Ghâzân Khan and the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*
—concerning its relationship to the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*—

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When Ghâzân Khan (r.1295–1304) issued the order for the compilation of a history of the Mongols at the beginning of the fourteenth century, he personally dictated to the chief editor, Rashîd al-Dîn, concerning the close connection stretching over many years between the descendants of Chinggis Khan and the various tribes under their leadership. The compilation of this history of the Mongols was an important dynastic undertaking aimed at reconstructing the Il-Khanid state, which was faced with imminent dissolution, by reconfirming the once-strong ties between the members of the various Mongol tribes and the descendants of Chinggis Khan, particularly of course Ghâzân Khan himself. This history of the Mongols, which presents Ghâzân Khan as its actual author and editor, was only completed (several years after his death) in 1307, was presented to his successor Öljeitü Khan, and was given the name *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*, or "Ghâzân's History".[1]

In the reign of Öljeitü Khan, the crisis of the reign of Ghâzân Khan had been overcome and one of the few secure regimes in Il-Khanid history had been established. At the same time, powerful and secure regimes had also emerged from periods of disorder in each of the other khanates of the Mongol empire. The Eurasian continent, from east to west, was for the most part united under the auspices of the house of Chinggis Khan, and the Mongol empire entered its most flourishing phase. In the midst of these developments, the energetic Öljeitü Khan, to whom the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* had been presented, ordered Rashîd al-Dîn to begin the compilation of a world history which would take this work as its nucleus. The resulting work, the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, was completed in 1311.[2]

The original version of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* into which Ghâzân Khan poured his efforts, which he dictated and had compiled, does not survive; the manuscripts which we possess today are all versions of the "Mongol history" from the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* which were compiled from the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*. After the original text of the "Mongol history" in the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* was completed, many manuscripts were produced. As time passed, phrases and entries were added, removed, or changed, and mistakes and omissions increased during copying, so that a great variety of manuscripts came into existence. Today, these manuscripts of the "Mongol history" survive sometimes as part of an entire manuscript of the

Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh, sometimes as independent manuscripts of the "Mongol history" alone, and sometimes as just a part of the "Mongol history". The aim of this article is to make a detailed comparison and investigation of the better of the manuscripts, to clarify the relationships between the various manuscripts of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, and to determine as far as possible the form of the original *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* which formed the basis for it.

Part I. Editions and Manuscripts of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*

1. Editions

Research on the "Mongol history" in the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* has continued since the nineteenth century in the form of critical editions and annotated translations of the "History of the tribes" or of particular chronicles.

First, following Quatremère's composition of a critical edition and annotated translation of the "Chronicle of Hülegü Khan" in 1836,[3] Berezin published critical editions and annotated translations of the "History of the tribes", "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors", and "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan" in 1861, 1868, and 1888 respectively,[4] and Blochet published a critical edition of the text from the "Chronicle of Ögödei Qa'an" to the "Chronicle of Temür Qa'an" in 1911.[5] Although these were superior works by the standards of their time, they do not help much to clarify the form of the original text of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, because the manuscripts on which they were based dated from the Timurid dynasty and later and significant changes had occurred in their content and phrasing.

In 1940 Jahn published a critical edition of the "Chronicle of Ghâzân Khan" based on the hitherto unused Istanbul (I) (Topkapı Palace Library: Revan Köşkü 1518) and Paris (P) (Bibliothèque Nationale: Supplément Persan 1113) manuscripts.[6] Romaskevich researched the various manuscripts of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* and divided them into three main categories: that of MS I, that of MS P, and that of the Timurid manuscripts. Based on his findings, Alîzâde published a critical edition of the "Il-Khanid history" from the "Chronicle of Hülegü Khan" to the "Chronicle of Ghâzân Khan" in 1957, making use of I, P, and other manuscripts,[7] and at last the entire "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* had become available in published editions. Further, Alîzâde published a critical edition of the "History of the tribes" in 1965, using MSS I and P,[8] and in 1980 he published a critical edition of the "Chronicle of Ögödei Qa'an", collating I and other manuscripts.[9]

MS I was copied during Rashîd al-Dîn's lifetime, in 1317. MS P is also an old manuscript with a good number of unique and valuable characteristics. The fact that approximately half of the work on the text of the "Mongol history" in the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* has been based on these two old manuscripts is of great

significance, and this work has opened up new developments in critical research on the text. However, the collation of MSS I and P also brought a new condition of confusion and stalemate in research on the "Mongol history" in the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*. That is to say, there are decisively large differences in the contents and phrasing of the entries between what is found in MS I and what is found in MS P and the other manuscripts.

In the following section I will explain briefly some of the characteristics of I, P, and other manuscripts which have been used in the past for critical editions and consider some of the reasons why such work has become stalemated.

2.   Previously Used Manuscripts

A.   MS I

MS I was copied in Baghdâd in 1317, six years after the completion of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*. It is an extraordinarily important manuscript: among the surviving manuscripts of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* which were copied during the Il-Khanid period, it is the only one which gives a complete text of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*. In the "History of the tribes" and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors", a great number of detailed entries which are almost never found in any other manuscript are transmitted. The phrasing is more simple and direct than that found in any other manuscript—together with the detailed entries in the "History of the tribes" and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors", this is one of the outstanding characteristics of MS I. Furthermore, it is very interesting that the sequence of the passages in the introduction is different from that in other manuscripts. There are numerous mistakes with regards to personal names, but there are many cases where technical terms derived from Mongol or Turkic are recorded correctly. In addition, one frequently finds the omission of parts of words and the skipping of entire lines due to copyists' errors. This fact shows clearly that MS I was copied from an earlier text.

B.   MS P

MS P is an independent manuscript of the "Mongol history" from the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*. It is in many ways remarkably different from MS I. It lacks the detailed entries in the "History of the tribes" and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors" which are one of the characteristics of MS I. In the section covering the contemporary period, the "Chronicle of Ghâzân Khan", one finds both additions of long passages and revisions not found in MS I, and while information about Öljeitü Khan was added, deletions were also made in accordance with contemporary political circumstances. New information was also added to the "Chronicle of Chaghatay Khan" and to the genealogies in other chronicles. Other additions and revisions of long passages and of words are also very common. One might say that the text is a revised version of the *Jâmi'*

al-Tawârîkh, revised to conform to the political situation in the last years of the reign of Öljeitü Khan. MS P is the oldest manuscript in its line of manuscripts, and while we might consider it to have been copied during the Il-Khanid period, I would like to reserve my judgment on this at the present time.[10]

While there are missing pages and passages which are out of order in the surviving copy of MS P, we are able to reconstruct the text in its entirety through the use of later manuscripts in the same line, such as MS L_1 (London, British Library: Or 2885) and MS P_1 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Persan 209).[11]

C. Timurid Manuscripts

In the first half of the fifteenth century, during the reign of Shâhrûkh, a group of scholars including Hâfiz-i Abrû created a newly revised text of the complete *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*. This text is represented today by such manuscripts as MS I_1 (Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library: Baghdâd Köşkü 282) and MS L (London, British Library: Add.7628). MS R (St. Petersburg, former Saltykov-Shchedrin Library: V,3,1) was copied in 1407, and it can be considered a predecessor of I_1 and L in the same line. MS R is a manuscript of the complete *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, but there are many missing pages and passages out of order in the second half of the "Mongol history". A major characteristic which the I_1, L, and R manuscripts share in common is that the entries for ten-odd tribes in the "History of the tribes" are written in one continuous passage out of order.[12] This set of entries aside, there are many parts which they share in common with MS P, but the aforementioned additions and revisions which are found in large numbers in the "Chronicle of Ghâzân Khan" in MS P were not copied into these manuscripts. Furthermore, the detailed entries in the "History of the tribes" and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors" which are characteristic of MS I are not recorded in these manuscripts either.

In conclusion, MS P (which can be thought to have been revised in accordance with the political situation of the end of the reign of Öljeitü Khan) and the manuscripts of the Timurid period (including MSS I_1 and L, which were revised by the group around Hâfiz-i Abrû, and MS R) share a large number of common features despite displaying some differences. Nevertheless, the differences between these manuscripts and MS I (which was copied in 1317 soon after the completion of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*) are difficult to understand in many places. In other words, the three categories suggested by Romaskevich are inadequate to account for all the differences between manuscripts of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*.

Next we will have to consider a manuscript which to this date has hardly been used at all—MS T (Tehrân, Parliamentary Library: No. 2294).

3. Concerning MS T

MS T contains about 30% of the text of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, starting at the beginning and going up to the middle of the

"Chronicle of Chinggis Khan", ending at the beginning of the account of Chinggis Khan's campaign in Central Asia; it includes the crucial part dictated to Rashîd al-Dîn by Ghâzân Khan almost in its entirety. The entries are recorded correctly word for word, with extremely few copyists' mistakes and omissions. Proper nouns and titles of sections are distinguished by the style or size of the script; care is given to visual beauty and ease of reading. Notations indicate the correct pronunciation for Mongol proper names, technical terms derived from Mongol and Turkic, words with difficult pronunciations, and words where there is some danger of ambiguity in the meaning. One can see that a staff of specialists well-versed in the Mongol language participated in the creation of the manuscript.

Merely from its appearance one gets the strong impression that MS T was an "official manuscript" in whose preparation a great deal of care was given. In its contents as well one can find a great many points where, compared to any other manuscript, it is exceptionally well arranged. For example, in the "Oghuz" section of the "History of the tribes", the *tamghâ* (tribal seals) of the twenty-four tribes of the descendants of Oghuz are shown graphically.[13] This is the only such example, as far as I know, in any old manuscript. The inclusion of a detailed diagram of the family of Chinggis Khan is also one of a small number of such cases that can be found in old manuscripts. Furthermore, in all of the major manuscripts existing today, the order of the several dozen Mongol tribes on the table of contents for the "History of the tribes" is different from the order in which they are presented in the text itself; only in MS T is the order the same.[14] In all of the major manuscripts existing today, the Tamghalîq tribe appears in the table of contents but there is no corresponding section in the text itself; in MS T and in a later manuscript in the same line, MS IN (India Office Library: 3524), a section entitled "History of the Tamghalîq tribe" does exist.[15] In the "History of the Jalair tribe", the names and even the number of Jochi Tarmala's five sons are unclear, and only in MS T are the names of the five sons clearly distinguished and the pronunciations of their names at least partially indicated for the sake of accuracy.[16]

As indicated above, MS T has an exceptionally high level of completeness as a manuscript when compared to any of the other manuscripts, from MS I on down. It is possible that this MS T, written in the Naskhî script, could be the actual original text of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* compiled in 1311. It is also possible to consider it a manuscript copied very faithfully from the original text at a time very close to the completion of the original text.

While MS I and MS T both were copied at around the same time, they contain large differences in the contents of their entries and in their phrasing. As opposed to the simple and direct phrasing found in MS I, phrases and sentences are inserted in MS T to make the meaning of the text even clearer. In addition, the detailed entries which can be seen in the "History of the tribes" and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors" in MS I and which are so characteristic of that

manuscript are completely absent from MS T. The decisive distinctions which can be recognized between MS I on the one hand and MSS P and L on the other hand can already be recognized in MS T, which may be thought to have preceded MS P. Therefore, when discussing MSS P and L, a comparison with their predecessor MS T is absolutely essential. In short, MS T should be the starting point for research on the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*. Previous research and work which has made no use whatsoever of MS T or of the other manuscripts in the line of MS T cannot possibly clarify questions of relationships between the manuscripts. An explanation of the decisive differences between the two manuscripts that were copied soon after the completion of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* will make it possible to clarify these questions. In addition, we might thereby approach closer to the original source for the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, namely the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*.

Photographs of the text of MS T were published in 1968 in *Iran no rekishi to gengo*,[17] but the manuscript was then completely neglected until 1993, when Kazuhiko Shiraiwa pointed out its importance in his article "On the Tehran Manuscript of the *Jâmi' al-Tavârîkh* of Rashîd al-Dîn; Kitâbkhânah-i Majlis-i Shûrâ-yi Millî, MS no.2294"[18] and analyzed one section of it, the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors". There is as yet no critical edition or comprehensive research that covers the entire manuscript.

I have previously published an analysis of the differences in the contents between MSS I and T for part of the text,[19] but this time I would like to attempt a similar analysis for the entire text of MS T.

Part II.   MSS T, P, and L Compared to MS I

1.   Addition, Revision, and Omission of Words, Phrases, and Sentences

Although there are differences among MSS T, P, and L themselves, the phrasing of the "History of the tribes", the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors", and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan" and the quantity of entries in the "History of the tribes" and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors" are basically similar within this group and at the same time clearly distinct from what is found in MS I. If one takes MS I as the basis for comparison and examines the differences between it and MSS T, P, and L, one obtains the results given in tables 1 and 2 below. Table 1 shows the results for additions, revisions, and omissions of words, phrases, and sentences; table 2 shows the omissions of long passages. Table 1 is divided into a number of categories, with separate results for each: passages, phrases of two words or more, nouns (general, singular/plural, spelling), pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs (general, endings), prefixes, prefixed words (*mî, be, na, al*), suffixes (*râ, -î*), relative pronouns, conjunctions, misplaced sections, and closing salutations. (O symbolizes that the item in question is present in the manuscript, X that the item in question is absent from the manuscript, and Δ that

Table 1

	X O O O	O X X X	O Δ Δ Δ	X O O X	O X X O	O Δ Δ O	X O X O	O X O X	O Δ O Δ	X O X X	O X O O	O Δ O O	X X O O	O O X X	O O Δ Δ	X X O X	O O X O	O O Δ O
MS I / MS T / MS P / MS L																		
passages	7	0	4	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	3	3	0
clauses	134	59	20	13	5	3	7	4	1	17	46	19	9	22	8	41	144	78
nouns general	138	32	72	13	1	3	8	4	9	18	16	42	5	19	23	63	166	128
sing./pl.	—	—	48	—	—	3	—	—	5	—	—	21	—	—	12	—	—	81
spelling	—	—	474	—	—	103	—	—	81	—	—	98	—	—	154	—	—	226
pronouns	49	27	51	12	2	9	3	4	3	16	11	25	6	13	6	17	78	49
adjectives	33	6	24	4	0	2	3	1	0	9	7	8	1	6	10	8	38	26
adverbs	22	8	4	2	0	3	1	1	1	8	3	0	0	2	1	4	21	10
verbs general	36	8	45	5	3	4	5	0	3	4	5	38	2	9	6	17	62	61
endings	72	57	75	13	12	17	7	13	7	33	22	31	19	31	17	68	80	89
prefixes	30	12	26	5	4	6	2	0	2	5	8	11	3	4	2	27	51	43
prefixed words	20	24	17	6	2	4	0	0	3	5	9	11	4	4	2	18	34	27
suffixes	42	32	—	6	10	—	11	6	—	26	5	—	10	27	—	43	91	—
relative pron.	44	20	14	7	4	1	3	2	0	12	6	6	7	12	0	38	37	9
conjunctions	115	80	7	25	17	1	7	10	4	26	32	2	16	25	8	134	102	10
misplaced	—	—	54	—	—	6	—	—	4	—	—	16	—	—	5	—	—	81
TOTAL	742	365	935	113	60	165	57	46	123	180	173	328	83	174	254	481	907	918
salutations	1	37	2	0	31	0	1	5	0	1	15	1	0	1	0	3	4	0

NOTES:
O present in the manuscript
X absent from the manuscript
Δ changed in the manuscript (i.e. present, but in a different form than in MS I)
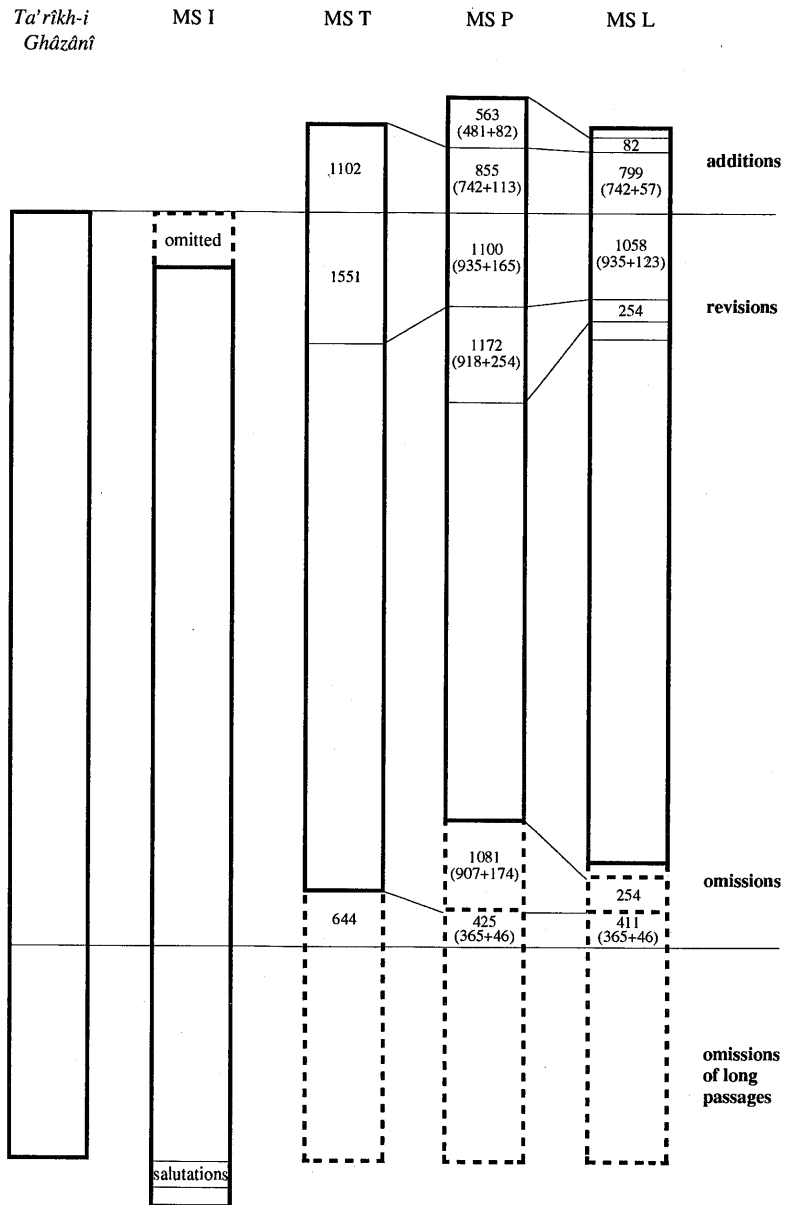
Table 2

	location in MS I	MS I	MS T	MS IN	MS P	MS L_1	MS L
1	14a/18–19	O	X	X	X	X	X
2	16b/4–12	O	X	X	X	X	X
3	21b(r)/25–29	O	X	X	X	$-^1$	X
4	23b/29–24a/11	O	X	X	X	X	X
5	24a/17–23	O	X	X	X	X	X
6	24b/18–25a/2	O	X	X	X	X	X
7	25a/29–25b/3	O	X	X	X	X	X
8	26a/15–31	O	X	X	X	X	X
9	32a/22	O	X	X	X	X	X
10	36b/12–20	O	X	X	X	X	X
11	38b(r)/10–29	O	X	X	X	X	X
12	38b(l)/10–39a(l)/19	O	X	X	X	X	X
13	39b/27–29	O	X	X	X	X	X
14	50a/8–50b/8	O	X	X	X	X	X
15	50b/24–51a/14	O	X	X	X	X	X
16	54b/12–55b/23	O	X	X	X	X	X
17	57a/13–17	O	X	X	X	X	X
18	79a/26–29	O	X	X	X	X	X
19	98b/29–99a/5	O	X	X	X	X	O
20	100a/4–8	O	X	X	X	X	O
21	18a/18–18b/7	O	X	X	O	O	O
22	38a/12–17	O	X	X	O^2	O^2	O^2
23	42b/4–6	O	X	X	O	O	O
24	21b/4–7	O	O^2	O^2	X	$-^1$	X
25	40a/23–25	O	O	O	X	X	X
26	49a/6–8	O	O	O	X	X	X
27	51a	O^3	O^4	O^4	X	X	X
28	60b/16–23	O	O	O	X	X	X

NOTES:
O present in the manuscript   1. missing page
X absent from the manuscript   2. misplaced
                                         3. in margin
                                         4. in text

Diagram 1

Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî	MS I	MS T	MS P	MS L	

563 (481+82)		additions

- 1102 | 855 (742+113) | 82 |
- 799 (742+57) |

omitted

- 1551 | 1100 (935+165) | 1058 (935+123) |
- 254 | revisions |

- 1172 (918+254) |

- 1081 (907+174) | omissions |
- 254 |

- 644 | 425 (365+46) | 411 (365+46) |

omissions of long passages

salutations

the further to the left, the more:
1. rough, simple
2. mistakes
3. old spelling
4. long passages added

the further to the right, the more:
1. polished, detailed
2. corrections
3. new spelling
4. long passages omitted

the item in question is changed in the manuscript—i.e. present, but in a different form than in MS I.)[20] If one expresses tables 1 and 2 in diagram form, the result is diagram 1.

From tables 1 and 2 and diagram 1, it is readily apparent that there are over 3300 points of difference between MSS I and T in terms of additions, omissions, and changes, and that most of the differences found in MS T were inherited by MSS P and L. The tables show clearly that MS I on the one hand and MSS T, P, and L on the other hand belong to two different lines of manuscripts. Additionally, one can see that MS P contains further new additions, omissions, and revisions not found in MS T.

Taking MS I as the basis for comparison, if one compares the total number of additions shared by all three MSS T, P, and L to the total number of omissions shared by those three manuscripts, the ration is 742:365, or 2.03. If one merely takes the additions and omissions shared by MSS T and P, the ratio is (742+113):(365+60), or 2.01. In either case, there are about twice as many additions as omissions. One can see that the entries in MSS T, P, and L are more detailed than those in MS I. However, there are considerable differences in these ratios when they are broken down by classes of words. The ones with higher ratios are adjectives (6.2), nouns (4.6), verbs (general) (3.7), and adverbs (3.0), followed by sentences and phrases (2.4). Prefixes (2.2), pronouns (2.1), and relative pronouns (2.1) show results close to the overall average. Conjunctions (1.4), verb endings (1.2), suffixes (1.1), and prefixes (0.9) all have around the same number of additions as omissions. To summarize, taking MS I as the basis for comparison, MSS T, P, and L contain a higher ratio of additions in categories such as adjectives, nouns, verbs, and adverbs, not to mention entire phrases, which would indicate more detailed descriptions of events and conditions, and a lower but still considerable ratio of additions in categories such as prefixes, pronouns, relative pronouns and prefixes, among others, which would indicate a more polished writing style.

Among the examples of additions, there are as many as ten where titles were either added or expanded in MSS T, P, and L.[21] From this point of view alone, one gets the strong impression that MS I preceded MSS T, P, and L.

Among the examples of revisions, one can find dozens of cases where word order is changed, showing clearly that MSS T, P, and L belong to a different line than MS I. Aside from these, in the "History of the Kereit tribe", the entries for the Tûmât (<Tomat*) and Tûngqâît (<Dongqait*) clans are completely different in MS T than in MS I,[22] and this revision is inherited in MSS P and L.

Again, among the examples of revisions, one can find a great number of examples where personal names, titles, tribal names, place names, technical terms, common nouns and numbers appearing in MS I have been corrected—either completely changed or else corrected in terms of spelling—in MSS T, P, and L. These examples outnumber the examples where, compared to MS I, MSS T, P, and L have been changed for the worse. Here too we can see that MS I preceded

MSS T, P, and L.

Furthermore, in technical terms derived from Mongol and Turkic words or in Mongol names, when there is a sequence of two consecutive long u's (as in the word "bukâûûl"), MS I will frequently keep both long u's in the spelling, while MSS T, P, and L will almost always combine the two long u's into one (for example as "bukâûl"). Outside of MS I the spelling of both long u's is extremely rare; apparently, this is the old spelling, more faithful to the original pronunciation, while the single long u would be the more common new spelling. These spelling conventions likewise seem to show that MS I preceded MSS T, P, and L.

2. "Pâdshâh-i Islâm" and "Pâdshâh-i Islâm Ghâzân Khân"

In old manuscripts of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, Ghâzân Khan is given the title of "Pâdshâh-i Islâm", or "Emperor of Islam". The entire phrase "Pâdshâh-i Islâm Ghâzân Khân" also appears at times, but in the overwhelming number of cases it is simply "Pâdshâh-i Islâm", because it would be obvious to the reader that the "Emperor of Islam" referred to none other than the ruler at that time, Ghâzân Khan. By contrast, in manuscripts copied at a later date, his name is often added to make the entire phrase "Pâdshâh-i Islâm Ghâzân Khân". One famous manuscript, MS L_2 (London, British Library: Add.16688), which was copied later than either MS I or MS T, has "Pâdshâh-i Islâm Ghâzân Khân" in virtually every place where MSS T, P, and L have "Pâdshâh-i Islâm". On the other hand, there are no cases where the phrase "Pâdshâh-i Islâm Ghâzân Khân" in MSS T, P, and L is shortened in MS L_2 to "Pâdshâh-i Islâm".

In all three cases in the "History of the tribes" in MS I where "Pâdshâh-i Islâm Ghâzân Khân" appears, MSS T, P, and L merely give "Pâdshâh-i Islâm", leaving out the name "Ghâzân Khân". It is clear that the form "Pâdshâh-i Islâm" found in MS T, which faithfully transmits much of the form of the original text of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, is actually the original form, and that the name "Ghâzân Khân" was added to MS I when it was copied in 1317.

3. Closing Salutations

Closing salutations (in most cases, the Arabic *al-salâm*) are almost uniformly written in the spaces between sections of text in MS I. This is almost never seen in MS T, which faithfully transmits much of the form of the original text of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*. MS I has eighty more examples of such closing salutations than does MS T. These closing salutations are found so uniformly throughout MS I that it would be appropriate to consider them to have been added when the manuscript was copied in 1317.

4. Omissions of Long Passages

As sections 1, 2, and 3 of this part have shown, MS T, while fairly simple and direct itself, adds words and phrases to the more rough MS I: it uses more detailed and polished phrases, carries out a large number of revisions, fixes

mistakes, and changes old spelling conventions. It would be extremely unnatural and unreasonable to view MS I as having been derived from MS T, and entirely natural to think of MS T as having come instead out of MS I. In our discussion up to this point we have taken MS I as the basis for comparison only provisionally, but since MS I really must have preceded MS T, it is indeed the line of manuscripts beginning with MS I which should serve as the basis for comparisons with other manuscripts.

If we accept that MS I did precede MS T, then that would mean that the long passages which are found in the "History of the tribes" and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors" in MS I were actually omitted or eliminated from the line of MS T.

In the "History of the Oirât tribe" in MS I, the following appears in the entry concerning the sons of Bûqâtîmûr:[23]

MS I	MS T
··	··
.... Mankkûtîmûr azû âmade wa rawâyatî-yi dîgar ···	.... Mankkûtîmûr azû âmade wa rawâyatî

In this part, MS I gives two stories about the genealogy of Bûqâtîmûr. The part up to "Mankkûtîmûr azû âmade", or "Mankkûtîmûr was born from her", is the first story. The second story begins with the introduction "wa rawâyatî-yi dîgar", or "And another story...". In MSS T, P, and L the first story likewise ends with the words "Mankkûtîmûr azû âmade", but the second story is omitted.[24] However, the two words "wa rawâyatî" which appear at the end of the line in MS I remain at the end of the line in MS T, and were not omitted, although they serve no purpose. This can be only explained as the copyist having copied all the way to the end of the line before omitting the second story. This part of the manuscript makes it clear that the entry already existed in MS I and was actually omitted from MS T when MS T was copied.

There is no room for doubt that the entries in the "History of the tribes" and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors" in MS I which are not found in MS T were eliminated from the text when the latter was copied. Whether it is the presence or absence of words and phrases or the presence or absence of long passages, the fact is clear that MS T was copied from a manuscript in the line of MS I. Parts of the text which appear as notes in the margins of the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors" in MS I are written directly into the text of MS T and linked to the preceding and following phrases with appropriate conjunctions or other words. This too shows clearly that MS T was derived from MS I or its line of manuscripts.

As I have now repeated several times, MS T is extremely close to the original text of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*. The only possible source for MS T must be the same original source for the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, namely, the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*. MS I, which also preserves a great number of features of the manuscript which preceded MS T, must therefore have

had a close relationship to the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* as well.

Part III. MS I and MS T

1. The Order of Chapters in MS I

Manuscripts of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* (including MS T) usually begin with the "Preface to the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*", the "Contents of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*", the "Preface to the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*", and the "Compilation of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*", followed by the "History of the tribes". This is unmistakably the correct order for the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*; the "Preface to the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*" and the "Compilation of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*" are written as one continuous section and included as an appendix to the "Preface to the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" and the "Contents of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*".

By contrast, MS I begins with the title "First Volume of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" written in large letters, then immediately follows it with the "Preface to the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*", after which the "Preface to the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" and the "Contents of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" follow as appendices. The "Compilation of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*" stands alone after this, written on a separate page with the title in large letters. The title is "First Volume of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" but the actual order of the parts is that of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*. The manuscript explains that the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* was a history of the Mongols compiled through the earnest efforts of Ghâzân Khan, who hoped to reconstruct the Il-Khanid state by strengthening its now severely attenuated ties with its various Mongol tribes, and states that that history would be recorded in the sections beginning with the "History of the tribes". As I have shown in the part II, the contents of the "History of the tribes", the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors", and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan" in MS I truly do demonstrate a close relationship to the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*.

The original text of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* is now lost, and there is no way to know what the entire work looked like, but as I have explained above, the "Preface to the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*" and the "Compilation of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*" are copied into the beginning of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*. It is very interesting to see exactly how these are incorporated into each of the manuscripts—MSS I, T, P, and L. Furthermore, while MS I demonstrates a close relationship to the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*, it takes as its title "First Volume of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" and does include the "Preface to the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" and the "Contents of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*". Since these two sections were written in 1311 especially for the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, they are not based on the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* at all. Therefore, it is also very interesting to see how these two sections—the "Preface to the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" and the "Contents of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*"—were incorporated into each of the manuscripts (MSS I, T, P, and L) as well. First, I will compare the contents of each of the manuscripts with respect to the "Preface to the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" and the

"Contents of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*", and then analyze them with respect to the "Preface to the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*" and the "Compilation of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*".

2. The "Preface to the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" and the "Contents of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*"

Taking MS I as the basis of comparison, an analysis of the additions and omissions in the "Preface to the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" and the "Contents of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" in MSS T, P, and L gives us the results shown in table 3.

There are many differences between MS I and MSS T, P, and L. Taking MS I as the basis of comparison, the ratio between the additions shared by MSS T, P, and L or by MSS T and P and the omissions shared by those same manuscripts is 24:19; restricting the count to phrases, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, the resulting ratio is 17:15, or almost even. Whether one takes MS I or MS T as the basis of comparison, the ratio between additions and omissions does not change. In the two places where MS I has "Pâdshâh-i Islâm Ghâzân Khân", MS T merely has "Pâdshâh-i Islâm". As I explained earlier, the name "Ghâzân Khân" must have been added when MS I was copied in 1317, six years after the completion of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* in 1311. In a good number of cases, it appears that the so-called omissions in MS T should really be seen as additions in MS I instead. In any case, regarding the differences in phrasing between MS I and MS T in the "Preface to the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" and the "Contents of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" in the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, additions and omissions appear in approximately equal numbers in MS I, which was copied some time after MS T, and MS I very naturally appears as a manuscript which was copied six years after the completion of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*. As with the differences that can be seen between MS I and MS T in the phrasing of the "History of the tribes", the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors", and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan", it is definitely not the case that additions and omissions only occurred in MS T and not in MS I.

3. The "Preface to the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*" and the "Compilation of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*"

It goes without saying that the "Preface to the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*" and the "Compilation of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*", having been compiled by the order of Ghâzân Khân and completed in 1307 after his death, could only have existed officially in one form. However, there are clear differences in the phrasing of the entries quoted in MS I and in MSS T, P, and L. Taking MS I as the basis of comparison, an analysis of the additions and omissions in MSS T, P, and L gives us the results shown in table 4.

Taking MS I as the basis of comparison, the ratio between the additions shared by MSS T, P, and L or by MSS T and P and the omissions shared by those same manuscripts is 24:7; restricting the count to phrases, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, the resulting ratio is 18:1. Additions are

overwhelmingly numerous. This situation is fundamentally entirely different from the relationship discussed above between MS I and MSS T, P, and L with regards to the "Preface to the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" and the "Contents of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*" or with regards to the "History of the tribes", the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors", and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan".

Among these additions to MS T are the two examples shown below:

(A)[25]

MS I: Pâdshâh-i Islâm...

MS T: Pâdshâh-i Islâm... Sulţân Maḥmûd Ghâzân Khân

(B)[26]

MS I: *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*

MS T: *Ta'rîkh-i Mubârak-i Ghâzânî*

There is no room for doubt that the title "Pâdshâh-i Islâm" in MS I in case (A)

Table 3 *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*

		X	X	O	O
MS I		X	X	O	O
MS T		O	O	X	X
MS P		O	O	X	X
MS L		O	X	X	O
phrases	8+	0	0	0	0
	3–7	1	0	2	0
	2	1	1	3	0
nouns	general	6	2	3	2
	sing./pl.	—	—	—	—
	spelling	—	—	—	—
pronouns		2	0	1	0
adjectives		0	0	1	0
adverbs		0	0	1	0
verbs	general	4	0	2	0
	endings	0	0	0	0
		0	0	0	0
prefixes		1	0	0	0
mî		0	0	0	0
be, na, al		1	0	0	0
râ		1	0	0	0
-î		0	0	0	0
rel. pron.	*ke*	1	0	0	0
	others	1	0	0	0
conj.	*wa*	0	1	4	0
	others	1	0	0	0
misplaced		—	—	—	—
TOTAL		20	4	17	2

NOTES:
O present in the manuscript
X absent from the manuscript

Table 4 *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*

		X	X	O	O
MS I		X	X	O	O
MS T		O	O	X	X
MS P		O	O	X	X
MS L		O	X	X	O
phrases	8+	0	0	0	0
	3–7	3	0	0	0
	2	3	0	1	0
nouns	general	9	1	0	0
	sing./pl.	—	—	—	—
	spelling	—	—	—	—
pronouns		2	0	0	0
adjectives		0	0	0	0
adverbs		0	0	0	0
verbs	general	0	0	0	0
	endings	0	0	0	0
		0	0	0	0
prefixes		0	0	0	0
mî		0	0	0	0
be, na, al		1	0	0	0
râ		0	0	0	0
-î		1	0	0	0
rel. pron.	*ke*	0	0	2	0
	others	0	0	0	0
conj.	*wa*	4	0	3	1
	others	0	0	0	0
misplaced		—	—	—	—
TOTAL		23	1	6	1

NOTES:
O present in the manuscript
X absent from the manuscript

is the expression that was found in the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*, written while Ghâzân Khan was still alive, while the addition of "Sulṭân Maḥmûd Ghâzân Khân" in MS T represents the expression used after his death, at the time when the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* was completed.

The expression in case (B) is found in the title "Concerning the compilation of this work, which is called the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*". It is clear that the expression *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* ("Ghâzân's History") which is recorded in MS I is the expression used in the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*, compiled while Ghâzân Khan was still alive, while the expression *Ta'rîkh-i Mubârak-i Ghâzânî* ("Ghâzân's Blessed History") in MS T, to which the word "mubârak" ("blessed") was added to express respect for Ghâzân Khan, was the expression used after Ghâzân Khan's death, at the time when the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* was completed. The expressions *Ta'rîkh-i Mubârak-i Ghâzânî* and *Ta'rîkh-i Mubârak* can also be found in the text of MS I (which was copied thirteen years after the death of Ghâzân Khan), but the expression which was used during Ghâzân Khan's lifetime, *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*, can only be found in the section entitled "Compilation of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*". This could only mean that the "Preface to the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*" and the "Compilation of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*" quoted in MS I faithfully transmit the original form of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* compiled while Ghâzân Khan was still alive. Therefore, one can conclude that the "Preface to the *Ta'rîkh-i Mubârak-i Ghâzânî*" found in MS T expresses the form of the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh* at the time when that was completed, with its additions of phrases, nouns, and pronouns and its changes in phrasing. The entries the main text (beginning with the "History of the tribes") which I have already examined in part II above can also be understood in exactly the same way.

Conclusions

While fragmentary changes were made in MS I at the time it was copied, such as omissions and changes in proper nouns due to copyists' errors, the addition of "Ghâzân Khân" to "Pâdshâh-i Islâm", and the addition of closing salutations, I have determined that MS I fundamentally transmits the original text of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* almost without change.[27] The simple and direct expressions found in MS I, rough yet forceful, transmit Ghâzân Khan's dictation in the same urgent manner that it was delivered. Furthermore, the particularly detailed entries in the "History of the tribes" and the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors" in MS I strongly reflect the form in which Ghâzân Khan's *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* was compiled.

The supreme Mongol sovereign Ghâzân Khan personally described the strong ties which had been formed over generations between the various Mongol tribes and the descendants of Chinggis Khan. He had this account, dictated in Mongolian, translated into Persian and compiled as the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî*; this work can be considered the "official dynastic history" of the Mongol empire. The revised edition of this work, the "Mongol history" of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, does

not equal the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* either in content or in originality. Today, with the original version of the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* lost, MS I is invaluable.[28]

Typically, Rashîd al-Dîn is lauded as the author of the *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*, but truly it is Ghâzân Khan and the *Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî* which should be given most of the credit. Rashîd al-Dîn did no more than take down, as Ghâzân Khan's servant, the words that Ghâzân Khan dictated.

Notes

1) Hirotoshi Shimo I: *Political Structure of the Mongol Empire* (University of Tokyo Press, 1995), pp.2–8. Hirotoshi Shimo II: "The Ta'rîkh-i Ghâzânî and the history of the Mongols in the Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh", *Perushiago koshahon shiryô seisa ni yoru Mongoru teikokushi kenkyû* (Toyo Bunko, 1996), pp. 1–19.

2) Satoko Shimo: "Rashîd al-Dîn's *Mongol History*: How it is Related to *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*", *The Toyo Gakuho* 76.3–4 (1995), pp. 117–118.

3) M.E. Quatremère: *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, écrite en persan par Raschid-Eldîn* (Paris, 1836).

4) I.N. Berezin: "Sbornik Letopisei Istoriya Mongolov Sochinenie Rashid-Eddina", *TVOIRAO* V, VII, XIII, and XV (St. Petersburg, 1858, 1861, 1868, and 1888).

5) E. Blochet: *Djami el-Tevârîkh Histoire générale du monde par Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din, Târîkh-i moubarek-i Ghâzânî Histoire des Mongols, Tom II* (Leyden–London, 1911).

6) K. Jahn: *Geschichte Gâzân-hân's aus dem Ta'rîh-i mubârek-i Gâzânî des Rašîd al-Dîn Fadlallâh b. 'Imâd al-Daula Abûl-Hair* (London, 1940).

7) A.A. Alîzâde etc.: *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh Tom III* (Baku, 1957).

8) A.A. Alîzâde etc.: *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh Tom I* (Moscow, 1965).

9) A.A. Alîzâde etc.: *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh Tom II (1)* (Moscow, 1980).

10) In places where in any of the other manuscripts one only finds "Tabrîz", in MS P and its line only one finds "dâr al-Islâm Tabrîz" ("the abode of submission, Tabrîz") or "dâr al-amân Tabrîz" ("the abode of security, Tabrîz"). It is possible to imagine that MS P was copied during the most flourishing period of the Il-Khanid dynasty, when Tabrîz was particularly exalted. In addition, in the "Chronicle of Arghun Khan" in MS P, there is information on Öljeitü Khan's construction of Sultaniyya which is not found in any of the other manuscripts. Since Sultaniyya was completed in 1313, we can date MS P to sometime after 1313 (H. Shimo II: p.6). Furthermore, in the "History of the Uryangqan tribe", the misplaced passages one finds in MSS I and T are found along with the passages in the correct sequence in MS P. This shows that MS P was copied at a later date than MSS I and T.

11) In this article, when I make use of MS P, I follow the corrections in the order of the passages made by Hirotoshi Shimo (H. Shimo II: pp. 12–13).

12) The fourteen sections from the "History of the Tangut tribe" to the "History of the Îldûrkîn tribe" are placed in the middle of the "History of the Oirât tribe".

13) MS T: 13b–14a

14) MS T: 10b–11a

15) MS T: 21a; MS IN: 423a

16) MS T: 15a

17) Atsuuji Ashikaga etc.: *History and Languages of Iran* (Kyoto University, 1968).

18) *Orient* 36.1 (1993), pp. 55–70.

19) Satoko Shimo: the article cited in footnote 2 and "Rashîd al-Dîn's *Mongol History*: How it is Related to *Jâmi' al-Tawârîkh*", *Proceedings of the 38th Permanent International Altaistic Conference* (Wiesbaden, 1996), pp. 325–332.

20) Cases where additions, omissions, and revisions first occur in MS L are excluded. In a very small number of cases, a word that appears as A in MS I will appear in MSS T–P–L as B–C–D, B–C–C,

or B–C–B, but these cases are also excluded. A very small number of cases amongst several thousand cases of differences, these can be excluded without problem. In addition, omissions of long passages through copyists' errors in MS I (the basis for comparison) might appear at first glance as additions in MS T, but these cases too are excluded from consideration here. (Copyists' errors in MS I can be recognized when the omitted text is part of a passage that appears twice in the same manuscript.) Cases where a line was skipped in the copying of MS I are also excluded.

21) I plan to discuss concrete examples of additions, omissions, and revisions in another work.

22) MS I: 24b; MS T: 23b.

23) MS I: 21b (right)/25–26; MS T: 21b (right)/18.

24) See the passage cited as number 3 on table 2.

25) MS I: 2a/28; MS T: 8a/7–8.

26) MS I: 7a/1-2; MS T: 8b/8.

27) Hirotoshi Shimo came to the same conclusions as this article by examining all of the omissions in MS T through the use of MSS IN, L_2, P, and L (H. Shimo II). Using the section from the "Chronicle of Ögödei Qa'an" to the "Chronicle of Temür Qa'an" and the section of the "History of the Il-Khanids" covering the same period in MS I as the basis for comparison, he found that the differences with other manuscripts in those sections were different from those found in the "History of the tribes" or the "Chronicle of Chinggis Khan's ancestors". A more comprehensive investigation than was possible for this article is clearly necessary.

28) MS T is also useful for fixing some of the shortcomings of MS I. The unique entries which are only found in the "Chronicle of Ghâzân Khan" in MS P are also useful in this way, as contemporary evidence. The new material concerning the genealogy of the Chinggisids found in MSS P and L is superior to that found in MSS I and T. (See H. Shimo II)