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ON A RECENTLY DISCOVERED MS. OF ČINGGIS-QAĠAN'S PRECEPTS TO HIS YOUNGER BROTHERS AND SONS

✪ Igor de Rachewiltz

Činggis-qan's wise sayings or precepts (*bilig*),¹ as distinct from his formal pronouncements, rules and regulations which eventually made up the now largely lost corpus of Činggiside laws (*yeke ĵasay*),² have come down to us as individual collections, and in the body of larger works such as historical chronicles.³

In either form, Činggis' aphorisms, opinions and practical advice on statecraft and life in general, are usually expressed in alliterative verse, with connecting passages in (often rhythmic) prose, and are set in the context of poetic dialogues between the emperor and members of his family and/or faithful companions (*nököd*), at a feast (*qurim*), during a military campaign, or on other occasions.⁴

These wise sayings (hereafter *biligs*) attributed to the great Mongol conqueror have a long and interesting history, and even though they contain obvious interpolations and later additions, it seems that much of their content is genuine and dating from the thirteenth century.⁵

Anecdotes illustrating Činggis' prudence and sagacity, and stories — true or semi-fictional — concerning his special relationship with some of his brothers (for example, Qasar), sons, wives and companions (Boĵorču in particular), no doubt circulated among the Mongols already in his lifetime.⁶ His remarkable deeds and feats of arms were declaimed and sung in the Mongol tents. As for his *biligs*, they were, apparently, duly recorded by specially appointed officials — a practice that must have been introduced in the latter part of his life.⁷

Soon after Činggis' death, these stories, songs and *biligs* became part of a growing body of traditions about the now legendary figure of the emperor from which Mongol bards and chroniclers were to draw both inspiration and information in the following decades. The *biligs* in particular were quoted and recited at the Mongol court, and we know that proficiency in *bilig*-lore was so highly regarded that Temür-Ölĵeitü reputedly gained the throne in 1294 over his rival because he knew the *biligs* of Činggis-qan better and could declaim them with a pure accent.⁸

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¹ *Bilig*, lit. 'wisdom, knowledge' (<Turkic *bilig* id.), is the term regularly employed by Rašid al-Din for Činggis' maxims. See Rashid al-Din, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, tr. J.A. Boyle (New York: 1971), pp.13, 18, 155–56, 321, 339. Cf. G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, II (Wiesbaden: 1965), no.835.

² On the *ĵasay* or *yeke* ('great') *ĵasay*, the famous code of Mongol customary law, see P. Ratchnevsky, 'Die Yasa (Ĵasaq) Činggis-khans und ihre Problematik', in G. Hazai und P. Zieme (eds), *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker* (Berlin, 1974), pp.471–87; P.H.-C. Ch'en, *Chinese Legal Tradition Under the Mongols. The Code of 1291 as Reconstructed* (Princeton, 1979), pp.4–9; Doerfer, *op. cit.*, IV (Wiesbaden, 1975), No.1789.

³ Individual collections can, of course, be made of extracts and quotations from larger works, as in the case of the Činggis *boĵda-yin durasqal-un tegübüri*, which consists of extracts from the *Bolor erike* and *Köke sudur*. See below, and nn. 22, 23.

⁴ For the literature on the *biligs*, besides the references in Doerfer, *op. cit.*, II, No.835 (pp.417–18), see V. Kotvič (W. Kotwicz), 'Iz poueniĵ Čingis-khana', *Vostok* 3 (Moscow-Petersburg, 1923), pp.94–96; B. Ya. Vladimircov, *Etnologo-lingvističeskie issledovaniya v Urge*,

- Urginskoi i Kenteiskoi raionakh (Leningrad, 1927), pp.16–19; C.Ž. Žamcarano, *The Mongolian Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century*, tr. R. Loewenthal (Wiesbaden, 1955), pp.74, 75ff; N. Poppe, *The Heroic Epic of the Khalkha Mongols*, 2nd ed., tr. J. Krueger, D. Montgomery, M. Walter (Bloomington, 1979), pp.23–25; W. Heissig, *Bolug erike 'Eine Kette aus Bergkristallen'. Eine mongolische Chronik der Kienlung-Zeit von Rasipungsuy (1774/75), Monumenta Serica Monograph X* (Peiping, 1946), Chap.IV, esp. pp.36ff, 66ff; C. Damdinsüren, *Mongolyn uran zoxiolyñ toim*, I (Ulaanbaatar, 1957), pp.83–85; A. Mostaert in F.W. Cleaves (ed.), *Altan Tobči. A Brief History of the Mongols by bLo. bzañ bsTan. 'jin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), pp.xiv–xviii; and the important recent contributions by W. Heissig, 'Die Čayadai-“bilig” und ihre Historizität' in W. Heissig a.o. (eds), *Tractata Altaica, Denis Sinor sexagenario optime de rebus altaicis merito dedicata* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp.277–90, and L.V. Clark, 'From the Legendary Cycle of Činggis-qayan: The Story of an Encounter with 300 Tayičiyud from the *Altan Tobči* (1655)' in *Mongolian Studies* 5 (1978–89), 5–39 (esp. p.29, nn.7, 8, for further references to the literature on the subject). See also nn.7, 8, 16, 22–25.
- 5 See Kotvič, loc. cit. Cf. P. Pelliot in *TP* 22 (1923), 392.
- 6 Cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp.7, 9.
- 7 See J.A. Boyle in Rashid al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p.13; Žamcarano, *op. cit.*, p.77. The recording of Činggis' words by a scribe-secretary (*bičigeči*) is beyond doubt a post-1206 practice.
- 8 See J.A. Boyle, loc. cit., and pp.155, 321; W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 4th ed. (London, 1977), p.42; Žamcarano, *op. cit.*, p.74; Clark, *op. cit.*, pp.12–13. Some of Činggis' *biligs* are quoted by Rašid al-Dīn in a supplement to his work. See I.N. Berezin in *Trudy V.O.I.R.A.O.* XV (1888), 120–31.
- 9 On the evolution of the saga, or legendary cycle, of Činggis-qan, see the important remarks of Poppe, *op. cit.*, Chap.1, and Clark, *op. cit.*, p.5ff.
- 10 The epic quality of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, its rich psychological content and the intimate details of Mongol life so vividly described in it are totally absent in the Yüan-Ming sources on the Mongols. This is probably the reason why the anonymous Mongol epic-chronicle was given this unusual title by its early Ming editors/translators, namely because it related the unofficial or 'inside' story of the former ruling family, a story which, by its very nature and character, had been excluded by Yüan official historiography of Chinese traditional type.
- 11 As is known, the preservation of the *Secret History* was not due originally to its intrinsic value as a historical or literary text, but rather to its usefulness as a textbook for the
- Contemporary, or near contemporary, literary productions like the famous *Secret History of the Mongols* (dating from the second quarter of the thirteenth century), as well as the histories of Ĵuvainī and Rašid al-Dīn, contain a good deal of epic material which derives, directly or indirectly, from that vast store of early poetic traditions about Činggis-qan and his preux to which we may refer as the 'Činggis-qan Saga'.⁹ We must, in fact, distinguish the legendary cycle from the purely factual and unadorned account of Činggis' deeds as found, for instance, in the Chinese historical records.¹⁰
- Unfortunately, the Činggis-qan Saga has been handed down in a fragmentary and, at times, re-elaborated form. This is due to various causes. The rapid Turkisation of the Mongol ruling élite in the various *ulus*, political and cultural alienation from the Mongol homeland, and protracted wars combined with dislocation of people, are some of the most obvious reasons for the disappearance of most of the early Mongolian literature, including of course the written epics (the *Secret History* is a notable exception).¹¹
- On Mongol soil, a few historical records and religious works somehow survived the dark and confused period following the collapse of the Yüan dynasty in 1368.¹² These records, as well as epic songs, narratives and legends handed down orally (and hence further elaborated in the course of transmission), were collected and used by the learned lamas and chroniclers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in their works.¹³ Thanks to their labour, part at least of the ancient literary heritage has reached us, albeit often in Buddhist garb and in a form reflecting the outlook and biases of the post-Yüan Mongol feudal society.¹⁴
- Besides the 'original' material preserved in the *Secret History* and in the works of the Persian authors (Rašid al-Dīn in particular), and odd references in Western medieval records, our knowledge of the Činggis-qan Saga derives entirely from these later *rifacimenti* and the still (?) living oral tradition. Only in recent decades, however, have scholars been able to undertake a systematic survey of the seventeenth and eighteenth century chronicles, and of Mongolian literature in general, largely thanks to the greater availability of primary source material, including oral traditions, and the discovery, in several countries, of numerous manuscripts and blockprints of perviously unknown works, and of different versions of known ones.¹⁵
- Therefore, we are now in the fortunate position of approaching the complex problems raised by the reconstruction of the Činggis-qan Saga in a way that would have not been possible thirty years ago. In this virtually unexplored field of research, a comparative study of the extant versions of Činggis' *biligs* is clearly of prime importance.¹⁶
- Among the most famous *biligs* are the 'Holy Činggis-qayan's precepts to this younger brothers and sons',¹⁷ of which various versions are known. One of these was published by A. Popov as early as 1836 in his *Mongolian Chrestomathy*.¹⁸ Another version was edited by C.Ž. Žamcarano and published in Urga in 1915.¹⁹ It is now a bibliographical rarity. W. Kotwicz discussed both these versions, translating excerpts from them, in an article which appeared in 1923.²⁰ The following year, the Mongyol ulus-un sudur bičig-ün küriyeleng of Ulan-Bator published the Činggis *boyda-yin durasaqal-un tegübüri*, which contains Činggis' *biligs* extracted from Rasipungsuy's *Bolor erike*.²¹ A second edition of the Tegübüri was published by the Mongyol bičig-ün qoriya of Peking in 1926.²² This was translated into Japanese by Yamamoto Mamoru in 1941.²³ Some of the *biligs* from the *Bolor erike* were rendered into German by W. Heissig in 1962.²⁴ A modern MS from Chakhar of a version close to the one

published by Popov is in the Royal Library, Copenhagen,²⁵ and similar MSS are known to exist in other collections.²⁶

At the beginning of 1975, a MS of these *biligs* formerly belonging to the great Polish Mongolist J.S. Kowalewski (1801–78), was discovered by the late Professor Y. Rintchen in Vilnius University Library.²⁷ The MS, entitled *Činggis boyda-yin suryal-un jarliy-un dam bayulyaysan debter*, or *Book That Has Handed Down the Instructions of Činggis the Holy One*, is described by Rintchen in his article 'Manuscripts mongols de la collection du professeur J. Kowalewski à Vilnius' in *Central Asiatic Journal* 19(1975):105–17, at pp.114–15, no.68.

Like other MSS in the same collection, this too is a copy made for Kowalewski by a Mongol scribe in Transbaikalia and dates from the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It is written on bluish paper of Russian origin, and it is bound into a book 15cm x 12.5cm.²⁸

With regard to the contents of the MS, Rintchen quotes in his article some of Činggis' *biligs* in transcription, and a colophon (*Ĵarvardi neretü qayan-u uliger quuli bayiyl-uysan šastir tegüsbe*) which actually belongs to another work.²⁹ All the *biligs* quoted by Rintchen appear, with minor differences, in Popov's text.³⁰ In a letter to me dated 17–19 January 1977, Rintchen wrote:

I think among these unknown Mongol manuscripts of the first quarter of the XIX century copied by Mongol scribes for Professor Kowalewski it would be very interesting for you and for the Mongolists of the world a book of Chingis khan's aphorisms all rhymed and showing his great poetical and improvisatory talent, his high ethical and philosophical level, indispensable in my opinion for all the kings and emperors not only of his time but also of nowadays.

I am sure, the manuscript unknown in the Northern and South Mongolia after the annihilation of all monastic and hereditary libraries of Mongol intellectuals and nobles ..., is one of the most interesting monuments of the earlier Mongol literature remounting [*sic*] to the XIII century.

I hope the Vilnius university would procure you a microfilm of the book of Chingis khan's aphorisms and you might publish it with a translation which would show to the world readers in English a quite unknown aspect of the great Mongol Emperor, who was my nayaču, because my late mother descended from the line of Čoytu qungtayiji of Qalq-a.³¹

In view of the above and in compliance with Professor Rintchen's wish, I immediately wrote to Vilnius University Library requesting a microfilm of the MS in question. This was kindly supplied and I was thus able to examine the text of the Vilnius MS and compare it with the other texts of the same work available to me.³²

The *Činggis boyda-yin suryal-un jarliy-un dam bayulyaysan debter* occupies the first fourteen leaves of a 'book' containing other Mongol texts. The leaves are numbered 1 to 14 in Arabic numbers (=pp. 1r–14r in my pagination). Each page contains seven lines of text. Various scribal errors and omissions have been subsequently corrected, either by the copyist himself or by a later hand, and a number of alternative readings have been inserted between the lines, also by an unknown hand.

The version of the *biligs* contained in the Vilnius MS is essentially the same as that published by Popov. However, quite a few readings are at variance with Popov's text, but agree with those found in the Copenhagen MS. Conversely, some readings are at variance with the Copenhagen MS but agree with Popov's text. Other differences between these three texts can be explained by the fact that in the Vilnius MS some words, or groups of words,

study of Mongolian language and customs. See W. Hung in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14(1951), pp.452, 460. For other 'unfavourable influences' on the preservation of Mongol literary monuments, see Žamcarano, *op. cit.*, pp.3, 5–6. The extent of the loss can be gauged by the fact that of all the Mongol works printed in China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, only one virtually complete book has physically survived to this day; of several others, mostly Buddhist texts, we only have fragments. See my forthcoming study 'The Preclassical Mongolian Version of the *Hsaio-ching*' in *Zentralasiatische Studien*. It should be pointed out, however, that a number of ancient Mongol texts may have perished in comparatively recent times as a result of civil wars and other catastrophes. See Žamcarano, *op. cit.*, pp.3, 5, 58; W. Heissig, *A Lost Civilization. The Mongols Rediscovered*, tr. J.S. Thomson (London, 1964), pp.14–16.

12 Cf. W. Heissig, *Die mongolischen Handschriften-Reste aus Olon süme Innere Mongolei (16.-17. Jhd.)* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp.3–5.

13 Cf. B. Laufer, 'Skizze der mongolischen Literatur', *Keleti Szemle* 8(1907), p.239; Žamcarano, *op. cit.*, pp.4, 6 *et passim*; W. Heissig, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen I. 16.-18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp.57, 60, 100ff.

14 See Poppe, *op. cit.*, p.9ff; Clark, *op. cit.*, p.6.

15 A special tribute must be paid to Prof. W. Heissig of Bonn for his painstaking search for, collection of, and description of Mongolian MSS, books and documents scattered throughout the world.

16 Part of a *bilig* addressed to Boyorču is apparently among the Khara-khoto documents in Leningrad (Doc. G110). See P.K. Kozlov and W. Kotwicz *apud* F.W. Cleaves in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 18(1955), pp.5, 7. Cf. N.Ts. Munkuyev in L. Ligeti (ed.), *Mongolian Studies* (Amsterdam and Budapest, 1970), p.343. It is to be hoped that this interesting fragment will be published before too long.

17 I am not giving the Mongolian title of these *biligs* as it varies somewhat from version to version. See below and nn.18, 19, 25.

18 A. Popov, *Mongol'skaya khrestomatiya dlya načinyuščikh obučet'sya mongol'skomu yazyku* (Kazan, 1836), pp.54–65. No Mongolian title.

19 Under the title *Suutu boyda Činggis-qayan-u altan suryal orosibai*. See B. Laufer, *Očerki mongol'skoj literatury*, per. V.A. Kazakeviča, pod red. i s pred. B.Ya Vladimircova (Leningrad, 1927), p.XIII; R.A. Rupen in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19 (1956), p.141, no.21. Cf. Heissig, *Bolur erike*, p.67 and n.98. This work is not available to me.

20 'Iz poučeniĭ Čingis-khana'. See above, nn.4 and 5. Kotwicz's article is also not available.

21 Unavailable to me. On this edition, see Heissig, *op. cit.*, p.1 and n.1, *et passim*. For the *biligs* contained therein, see below, n.22.

- 22 See L. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie Chinoise 1928-1931* (Budapest, 1933); rep. 1977), pp.25-26; J.R. Krueger in W. Heissig (ed.), *Collectanea Mongolica. Festschrift für Professor Dr. Rintchen zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1966), p.111, no.4. This (second) edition of the *Tegübüri* was reprinted photographically in Taiwan a few years ago, without however place and date of publication, and publisher's name. Činggis' *biligs* to his younger brothers, etc., are found on pp.40, 5-47, 6. See Heissig, *Bolor erike*, pp.66-70; A. Mostaert in F.W. Cleaves (ed.), *Bolor Erike. Mongolian Chronicle by Rasipungsuy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), I, p.21, no.6.
- 23 'Činggis-kan tanka-roku no kenkyū,' in *Kenkoku Daigaku kenkyūin kihō* 1(1941): 225-316 [=1-62]. The translation occupies pp.262-312 [=8-58]. Cf. Heissig, *op. cit.*, p.33, n.1.
- 24 W. Heissig, *Helden-, Höllenfahrts- und Schelmengeschichten der Mongolen* (Zürich, 1962), pp.55-61. See also *ibid.*, p.14 and n.2.
- 25 See W. Heissig and C. Bawden, *Catalogue of Mongol Books, Manuscripts and Xylographs*. The Royal Library (Copenhagen, 1971), pp.30-31 (MONG. 145). Title on title page: *Tngri-eče jayayatu boyda Činggis-qayan degüü-ner köbeğüdiyen suryaysan jarliy orosiba*.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p.31, and Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire*, pp.27-28.
- 27 In the J. Kowalewski Collection, Mokslinė Biblioteka, V. Kapsuko Universiteto.
- 28 See Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p.106. However, the consecutive number (68) given by Rintchen, p.114, to the MS in question is not the actual call number of the MS. This is F11-48, as I eventually found out.
- 29 See below, *Variae lectiones*, at the end.
- 30 Popov, *op. cit.*, pp.54, 2-56, 3.
- 31 This letter, of which only a section is quoted here, is an interesting document in itself. It was written by Prof. Rintchen when he was already bedridden, and shortly before his death (4 March 1977).
- 32 I wish to record here my sincere gratitude to Vilnius University Library and its director, Mr J. Tornau, for their co-operation and prompt response.

have been left out by a careless copyist; and, occasionally, the same material has been rearranged somewhat differently.

Thus, even though the Vilnius MS does not actually provide a new version of Činggis' 'Precepts to his younger brothers and sons', it may certainly help in preparing a new edition of the *biligs* which will take into account all the *variae lectiones* offered by the extant MSS.

Two samples from the text of the Vilnius MS, namely the passages in pp.l.r,1-3r, 3 and 13v,3-14r,7, are given in transcription at the end of this article, followed by the *variae lectiones* found in Popov's edition (P) and the Copenhagen MS (C). For the present purpose, I have ignored all alliteration in the three texts. Obvious orthographic mistakes in our MS (for example, *boydan* for *boyda*, *taryayažu* for *tarqayažu*) have been tacitly corrected. However, in a few cases I have preferred to retain the original form and insert my correction — usually an additional letter or syllable — within square brackets (for example, *asay[u]žu*, *qar[bu]basu*). In the case of a doubtful word, I have given the correct form, or suggested emendation, in square brackets following the word in question (for example, *öni* [?oni]). The alternative readings inserted between the lines of the MS are given in parentheses following the word(s) to which they refer.

Transcription

- [1r] *Boyda Činggis-qayan: degüü-ner köböğüd-tür-iyen¹ suryal jarliy bolurun: omoy kücün-i tarqayažu olan arɣabar bariysan-u tula: olan-u ejen bolqu bui ĵ-a.ary-a bilig-i medebesü: aliba kücü-ten-i erke-dür-iyen oroyulqu kilber bolai.² ary-a bilig-i ese medebesü: alayan-daki³ bariysan-ıyan toytayaqu⁴ berke bolai: bey-e böke bögesü yağça-yi čidayu.⁵ sedkil böke*
- [1v] *bögesü olan-i čidayu.⁵ ügen-dür ejile [d]besü⁶ sečen boluyu: ildu ĵıdan-dur⁷ ejile [d]besü⁶ bayatur boluyu: amitan kedüi ber olan bolžu⁸ (bolbaču) ayalıutan⁹ (ayulıatan) üčügüken¹⁰ bolbasu tusa ügei bui: aliba bilig-tü kümün kereg¹¹ tüg tümen kümün-eče¹² törö yosun-i¹³ medekü yağça¹⁴ kümün degere: ere kümün beyeben ed-ıyer čimegsen-eče erdem-ıyer čimegsen degere bui: ündü ayula-yin*
- [2r] *kötel¹⁵ ĵori: örgön¹⁶ dalai-yin ulum-ıyer¹⁷ ĵori: qola kemen buu čökü¹⁸ (sedki) yabubasu kürüyü:¹⁹ kündü kemen buu čökü: ergübesü dayayu.²⁰ dabasi ügei dabayan bui²¹ kemen²² sonostamu.²³ ker dabaqu kemen buu sedki dabay-a kemen sedkibesü dabayu.²⁴ getül[e]si²⁵ ügei müren bui kemen sonostamui: ker getülkü²⁶ kemen buu sedki: getüley-e²⁷ kemebesü getüliüyü.²⁸ nige²⁹*
- [2v] *sedkil-tü ere bolbasu³⁰ ere busu erdeni kemegdejüküi:³¹ qoyar sedkil-tü ere-yi ere busu em-e kemegdejüküi:³¹ nigen sedkil-tü em-e-yi em-e busu ere kemegdejüküi: öber-ün buruyu-ben³² kümün-eče asay[u]žu medegdejüküi:³³ sedkil-ün osol-i seched-eče³⁴ asay[u]žu suruydaqui:³⁵ sumun-u mösün³⁶ kedüi-ber siduryu bögesü öni³⁷ [?oni] ödün-eče³⁸ öber-e³⁹ qar[bu]basu⁴⁰*
- [3r] *ülü boluyu:⁴¹ kümün kedüi-ber sayin töröbesü suryayuli-ača⁴² öbere⁴³ sečen üli boluyu⁴⁴ kemen jarliy bolıysan aĵıyu :*
- [13v,3] *Činggis-qayan jarliy bolurun: törö yosu⁴⁵ töbsin-ıyer abasu: törö-yin ejen qayan sečen mergen bolbasu.⁴⁶ törögülügsen ečiğe eke bütün bolbasu.⁴⁷ törö yosu-ı⁴⁸ medekü*
- [14r] *tüsimel⁴⁹ bolbasu:⁵⁰ türidkel ügei dayısun-i daruqu čerig-tü⁵¹ bolbasu: tümen on dayustala gergei⁵² köböğün⁵³ ačı⁵⁴ üri⁵⁵ anu⁵⁶ mendü bolbasu: delekei-yin erketü möngke tengri ibegküi⁵⁷ bögesü:⁵⁸ tengsel ügei yeke ĵıryalang⁵⁹ tere bui:⁶⁰ kemen ügülügsen⁶¹ aĵıyu: Činggis-qayan⁶³ degüner⁶⁴ köböğüd-ıyen⁶⁵ soyun suryaysan jarliy inu tegüsbe⁶⁶ :: ::*

Variae Lectiones

1. P, C *köbegüd-tür-iyen*
2. P *erke-dür oroyulqu kele*
C *erke-dür-iyen oroyulqu kele*
3. C *alayan-dayan*
4. P *toytaqui*
C *toytoyaqui*
5. P, C *ilayu*
6. P, C *ijildebesü*
7. P *ildun-dur*
C *ildu-dur*
8. P, C *bolbaču*
9. P *ayulyatan*
C *ayuyčın*
10. P *čögeken*
C *čögüken*
11. P *kereg-tü*
C *kereg-tei*
12. P *olan kümün-eče*
C *tüg tümen-eče*
13. C *yosu-yi*
14. P om.
15. P, C *kötöl*
16. P *örgen*
17. P, C *ulum*
18. P *čöke*
19. C *kürümüi*
20. C *dayamui*
21. P om.
22. C om.
23. P, C *sonastamui*
24. C *dabamui*
25. C *getelesi*
26. C *getelkü*
27. P *getülsügei*
C *getelsügei*
28. C *getelmüi*
29. P, C *nigen*
30. P *bisi*
31. P, C *kemegdekü*
32. P *buruyu-yi*
33. P, C *medegdeküi*
34. C *sečen-eče*
35. P *surγaydaqui*
C *surutuyai*
36. C *mösü*
37. C *onamui*
38. P *ödün ügei*
39. P om.
40. P *qarbuju*
41. C *bolumui*
42. C *surγayuli ügei ber*
43. C *öber-iyen*
44. C *bolumui*
45. P, C *yosun*
46. after *bolbasu* P adds *terigülegsen aq-a degüi tegüs bolbasu*
47. after *bolbasu* C adds *törögsen aq-a degüi tegüs bolbasu*
48. P, C *yosun-i*
49. P *tüsumel-dü* C *tüsimed*
50. C *bui bolbasu*
51. C *čerig-tei*
52. C *qatan*
53. P *köbegün*
54. C *ači γuči*
55. P *ür-e*
C *ür-e-tei*
56. P *aq* C om.
57. P, C *ibegekü*
58. P *bolbasu*
59. C *jiγyalang-un sayin*
60. C *bui j-a*
61. P *ügülegsen*
62. C *bolai*
63. P *boyda Činggis-qayan*
64. P *degüi-ner*
65. P *köbegüd-iyen*
66. C om. last sentence. The colophon quoted by Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p.115, does not belong to this MS, but to the one immediately following it in the same 'book' (leaves 14–26 = pp.14v–26v). The colophon is on p.26v, 3–4.

