter you shall take away.'

He further ordered: 'Because of the vital service performed by Badai and Kišiliq, and under the protection of Eternal Heaven, I crushed the Kereyit people and, indeed, gained the high throne. In future, the offspring of *my* offspring who will occupy *this* throne of mine must

successively remember those *two* who performed such service!' So he ordered.

When *the Mongols* subjugated the Kereyit people, they distributed them among each other so that nobody went short. They distributed the Tümen Tübe'en¹ and they all took of them until they had plenty. They despoiled the Olon Dongqayit in less than a day. As for the brave Ĵirgin who *used* to strip the blood-stained clothing and possessions *from the enemy*, they divided and apportioned them, but could not give some to everybody. Having in this way annihilated the Kereyit people, Činggis Qa'an spent that winter at Abĵi'a Ködeger.²

188 Ong Qan and Senggüm escaped with their bare lives³ and went away, unwilling to submit to Činggis Qa'an. Ong Qan, who was suffering from thirst, was going to *drink* at Nekün Usun⁴ of Didik Saqal⁵ when he came across the Naiman patrolman Qori Sübeči. Qori Sübeči seized Ong Qan and although *the latter* declared, 'I am Ong Qan', *Qori Sübeči* did not recognise him and, disbelieving him, slew him on the spot.

Senggüm did not go to Nekün Usun of Didik Saqal, but bypassed it and entered the Čöl.⁶ While searching for water, he⁷ dismounted and stalked *some* wild asses that were standing *there*, plagued by gadflies. Senggüm's companion, the equerry Kököčü had his wife with him. With Senggüm they were altogether three of them. He⁸ gave his horse to his equerry Kököčü to hold. The equerry Kököčü led the horse away and started trotting back *home*. His wife said,

¹ = Tümen Tübeĵen. Cf. above, §§ 170, 171.

² I.e., 'Shrunk (?) Height (or Elevation).'

³ Lit., 'with nothing other than their bodies.' Cf. above, § 109 and n. 3.

⁴ I.e., 'Slave Water (= Spring?).'

⁵ I.e., 'Mud Beard.' See the Commentary.

⁶ I.e., 'the Desert' (= the Gobi).

⁷ Lit., 'Senggüm.'

⁸ I.e., Senggüm.

'When you wore gold-embroidered clothes,
And ate tasty dishes,
He¹ called you "my Kōkōčü." How can you go away *now*,
forsaking and abandoning in this way your lord Senggüm?
So saying, his wife stopped *there* and remained behind.

Kōkōčü said, 'Surely you have said to yourself, "I want
to take Senggüm as my man!"' To these words his wife
said, 'You call me "A woman with a dog's face;"² *all the*
same give him at least his golden cup – let him at least draw
water and drink!' Thereupon the equerry Kōkōčü threw the
golden cup back at him, saying, 'Take it!', and trotted off.

And so he came *to us*, and upon his arrival the equerry
Kōkōčü said to Činggis Qa'an, 'This is how I have come,
leaving Senggüm in the Čöl', and he related from beginning
to end everything that had been said between *himself and his*
wife. Činggis Qa'an *then* ordered: 'To his wife I will show
favour. As for the equerry Kōkōčü himself, who comes here
having in this manner abandoned his rightful lord, who
would now trust such a man and take him for a companion?'
He cut him down and cast away *his body*.

189 Gürbesü, the mother of Tayang Qan of the Naiman,
said, 'Ong Qan was the great old *qan* of former days. Bring
his head here and if it is really his we shall sacrifice to it!'
She sent a messenger to Qori Sübeči and had him cut off
and bring back his³ head. She recognized it and placed it on
a large white felt rug. She had her daughters-in-law perform
the rites *pertaining* to a daughter-in-law, ordered that the
ceremonial wine be drunk and the *horse* fiddle be played,
and, holding the cup, made an offering *to the head*.

The head, being then so honoured, laughed. 'It
laughed', said Tayang Qan; he stamped on it *and crushed it*

¹ I.e., Senggüm.

² I.e., a shameless bitch – referring to an unfaithful wife. See the Commen-
tary.

³ I.e., Ong Qan's.

to pieces. Thereupon Kōkse'ü Sabraq said, 'You have cut
off the dead *qan*'s head and brought it here; the next *thing*
you *do is to* crush it to pieces! This is not right. The sound
of our dogs' barking has turned nasty.¹ Inanča Bilge Qan
formerly said:

"My wife is young, but
I, her husband, have become old.
This *son of mine* Tayang
I begot *only* through magic.
Ah, *this* son of mine, born a weakling,
Has grown weak and emaciated.²
Will he be able to care for and control
My numerous, base and unruly people?"

So he said. Now the dogs are barking and this barking
sounds as if *a calamity* is approaching. The rule of our
queen Gürbesü has become harsh, and you, my *qan* Torluq
Tayang, are soft. You have no thought or skill except for
falconry and hunting.'

Being told so, Tayang Qan then said, 'I hear that there
are a few Mongols yonder in the east. These people with
their quivers terrified the great old Ong Qan of former days,
causing him to desert his own companions and perish. Do
they now want to be rulers themselves? Even if there are
two shining lights, the sun and the moon, in the sky above –
both sun and moon are indeed there – yet how can there be
two rulers on earth? Let us go and bring here those few
Mongols!'

At that, his mother Gürbesü said, 'What could we do
with them? The Mongol people have *always* smelt bad and
worn grimy clothes. They live apart, and far away. Let
them stay *there*. But we might perhaps have their fine
daughters and daughters-in-law brought here and, making

¹ I.e., of bad omen.

² Doubtful interpretation. See the Commentary.

them wash their hands, perhaps just let them milk our cows and sheep.'

On this Tayang Qan said, 'If that is so, what do they have *for us to worry about?* Let us go to those Mongols and we will surely bring back their quivers!'

190 To these words Kōkse'ū Sabraq said, 'How boastfully you speak! O Torluq Qan, is this proper? You had better stop *talking!*' Despite Kōkse'ū Sabraq's warning, *Tayang Qan* sent an envoy called Torbi Taš to Alaquš Digit Quri of the Önggüt with this message: 'I am told that there are a few Mongols yonder east. You be the right wing. I shall join you from here and we will take the quivers of those few Mongols!'

Alaquš Digit Quri replied to these words saying, 'I cannot be the right wing.' Having sent this message, Alaquš Digit Quri had the following communication conveyed to Činggis Qa'an through his envoy called Yuqunan: 'Tayang Qan of the Naiman is coming to take your quivers. He approached me saying that I should be the right wing, but I refused. Now I am sending you this warning, for I fear that if he comes you may be robbed of your quivers.'

Just at that time Činggis Qa'an was hunting in the Teme'en Steppe;¹ he was encircling Tülkin Če'üt² when Yuqunan, the envoy sent by Alaquš Digit Quri, arrived to deliver this message.

On receiving this message, and whilst *still* at the hunt, they at once discussed what to do. Many of the men said, 'Our geldings are lean, there is nothing we can do now.' To that Otčigin Noyan *retorted* saying, 'How can one make the excuse that the geldings are lean? My geldings are fat! How can we stay put when we hear such words *as these?*' Then Belgütei Noyan spoke: 'If, when one is *still* alive, an enemy is allowed to take away one's quiver, what is the

¹ Lit., 'Camel Steppe (or Plain).'

² I.e., 'Tülkin (?) Hills.'

advantage of living? Isn't it right for any man born that when he dies he should lie with his quiver and bow alongside his bones? The Naiman people are boastful, bragging that they possess a great country and a large population. If *now*, grasping the chance their boasts *afford us*, we set out on a campaign and remove their quivers, would *this* be *so* difficult? If we go forward, won't their numerous herds come to a halt and stay behind? Burdened with their palatial tents, won't they abandon them? Won't their many people depart and seek shelter in high places? How can we stay put and allow such *people* to keep boasting in this way? Let us ride against them at once!' Thus he spoke.

191 Činggis Qa'an approved these words of Belgütei Noyan and, returning from the hunt, moved from Abjiqa Kōteger¹ and set up camp at Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend of the Qalqa River.² He counted his troops and on the spot formed units of a thousand *men*, appointing the commanders of a thousand, the commanders of a hundred and the commanders of ten. Thereupon he appointed as chamberlains³ Dōdei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi, Ögele Čerbi, Tolun Čerbi, Bučaran Čerbi and Söyiketü Čerbi. Then, having appointed these six chamberlains, he formed units of a thousand, a hundred, and ten *men*, and he chose and recruited eighty *men* to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy *men* to serve as dayguards. He recruited them from the sons and younger brothers of commanders of a thousand and of a hundred, as well as from the sons and younger brothers of mere ordinary people, choosing and recruiting those who were able and of good appearance.

Showing favour to Arqai Qasar, he then ordered: 'Let him choose himself his brave warriors and form a unit of a

¹ The Abji'a Kōdeger of § 187 above.

² See above, § 175, n. 2.

³ Čerbin. See the Commentary, §§ 120 and 191.

thousand to fight before me in time of battle; in the many *other days of peace* they shall serve as my dayguards.' He also said, 'Ögöle Čerbi shall be the commander of the seventy dayguards, *acting* in consultation with Qudus Qalčan.'¹

192 Činggis Qa'an further ordered: 'The quiverbearers, the dayguards, the stewards, the doorkeepers and the grooms are to go on roster duty in *daytime*. Before the sun sets they shall retire *to make way* for the nightguards;² they shall go out to their geldings and spend the night *there*. At night, the nightguards shall see that *those of their men whose duty it is* to lie all around *Our* tent do so, and they shall put on roster *those of their men whose duty it is* to stand at the door *to guard it*. The following morning, when We eat soup, the quiverbearers and the dayguards shall report to the nightguards; the quiverbearers, dayguards, stewards and doorkeepers shall *all* carry out their respective tasks and take their *appointed* places. When they have completed their days of service, *consisting of* a three-day and a three-night turn of duty, and have passed the three nights exactly in the same manner,³ they shall be relieved, but the night *after their relief*, they shall *still* be on duty as nightguards, and shall spend the night lying down all around.' So he ordered.

In this way Činggis Qa'an, having formed the units of a thousand, appointed the chamberlains, recruited eighty *men* to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy *men* to serve as dayguards; he let Arqai Qasar choose the brave men,⁴ and set out against the Naiman people from Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend of the Qalqa River.

¹ I.e., sharing command with him. Ögöle = Ögele. See above, § 120 and com.

² I.e., so as to be relieved by the nightguards.

³ I.e., as ordered.

⁴ See the Commentary.

193

In the Year of the Rat, on the sixteenth day of the first month of summer (17 May 1204), *the day of* the Red Circle,¹ he consecrated the standard² and set forth. He rode upstream along the Kelüren River and sent Ĵebe and Qubilai ahead to reconnoitre. When they reached the Sa'ari Steppe, the Naiman patrol was *already* there, on the top of *Mount* Qangqarqan. Our patrolmen *and theirs* went in pursuit of one another. The Naiman patrol seized one of our patrolmen who had a white horse with a rather poor saddle.³ When the Naiman patrol caught that horse, they consulted among themselves and said, 'The Mongols' geldings are lean!'

When our *soldiers* reached the Sa'ari Steppe they halted there and discussed what to do. Then Dödei Čerbi gave the following advice to Činggis Qa'an: 'It is we who are few *in number* and, in addition to being few, we have arrived *here* exhausted. So, let us indeed halt and set up camp, spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe here until our geldings have eaten their fill. Let every single one⁴ *of us* each light fires in five different places and frighten *the enemy* with *all these camp* fires. They say the Naiman people are numerous, but they *also* say that their *qan* is a weakling who has not yet come out of his tent. While we keep them in doubt with the fires, our geldings will eat their fill. When our geldings are satiated, we shall chase the Naiman patrolmen and, pressing hard on them, we shall make them rejoin the main body *of the army*. If we engage them in combat in that confusion, won't we get the better of them?'

Approving these words of advice *from Dödei Čerbi*, Činggis Qa'an gave the following order: '*Things* being so,

¹ I.e., 'of the full moon.' Cf. above, §§ 81, 118.

² Cf. above, § 106.

³ I.e., a rather loose saddle.

⁴ Lit., 'every living person', i.e. every individual in the camp without exception.

let them light the fires!', and he proclaimed *it as* law to the soldiers.¹ Thus, they set up camp spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe and everyone² was made to light fires in five different places.

At night the Naiman patrolmen, seeing so many night-fires from the top of *Mount Qangqarqan*, said, 'Did we not say that the Mongols are only few in number? Their *camp* fires are more numerous than the stars!' They had sent to Tayang Qan the little white horse with the rather poor saddle; *now* they sent him this message: 'The Mongol troops have set up camp so as to cover the *whole* Sa'ari Steppe; they seem to increase daily, and their fires are more numerous than the stars.'

194 When this news from the patrolmen reached him, Tayang Qan was at Qačir Usun³ in the *Qangqai Mountains*. Upon receiving the news he sent word to his son Güčülük Qan: 'The geldings of the Mongols are lean, but *our* patrolmen say that their *camp* fires are more numerous than the stars. The Mongols are, *therefore*, many.

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

We are told that the geldings of the Mongols are lean. Let us move, withdrawing our people across the Altai. We shall *then* reorganize our troops and lure them⁴ after us as we go.

¹ See the Commentary.

² Lit., 'every living person', i.e. every individual in the camp without exception.

³ I.e., 'Mule Water.'

⁴ I.e., the Mongols.

We shall march until we reach the southern slopes of the Altai, fighting a dog's fight.¹ Our geldings are fat: when we have made their bellies leaner and have exhausted the geldings of the Mongols we shall *turn back and* smash into their faces.' He sent this message.

To these words Güčülük Qan said, 'Again *that* woman Tayang! He speaks such words because he has lost courage. Where would this vast number of Mongols come from? Most Mongols, together with Jamuqa, are here with us. *That* woman Tayang,

Who *dares* not walk further than
A pregnant woman *goes* to urinate;
Who does not *even* venture so far as
A wheel-tied calf *reaches* for its feed,

has lost heart and has sent me that message, hasn't he?'

Güčülük Qan through the envoy had his words conveyed to his father to hurt and distress him; to these words, whereby Tayang Qan himself was spoken of as behaving like a woman, Tayang Qan said, 'May the strong and proud Güčülük not lose this pride of his on the day when we meet *on the battlefield* and slay one another! When we meet *on the battlefield* and fight to the end it will surely be difficult to disengage ourselves!'

Upon these words Qori Sübeči, a high official who held command under Tayang Qan, said, 'Your father Inanča Bilge Qan never showed a man's back or a gelding's rump to an enemy that was his match. Now you, how can you lose heart when it is *still so* early in the morning? Had we known that you would have lost courage in this manner, shouldn't we have brought your mother Gürbesü, *even* though she is *only* a woman, and given her command of the army? What a pity, alas, that Kökse'ü Sabraq should have become *so* old! The discipline in our army has grown lax! *This* is, surely, the *favourable* time and the destiny of the

¹ I.e., engaging in skirmishes.

Mongols *decreed by Heaven and Earth*. We are finished! Ah, weakling Tayang, it looks as if you are quite powerless.' Thus he spoke and, having struck on his quiver, he trotted off *and went his separate way*.

195

At this Tayang Qan grew angry and said, 'A life *means* to die, a body *means* to suffer: it is the same *destiny* for all! That being so, let us fight!' Moving from Qačir Uusun he went downstream along the Tamir River and crossed the Orqon. Passing along the eastern fringe of the Naqu Cliff he reached Čakirma'ut,¹ where Činggis Qa'an's patrolmen saw him as he was approaching. They sent a message to Činggis Qa'an saying, 'The Naiman have arrived and are drawing near.'

When this news reached him, Činggis Qa'an said, 'The more numerous, the greater damage; the less numerous, the lesser damage.'² He rode against them and, having driven away their patrolmen, he arrayed his troops and together with the army leaders decided to advance in 'caragana' marching-order, to stand in 'lake' battle-formation and fight a 'chisel' combat.³

Having spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an in person formed the vanguard, putting Qasar in charge of the main body of the army and Otčigin Noyan in charge of the reserve horses. The Naiman withdrew from Čakirma'ut and took up position south of Naqu Cliff, along the mountain fringes. Then our patrolmen arrived driving away the Naiman patrolmen and pursuing them until they joined the main body of their army south of Naqu Cliff.

Tayang Qan saw them arriving thus in hot pursuit. At that time Ĵamuqa had also set forth with his troops and had come with the Naiman. As he was there, Tayang Qan asked

¹ I.e., 'Three-Year-Old Deer (?)'

² A popular saying, used here with reference to Tayang Qan's more numerous forces.

³ For these military tactics see the Commentary.

Ĵamuqa, 'What sort of people are those, who are like wolves that come chasing a flock of sheep and pursuing them as far as the sheep-pen? What people are these, drawing near in such hot pursuit?'

Ĵamuqa said, 'My sworn friend Temüjin has been feeding "four hounds" on human flesh, leashing¹ them with iron chains. They are the ones approaching in pursuit of our patrol. Those "four hounds",

Their foreheads are of hardened copper,
They have chisels for snouts,
And awls for tongues;
With hearts of iron,
And swords for whips,
They advance feeding on dew
And riding on the wind.
On the day of killing
They eat human flesh, those ones;
On the day of battles
They make human flesh
Their provisions,² those ones.

Loosed from their iron chains – which had surely restrained them! – they are now full of joy and are approaching thus, slavering *at the mouth*', he said. 'Who are those "four hounds"? They are Ĵebe and Qubilai, Ĵelme and Sübe'etei. Those are the four.'

Tayang Qan said, 'Let us then stay away from those vile creatures!' He retreated in haste and took up position astride the mountain.

When he saw them approaching from the rear and encircling them,³ leaping in delight, Tayang Qan again asked Ĵamuqa, 'What sort of people are these, who are like foals let loose early in the morning – foals that after sucking

¹ Lit., 'binding.'

² I.e., as provisions for the road.

³ I.e., Tayang Qan and Ĵamuqa.

their mother's milk are *always* gambolling around her?¹
Why are they approaching, encircling us in this manner?

Ĵamuqa said, 'These are called the Uru'ut and the Mangqut:

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

Do they not rejoice now as they draw near, bounding thus in delight?

Thereupon Tayang Qan said, 'If that is so, let us stay away from those vile *creatures!*' He took up position, retreating further up the mountain.

Tayang Qan *again* asked Ĵamuqa, 'Who is the one approaching from the rear, coming forward at the head of the army and drawing near like a greedy, slaving falcon?'

Ĵamuqa said, 'The one approaching us is my sworn friend Temüjin. Over his whole body,

There is not a *single* chink
Where a hard copper awl can drive in its spike;
Nor a *single* chink
Where a wrought-iron sewing needle
Can insert its sharp point.

My sworn friend Temüjin is indeed drawing near, slaving thus like a greedy falcon. Have you seen him? *You* Naiman friends used *to say that* if you saw the Mongols, you would not leave them even the skin of a kid's hoof. Behold *them now!*'

On these words Tayang Qan said, '*This is simply dreadful!* Let us take position *further up* the mountain!' They climbed up the mountain and took position.

Again Tayang Qan asked Ĵamuqa, 'And who is the one that is approaching from the rear *as if* in a compact mass?'

¹ Lit., 'their mother.'

Ĵamuqa said, 'Mother Hö'elün has raised one of her sons on human flesh:

His body is three fathoms *high*,
And he dines on three-year old cattle;
Wearing a three-layered armour,
He is pulled along *in his cart* by three bulls.
When he swallows a man complete with quiver,
It does not get stuck in his throat.
When he gulps down a whole man,
It does not fill his stomach.
When he is angry and draws *his bow*,
And releases a forked-tip arrow,
He shoots and pierces ten or twenty men
Who are beyond a mountain;
When he draws *his bow* and releases
A long-range thin arrow,
He shoots and pierces through his enemies,
The ones he fights
Who are beyond the steppe.
When he shoots, drawing *his bow* to the full,
He covers nine hundred fathoms;
When he shoots, drawing it *only* a little,
He covers five hundred fathoms.
Different from all *other* men,
He was born a coiling dragon-snake.
His name is Joči Qasar.

That is he!' Tayang Qan then said, 'If this is so, let us strive for the mountain heights and go further up!' They climbed *further up* the mountain and took position.

Again Tayang Qan asked Ĵamuqa, 'Who is approaching after him?' Ĵamuqa said, 'He is the youngest son of Mother Hö'elün. He is called Otčigin, the Easy-going. He is an early sleeper and a late riser, yet

He does not lag behind, *when the army is* in full array;
He does not lag behind, *when the army is* in position.'

Tayang Qan said, 'If this is so, let us go up to the top of the mountain!'

196 After speaking such words to Tayang Qan, Ĵamuqa separated from the Naiman and went off on his own. He sent *an envoy* to deliver a verbal message to Činggis Qa'an saying, 'Tell *this* to the sworn friend', and he said:

'At my words Tayang Qan has lost his head
And in panic he has scrambled to the heights.
Frightened to death by *the words* from my mouth
He has climbed up the mountain.
Sworn friend, take care!
Up they went, climbing the mountain,
And have lost the will to resist.

As for me, I have separated from the Naiman.' He sent *this* message.

Late in the day Činggis Qa'an surrounded the mountain of Naqu Cliff; he took up position *with his troops* and spent the night *there*.

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

The following morning Činggis Qa'an finished off Tayang Qan. Güčülük, who had been staying apart *from the rest* moved *from there* with a few men, abandoning his own companions. When *the Mongol troops* caught up with him, he set up a circular camp at the Tamir River, but unable to hold that camp he *again* set out and fled further away.

Činggis Qa'an utterly defeated and conquered the people of the Naiman tribe on the southern slopes of the Altai. The Ĵadaran, Qatagin, Salĵi'ut, Dörben, Tayiči'ut, Onggirat and other *people* who had been with Ĵamuqa also submitted on that occasion.

Činggis Qa'an had Tayang's mother Gürbesü brought to him and said to her, 'You used to say that the Mongols

have a bad smell, didn't you? Why, *then*, did you come now?' And Činggis Qa'an took her *as wife*.

197 In that same Year of the Rat (1204), in the autumn, Činggis Qa'an fought with Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit at the Qaradal Source. He dislodged him *from there* and subdued his tribe and *all his* people in the Sa'ari Steppe. Toqto'a, with his sons Qudu¹ and Čila'un and a few people, dispossessed of all but their bodies,² got away by flight.

When the Merkit people were thus being subdued, Dayir Usun of the Qo'as Merkit³ took his daughter Qulan Qatun with him and came to offer her to Činggis Qa'an. On the way he was hindered by *some* soldiers and met Naya'a Noyan of the Ba'arin. Dayir Usun said to him, 'I am on my way to offer this daughter of mine to Činggis Qa'an.' Detaining him, Naya'a Noyan then said, 'Let us go together to offer your daughter.' As he detained him, he said, 'In *this* time of disorder, if you go alone, soldiers on the way will certainly not leave even you alive, and your daughter too will be in *much* trouble.' And he held Dayir Usun for three days and three nights.

After that Naya'a Noyan took Qulan Qatun and Dayir Usun, and brought them together to Činggis Qa'an. Činggis Qa'an then said, 'Naya'a, why did you detain her?' He got very angry and, ordering that *Naya'a* be rigorously and minutely questioned, made *this case a matter of law*.⁴

While they were questioning him, Qulan Qatun said, 'Naya'a said *to my father*, "I am a high officer of Činggis Qa'an. Let us go together to offer your daughter to the Qa'an. The soldiers on the way will be troublesome." So he warned us against *going alone*. Now, had we met with other troops but Naya'a's, no doubt we would have been

¹ Cf. above, § 177.

² Cf. above, § 109.

³ A mistake for U'as Merkit.

⁴ I.e., made a law to deal with such matters in the future.

intercepted and would have got into difficulties. Perhaps our *chance* meeting with this Naya'a was good *for us*. Now that Naya'a is being questioned, the Qa'an may condescend to inspect my body, which my father and mother bore by Heaven's will.' She had this message conveyed to Činggis Qa'an.

When Naya'a was questioned he said, 'I have no other face than that *known to* the Qa'an.'¹

If I come across maidens and ladies
Of foreign people with beautiful cheeks,
And geldings with fine croups,
I *always* say, "They are the Qa'an's!"

If *ever* I think differently from this, let me die!

Činggis Qa'an approved of Qulan Qatun's testimony; then, that very day, he examined her accordingly and it turned out to be just as Qulan Qatun had stated.

Činggis Qa'an showed favour to Qulan Qatun and loved her. As Naya'a's words had been confirmed, he approved of him. He showed favour to him *too*, saying, 'He is a truthful *man*, I shall entrust him with an important task!'

¹ I.e., 'I am sincere and loyal to the Qa'an.'

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER EIGHT

198 After Činggis Qa'an subjugated the Merkit people, of the two wives of Toqto'a Beki's eldest son Qudu – Tögei and Döregene – he gave Döregene to Ögödei Qa'an.

Half of the Merkit people revolted and barricaded themselves in the Taiqal stronghold. Činggis Qa'an then gave orders that Čimbaï, the son of Sorqan Šira, be put in command and sent him to attack the entrenched Merkit with the troops of the left¹ wing.

Unwilling to submit, Toqto'a with his sons Qudu and Čila'un – *only* a few men *altogether* – had escaped with their bare lives. Činggis Qa'an pursued them and spent the winter south of the Altai.

In the spring of the Year of the Ox (1205), he set out and crossed the Alai.² Güčülük Qan of the Naiman, after his people had been captured by Činggis Qa'an, would not submit and *with his companions* – a few men *in number* – went and made an alliance with Toqto'a of the Merkit. They came together at the Buqdurma source of the Erdis³ River and arrayed their troops.

When Činggis Qa'an arrived they fought. Toqto'a was struck there and then by a 'random' arrow and fell. His sons could not bury him, nor could they take his body away, *so* they severed his head and took that away *with them*. Then the Naiman and the Merkit were unable, even with their united forces, to keep up the fight and fled. When they moved away and crossed the Erdiš, most of them fell into *the river* and drowned. The few Naiman and Merkit that got

¹ Read 'right' (= 'west'). See the Commentary.

² Arai in the text. See the Commentary.

³ = Erdiš. Cf. below and §§ 207, 264.

through separated and went *in different directions* after completing the crossing of the Erdis.¹ Güčülük Qan of the Naiman went off and, passing through *the country* of the Ui'ur² and the Qarlu'ut, joined the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat who was at the Čui River in the country of the Sarta'ul. The Merkit, led by Qudu, Qal³ and Čila'un, the sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit, went off and crossed *the country* of the Qanglin and the Kimča'ut.

After that, Činggis Qa'an turned back, crossed the Alai⁴ and settled in his base camp. Čimbai utterly defeated the Merkit entrenched in the Taiqal stronghold. Then, with regard to *these* Merkit, Činggis Qa'an ordered that those to be killed were to be killed and the remainder were to be despoiled by the soldiers.

The Merkit who had submitted earlier rose again in rebellion *and tried to break out* from the base camp, but our servants in the camp brought them under control. Činggis Qa'an then spoke, saying, 'I had said that they be kept together as one *tribe*, but these same *people* have now revolted', and he had the Merkit distributed here and there⁵ down to the last one.

199 In that same Year of the Ox (1205) Činggis Qa'an ordered Sübe'etei, who had *been provided with* an iron cart, to pursue the sons of Toqto'a headed by Qudu, Qal and Čila'un. When he sent him *on his mission*, Činggis Qa'an had the following verbal message conveyed to Sübe'etei⁶: 'The sons of Toqto'a having at their head Qudu, Qal and Čila'un left in fright and haste, *then* turned back, exchanged shots with us and went off like lassoed wild asses or stags

¹ = Erdiš. Cf. above and §§ 207, 264.

² Ui'urtai in the text. See the Commentary.

³ Qat in the text. See the Commentary.

⁴ Arai in the text. See above.

⁵ I.e., among other groups.

⁶ Written Sübetei.

with arrows *in their bodies*. If they grow wings and fly up into the sky, you, Sübe'etei, will you not fly up like a gerialcon and catch them? If they turn into marmots and burrow into the ground with their claws, will you not become an iron rod and, digging and searching for them, catch up with them? If they turn into fishes and plunge into the Tenggis Sea,¹ you, Sübe'etei, will you not become a casting-net and a dragnet, and get them by scooping them out? And again, I send you to cross high mountain passes, to ford wide rivers; mindful of the long distance *you have to cover*, you must spare the army mounts before they become *too* lean and you must save your provisions before they come to an end. If a gelding is *already* completely exhausted it will be of no use to spare it *then*; if your provisions have *already* completely run out, how can you save them *then*? There will be many wild animals on your way: when you go, thinking ahead, do not allow your soldiers to gallop after *and hunt down* wild animals, nor let them make circular battues without limit. If you make a battue in order to give additional provisions to your troops, hunt with moderation. Except on limited battues, do not allow the soldiers to fix the crupper to the saddle and put on the bridle, but let *the horses* go with their mouths free.² If they so discipline themselves, the soldiers will not be able to gallop on the way. Thus, making *this a matter of law*, whoever then transgresses it³ shall be seized and beaten. Send to Us those who transgress Our order if it looks that they are *personally* known to Us; as for the many who are not known to Us, just cut them down on the spot.

Beyond the rivers

You will perhaps lose courage,

But continue to advance

¹ = 'the Ocean.' See the Commentary.

² Lit., 'removing the bit from the mouth', so that it hung free.

³ Lit., 'the law' (*jasaq*).

In the same way;
Beyond the mountains
You will perhaps lose heart,
But think of nothing else apart from *your mission*.

If Eternal Heaven grants you further strength and power, and you capture Toqto'a's sons, there is no need *for you* to bring them back: cast them away there and then!¹ So he ordered.

Činggis Qa'an said further to Sübe'etei: 'I send you on *this* expedition because, when I was small, I was frightened by the Uduyt of the Three Merkit circling three times around Burqan Qaldun.² Mortal enemies like these, now gone again, swearing oaths *against me*, you shall reach, *were you to go*

To the furthest limit,
To the bottom of the deep!

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

200 When Činggis Qa'an annihilated the Naiman and the Merkit, Ĵamuqa was with the Naiman and his people were taken from him on that occasion. With *only* five companions he became an outcast. He went up the Tanglu Mountains, killed a wild sheep and roasted it. When it was time to eat it, Ĵamuqa there and then said to his five companions, 'Whose sons,³ having today killed a wild sheep, are eating it like this?' While they were eating the meat of that wild sheep, his five companions laid hands on Ĵamuqa and, seizing him, brought him to Činggis Qa'an.

¹ I.e., 'execute them on the spot.'

² See above, § 103.

³ I.e., 'What (sort of) persons?'

When Ĵamuqa was brought *here* by his companions, he told *someone* to say to his sworn friend the Qa'an:

'Black crows have gone so far
As to catch a mandarin duck,¹
Black skins² and slaves have gone so far
As to raise their hands against their lord.
Qa'an, my sworn friend,
How can you be mistaken?
Grey buzzards have gone so far
As to catch a wild duck,¹
Slaves and servants have gone so far
As to seize their own master,
Surrounding him and conspiring against him.
Wise sworn friend of mine,
How can you be mistaken?'

To these words of Ĵamuqa, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How could we let men live who have raised their hands against their rightful lord? To whom can such men be companions? Cut down to the offspring *of their offspring* these people who have raised their hands against their rightful lord!' So he ordered, and had the people who had laid hands on Ĵamuqa cut down in his³ very presence.

Činggis Qa'an *then* said, 'Tell Ĵamuqa: "Now the two of us are united. Let us be companions! If we become *each of us like* one of the two shafts of a cart, would you think of separating yourself *from me* and being on your own? Now that we are together *once more*,

Let us each remind the other of what he has forgotten,
Let us each wake up the other who has fallen asleep.
Although you separated from me
And went a different way,

¹ For this simile, which is illustrated in the following two lines, see the Commentary.

² I.e., lowly or common tribesmen.

³ I.e., Ĵamuqa's.

You remain my lucky, blessed sworn friend.
 On the day one kills and is killed, surely
 Your heart was aching *for me*.
 Although you separated from me
 And went a different way,
 On the day one fights one another,
 Your lungs and heart were aching *for me*.

When was that? When I fought the Kereyit people at the
 Qalaqaljit Sands you informed me of what you had said to
 Father Ong Qan.¹ That was a service *you did me*. Then, the
 fact that you sent me a message *with the news* that you had
 frightened the Naiman people

Slaying them with your words,
 Killing them with your mouth,
 and said to me that I could regard them as such² – that was
another service you did me.”

201 After Činggis *Qa'an* had spoken, Ĵamuqa said, ‘In early
 days when we were small, in the Qorqonaq Valley I agreed
 with my sworn friend the Qan to become sworn friends:

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

Together we were under our blanket
 Sharing it between us, *but*

Stirred up *by someone*

Coming between us,

Pricked *by someone*

Standing at the side,³

We parted for good.

Saying to myself that

We had exchanged weighty words,

The skin of my black face

Peeled off *in shame*;

¹ See above, § 170.

² I.e., as frightened to death by the Mongols. See above, § 196.

³ Cf. above, §§ 127 and 177.

And so I have been living
 Unable to come near you,
 Unable to see the friendly face
 Of my sworn friend the Qan.
 Saying to myself that
 We had exchanged unforgettable words,
 The skin of my red face
 Came off *in shame*;
 And so I have been living
 Unable to see the true face
 Of my sworn friend with a long memory.

‘Now my sworn friend the Qan shows favour to me and
 says, “Let us be companions!” But when it was the time for
 being companions, I was not one.¹ Now, sworn friend,

You have pacified all *our* people,

You have unified all other peoples,

and the *qan's* throne has been assigned to you. Now that the
 world is at your disposal, of what use would I be as a
 companion to you? On the contrary, *o my* sworn friend,

I would intrude into your dreams in the dark night,

I would trouble your heart in the bright day,

I would be a louse in your collar,

I would be a thorn in the inner lapel of your coat.²

‘I had many paternal grandmothers. When I became
 disloyal to my sworn friend I made a mistake. Now, in this
 life – *that* of the sworn friend and me – my fame has passed
 from sunrise to sunset. You, sworn friend, had a wise
 mother. You were born a hero, and as you had younger
 brothers, valiant companions and seventy-three geldings,³
you, my sworn friend, excelled me. As for me, I lost my
 parents when I was small and had no younger brothers. My
 wife is a prattler, my companions untrustworthy. Because

¹ Lit., ‘a companion to him.’

² In short, ‘I would be a constant nuisance to you.’

³ There is no mention of these geldings elsewhere in the SH.

of this I was excelled by *my* sworn friend, whose destiny was *ordained* by Heaven. If you¹ *want to* show favour to me, let me die swiftly and your² heart will be at rest. And if you¹ condescend to have me put to death, let them kill me without shedding blood. When I lie dead, my bones *buried* in a high place, for ever and ever I shall protect you and be a blessing to the offspring of your offspring.

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

To these words of his Činggis Qa'an said, 'Although my sworn friend has parted *from me* and has been railing against Us, I have not heard that he has plotted harm against my life. He is a man who should learn *from experience*, but is not willing to. *However*, to kill him is not in accordance with the omens; to harm his life without *good* reason is not right. He is a man of high standing. Perhaps you should give him this reason: "Once, when Čoĵi Darmala³ and Taičar stole from each other their herds of horses, you, sworn friend Ĵamuqa, wickedly stirred up rebellion *against me*. We fought at Dalan Balĵut and you forced me to take refuge in the Ĵerene Gorge. You frightened me then, did you not? Now, when I say, 'Let us be companions!', you refuse; when I *offered to* spare your life, you declined." Tell him that. Say to him: "Now, according to your request, you shall die without your blood being shed."

He ordered that *Ĵamuqa* be put to death without his blood being shed and that his body⁴ should not be abandoned in the open, but be given a fitting burial. He had

¹ Lit., 'the sworn friend.'

² Lit., 'the sworn friend's.'

³ Called Joči Darmala in § 128 above.

⁴ Lit., 'bones.'

Ĵamuqa executed there and then, and had his body buried *as arranged*.

202

And so, when the people of the felt-walled tents had been brought to allegiance, in the Year of the Tiger (1206) they *all* gathered at the source of the Onan River. They hoisted the white standard with nine tails and there they gave Činggis Qa'an the title of *qan*. Then they also gave the title of *gui ong*¹ to Muqali. On that occasion too, Ĵebe was sent on a war mission to pursue *and seize* Güčülük Qan of the Naiman. Having *thus* completed *the task of* setting the Mongol people in order, Činggis Qa'an said, 'To those who sided with me when I was establishing *our* nation, I shall express my appreciation and, having formed units of a thousand, I shall appoint them commanders of a thousand.' So he decreed, and he appointed *the following* with the rank of commanders of a thousand: (1) Father Mōnglik, (2) Bo'orču, (3) Muqali Gui Ong, (4) Qorči, (5) Ilügei, (6) Ĵürčedei, (7) Qunan, (8) Qubilai, (9) Ĵelme, (10) Tüge, (11) Degei, (12) Tolon, (13) Önggür, (14) Čülgetei, (15) Boroqul, (16) Šigi Qutuqu, (17) Güčü, (18) Kōkōčü, (19) Qorqosun, (20) Hüsün, (21) Quyildar, (22) Šiluqai, (23) Ĵetei, (24) Taqai, (25) Čaqa'an Qo'a, (26) Alaq, (27) Sorqan Šira, (28) Buluqan, (29) Qaračar, (30) Kōkō Čos, (31) Süyiketü, (32) Naya'a, (33) Ĵungšoi, (34) Güčügür, (35) Bala, (36) Oronartai, (37) Dayir, (38) Müge, (39) Buĵir, (40) Mōnggü'ür, (41) Dolo'adai, (42) Bögen, (43) Qudus, (44) Maral, (45) Ĵebke, (46) Yuruqan, (47) Kōkō, (48) Ĵebe, (49) Udutai, (50) Bala Čerbi, (51) Kete, (52) Sübe'etei, (53) Mōngkō Qalĵa, (54) Qurčaqus, (55) Geügi (56) Badai, (57) Kišiliq, (58) Ketei (59) Ča'urqai, (60) Onggiran, (61) Toqon Temür, (62) Megetü, (63) Qada'an, (64) Moroqa, (65) Dori Buqa, (66) Iduqadai, (67) Širaqul, (68) Da'un, (69) Tamači, (70) Qa'uran, (71) Alči, (72) Tobsaqa, (73) Tungquidai, (74)

¹ I.e., 'Prince of State.'

Tobuqa, (75) Aĵinai,¹ (76) Tūyideger, (77) Seĉe'ür, (78) Jeder, (79) Olar Güregen, (80) Kinggiyadai, (81) Buqa Güregen, (82) Quril, (83) Ašiq Güregen, (84) Qadai Güregen, (85) Čigü Güregen, (86, 87, 88) Alči Güregen *leading* the three Onggirat thousands, (89, 90) Butu Güregen *leading* the two Ikires thousands, (91, 92, 93, 94, 95) Alaquš Digit Quri Güregen of the Önggüt *leading* the five Önggüt thousands. Excluding the People of the Forest,² the commanders of a thousand of the Mongol people appointed by Činggis Qa'an were ninety-five.

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

From the time I was in the cradle
And grew up at your noble threshold,
Until this beard sprouted on my chin,
I did not think of anyone else *but you*.
From the time I had a piss-pot at my crotch
And, being at your royal threshold, I grew up
Until this beard sprouted at my mouth,
I did not make a single false step.
She³ let me lie at her feet

¹ Read Aĉinai.

² I.e., the forest tribes of the north and north-west. See the Commentary, § 207.

³ I.e., Mother Hö'elün.

And brought me up as her own son;
She let me lie at her side
And brought me up as the younger brother
*of her children.*¹

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

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

And he said, 'When, protected by Eternal Heaven, I am engaged in bringing the entire people under *my* sway, be

Eyes *for me* to see with,
Ears *for me* to hear with.²

Divide up all the *subject* people and apportion them to *Our* mother, to Us, to *Our* younger brothers and sons according to the name of the people,³

Splitting up those that live in felt-walled tents,
Separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors.
Let no one disobey your word!

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

Curbing theft,
Discouraging falsehood,

execute those who deserve death, punish those who deserve punishment. Furthermore, writing in a blue-*script* register *all* decisions about the distribution and about the judicial matters of the entire population, make it into a book.⁴ Until the offspring of *my* offspring, let no one alter any of the blue writing that Šigi Qutuqu, after deciding in accordance with

¹ See above, § 135.

² Cf. above, § 138.

³ I.e., according to their importance and lifestyle (nomadic or settled populations).

⁴ I.e., into a permanent record.

me, shall make into a book with white paper. Anyone who alters it shall be guilty *and liable to punishment.*'

Šigi Qutuqu said, 'How can a late-born younger brother like me take the same and equal share *as that of the others?* If the Qa'an *wants to* reward me, let him decide in favour of granting me *the people* from the towns that have walls of *pounded earth.*' So he requested, and to these words *of his* Činggis Qa'an said, 'You yourself have determined your own *part*; you decide!'

After he had made Činggis Qa'an favour him thus, Šigi Qutuqu went out and, calling the leaders with Bo'orču and Muqali at their head, let them into *the tent.*

204 Činggis Qa'an then addressed Father Mōnglik and said: 'You fortunate and blessed *man,*

Who at birth were born together *with me,*

When growing, grew up together *with me,*¹

how many times have you helped and protected me? Among those *was the occasion* when Father Ong Qan and sworn friend Senggüm deceitfully invited me to the betrothal feast and on the way I spent the night in Father Mōnglik's tent.² Had you, Father Mōnglik, not dissuaded me *then,* I would have gone right

Into whirling waters,

Into a blazing fire.

Recalling only that service *of yours,* how could *anybody* forget it until the offspring of *their* offspring? Recalling that service, I will henceforth let you occupy the seat at the very beginning of this side *in my tent.* Yearly and monthly I shall consult with you,³ and I shall give you gifts and favours. I shall be attending on you, until the offspring of *your* offspring!' So he declared.

¹ Cf. below, § 211.

² See above, § 168.

³ I.e., to seek advice.

205

Further Činggis Qa'an spoke to Bo'orču: 'When I was small I was robbed of eight horses, the light-bay geldings.¹ I spent three days and nights on the way pursuing them and, as I was going, we met each other. Then you said to me, "You came because you are in difficulties; I will join you as a companion!" and, without a word even to your father in the tent, you who were then milking a mare, concealed your leather bucket and pail in the grass. You made me leave my short-haired chestnut horse and set me on a white horse with a black back, and you yourself rode a fast dun mare. You left your herd of horses without a master and in haste became my companion in the steppe. Again we spent three days and nights in pursuit before we reached the circular camp with the stolen light-bay geldings. They were standing at the edge of the camp. We stole them, drove them away and brought them back, the two of us. Your father was Naqu Bayan. You, his only son, what did you know *about me* when you became my companion? You became my companion because of your brave heart. Afterwards I kept on thinking about you and when I sent you Belgütei to ask you to join me *again* as a companion,

You jumped on your chestnut horse with the arched back,

You tucked your grey woollen cloak behind you,
and came to join me.² And when

The Three Merkit came against us and

Thrice circled Burqan Qaldun,

That mountain you circled with me.³

And when, after that, we passed the night at Dalan Nemürge *with our troops* pitched opposite *those of* the Tatar people, the rain poured down incessantly day and night. Saying that I ought to get my night's rest, you covered me with your felt cloak so that the rain would not

¹ See above, §§ 90-93.

² See above, § 95.

³ See above, § 103.

fall upon me and throughout the night you stood beside me shifting one of your feet only once. *This* was indeed a sign of your bravery. Other than that, what brave deeds of yours am I to mention? You two, Bo'orču and Muqali,

You urged me to carry out what was right,

You persuaded me not to do what was wrong,

and *in this way* made me gain this throne. Now you shall sit higher than all *the others* and shall not be punished for *up to* nine crimes. Bo'orču will be in charge of the ten thousand *men* of the right wing which extends *westwards* up to the *Altai Mountains*.¹ So he ordered.

206 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Muqali, 'When we set up camp near the Leafy Tree in the Qorqonaq Valley around which Qutula Qan used to dance,² because the words that a heavenly sign foretold to Muqali were a clear portent, I there and then, thinking of *his father* Gü'ün Qo'a,³ pledged my word to Muqali. Accordingly, he shall *henceforth* sit upon a seat [above all others] and shall be *gui ong*⁴ of all the people, *and so it shall be* until the offspring of Muqali's offspring.' He gave him the title of *gui ong* and ordered: 'Let Muqali Gui Ong be in charge of the ten thousand *men* of the left wing which extends *eastwards* up to the Qara'un Jidun Mountains.'⁵

207 Činggis Qa'an said to Qorči, 'You *once* made a prophecy *about me* and, from the time I was small until now, for a long time

When it was wet,

You suffered the wet with me;

When it was cold,

You suffered the cold with me.

¹ See the Commentary.

² See above, §§ 57 and 117.

³ The Gü'ün U'a of § 137 above.

⁴ For this title, see the Commentary.

⁵ See the Commentary.

Indeed, you have constantly been a beneficent spirit¹ *to me*. At that time *you*, Qorči, said, 'If the prophecy comes true and if it is fulfilled by Heaven according to your wishes, let me have thirty women.' Now, because it has come true, I shall favour you. Look at the fine women and fine girls of the people who have submitted *to us* and choose thirty women *from among them*.' So he ordered.

Further, he ordered: 'On top of the three thousand Ba'arin *that he already leads*, Qorči, together with Taqai and Ašiq, shall *add to the number so as to* make up a full ten thousand with the Činōs of the Adarkin, the Tö'ölös and the Telengüt, and Qorči shall be their commander. Freely establishing his camp along the Erdiš River up to the People of the Forest, Qorči shall reduce the People of the Forest to submission and be in charge of the ten thousand.' And he ordered: 'The People of the Forest must not act this way or that without Qorči's agreement. Those who act without his agreement, he should not hesitate *to kill them*.'

208 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Jürčedei, 'Your *most* important service was at the time when we were fighting with the Kereyit at the Qalaqaljit Sands and were worrying *about the outcome of the battle*. Sworn friend Quyildar then made an oath *but you*, Jürčedei, carried out his task. In carrying it out *you*, Jürčedei, attacked and overcame the Jirgin, the Tübegen, the Dongqayit, Quri Šilemün² *and his* thousand bodyguards, the best troops – all of them – and, reaching the main body *of their army*, you shot an *učumaq* arrow into *one of* Senggüm's bright red cheeks.³ Because of this, "the door was opened and the reins *were loosened*" *for me* by Eternal Heaven.⁴ Had Senggüm not

¹ *Nendü qutuq*. For this expression, see the Commentary. For Qorči's prophecy, see above § 121.

² I.e., Qori Šilemün Taiši. See above, § 170.

³ For these events, see above, §§ 170-171, 174.

⁴ I.e., Heaven opened the way to Činggis' success.

been wounded, what would have become of us? That was indeed Jürčedei's greatest and most important service.

'When he separated from me, moving along the river Qalqa downstream, I constantly thought of Jürčedei as if he were the shelter afforded by a high mountain. He then went off¹ and we arrived at Lake Baljuna to water our animals. When we set out again from Lake Baljuna, Jürčedei went ahead to reconnoitre. We took the field against the Kereyit and, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth, we utterly defeated and subdued the Kereyit people.² The most important people³ being cut off, the Naiman and the Merkit lost heart; they could no longer fight and were scattered.

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

Because, on the day one kills and is killed,
He disregarded⁴ his life;

Because, on the day one meets death together,
He fought to the death,

Činggis Qa'an favoured Jürčedei and gave him Ibaqa Beki as wife. He said to Ibaqa, 'I did not say that you have a bad character and that in looks and appearance you are ugly. You, who have entered into my heart and limbs, and who have come to me taking your place in the rank of my principal wives, I present to Jürčedei in deference to the

¹ On his mission to the Onggirat. See above, § 176.

² See above, §§ 182-183, 185.

³ I.e., the Kereyit.

⁴ Lit., 'forsook.'

great principle whereby services are duly rewarded, to Jürčedei

Who, on the day we fought,
Was our shield,
Who against the enemy people
Was our shelter;
He brought together the people
Who had become divided,
He united the people
Who had scattered.¹

I have given you to him being mindful of the principle of rewarding these services of his. In future, when my descendants sit on Our throne, mindful of the principle regarding services that have thus been rendered, they should not disobey my words. Until the offspring of my offspring, they are not to abolish Ibaqa's rightful place among my wives.² So he ordered.

Činggis Qa'an said further to Ibaqa, 'Your father Jaqa Gambu gave you two hundred servants as dowry; he gave you also the steward Ašiq Temür and the steward Alčiq. Now you are going to the Uru'ut people; go, but give me one hundred out of your servants³ and the steward Ašiq Temür to remember you.' And he took possession of them.

Činggis Qa'an spoke again to Jürčedei and, showing favour to him, gave the following order: 'I give you my Ibaqa. As to your four thousand Uru'ut, you will be in charge of them, won't you?'

¹ Cf. the words in §§ 96 and 104 above.

² I.e., she would retain her former rank at court.

³ In the text *ingjes* for *injes*. See the Commentary.

Not Jürčedei
Ibaqa's wife

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER NINE

209 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Qubilai, 'For me you pressed down

The necks of the mighty ones,

The buttocks of the strong ones.

You, Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübe'etei¹ – these "four hounds" of mine – when I sent you off, directing you *to the place* I had in mind,²

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

You crushed the stones *to be there*;

When I said, "Attack!",

You split up the rocks,

You shattered the shining stones,

You cleft the deep waters.³

When I sent you, Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübe'etei, my "four hounds", to the place I had designated, if Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un Ba'atur – these "four steeds"⁴ of mine – were at my side, and when the day of battle came and I had Jürčedei and Quyildar standing before me with their Uru'ut and Mangqut *troops*, then my mind was completely at rest. Qubilai, will you not be in charge of all military affairs?' So he ordered, favouring him.

Further, he said, 'Because of Bedü'ün's stubbornness,⁵ I was displeased with him and did not give him a unit of a thousand. You are the right *person to manage* him! You shall be the commander of a thousand with him and you will

¹ Written Sübegetei.

² Lit., 'which I had pointed out.'

³ Cf. above, §§ 72 and 147.

⁴ See above, § 163.

⁵ See the Commentary.

proceed in consultation with each other.¹ And he added, 'Afterwards We shall examine Bedü'ün's *conduct*.'²

210 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Qunan of the Geniges, 'For you, the commanders with Bo'orču and Muqali at their head, and for *you*, the chamberlains Dödei, Doqolqu and others, this Qunan was *like*

A male wolf in the dark night,

A black crow in the bright day:

When we were on the move he did not stop,

When we halted he did not move on.

With a stranger

He did not put on another face,

With a mortal enemy

He did not put on a different face.

Do not act without the agreement of Qunan and Kökö Čos. Act *only* in consultation with them.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'The eldest of my sons is Joči. Qunan, at the head of the Geniges, shall be a commander of ten thousand under Joči. Qunan, Kökö Čos, Degei and Old Üsün – these four are the four that never hid *from me* what they saw, never concealed *from me* what they heard.'

211 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Jelme, 'Old Jarči'udai, carrying his bellows on his back – Jelme was still in the cradle – came down from Burqan Qaldun and gave sable swaddling-clothes when I was born at Deli'ün Boldaq on the Onan River.³ Since he became my companion, *Jelme* has been

The slave of *my* threshold,

The personal slave of *my* door.⁴

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

¹ See above, § 191.

² For Bedü'ün see above, § 120. There are no further references to him in the SH.

³ See above, § 97.

⁴ See above, §§ 137, 180.

Who at birth was born together *with me*,
 When growing, grew up together *with me*,¹
 and *whose companionship with me* has its origin in the sable
 swaddling-clothes, he shall not incur punishment if he
 commits *up to nine crimes*.' So he ordered.

212 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Tolun, 'Why is it that
 you, father and son, will *each* be in charge of a separate
 thousand? When you gathered² the people – you, *Tolun*,
 being one of the two wings of your father – you strove
 together and together gathered the people. It is, indeed,
 because of that that I gave you the title of chamberlain.³
 Now, will you not form your own thousand with *the people*
 that you have acquired yourself and constituted *as your own*
patrimony, and *act* in consultation with Turuqaŋ?' So he
 ordered.

213 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to the steward Önggür,
 'You, the three Toqura'ut and the five Tarqut, and you,
 Önggür, son of Möngetü Kiyan, with *your Čangši'ut* and
 Baya'ut, have formed one camp for me.⁴ You, Önggür,
 You did not go astray in the fog,
 You did not separate from the others in the fight.
 When it was wet
 You suffered the wet with me;
 When it was cold,
 You suffered the cold with me.⁵

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

¹ See above, § 204.

² I.e., 'conquered.'

³ Čerbi. See above, § 191.

⁴ See above, § 120.

⁵ Cf. above, § 207.

Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'Yes, be it so!
 Bring together your Baya'ut brothers and you take
 command – one thousand!' He said further, 'When you, the
 two stewards Önggür and Boro'ul,¹ distribute food to the
 right and left sides,

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

If you two distribute *the food* in this way, my throat will not
 choke and my mind will be at rest. Now, Önggür and
 Boro'ul, ride off and distribute food to the multitude.' So he
 ordered, and pointing out their seats, he said, 'When you
 take your seats, you must sit so as to look after the food on
 the right and the left sides of the large *kumis* pitchers.² Sit
 with Tolun and the others in the centre *of the tent*, facing
 north.'

214 Again, Činggis Qa'an spoke to Boroqul, saying, 'As for
 Šigi Qutuqu, Boroqul, Čüčü and Kököčü – the four of you –
 my mother

On the *bare* ground she found you,
 In *other* people's camps.
 She placed you close to her legs,
 She treated you as her own sons
 And brought you up with care;
 She stretched your necks
 And made you into adults;
 She stretched your shoulders
 And made you into men.³

¹ = Boroqul.

² I.e., of the wine table.

³ See the Commentary. Cf. below, § 254.

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

When we made swift sorties on rainy nights
You did not let me spend the night with an
empty stomach;¹

When we were engaged in battle with the enemy
You did not let me spend the night without soup.

Again, we crushed the Tatar people who, full of hatred and resentment, had destroyed *our* fathers and forefathers. At the time when

We were taking revenge,

We were requiting the wrong,

by killing the Tatar people to the last one, measuring them against the linchpin of a cart,² and as they were being slain, Qargil Šira of the Tatar escaped and became an outcast. Then, reduced to straits and suffering from hunger, he came *back* and entering the tent said to *my* mother, "I am a beggar."³ When he was told, "If you are a beggar, sit there", he sat at the end of the bench on the western side of the tent, near the inside of the door.

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

¹ I.e., in spite of the difficulty of making a fire in the rain.

² See above, § 154.

³ Lit., 'a seeker of good things.'

that was drawing the knife. She pulled *it so hard that* he dropped the knife. At that very moment, north of the tent, Ĵetei and Ĵelme were killing a hornless black ox for provisions. At Altani's cry they both¹ came running, holding their *butchering* axes, their fists red *with the animal's blood*. With axe and knife they slew Qargil Šira of the Tatar on the spot.

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

'Again, when Boroqul was fighting *with us* against the Kereyit at the Qalaqaljit² Sands, Ögödei was hit by an arrow in the neck vein and fell *from his horse*. Boroqul got off his horse and stopped by him, sucked the clotting blood with his mouth and spent the night with him. The following morning he put him on a horse, but as Ögödei could not sit up they rode double, *Boroqul* clasping Ögödei from behind and continuously sucking the *wound-clogging* blood, so that the corners of his mouth were red *with it*; and so he came, bringing Ögödei *back* alive and safe.³ In return for my

¹ Lit., 'Ĵetei and Ĵelme.'

² Qalaqaljit in the text.

³ See above, § 173.

mother's suffering in bringing him up, he was indeed of service in *saving* the lives of my two sons. Boroqul was a companion to me: he never tarried

At my beck and call,

At my voice and its echo.

If Boroqul commits *up to* nine crimes he shall not be punished.' So he ordered.¹

215 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Let Us reward Our female offspring!'²

216 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Old Üsün, 'Üsün, Qunan, Kōkō Čos and Degei, these four, without hiding or concealing, have always reported to me what they saw and heard; they have always informed me of what they thought and comprehended. In the Mongol tradition it is customary for a senior ranking personage to become a *bekji*. You are a descendant of Elder Brother the Ba'arin. As to the rank of *bekji*, you Old Üsün, who are from among *us* and senior to Us, shall become a *bekji*. When one has been raised to the rank of *bekji*,

He shall wear a white dress

And ride a white gelding;

He shall sit on a *high* seat

And be waited upon.

Furthermore, yearly and monthly I shall hold discussions with you *to seek your advice*.³ Let it be so!' So he ordered.

217 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Because of sworn friend Quyildar's service of first opening his mouth *and speaking* at the time of battle,⁴ disregarding⁵ his life, let his *descendants* to the offspring of *his* offspring receive the

¹ There follows a sentence identical with that in § 215. This is due to a scribal error and should be deleted.

² There is a lacuna in the text. See the Commentary.

³ Cf. above, § 204.

⁴ See above, § 171.

⁵ Lit., 'forsaking.'

bounty *granted* to orphans.¹ So he ordered.

218 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Čaqān Qo'a's² son Narin To'oril, 'Your father Čaqān Qo'a was fighting zealously before me at the battle of Dalan Baljut when he was killed by Jamuqa.³ Now, To'oril, for your father's services you shall receive the bounty *granted* to orphans.' To this To'oril said, 'If you are to favour me, as my Negüs brothers are scattered about among all the various tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Negüs brothers.' Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'If so, after having brought together your Negüs brothers, you will be in charge of them to the offspring of *your* offspring, won't you?' So he ordered.

219 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Sorqan Šira, 'At the time when I was small, when out of jealousy I was seized by Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut and his brothers, then *you* Sorqan Šira, because my kinsmen⁴ were jealous of me,⁵ with your sons Čila'un and Čimbai, made your daughter Qada'an take care of me, hid me and *later*, releasing me, you sent me away.⁶ Mindful of that good service of yours, *whether*

In the dark night in my dreams,

In the bright day in my heart,⁷

I certainly kept the memory of it; but you did come late to me from the Tayiči'ut. If I show favour to you now, what kind of favour do you wish?'

Sorqan Šira, who was together with his sons Čila'un and Čimbai, said, 'If you are to favour me, let me have the free use of grazing grounds. Let me settle on and freely use

¹ Cf. above, § 185.

² This is the same personage called Čaqa'an U'a (of the Ne'üs) in §§ 120 and 129 above.

³ See above, § 129.

⁴ I.e., the Tayiči'ut. Cf. above, § 76.

⁵ See above, § 82.

⁶ See above, §§ 85-87.

⁷ Cf. Jamuqa's words in § 201 above.

the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge River. As for other favours in addition *to this*, let Činggis Qa'an decide!

To these words, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Settle on the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge and, indeed, have free use of its grazing grounds. You shall be a freeman, allowed to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine to the offspring of *your* offspring.¹ You shall not incur punishment for *up to* nine crimes.' So he ordered.

Further, Činggis Qa'an, showing favour to Čila'un and Čimbai, gave the following order: 'Thinking of the words that you, Čila'un and Čimbai, once spoke, how will you be satisfied?² Čila'un and Čimbai, if you *want to* say what you have in mind or request *something* that you lack, do not tell an intermediary *about it*. You in person,³ through your own mouths, tell me yourselves what you have thought, request from me yourselves what you lack.'

Further, he gave the following order: 'You, the freemen Sorqan Šira, Badai and Kišiliq, you too, as freemen,

When swiftly pursuing many foes,

If you get booty,

What you get you shall take away.

When in a battue

You hunt wild beasts,

What you slaughter you shall take away.⁴

As for Sorqan Šira, he was but a retainer of Tödege of the Tayiči'ut.⁵ Badai and Kišiliq were but horse-herders of Čeren.⁶ Now, with my support, enjoy *the privilege of* being freemen, allowed to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine!

¹ For these privileges, see the Commentary.

² Translation uncertain. See the Commentary.

³ Lit., 'by your own bodies.'

⁴ Cf. above, § 187.

⁵ See above, § 146.

⁶ I.e., Yeke Čeren. See above, § 169.

220 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Naya'a, 'When Old Širgötü,¹ together with you – his sons Alaq and Naya'a – seized Tarqutai Kiriltuq and, proceeding on his way to us, arrived at the Qutuqul Bend, Naya'a there and then said, "How can we go on, seizing and making away with our rightful lord?" And, unable to make away with him, you set him free and sent him away.

'When Old Širgötü, together with *you* – his sons Alaq and Naya'a – arrived, then Naya'a Bilji'ür said, "We laid hands on our rightful lord Tarqutai Kiriltuq and were coming *here*, but we could not make away with him. We set him free and sent him off, and came to offer our services to Činggis Qa'an. We said to ourselves that had we come having laid hands on our lord, it would have been said of us: 'People who have laid hands on their rightful lord – how can they be trusted in future?' So, we could not make away with our lord."

'Then, because the reason why he could not make away with his rightful lord was *the fact that* he had been mindful of the great principle,² I approved of his words and said, "I shall entrust him with an *important* task."³ Now, Bo'orču will be in charge of the ten thousand of the right wing; and I put Muqali in charge of the ten thousand of the left wing, giving him the title of *gui ong*.⁴ Now, Naya'a will be in charge of the ten thousand of the centre.' So he ordered.

221 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Jebe and Šübe'etei shall *each* be commanders of a thousand over as many of *those people* that⁵ they themselves have acquired and constituted as *their own patrimony*.'

¹ The Širgü'etü of § 149, where this event is narrated.

² I.e., the principle of mutual obligations between lord and subject. Cf. above, § 208.

³ Cf. above, § 149.

⁴ See above, § 200 and com.

⁵ Lit., 'as many of theirs as.'

222 Further, Činggis Qa'an made the shepherd Degei bring together the unregistered households and put him in charge of a thousand.

223 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'As the carpenter Güčügür¹ lacks subjects *to form a unit of a thousand*, let *these* be collected from here and there *and given to him*. Since, from among the Jadaran, Mulqalqu has been a perfect companion *to me*, you two – Güčügür and Mulqalqu – be jointly in command of a thousand and consult with one another.'

224 Činggis Qa'an made commanders of a thousand those who had established the state with him and who had suffered with him. Forming units of a thousand, he appointed the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten. Forming units of ten thousand, he appointed the commanders of ten thousand. The commanders of ten thousand and of a thousand to whom reward seemed appropriate, he rewarded; those who were to be commended, he commended. He gave them the following order: 'Formerly, I had eighty men to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy men to serve as dayguards. Now, by the strength of Eternal Heaven, my power has been increased by Heaven and Earth and I have brought the entire people to allegiance, causing them to come under my sole rule,² so now choose men to serve on roster as dayguards from the various thousands and recruit them for me. When you recruit them and have nightguards, quiverbearers and dayguards enrolled, recruit them so as to make up a full ten thousand.' So he ordered.

Further, Činggis Qa'an proclaimed the following order to the various thousands regarding the selection and recruitment of the guards: 'When guards will be recruited for Us, and the sons of commanders of ten thousand, of a

¹ The Kūčügür of § 120. See also above, §§ 124 and 202.

² Lit., 'to enter into my only reins (= control).' See the Commentary.

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

And he ordered, 'As to the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, and the numerous *ordinary* people who have received this order of Ours, or who have heard it, anyone who transgresses it shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*. As to the people who have been recruited to

serve on roster for Us, if any of them are unsuitable *for duty* because they evade it, regarding their service by Our side as *too* difficult, we shall recruit others *in their stead* and we shall punish those people and send them to a distant place, out of *Our* sight.'

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

225 Since Činggis Qa'an had issued an order, choosing *guards* from the units of a thousand and, according to the same order, choosing the sons of commanders of a hundred and of ten, as they came forward – formerly there were *only* eighty nightguards – he brought *their number* up to eight hundred. And he said, 'On top of the eight hundred, *add to the number so as to* make up a full thousand.'

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

Earlier four hundred quiverbearers had been chosen. Choosing them *anew*, he said, 'Yisün Te'e, the son of Jelme, shall be the commander of the quiverbearers and he shall *act* in consultation with Tüge's¹ son, Bügidei.'

And he ordered, 'When the quiverbearers together with the dayguards join *to form* the various companies,² Yisün Te'e shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; Bügidei shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; Horqudaq shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; and Lablaqa shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers. *These four* shall make their quiverbearers join the various companies of dayguards to carry quivers and so be

¹ This Tüge is the Tüngge of § 137 and the Tüge of § 202 above. Although there is no previous mention of the four hundred quiverbearers, see § 192 above for their duties.

² I.e., the separate watches.

their commanders. Yisün Te'e shall *add to the number of* quiverbearers to make up a full thousand and be the *overall* commander.'

226 Činggis Qa'an, bringing *the number of* dayguards who had formerly enrolled with Ögele Čerbi up to a full thousand, said, 'Ögele Čerbi from the family of Bo'orču shall be in charge of them.' He said, 'As for one thousand dayguards, Buqa from the family of Muqali shall be in charge of them.'¹ He said, 'Alčidai from the family of Ilügei shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards.' He said, 'Dödei Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards and Doqolqu Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards.' And he ordered, 'Čanai from the family of Jürčedei shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards; Aqutai from the family of Alči shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards; Arqai Qasar shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards – one thousand chosen brave warriors – who, in the many days *of peace* shall serve as dayguards, and in the days of battle shall stand before me and be brave warriors.'

Thus, there were eight thousand dayguards chosen from the various thousands; there were also two thousand nightguards with quiverbearers. *Altogether* there were ten thousand guards.

Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'The ten thousand guards attached to Us shall be strengthened and become the main *body of the army*.' So he ordered.

227 Further, when Činggis Qa'an issued the order appointing those who were to be the elders² of the four companies of dayguards on roster duty, he said, 'Buqa shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them³ and take his turn of duty. Alčidai shall be in charge of one

¹ Lit., 'of one thousand dayguards.'

² I.e., the senior officers.

³ Lit., 'the guards'; i.e. he shall dispose them in due order.

company of guards; he shall marshal them and take his turn of duty; Dödei Čerbi shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them¹ and take his turn of duty. Doqolqu Čerbi shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them¹ and take his turn of duty.' So he appointed the elders of the four companies on roster duty.

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

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

He said, 'Elders of the companies, do not reprimand my guards, who have enrolled *as guards* equal to you, without my permission and merely on the ground of seniority. If *any of them* breaks the law report it to me. Those liable to

¹ Lit., 'the guards.'

execution We shall certainly cut down. Those liable to be beaten We shall certainly compel to lie down and have them beaten. If you yourselves merely on the ground of seniority lay hands on my guards who are equal to you and strike them with a rod, as requital for strokes of the rod you shall be repaid with strokes of the rod, and as requital for fists you shall be repaid with fists.'

228 Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'My guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a thousand; the attendants of my guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a hundred and of ten. If outside leaders of a thousand, regarding themselves as equal to and a match for my guards, quarrel with them, We shall punish the persons who are leaders of a thousand.' So he ordered.

229 Further, Činggis Qa'an issued the *following* order and proclaimed it¹ to the commanders of the various companies: 'When the quiverbearers, the dayguards *and the stewards* take their turn of duty, they shall carry out their day duties, each at his respective post. As the sun sets, they shall retire *so as to be replaced* by the nightguards and, going outside, they shall spend the night *there*. At night, the nightguards shall spend the night beside Us. The quiverbearers shall leave, turning over their quivers – and the stewards their bowls and vessels – to the nightguards. *The following morning*, the quiverbearers, dayguards and stewards who have spent the night outside shall stay at the horse station while We eat Our soup; *then*, they will report to the nightguards. When We have finished eating *Our morning* soup, the quiverbearers shall return to their quivers, the dayguards to their *appointed* place and the stewards to their bowls and vessels. Those who take their turn of duty on roster must *all* act thus, in precisely the same manner, according to this ordinance.' So he ordered.

¹ Lit., 'the order.'

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

He said, 'The nightguards at night lie down all around the Palace; *you*, nightguards who stand guarding the door, shall hack *any* persons entering at night until their heads are split open and their shoulders fall *apart*, then cast them away. If *any* persons come at night with an urgent message, they must report to the nightguards and communicate *the message to me* while standing together with the nightguards at the rear¹ of the tent.'

'No one is to sit in a place above the nightguards.² No one is to enter *the precinct* without permission from the nightguards. No one is to walk up beyond the nightguards. One must not walk between the nightguards. One must not ask the number of nightguards. The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk up beyond them.³ The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk between them. And the nightguards – with regard to *any* person who shall have asked their number – the nightguards shall seize the gelding that that person was riding that very day, with saddle and bridle, together with the clothes that he was wearing.' So he ordered.

Eljigedei,⁴ even though he was a trustworthy *person*, was he not arrested by the nightguards when in the evening he happened to walk up beyond them?

¹ I.e., at the northern side.

² I.e., between the nightguards and the tent.

³ Lit., 'the nightguards.'

⁴ The Eljigedei of §§ 275 and 278 below.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER TEN

230

Činggis Qa'an said,

'My elder nightguards who, in the cloudy night,
Lying down around my vented tent¹
Ensured that I slept in quiet and peace,
You have made me gain this throne.²
My blessed nightguards who, in the starry night,
Lying down all around my Palace tent,
Ensured that I was without fear in my bed,
You have made me gain the high throne.
My true-hearted nightguards who in the swirling
snowstorm,
In shivering cold, in pouring rain, taking no rest,
Stood all around my latticed tent
Bringing peace to my heart,
You have made me gain *this* throne of joy.
My trustworthy nightguards, who in the midst
Of trouble-making enemies, not blinking an eye,
Stood all around my felt-girt tent
Withstanding *their onslaught*;
My watchful nightguards who, *hearing the enemy's*
Quivers of birch-bark barely rattling,
Stood up without delay;
My swift-moving nightguards who, *hearing the*
enemy's
Quivers of willow-wood barely rattling,
Stood up not *a moment* too late;
My blessed nightguards, *from now on*
You shall call *yourselves* "the elder nightguards."

¹ I.e., a tent with a smoke-hole at the top.

² See above, § 205.

The seventy dayguards who had enrolled with Ögöle Čerbi¹ shall be called "the great dayguards." The brave warriors of Arqai² shall be called "the elder brave warriors." The quiverbearers Yisün Te'e, Bügidei and the others shall be called "the great quiverbearers." So he ordered.

231 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,³ you, sons of mine who will later sit on my throne to the offspring of my offspring, considering these guards as a keepsake *from me*, give them no cause for dissatisfaction, but take good care of them! These ten thousand guards – will they not be called my beneficent spirits?'⁴

232 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'The nightguards shall be in charge of the female attendants⁵ of the Palace, the "sons of the household",⁶ the camel-keepers and the cowherds, and they shall take care of the tent-carts of the Palace. The nightguards shall take care of the standards and drums, and the spears *arranged* beneath them. The nightguards shall also take care of the bowls and vessels. The nightguards shall supervise Our drink and food. The nightguards shall supervise and cook the uncut meat and food as well: if drink and food are lacking, we shall seek them from the nightguards who have been entrusted with their supervision.' And he said, 'When the quiverbearers distribute drink and food, they must not distribute them without permission from the supervising nightguards. When they distribute food, they shall first distribute it beginning with the nightguards.' And he said, 'Entering into and going out from the Palace

¹ See above, § 120 and com.

² I.e., Arqai Qasar.

³ See above, § 202.

⁴ See above, § 207.

⁵ Čerbin ökit. See the Commentary.

⁶ I.e., young domestic slaves.

tent must be regulated by the nightguards. At the door, the doorkeepers from the nightguards shall stand right next to the tent. Two from the nightguards shall enter *into the tent* and oversee the large *kumis* pitchers.' And he said, 'The campmasters from the nightguards shall go *before Us* and set up the Palace tent.' And he said, 'When We go falconing or hunting, the nightguards shall go falconing and hunting with Us; *but* exactly one half of them shall stay at the carts.'

233 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'If We Ourselves do not go on a military campaign the nightguards must not take the field without Us.' So he said, and gave the following order: 'After being thus instructed *by Us*, the chamberlains in charge of troops who transgress the order and, out of jealousy for the nightguards, send them out on campaign, shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*.' And he said, 'You say, "Why is it that soldiers from the nightguards are not sent out on campaign?" It is the nightguards that watch over my golden¹ life. When I go falconing or hunting, they toil with *me*; being charged with the administration of the Palace, *whether this* is moving or stationary, they look after the carts. Is it an easy *thing* to spend the night watching over my person? Is it an easy *thing* to look after the tent-carts when the main base camp is in movement or settled? The reason why We say that they² must not take the field separately and without Us, is because We say *to Ourselves* that they have *already* so many and quite distinct duties.'

234 Further, Činggis Qa'an gave the following order: 'Some of the nightguards shall decide on judicial matters together with Šigi Qutuqu.' And he said, 'Some of the nightguards shall take care of quivers, bows, breastplates and weapons, and they shall distribute them. Managing *some* of the geldings, they shall load the *hunting* nets *on to them*.' And

¹ I.e., royal.

² I.e., the nightguards.

he said, 'Some of the nightguards, together with the chamberlains, shall distribute the satin.' And he said, 'When the quiverbearers and the dayguards have reported on the establishment of the encampment, the quiverbearers such as Yisün Te'e and Bükidei, and the dayguards such as Alčidai, Ögöle and Aqutai, shall take up duty on the right¹ side of the Palace.' And he said, 'The dayguards such as Buqa, Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi and Čanai shall take up duty on the left² side of the Palace.' And he said, 'Arqai's brave warriors shall take up duty in front³ of the Palace.' And he said, 'The nightguards, having taken care of the tent-carts of the Palace, shall take up duty in the proximity of the Palace, on the left² side.' And he said, 'Dödei Čerbi shall constantly supervise the Palace: all the guards who are dayguards, and, round about the Palace, the "sons of the household" of the Palace, the horse-herders, shepherds, camel-keepers and cowherds.'⁴ He appointed him and gave the following order: 'Dödei Čerbi shall take up duty and be constantly present, at the rear⁵ of the Palace,

Eating scraps of leftovers,
Burning dried dung.'⁶

235 Činggis Qa'an sent Qubilai Noyan to fight against the Qarlu'ut. Arslan Qan of the Qarlu'ut came to submit to Qubilai. Qubilai Noyan took Arslan Qan back with him and made him pay homage to Činggis Qa'an. Because he had not opposed resistance, Činggis Qa'an showed favour to Arslan and said, 'I shall give him a daughter in marriage.'

236 Sübe'etei Ba'atur, who had been provided with an iron cart,⁷ had gone on a campaign in pursuit of the sons

¹ I.e., western.

² I.e., eastern.

³ I.e., at the southern side.

⁴ See above, § 232.

⁵ I.e., at the northern side.

⁶ For fuel.

⁷ See above, § 199.

of Toqto'a of the Merkit led by Qutu and Čila'un. He overtook them at the Čui River, destroyed them and came back.

237 Ĵebe, pursuing Güčülük Qan of the Naiman, overtook him at Sariq Qun.¹ He destroyed Güčülük and came back.

238 The *idu'ut* of the Ui'ut² sent envoys to Činggis Qa'an. Through the envoys Atkiraq and Darbai he had the following petition conveyed to him:

'As if one saw Mother Sun
When the clouds disperse;
As if one came upon the river water
When the ice disappears,³

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

But a ring from your golden belt,
But a thread from your crimson coat,

I will become your fifth son and will serve you.'

Činggis Qa'an, in reply to those words and showing favour to him, sent the following message: 'I shall give him a daughter and let him become my fifth son. The *idu'ut* must come, bringing with him gold, silver, small and big pearls, brocades, damasks and silks.' The *idu'ut* rejoiced because he had been favoured; and taking with him gold, silver, small and big pearls, silks, brocades, damasks and satins, he⁴ came and paid homage to Činggis Qa'an. Činggis Qa'an favoured the *idu'ut* and gave him his daughter Al Altun in marriage.

239 In the Year of the Hare (1207), Činggis Qa'an sent Ĵoči with the troops of the right wing on an expedition against the People of the Forest. Buqa went with him acting as a

¹ I.e., 'Yellow Cliff'; possibly an error for Sariq Qol. See the Commentary.

² I.e., the ruler of the Uighurs.

³ I.e., melts.

⁴ Lit., 'the *idu'ut*.'

guide. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat came to submit ahead of the Tümen Oyirat. He came and, acting as a guide, led Joči to *the territory* of the Tümen Oyirat and made them submit at the Šiqšit River.¹ Joči brought the Oyirat, Buriyat, Barqun, Ursut, Qabqanas, Qangqas and Tubas under submission.

When he reached *the territory* of the Tümen Kirgisut, their² leaders Yedi Inal, Aldi Er and Örebek Digin – *these* leaders of the Kirgisut – came to submit. Bringing with them *gifts* of white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables, they paid homage to Joči.

After Joči had subjugated the People of the Forest from the Šibir, Kesdim,³ Bayit, Tuqas, Tenlek,⁴ Tö'eles,⁵ Tas and Baġigit up to this side,⁶ he came back bringing with him the commanders of ten thousand and of thousands of the Kirgisut and the leaders of the People of the Forest. He caused them to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an with *gifts* of white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables.

Činggis Qa'an welcomed Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat, saying, 'He came to submit before *the others*, leading the Tümen Oyirat.' And he showed favour to him, giving Čečeyigen to his son Inalči. He gave Joči's daughter Qoluiqan⁷ to Törölči, elder brother of Inalči. He gave Alaqa Beki to *the ruler* of the Önggüt.

Činggis Qa'an favoured Joči, saying, 'You, eldest of my sons, who only *now for the first time* have left home, you have been lucky. Without wounding or causing suffering to man or gelding in the lands where you went, you

¹ The Šisgis River of § 144 above.

² Lit., 'of the Kirgisut.'

³ Written Kesdiyim.

⁴ Read Teleng (pl. Telengüt). See the Commentary.

⁵ The Tö'ölös of § 207 above.

⁶ I.e., 'up to our side (= territory).'

⁷ Huluiqan in the text.

came back having subjugated the fortunate¹ People of the Forest. I shall give *this* people to you.' So he ordered.

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Further, he sent Boro'ul Noyan to fight against the Qori Tumat people. As Daiduqul Soqor, the leader of the Tumat people, had died, his wife Botoqui Tarqun was governing them.² Upon reaching *their territory*, Boroqul Noyan *with two others* – three men *altogether* – set out from the main army to proceed ahead of it. In the evening, as they were going along a trail in the dense forest and were off guard, they were attacked from the rear by their³ patrolmen, who blocked the trail. Boroqul Noyan was caught and killed.

When Činggis Qa'an learnt that the Tumat had killed Boroqul, he was greatly angered and prepared to move in person *against them*, but Bo'orču and Muqali pleaded with him⁴ until he desisted. Thereupon he appointed Dörbei Doqšin of the Dörbet and commanded him thus: 'Set the army in strict order, pray to Eternal Heaven and strive to subdue the Tumat people!'

Dörbei set the army in order and beforehand made a decoy manoeuvre⁵ along the paths, trails and passes where the army was *expected* to advance and which *enemy* patrols would keep under surveillance. *Then, going* by paths trodden by the red bull,⁶ he issued an ordinance to *his* warriors that, with regard to all the men in the army, if anyone lost heart *and refused to proceed*, they should beat him, and he made *each* man carry ten rods *for this purpose*; he *also* had axes, adzes, saws, chisels and weapons prepared for the men. Along the paths trodden by the red bull he had

¹ Because they had peacefully submitted to the Mongols, thus gaining Činggis' favour.

² Lit., 'the Tumat people.'

³ I.e., the Tumat's.

⁴ Lit., 'Činggis Qa'an.'

⁵ Lit., 'falsely caused *troops* to move.'

⁶ Probably a large deer or an elk is meant.

them chop, hew and saw the trees that stood in the way, *thus* making a road *for the army to pass*.

They went up the mountain and, *as though falling* on to the smoke-hole of the tents¹ of the Tumat people who were busy feasting, they *took them* by surprise and plundered them.

241 Earlier Qorči Noyan and Quduqa Beki had been seized by the Tumat and were there, with Botoqui Tarqun. The way in which Qorči was seized *was the following*: When Činggis Qa'an said, 'The girls of the Tumat people are beautiful; let him take thirty wives² *from among them!*', Qorči went, intending to take the girls of the Tumat people, but *these* people, who had formerly submitted, *now* rebelled and seized Qorči Noyan.

When Činggis Qa'an learnt that Qorči had been seized by the Tumat, he said, 'Quduqa knows the ways *and manners* of the People of the Forest', and sent him *to them*, but Quduqa Beki was also seized.

After he had brought the Tumat people completely under submission, Činggis Qa'an, because of the death³ of Boroqul gave one hundred Tumat *to his family*. Qorči took thirty girls. Činggis Qa'an gave Botoqui Tarqun to Quduqa Beki.

242 Činggis Qa'an decreed that he would apportion the *subject* people among *his* mother, children and younger brothers. When he gave *them their share*, he said, 'The one who toiled *most* gathering⁴ the people was mother. The eldest of my sons is Joči. The youngest of my younger brothers is Otčigin.' To *his* mother, together with Otčigin's share, he gave ten thousand people. The mother was dissatisfied, *thinking them too few*, but she did not complain.

¹ For this simile, cf. above, §§ 105 and com., 109.

² Lit., 'thirty women.'

³ Lit., 'bones.'

⁴ I.e., rallying.

To Joči he gave nine thousand people. To Ča'adai he gave eight thousand people. To Ögödei he gave five thousand people. To Tolui he gave five thousand people. To Qasar he gave four thousand people. To Alčidai he gave two thousand people. To Belgütei he gave one thousand five hundred people.

He said, 'Dāritai joined the Kereyit.¹ I shall wipe him from my sight.' On that, Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Qutuqu spoke saying, '*This action would be*

Like extinguishing one's own hearth-fire,

Like destroying one's own tent.

As a reminder of your good² father, only your paternal uncle is left. How can you do away with him? He *acted* without thinking, so spare him. Allow the youngest brother of your good father, together with *his people*, to let the smoke of their camp swirl up!' And they reasoned with him until *he was so moved that*

He snuffled, as if

He had smoke in his nose.

'Right!' – he said, and thinking of his good father, he calmed down at the words of Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Qutuqu.

243 Činggis Qa'an said, 'I have given ten thousand people to mother and to Otčigin, and *for them* I have appointed the four commanders Güčü, Kōkōčü, Jungsai and Qorqasun. For Joči I have appointed the three *commanders* Qunan, Mōngke'ür and Kete. For Ča'adai I have appointed the three *commanders* Qaračar, Mōngke and Idoqudai.'

Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Ča'adai is headstrong and is, by nature, punctilious. Köke Čos shall stay at his side evening and morning, and shall tell him what he thinks.'³ So he ordered.

¹ Gereyit in the text.

² I.e., 'late.'

³ I.e., 'he shall advise him.'

For Ögödei he appointed both Ilüge and Degei. For Tolui he appointed both Jedei and Bala. For Qasar he appointed Jebke. For Alčidai he appointed Ča'urqai.¹

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

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

Qasar was vexed and for three days *in succession* did not come *before Činggis Qa'an*.

After this, Teb Tenggeri said to Činggis Qa'an, 'The decree of Eternal Heaven *concerning* the ruler has been *foretold* by *heavenly signs*² *as follows*: once they say that Temüjin will hold the nation, once that³ Qasar *will*. If you don't strike at Qasar by surprise, there is no knowing *what will happen!*'

On these words, Činggis Qa'an that very night rode off to seize Qasar. When he left, Güčü and Kököčü informed the mother⁴ that he had gone to seize Qasar. When the mother heard *this*, straightaway – it was *still* night – she harnessed a white camel and set out in a black covered cart, travelling all night.

On her arrival at sunrise, Činggis Qa'an had tied up *the opening of Qasar's sleeves*, removed his hat and belt, and

¹ Some of the names in this section appear elsewhere in the SH in slightly different forms. See the Commentary.

² Cf. §§ 121 and 206 above.

³ Lit., 'they say that.'

⁴ I.e., Hō'elün.

was interrogating him. Činggis Qa'an, surprised by the mother descending upon him, became afraid of her.¹

The mother was furious. As *soon as* she got there and dismounted from the cart, she² herself untied and loosened Qasar's sleeves, *the opening of* which had been tied up, and gave *back* to Qasar his hat and belt. The mother was *so* angered that she was unable to contain her fury. She sat cross-legged, took out both her breasts, laid them over her knees and said, 'Have you seen them? They are the breasts that suckled you, and these³ are the ones who, rushing out of *my womb*,⁴

Have snapped at their own afterbirth,⁵

Have cut their own birth cord.

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

My able Temüjin

Has skill of mind.⁶

My Qasar has skill in archery

And might, and so he was wont

To shoot and subdue

All those on the run, shooting at him.

With long-distance arrows he was wont

To shoot and subdue

All those on the run, in fear of him.

But now, saying that you⁷ have destroyed the enemy people, you can no *longer* bear the sight of Qasar.' So she spoke.

¹ Lit., 'of the mother.'

² Lit., 'the mother.'

³ I.e., 'you two.'

⁴ Translation uncertain. See the Commentary.

⁵ Cf. above, § 78.

⁶ Lit., 'of bosom.'

⁷ I.e., Temüjin.

After Činggis Qa'an had at last calmed the mother, he said, 'I was afraid of mother getting *so* angry and *really* became frightened; and I felt shame and was *really* abashed.' And saying, 'Let us withdraw!', he withdrew *and returned home*. But, without letting the mother know, he stealthily took away the subjects¹ of Qasar and let Qasar have *only* one thousand four hundred people. That is how, when the mother learned *this*, the thought of it made her go quickly *into decline*. Jėbke of the Jalayir then left in fright and fled into the Barqujin Lowland.

245 After that, the 'people of nine tongues'² gathered under Teb Tenggeri. Many from Činggis Qa'an's horse station *also* decided to gather under Teb Tenggeri. When they had thus gathered, the people who were subject to Temüge Otčigin went over to Teb Tenggeri. Otčigin Noyan *then* sent his messenger, by name of Soqor, to request *the return of the people* who had departed. Teb Tenggeri said to the messenger Soqor, 'I am grateful to both Otčigin and you',³ and, after beating him, sent the messenger Soqor back on foot, forcing him to carry his saddle on his back.

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

On that, the seven Qongqotan from all sides surrounded Otčigin, saying, 'You were right to send your messenger Soqor.' Otčigin Noyan, being dealt with *in this way* and fearing to be seized and beaten *by them*, said, 'I was wrong to send my messenger.' The seven Qongqotan *then* said, 'If

¹ Lit., 'the people.'

² Possibly Kereyit tribesmen distributed among the Mongols. See the Commentary.

³ For the gift of the horse – said sarcastically, of course.

you were wrong, kneel down and make amends', and they had him kneel down behind Teb Tenggeri.

Otčigin was not given his people; so, early next day, when Činggis Qa'an had not yet got up and was still in bed, he¹ went into *his tent*. He wept and, kneeling down, said, 'As "the people of nine tongues" had assembled under Teb Tenggeri, I sent a messenger called Soqor to request from Teb Tenggeri *the return of the people* subject to me. They beat my messenger Soqor, they made him carry the saddle on his back, and he was sent back on foot. When I in person went to request *the return of my people*, I was surrounded from all sides by the seven Qongqotan, who compelled me to make amends and kneel down behind Teb Tenggeri.' And he wept.

Before Činggis Qa'an could utter a sound, Lady Börte sat up in bed, covering her breasts with the edge of the blanket. Seeing Otčigin weep, she *herself* shed tears and said, 'What are those Qongqotan doing? They recently ganged up and beat Qasar. And now, why do they make this Otčigin kneel down behind them? What kind of behaviour is this? Thus they covertly injure even these younger brothers of yours *who are* like cypresses and pines. And truly, later

When your body, like a great old tree,
Will fall down,
By whom will they let govern your people
Who are like tangled hemp?
When your body, like the stone base of a pillar,
Will collapse,
By whom will they let govern your people
Who are like a flock of birds?

How will people covertly injuring in this fashion your younger brothers, *who are* like cypresses and pines, *ever*

¹ I.e., Otčigin.

allow my three or four little "naughty ones"¹ to govern while they are *still* growing up? What are those Qongqotan doing? *Now* that you have let them *ill-treat* your younger brothers in such a way, how do you view *all this*?' So spoke Lady Börte and shed tears.

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

After a while, Father Mönglik came with his seven sons. The seven all entered and, as Teb Tenggeri sat down on the right side of the *kumis* pitchers,² Otčigin seized the collar of Teb Tenggeri, saying, 'Yesterday you compelled me to make amends. Let us *now* measure up to each other!' – and, holding his collar, dragged him towards the door. Teb Tenggeri, *then*, facing Otčigin, seized his collar and wrestled with him. As they were wrestling, Teb Tenggeri's hat fell in front of the fireplace. Father Mönglik took his hat, smelled it and placed it in his bosom. Činggis Qa'an said, 'Go out and match each other's strength and might.'

Otčigin dragged Teb Tenggeri out. The three strong men who had earlier been standing in readiness at the threshold of the door faced Teb Tenggeri. They seized him, dragged him out *further*, broke his back and cast him *down* at the end of the *line of carts* of the left side.³

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

¹ I.e., 'my sons.'

² I.e., of the wine table. See above, § 213.

³ I.e., the east side.

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

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

At these words, his six Qongqotan sons barred the door and disposed themselves around the fireplace. When they rolled up their sleeves, Činggis Qa'an became frightened. Being pressed *by them*, he said, 'Make way, I am going out.' As soon as he stepped outside, quiverbearers and dayguards surrounded Činggis Qa'an and stood by.

Činggis Qa'an saw that after breaking his backbone, they¹ had cast Teb Tenggeri *down* at the end of the *line of carts*. He had a grey tent brought from the back and placed over Teb Tenggeri, saying, 'Fasten the harnessing *to the carts*, we shall move on.' And he moved on from there.

246 After they had covered the smoke-hole of the tent in which they had placed Teb Tenggeri, had blocked the door and put people to keep watch, on the third night at dusk *Teb Tenggeri* opened the smoke-hole of the tent and came out *bodily through it*. When they investigated closely, it was established that it really was Teb Tenggeri *who had been seen* in that part of the tent.²

Činggis Qa'an said, 'Because Teb Tenggeri laid hands on my younger brothers and spread baseless slanders among them³ *in order to sow discord*, he was no longer loved by Heaven, and his life, together with his body, has been taken away.'

Činggis Qa'an then railed at Father Mönglik saying, 'By not restraining your sons' nature, you *and your sons* began thinking that you were equal *to me*, and you have paid

¹ I.e., the three strong men.

² I.e., over the smoke-hole.

³ Lit., 'among my younger brothers.'

for this with Teb Tenggeri's life.¹ If I had known that you had such a nature, you would have been dealt with like Jamuqa, Altan, Qučar and the others.' So he railed at Father Mōnglik.

When he had finished railing at him, he said further, 'If one retracts in the evening what one has said in the morning, and retracts in the morning what one has said the *previous* evening, surely one will only be criticised until he is covered with shame. I have earlier pledged my word to you. Enough of this matter!' And, his anger abated, he showed favour to him *again*. He said, 'Had you restrained your ambitious nature, who among Father Mōnglik's offspring would have *dared* to consider himself equal to me?' After Teb Tenggeri had been annihilated, the *proud* air of the Qongqotan was *much* reduced.

¹ Lit., 'head.'

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER ELEVEN

(= SUP. 1)

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After that, in the Year of the Sheep (1211), Činggis Qa'an set out against the Kitat people. He took Vuju,¹ crossed over Hünegen Daba'an, took Sōndiivu and sent Jebe and Güyigünek Ba'atur as vanguards.

On reaching Čabčiyal, *seeing that* the Čabčiyal Pass was defended, Jebe there and then said, 'We shall entice them and get them to move and come *after us*. Then, let us put them to the test!' So saying, he turned back. *When they discovered that* he had turned back, the Kitat troops said, 'Let us pursue him!', and they went in pursuit until the valleys and the mountains were completely covered *with them*. Upon reaching the spur of Sōndiivu, Jebe turned back, rushed forth against the enemies who were approaching in successive *waves* and routed them. Činggis Qa'an, pressing on with the main body of the army, dislodged the Kitat *from their positions*, crushed the valiant and bold Jüyin troops of the Qara Kidat and the Jürčet, slaying them until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs as far as Čabčiyal.

Jebe took the gate of Čabčiyal, and after he had captured the passes and crossed over them, Činggis Qa'an pitched camp at Šira Degtür.

Launching the attack on Jungdu, he sent troops to various towns and cities, ordering them to attack. He sent Jebe to attack the city of Dungčang. *Jebe* reached the city of Dungčang but, unable to take it *by storm*, turned back and went as far as the distance of a six days' *march from there*.

¹ For the identification of the localities in north China mentioned in this and the following sections, see the Commentary.

Then – *the enemy* being unaware – he returned and, marching throughout the night, *each soldier* leading a *spare* horse by hand, he arrived at the moment when *the enemy* was unprepared and took the city of Dungčang.

248 After taking the city of Dungčang, Ĵebe returned and joined Činggis Qa'an.

When Jungdu was under siege, a high official of the Altan Qan, Ongging Čingsang, advised the Altan Qan as follows: '*This is the destiny and favourable time decreed by Heaven and Earth.*¹ Could it be that the time has come when the great throne will pass to a new ruler? The Mongols are coming in great might: they have crushed our valiant and bold élite Ĵüyin troops of the Qara Kitat² and the Ĵürčet, slaying them until they were utterly destroyed. Even Čabčiyal Pass, on which we were relying, they have wrested from us. If we now set our troops in order and send them out to fight, should they again be crushed by the Mongols, they will no doubt scatter and return to their various cities. And, if we rally them against their will, they will turn against us and will no longer be our friends. If you, the Altan Qan, grant permission, let us for the present submit and come to terms with the ruler of the Mongols. If the Mongols agree to withdraw, after their withdrawal we shall there and then take up another different counsel. It is said that the men and geldings of the Mongols find our country unsuitable and fall victim to epidemics. Let us give a princess to their ruler, and to the men in his army let us send out gold, silver, satin and goods in abundance. Who knows whether they will or will not agree to our proposal?'

When Ongging Čingsang had given his advice, the Altan Qan approved these words of his, saying, 'Let it be so!' Then, offering submission, he sent to Činggis Qa'an a

¹ Cf. above, § 194.

² = Qara Kidat.

princess by name of Gungju¹ and from Ĵungdu he sent out to the men in his army gold, silver, satin and goods – as much as, in their judgement, their strength and that of their horses could carry. He also sent Ongging Čingsang to Činggis Qa'an.

When they came and submitted themselves, Činggis Qa'an agreed to their proposal. He ordered back the troops that were attacking the various towns and withdrew. Ongging Čingsang accompanied Činggis Qa'an as far as the spurs called MoĴiu² and VuĴiu, and then returned. As for the satin and goods, our troops loaded as much as their horses could carry and moved away, tying up their loads with bands of heavy silk fabric.

249 In the course of that military campaign, Činggis Qa'an set out towards the Qašin people. When, moving in their direction, he reached their country, Burqan Qan of the Qašin people said, 'I shall submit and, becoming your right³ wing, I shall serve you.' And he offered his daughter, called Čaqa, to Činggis Qa'an.

Further, Burqan Qan said, 'Hearing of Činggis Qa'an's fame we were in awe of you. Now your august person has arrived, you have come to us, and we are indeed awed by your majesty. Being awed, we the Tang'ut people have said, "We shall become your right³ wing and we shall serve you." When we serve you, know that

We are the ones who live in permanent camps,

We are the ones who have towns with pounded-earth walls.

And so, when we become your companions,

In waging a swift campaign,

In fighting a deadly combat,

¹ This is not the name of the lady in question, but the Chinese term *kung-chu* meaning 'princess.'

² An error in the text. See the Commentary.

³ I.e., west.

We shall not be able to hasten into a swift campaign,
 We shall not be able to fight a deadly combat.
 But if Činggis Qa'an shows favour to us, we the Tang'ut
 people,

We shall bring forth many camels
 Reared in the shelter of the tall feather-grass:
 We shall turn them into government property
 And we shall give *them to you*.
 We shall weave woollen material and make satin,
 And we shall give *them to you*.
 Training falcons to fly loose *at game*,
 We shall gather them

and *all* the best ones we shall send *to you*.' Thus he petitioned Činggis Qa'an. And having spoken, he kept to his word. He levied camels from his Tang'ut people and, bringing *so many* that it was impossible to drive *any more of them*, he gave *them to Činggis Qa'an*.

250 On that campaign Činggis Qa'an obtained the submission of the Altan Qa'an¹ of the Kitat people and took a large quantity of satin. He *also* obtained the submission of Burqan of the Qašin people and took a great number of camels.

Having *thus* obtained the submission of the Altan Qan of the Kitat people, named Aqutai, and² of Iluqu Burqan of the Tang'ut people in that campaign of the Year of the Sheep (1211), Činggis Qa'an returned *home* and set up camp on the Sa'ari Steppe.

251 Again, after that, since Ĵubqan and many other envoys of ours who were sent to Ĵau Gon to seek allegiance had been hindered by the Altan Qa'an¹ Aqutai of the Kitat people, in the Year of the Dog (1214) Činggis Qa'an set out once more against the Kitat people. On setting out he said,

¹ Read Qan.

² Lit., 'and having obtained the submission.'

'After they had already submitted themselves, how could they hinder the envoys sent to Ĵau Gon?'

Činggis Qa'an moved in the direction of the Tunggon Pass, ordering Ĵebe to go by way of Čabčiyal. Realizing that Činggis Qa'an had gone by the Tunggon Pass, the Altan Qan entrusted the command of his troops to Ile, Qada and Höbögetür, saying, 'With the army blocking *the passage* and disposing the Red Coats as vanguard, fight for the Tunggon Pass and do not let them cross the defile!' And he sent Ile, Qada and Höbögetür in haste with the troops.

When Činggis Qa'an arrived at the Tunggon Pass, the Kitat troops came to intercept him, saying, '*Our soil!*'¹ Činggis Qa'an fought against Ile, Qada and Höbögetür and put to flight Ile and Qada. Tolui and Čügü Gürigen² *then* arrived and, charging at their flanks, forced back the Red Coats, repulsed and *completely* defeated Ile and Qada, and slew the Kitat until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs.

When the Altan Qan learned that his Kitat troops had been slain and destroyed, he fled out of Ĵungdu and entered the city of Namging. As the remnants of his troops were dying of starvation, they ate human flesh between them.

Because Tolui and Čügü Gürigen had performed well, Činggis Qa'an greatly favoured both of them.³

252 Činggis Qa'an set up camp at Qosivu, *then* in the Šira Ke'er⁴ of Ĵungdu. Ĵebe broke down the gate of Čabčiyal and, having routed the *enemy* troops who were holding Čabčiyal, came and joined Činggis Qa'an.

When the Altan Qan moved out of Ĵungdu, he appointed Qada as *liušiu*⁵ in Ĵungdu before leaving *the city*. When Činggis Qa'an had the inventory taken of the gold,

¹ I.e., 'Let us defend our soil!'

² The Čügü Güregen of § 202 (no. 85).

³ Lit., 'both Tolui and Čügü Gürigen.'

⁴ I.e., 'Yellow Plain.' See the Commentary.

⁵ I.e., as temporary vicegerent or governor.

silver, goods, satin and *other things gathered* in Jungdu, he sent the steward Önggür, Arqai Qasar and Šigi Qutuqu *to do it*. As these three were approaching, Qada went ahead to greet them, taking with him gold-embroidered and patterned satins. He came out of Jungdu and welcomed them.

Šigi Qutuqu said to Qada, 'Formerly, the goods of this Jungdu, and the very *city of Jungdu*, did belong to the Altan Qan. Now Jungdu surely belongs to Činggis Qa'an. How can you give us the goods and satins of Činggis Qa'an, stealing them and bringing them *here* behind his back? I shall not take them.' Thus spoke Šigi Qutuqu and did not take them, but the steward Önggür and Arqai took them. After making the inventory of the goods and *other things of Jungdu*, these three came back *to Činggis Qa'an*.

Činggis Qa'an then asked Önggür, Arqai and Qutuqu, 'What did Qada give you?' Šigi Qutuqu said, 'He brought and gave us gold-embroidered and patterned satins. I said to him, "Formerly, this Jungdu belonged to the Altan Qan. Now it has surely become Činggis Qa'an's *property*. How can you, Qada, give us Činggis Qa'an's goods, stealing them behind his back?" Thus I said and did not take them, but Önggür and Arqai took what *Qada* had given them.' So spoke Šigi Qutuqu.

Činggis Qa'an then mightily rebuked Önggür and Arqai. *As for Šigi Qutuqu*, he greatly favoured him, saying, 'You, Šigi Qutuqu, have been mindful of the great norm *concerning one's obligations to the qan*.'¹ And he said, 'You shall be

Eyes for me to see with,
Ears for me to hear with!'²

253 After the Altan Qan had entered Namging, he submitted himself in person and, making obeisance, sent his son called

¹ Cf. above, § 220.

² See above, §§ 138 and 203.

Tenggeri, with a hundred companions, to Činggis Qa'an to serve as a dayguard *and hostage*.

As *the Altan Qan* had been brought under submission by him, Činggis Qa'an said that he would withdraw. There and then he withdrew by the Čabčiyal *Pass*, sending Qasar along the sea *coast* with the troops of the left¹ wing. He sent him with the following instructions: 'Set up camp at the city of Beiging.² After you have subjugated the city of Beiging,² proceed further and cross *the country of Vuqanu* of the Jürčet. If Vuqanu intends to offer resistance, go for him. If he submits, pass through their³ border towns, go along the rivers Ula and Na'u, and crossing the Ta'ur River upstream, join forces with me at the main basecamp.' With Qasar he sent Jürčedei, Alči and Tolun Čerbi from among the *army* commanders.

Qasar brought the city of Beiging² into subjection, forced Vuqanu of the Jürčet to submit and subjugated the towns which were on the way *there*. Qasar *then* proceeded upstream along the Ta'ur River and settled at the main base camp.

254 After that, as Činggis Qa'an's one hundred envoys with Uquna at their head had been held up and slain by the Sarta'ul people, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How can my "golden halter" be broken⁴ by the Sarta'ul people?' And he said, 'I shall set out against the Sarta'ul people,

To take revenge,

To requite the wrong

for *the slaying of my hundred envoys with Uquna at their head*.'

¹ I.e., east.

² Buiging? See the Commentary.

³ I.e., the Jürčet's.

⁴ I.e., 'How can my sovereign authority be infringed?' The 'golden halter' refers to the firm bond uniting the Mongol *qan* to other rulers who owed him allegiance.

When he was about to set out, there and then Yisüi Qatun respectfully gave the following advice to Činggis Qa'an: 'The Qa'an has thought of

Establishing order over his many people,
Climbing high passes,
Crossing wide rivers
And waging a long campaign.

Still, living beings who are but born *to this world* are not eternal:

When your body, like a great old tree,
Will fall down,
To whom will you bequeath your people
Which is like tangled hemp?
When your body, like the stone base of a pillar,
Will collapse,
To whom will you bequeath your people
Which is like a flock of birds?¹

Of your four sons, the heroes whom you have begotten, which one will you designate *as your successor*? I have given you *this* advice on what, thinking about it, we – the sons, younger brothers, the many common people and my poor self² – understood *to be an important question*. Your order³ shall decide!

So she advised him and Činggis Qa'an declared: 'Even though she is only a woman,⁴ Yisüi's words are more right than right. No matter who – younger brothers and sons, and you Bo'orču, Muqali and others – no one has advised me like this. And also

I forgot,
As if I would not follow the forefathers;
I slept,
As if I would not be caught by death.'

¹ Cf. above, § 245.

² Lit., 'and Us "the bad one."'

³ I.e., 'word.'

⁴ Lit., 'a lady-person.'

Having said *this*, he said, 'The eldest of my sons is Joči. What do you, *Joči*, say? Speak up!' But before Joči could utter a sound, Ča'adai said, 'When you say, "Joči, speak up!", do you mean *by that* that you will appoint Joči *as your successor*? How can we let ourselves be ruled by this bastard offspring of the Merkit?'¹

At these words, Joči rose and grabbing Ča'adai by the collar, said, 'I have never been told by *my* father the Qan that I was different *from my brothers*. How can you discriminate *against* me? In what skill are you better *than I*? Only in your obstinacy you are, perhaps, better. If we shoot arrows at a long distance and I am outdone by you, I shall cut off my thumb and throw it away! If we wrestle and I am defeated by you, I shall not rise from the place where I have fallen! Let the order² of *my* father the Qan decide *which of us is better!*'

So he said, and as Joči and Ča'adai both stood holding each other by the collar, with Bo'orču pulling Joči by the arm and Muqali pulling Ča'adai by the arm, Činggis Qa'an listened and sat without saying a word.

Then, Kōkō Čos, who was standing on the left side, said, 'Ča'adai, why are you so hasty? It was you, among the sons, for whom your father the Qan had cherished hopes. Before you were born,

The starry sky was turning upon itself,
The many people were in turmoil:
They did not enter their beds *to rest*,
But fought against each other.
The crusty earth was turning and turning,
The entire nation was in turmoil:
They³ did not lie on their coverlets *to rest*,
But attacked each other.

¹ For the implications of Ča'adai's insulting words, see the Commentary.

² I.e., 'word.'

³ I.e., the people.

At such time *your mother was abducted*.
 It was not her wish:
 It happened at a time
 When men met, *weapons in hand*.
 She was not running away *from her home*:
 It happened at a time
 Of mutual fighting.
 She was not in love *with someone else*:
 It happened at a time
 When one *man* slew another.
 You speak so as to harden the butter of your mother's affection, so as to sour the milk of *that* august lady's heart.¹
 From the warm *womb, coming forth*
 Suddenly, were you *two*
 Not born from the same belly?
 From the hot *womb, coming forth*
 Abruptly, were you *two*
 Not issued from a single womb?
 If you incur blame
 From your mother who has borne you
 From her heart, her affection
 For you will grow cold:
 Even if you appease her
 It will be of no avail.
 If you incur reproach
 From your mother who has borne you
 From her belly,
 Even if you lessen her reproach
 It will be of no avail.
 When your father the Qan
 Established the whole nation,
 His black head was bound to the saddle,
 His black blood was poured

¹ 'Butter' and 'milk' indicate softness and loving kindness respectively.

Into a large leather bucket.¹
 His black eyes he did not wink,
 His flat ear he did not rest on a pillow:
 Of his sleeve he made a pillow and
 He spread his robe *for a mattress*.
 Easing his thirst with his own saliva,
 Eating the flesh between his teeth for supper,
 he strove fiercely, and
 Till the sweat of his brow reached the soles of his feet,
 Till the sweat from the soles of his feet went up to his
 brow,
 he applied himself earnestly *to his great task*. It was the
 time when your mother, together *with him*, suffered hardship:

Pulling firmly her tall hat
Over her head,
 Tying tightly her belt
 To shorten *her skirt*,
 Fastening her tall hat
Over her head,
 Fixing her belt
 To tighten *her waist*,
 She brought you up, her *sons*.²
 As she gulped *her food*
 She gave you half of it;
 Her throat choking *with pity*
 She gave you all of it,
 And she herself went hungry.
 Stretching your shoulders,
 "How shall I make them into men?"
 She said *to herself*.
 Stretching your necks,

¹ I.e., he was in constant danger of losing his life. For these images see the Commentary.

² Cf. above, § 74.

“How shall I make them into adults?”¹

She said to herself.

Cleaning your whole body,
Causing you to lift your heels
And learn how to walk,
She made you reach
Up to men's shoulders,
Up to geldings' cruppers.

And *even* now, does she not wish to see the happiness of you, her *sons*? Our august Qatun, *in bringing you up* had a heart

As bright as the sun,
As wide as a lake.'

So he spoke.

255 Thereupon, Činggis Qan said to Ča'adai, 'How can you speak thus about Joči? Isn't Joči the eldest of my sons? In future do not talk like that!' So he said, and at these words Ča'adai smiled and said, 'I shall not dispute Joči's strength, nor shall I reply to *his claims* of skill:

“*Game* that one has killed *only* with one's mouth
Cannot be loaded on one's mount;
Game that one has slain *only* with one's words
Cannot be skinned.”

The eldest sons are Joči and I.² We shall, in cooperation with each other, serve *our* father the Qan.

Whichever of us³ evades *his duty*
Shall have *his head* split open;
Whichever of us lags behind
Shall have his heels cut across.

But it is Ögödei *among us* who is steady and reliable: let us, *therefore*, agree on Ögödei. As Ögödei is close to *our* father

¹ Cf. above, § 214.

² Lit., 'we.'

³ Lit., 'The one of us who.'

the Qan, if *the Qan* instructs him on the great array of the “teachings of the hat”,¹ *this* will be fine!

So he spoke, and at these words Činggis Qa'an said, 'What do you say, Joči? Speak up!' Whereupon, Joči said, 'Ča'adai has just said it: Ča'adai and I² shall, in cooperation with each other, serve *the Qan*. Let us agree on Ögödei.' So he spoke, and Činggis Qa'an declared as follows: 'Why should you *two* go so far as to cooperate with each other? Mother Earth is wide: its rivers and waters are many. Extending the camps³ that can be easily divided, We shall make *each of you* rule over a domain and We shall separate you.' And he said, 'You Joči and Ča'adai, keep to your word:

Do not let yourselves be scorned by people,
Do not let yourselves be laughed at by men.

Formerly, Altan and Qučar had pledged their word like that,⁴ but because they failed to keep their word, how were they dealt with? What happened to them? Now, with you, We shall separate *also some* of the offspring of Altan and Qučar: seeing them, how can you be remiss *in your duties*?

Having spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Ögödei, what do you say? Speak up!' Ögödei said, 'When *my father* the Qa'an, favouring me, tells me to speak, what am I to say? How can I say that I am not able *to do so*? I shall say that I will certainly try according to *my* ability. Later, if perchance *some* among my descendants will be born *so worthless* that

Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass,
They would not be eaten by an ox;
Even if one wrapped them in fat,
They would not be eaten by a dog,

¹ I.e., on how to be a *qan*. See the Commentary.

² Lit., 'we.'

³ I.e., the grazing grounds.

⁴ I.e., 'as you did.'

will they *not* "miss the elk breadthwise *just as* the rat lengthwise?"¹ I'll say as much as that. What else shall I say?"

So he spoke, and at these words Činggis Qa'an declared as follows: 'If Ögödei speaks such words, *that will do.*' Further, he said, 'Tolui, what do you say? Speak up!'

Tolui said, 'Being at the side of my elder brother² whom *our* father the Qa'an has *just* designated,

I shall remind him of what he has forgotten,
I shall wake him up when he has fallen asleep.
I shall become a friend of *the word* "yes"
And the whip of his chestnut horse.
Not being remiss in *my* "yes",
Not being absent from the ranks,
I shall go forth for him on a long campaign
Or fight in a short fight.'

When *Tolui* had spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an approved, saying, 'Descendants of Qasar, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Alčidai, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Otčigin, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Belgütei, appoint one of you to govern. If, thinking in this way and appointing one of my descendants to govern, you do not rescind my order by contravening it, *then* you will not err, you will not be at fault. Supposing that the descendants of Ögödei are *all born so worthless that*

Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass,
They would not be eaten by an ox;
Even if one wrapped them in fat,
They would not be eaten by a dog,
is it *possible* that among my descendants not *even* a single one will be born who is good?' So he spoke.

¹ I.e., just like an unskilled hunter; in other words, they will be totally unfit to govern.

² I.e., Ögödei.

256

When Činggis Qa'an set out on the campaign, he sent envoys to Burqan of the Tang'ut people *with a message* saying: 'You said that you would be *my* right¹ wing. As the Sarta'ul people have broken my "golden halter",² I have set out to call them to account *for their action*. You set forth too as the right wing *of my army.*'

When *the message* he had sent *was received*, and before Burqan could utter a word, Aša Gambu forestalling him said, 'Since Činggis Qa'an's forces are incapable *of subjugating others*,³ why did he go as far as becoming *qan*?' So saying, he did not dispatch auxiliary troops *to him* and sent back *the envoys* with haughty words.

Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How can we *bear* being spoken to in this manner by Aša Gambu?' And he said, 'The best plan *would be for us* to send *troops* against them at once by detouring in their direction. What difficulty would there be *in that*? *But now*, when we are indeed moving in the direction of other people, let that pass. If I am protected by Eternal Heaven, when I come back pulling in strongly *my* golden reins,⁴ then surely this matter shall be *dealt with!*'

257

In the Year of the Hare (1219), Činggis Qa'an set out against the Sarta'ul people crossing the Alai.⁵ From among the ladies, he took with him on the campaign Qulan Qatun and, having entrusted Otčigin Noyan from among his younger brothers with the main base camp, he moved forth. He sent Ĵebe as vanguard. He sent Sübe'etei in support of Ĵebe and sent Toqučar in support of Sübe'etei.

As he sent these three *ahead* he said, 'Go *round the*

¹ I.e., west.

² See above, § 254.

³ I.e., on their own, without assistance.

⁴ I.e., at the end of the campaign. Cf. below, § 275.

⁵ Arai in the text. Cf. above, § 198.

outside, coming out at the other side¹ of the Sultan² and, waiting for Us to arrive, attack him from your side.' So saying he sent them forth.

Jebe then went and, passing the cities of Qan Melik without touching them, he bypassed them on the outside. Behind him, Sübe'etei bypassed them in the same manner without touching them. But Toqučar, coming behind him,³ attacked the border towns of Qan Melik and pillaged his peasants. Because his towns had been attacked, Qan Melik rose in rebellion *against us* and joined Jalaldin Soltan.

Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik moved against Činggis Qa'an. Šigi Qutuqu went as vanguard before Činggis Qa'an. Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik fought with Šigi Qutuqu. They defeated Šigi Qutuqu and, pressing on, approached as far as Činggis Qa'an; at that moment, however, Jebe, Sübe'etei and Toqučar came in from behind Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik, overcame them and utterly destroyed them. By so doing,⁴ they prevented them from joining forces in the cities of Buqar, Semisgab⁵ and Udarar.⁶ They pursued them as far as the Šin River and when, being pressed, the Sarta'ul started throwing themselves into it,⁷ many of them did indeed perish there, in the Šin River. Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik fled upstream along it,⁸ saving their lives.

Činggis Qa'an advanced along the Šin River upstream and went to plunder Batkesen. He reached the Eke Stream

¹ I.e., at the back.

² = Soltan, i.e. Jalaldin Soltan mentioned below.

³ I.e., Sübe'etei.

⁴ Lit., 'Overcoming them.'

⁵ An error for Semisgen.

⁶ For the identification of the localities in this and the following sections, see the Commentary.

⁷ Lit., 'into the Šin River.'

⁸ Lit., 'along the Šin River.'

and the Ge'ün Stream, and set up camp in the Baru'an Plain. He sent Bala of the Jalayir¹ in pursuit of Jalaldin Soltan.

Činggis Qa'an, greatly favouring Jebe and Sübe'etei, said, 'Jebe, you were named Jirqo'adai. When you came to me from the Tayiči'ut, you indeed became² Jebe. Toqučar, of his own will, attacked the border towns of Qan Melik and caused him³ to rebel *against us*. Making *this a matter of law*, we shall execute him!' However, in the end he did not execute him, but having severely reprimanded him, he punished him by demoting him from his command of the army.

258 Then Činggis Qa'an, returning from the Baru'an⁴ Plain, sent his three sons, Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei, saying, 'Cross the Amui River with the troops of the right⁵ wing and set up camp at the city of Ürünggeči.' He sent Tolui, saying, 'Set up camp at Iru, Isebür and many other towns.' Činggis Qa'an himself encamped at the city of Udirar.⁶

The three sons, Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei sent the following request: 'Our troops are completely assembled. We have reached the city of Ürünggeči. Of the three of us, according to whose words should we act?' Upon their request, Činggis Qa'an sent a message to them ordering that they should act according to the words of Ögödei.

259 Then Činggis Qa'an, having brought the city of Udarar⁷ to submission, set out from the city of Udarar and pitched camp at the city of Semisgab.⁸ Setting out from the city of Semisgab, he pitched camp at the city of Buqar. Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an waited for Bala and spent the summer at the

¹ Jaliyar in the text.

² I.e., 'were named.' See above, § 147.

³ Lit., 'Qan Melik.'

⁴ Barula in the text.

⁵ I.e., west.

⁶ The Udarar of § 257 and Udarar of § 259.

⁷ See above, § 258 and n. 6.

⁸ See above, § 257 and n. 5.

ridge of Altan Qorqan in the *former* summer quarters of the Soltan.¹ *From there* he sent messengers to Tolui, saying, 'The weather² has become warm. The other troops must set up camp *too*. You *come and join Us*.'

When he sent *this message*, Tolui had captured the cities of Iru, Isebür and others, had destroyed the city of Sisten and was just destroying the city of Čuqčeren. When the messengers gave him this message, Tolui, having destroyed the city of Čuqčeren, returned to pitch camp and joined Činggis Qa'an.

260 Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei, *these three sons of Činggis Qa'an*, subjugated the city of Örünggeči.³ they shared the people of the cities among all three of them but did not give Činggis Qa'an a share.

When these three sons came to set up camp, Činggis Qa'an reprimanded Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei – the three sons *in question* – and for three days did not allow them into his presence. Then Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Quduqu⁴ petitioned as follows: 'We caused the Soltan of the Sarta'ul people, who had refused to submit, to abase himself and we conquered his cities and peoples. The city of Örünggeči,³ which was taken and shared, and the sons *of yours* who took it and shared it among themselves, all belong to Činggis Qa'an. Now that, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth, we have caused the Sarta'ul people to abase themselves like this, we – *the men of your entire army* – are rejoicing and are content with ourselves. Why is the Qa'an so angry? The sons have realized their mistake and are indeed afraid. Let *this* be a lesson for their future *conduct*! We fear lest the sons' natural *ardour* may be discouraged as

¹ = Sultan. Here Muḥammad Šāh is almost certainly meant.

² Lit., 'the year.'

³ = Örünggeči.

⁴ = Qutuqu. See above, § 135.

a result of this. Will you not, *therefore*, show favour to them *again* and allow them into your presence?'

Upon their petition, Činggis Qa'an, appeased, allowed the three sons Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei into his presence. He rebuked them

Quoting ancient words,

Citing old sayings,

and reprimanded them

To the point where they almost sank

In the place where they stood,

To the point where they could not wipe off

The sweat of their brow.¹

Just as he was addressing them with reprimands and admonitions, Qongqai Qorči, Qongtaqar Qorči and Čormaqan Qorči – these three quiverbearers – *also* petitioned Činggis Qa'an as follows: 'Like grey falcons that have just begun training, the sons are barely learning *how* to wage a military campaign, and, at such a time, you rebuke them in this way, piling abuse on them.² Why? We fear lest the sons, being afraid, will lose heart. From *the place* where the sun sets to *the place* where it rises there are enemy people. If you incite us – your Tibetan dogs – and send us *on a mission*, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth we shall bring *back* for you enemy people, gold, silver, satin, goods and subjects. If you say, "Which people?," we say, "Here in the west there is one called the Qalibai Soltan of the Baqtat people." Let us move against him!' So they petitioned him. The Qa'an was appeased by these words and *his anger* abated.

Činggis Qa'an approved *their proposal* and issued the *following* order, favouring the three quiverbearers Qongqai, Qongtaqar and Čormaqan: 'Qongqai of the Adargin and Qongtaqar of the Dolonggir shall stay at my side.' He sent

¹ Because they were sweating so profusely.

² Lit., '(on) the sons.'

Čormaqan of the Ötegen on a campaign against the Baqtat people and the Qalibai Soltan.

261 Further, Činggis Qa'an sent Dörbei Doqšin of the Dörbet on a campaign against Aru,¹ Maru and the city of Abtu of the Madasari people between the Hindus people and the Baqtat people.

262 Further, he sent Sübe'etei Ba'atur northwards to campaign as far as the countries and peoples of these eleven tribes: Qanglin, Kibča'ut, Baĵigit, Orusut, Maĵarat, Asut, Sasut, Serkesüt, Kešimir, Bolar and Kerel;² and, making him cross the rivers Idil and Ĵayaq rich in waters, *he sent Sübe'etei Ba'atur to campaign* as far as the city of Kiwa Menkermen.

263 Further, having completed the conquest of the Sarta'ul people, Činggis Qa'an issued an order setting up resident commissioners³ in the various cities. Two Sarta'ul of the Qurumši clan – father and son – called Yalawači and Masqut, came from the city of Üringgeči. They told Činggis Qa'an about the laws and customs of cities; *whereupon the latter*, being adequately informed as to *these* customs, appointed his⁴ son Masqut the Qurumši, putting him in charge, with our resident commissioners, of Buqar, Semisgen, Üringgeči, Udan, Kisqar, Uriyang, Güsen Daril and other cities. He⁵ brought *back with him* his⁶ father Yalawači and put him in charge of the city of Ĵungdu of the Kitat.

Because, from *among* the Sartaq⁷ people, Yalawači and Masqut were adept in the laws and customs of cities,

¹ An error for Iru. Cf. above, §§ 258, 259.

² The text has incorrectly Raral. For all these names see the Commentary.

³ *Daruqačın* and, further down, *daruqa*. See the Commentary.

⁴ I.e., Yalawači's.

⁵ I.e., Činggis Qa'an.

⁶ I.e., Masqut's.

⁷ = Sarta'ul.

Činggis Qa'an appointed them, with *our* resident commissioners, putting them in charge of the Kitat people.

264 Činggis Qa'an spent seven years in *the country* of the Sarta'ul people. Then, at the time when he was waiting for Bala of the Ĵalayir, Bala, having crossed the Šin River, was pursuing Ĵalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik as far as the country of the Hindus. He lost track of Ĵalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik and, *even though* he sought them as far as the middle of *the country* of the Hindus, he was unable *to find them* and returned. He came back pillaging the people on the border of the Hindus and seizing many camels and many gelded billy-goats.

Then Činggis Qa'an returned *home*. On the way he spent the summer on the *river* Erdiš. In the autumn¹ of the Year of the Hen (1225) – the seventh year *of the campaign* – he settled at his Palaces² in the Black Forest by the Tūla.³

¹ Read 'spring' (*qabur*) for 'autumn' (*namur*).

² *Ordos*, i.e. the royal encampment.

³ = the Tu'ula of §§ 96, 104, 115, 164, 177 and 178 above.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER TWELVE

(= SUP. 2)

265 After spending the winter *there*,¹ Činggis Qa'an said, 'I shall set forth against the Tang'ut people.' He counted his troops anew and in the autumn of the Year of the Dog (1226) set forth against the Tang'ut people. From *among* the ladies, he took with him Yisüi Qatun.

In the winter, Činggis Qa'an, riding *his steed* Josotu Boro,² on the way hunted the many wild asses of Arbuqa. When the wild asses passed *close* by them Josotu Boro took fright. Činggis Qa'an fell off the horse and, his body being in great pain, he halted at Čo'orqat.

He spent that night *there* and the following morning Yisüi Qatun said, 'Princes and commanders, consult each other *on what to do*: the Qa'an has spent the night, his body hot *with fever*.' Thereupon, the princes and commanders assembled and Tolun Čerbi of the Qongqotan advised as follows: 'The Tang'ut people

Are ones who have towns with pounded-earth *walls*,

Are ones who live in permanent camps.

They won't leave, carrying off their towns with
pounded-earth *walls*;

They won't leave, abandoning their permanent camps.³

Let us withdraw. Then, when the Qa'an's body has cooled down, we shall set out again!

When he spoke *thus*, all the princes and commanders agreed with his words and petitioned Činggis Qa'an *accordingly*, but Činggis Qa'an said, 'The Tang'ut people will say

¹ I.e., at his *ordos* in the Black Forest of the Tūla. See above, § 264.

² I.e., 'Reddish Grey.'

³ See above, § 249.

that we turned back because we lost heart. However, if we send envoys to them and watch right here at Čo'orqat which turn my illness takes,¹ and withdraw after considering their reply,² that would be fine.' And so he sent envoys to carry the following message: 'In the past, you, Burqan, said, "We, the Tang'ut people, shall be your right³ wing."⁴ Although told so by you, when I sent you a request *for troops*, saying that I was going on a campaign because the Sarta'ul people had not agreed to my proposal, you, Burqan, did not keep your promise and did not give me troops, but came out with mocking words.⁵ As I was moving in a different direction at the time, I said that I would call you to account later. I set out against the Sarta'ul people and being protected by Eternal Heaven I brought them duly under submission.⁶ Now I have come to call Burqan to account for his words.'

Burqan said, 'I did not speak the mocking words.' Thereupon Aša Gambu said, 'I spoke the mocking words. As for now, if you Mongols, who are used to fighting, say, "Let us fight!", *then* turn towards the Alašai and come to me, for I have an encampment in the Alašai,

I have tents of thin woollen cloth,

I have camels laden *with goods*.

Let us fight there! If you need gold, silver, satin and *other* goods, turn towards Eriqaya and Erije'ü.' He sent this message to Činggis Qa'an.

When his words were conveyed to Činggis Qa'an, his body was *still* hot *with fever*. Činggis Qa'an said, 'This is enough! When one lets oneself be addressed so boastfully, how can one withdraw? Even if we die let us challenge

¹ Lit., 'trying the illness.'

² Lit., 'their (i.e. the Tang'ut's) word.'

³ I.e., west.

⁴ See above, §§ 249 and 256.

⁵ A reference to Aša Gambu's words in § 256 above.

⁶ Lit., 'I forced them into righteousness.'

their boasts!' And, saying, 'Eternal Heaven, you be the judge!', he moved in the direction of Alašai.

He arrived *there* and fought with Aša Gambu. He overcame Aša Gambu and forced him to barricade himself up on the Alašai. He captured Aša Gambu and plundered his people

Who had tents of thin woollen cloth,
Who had camels laden *with goods*,
until they were blown *to the winds* like hearth-ashes.

He *then* gave the following order: 'Kill the valiant, the bold, the manly and the fine Tang'uts, and let the soldiers take for themselves as many of the common Tang'uts¹ as they can lay hands on and capture.'

266 Činggis Qa'an spent the summer on Časutu² Mountain. He sent troops against the Tang'uts

Who had tents of thin woollen cloth,
Who had camels laden *with goods*,
and who, with Aša Gambu, had made for the mountains and were offering resistance. He caused *his troops* to plunder them as planned until they were utterly destroyed.

Then, showing favour to Bo'orču and Muqali, he ordered that they should take as much *booty* as in their judgement their strength *could carry*.

Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered to reward Bo'orču and Muqali as follows: 'Since I did not give you *a share* of the Kitat people, the two of you take and divide equally between yourselves the Jüyin of the Kitat people. Go and make their fine sons follow you, holding your falcons. Bring up their fine daughters and make them arrange the hems of your wives' skirts. The trusted friends of the Altan Qan of the Kitat people are the Qara Kitat Jüyin people who have destroyed the ancestors of the Mongols. Now, you two, Bo'orču and Muqali, are my trusted friends.'

¹ I.e., of the Tang'ut population at large.

² I.e., 'Snowy.'

267 Činggis Qa'an moved away from Časutu Mountain and set up camp at the city of Uraqai. After setting out from the city of Uraqai, while he was destroying the city of Dörmegei, Burqan came to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an.

Burqan then paid homage, presenting himself with *gifts such as*, in the first place, golden images of Buddha; *then* golden and silver bowls and vessels, nine of each *kind*; boys and girls, nine of each; geldings and camels, nine of each; and all sorts of *other objects* arranged in nines according to their colour and form. Činggis Qa'an kept the door closed and made Burqan pay homage *outside the tent*.

On that *occasion*, when Burqan paid homage, Činggis Qa'an felt revulsion within his heart. On the third day, Činggis Qa'an issued an order giving Iluqu Burqan the name Šidurqu.¹ Being *thus* visited by Iluqu Burqan Šidurqu, Činggis Qa'an then ordered that Iluqu be put to death and that Tolun Čerbi seize and execute him *with his own hands*.

Afterwards, when Tolun Čerbi reported that he had seized Iluqu and killed him, Činggis Qa'an ordered as follows: 'When I approached the Tang'ut people to call *Iluqu Burqan* to account for his words, and on the way hunted the wild asses of Arbuqa, my body being in pain, it was indeed Tolun who, concerned about my life, spoke words of advice and said, "Let it heal!"² We came *here* on account of the poisonous words of an enemy and with *Our* strength increased by Eternal Heaven, who gave him into *Our* hands, we took *Our* revenge. Tolun shall take *for himself* this movable palace brought by Iluqu, together with the bowls and vessels.' So he ordered.

268 After he had plundered the Tang'ut people and, making Iluqu Burqan *change his name* to Šidurqu, had done away with him, and after having exterminated the Tang'ut people's mothers and fathers down to the offspring of their

¹ I.e., 'Upright.' See the Commentary.

² See above, § 265.

offspring, maiming and taming¹ (?), Činggis Qa'an gave the following order: 'While I take my meals you must talk about the killing and destruction of the Tang'ut and say, "Maimed and tamed, they are no more."'

Because the Tang'ut people gave their word but did not keep it,² Činggis Qa'an for the second time took the field against them.³ Having destroyed the Tang'ut people, Činggis Qa'an came back and in the Year of the Pig (1227) ascended to Heaven. After he had ascended to Heaven a great part of the Tang'ut people was given to Yisüi Qatun.

269 In the Year of the Rat (1228), the princes of the right hand⁴ headed by Ča'adai and Batu; the princes of the left hand⁵ headed by Otčigin Noyan, Yegü and Yisüngge;⁶ the princes of the centre headed by Tolui; the princesses, the imperial sons-in-law, the commanders of ten thousand and those of a thousand, all assembled in full force at Köde'ü Aral on the Kelüren River. In accordance with the very decree by which Činggis Qa'an had nominated him they installed Ögödei Qa'an as qan.

Elder brother Ča'adai installed his younger brother Ögödei Qa'an as qan. The nightguards, the quiverbearers and the eight thousand dayguards who had been protecting the precious life of their father Činggis Qa'an, the personal slaves and the ten thousand guards who had been in close attendance on the person of my⁷ father the Qan were all handed over by elder brother Ča'adai and Tolui to Ögödei Qa'an. The domain of the centre they handed over to him in the same manner.

¹ *Muquli musquli*. See the Commentary.

² Lit., 'did not keep to the word.'

³ Lit., 'against the Tang'ut people.'

⁴ I.e., of the west.

⁵ I.e., of the east.

⁶ Written Yisünge. See § 183 and com.

⁷ A mistake for 'his'? See the Commentary.

270 Ögödei Qa'an, having concluded the installation of himself as qan and the transfer of the ten thousand guards on internal duty together with the domain of the centre to himself, held first of all a consultation with elder brother Ča'adai, whereupon he sent Oqotur and Möngetü on a campaign in support of Čormaqañ Qorči who had taken the field against the Qalibai Soltan of the Baqtat people – a people not dealt with by his father Činggis Qa'an.

Earlier on, Sübe'etei Ba'atur, campaigning against Meket, Menkermen Keyibe and other cities, had crossed the rivers Adil¹ and Jayaq rich in waters, and had reached as far as the Qanglin, Kibča'ut, Baĵigit, Orusut, Asut, Sesüt, Maĵar, Kešimir, Sergesüt, Buqar and Kerel peoples.²

As Sübe'etei Ba'atur had been put in a difficult situation by these peoples, Ögödei Qa'an sent forth Batu, Büri, Güyük, Mönge and several other princes in support of Sübe'etei. He ordered that Batu should be in command of all those princes who went on the campaign and that³ Güyük should be in command of all the troops coming from the centre.⁴ He further ordered, with regard to those who went on the campaign, that the princes in charge of a domain should send the eldest of their sons into the field and that the princes who were not in charge of a domain, the commanders of ten thousand, of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, and any commoners, whoever they might be, should also send the eldest of their sons into the field. Likewise, the princesses and imperial sons-in-law should send the eldest of their sons into the field.

Further, Ögödei Qa'an said, 'This principle of sending the eldest sons on a campaign originates from elder brother

¹ The Idil of § 262 and Ejil of § 274, i.e. the Volga.

² For all these names, which already appear in § 262 above, see the Commentary.

³ Lit., 'and ordered that.'

⁴ I.e., those belonging to the main body of the army.