

# The 'Phags-pa Mongolian Inscription of *Toγon-temür qaγan's* Edict

By Masa'aki SUGIYAMA

The solitary hill of I-shan 繹山 rises out of the plain some fifteen km. south of Tsou-hsien 鄒縣 in Shantung 山東. It has been famous from ancient times for its inscription of an edict from the First Emperor 秦始皇 (a version of which said to be from the Sung can be found in Si-an 西安). In the Yüan period, the Taoist temple of Hsien-jên wan-shou-kung 仙人萬壽宮 was located here and its remains are still visible today. On the top of the hill, there stands the Sino-Mongolian stele of *Toγon-temür qaγan's* edict issued in 1335<sup>1)</sup>. However, the surface of the stele is so defaced that it cannot be deciphered directly. Fortunately, the Research Institute of Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University, 京都大學人文科學研究所 possesses a rubbing of the front side of this bilingual stele (see plate). On the upper part of the stele the 'Phags-pa Mongolian edict is inscribed, and on the lower part a Chinese version of the Mongolian in the so-called literal translative style is to be found. The Chinese text is already known from Ts'ai Mei-piao's 蔡美彪 catalogue, *Yüan-tai pai-hua-pei chi-lu* 元代白話碑集錄 (no. 83, p. 87), but the Mongolian text is unknown. As one can see at a glance, the rubbing is not very clear and lacks the lower one third of the Chinese version. The most interesting point about this bilingual stele is that the 'Phags-pa Mongolian text itself includes several incredible mistakes, suggesting that the writer was not completely versed in the 'Phags-pa script. Moreover, the Chinese version makes many mistranslations, which are in some places very simple and careless. If one compares all thirteen of the Sino-Mongolian bilingual edicts that have been published (from inscriptions)<sup>2)</sup>, one finds that the Chinese translations do indeed deteriorate with time. From this fact, we may surmise that the translators<sup>3)</sup> came to be quite careless and that this tendency reached its peak in this bilingual edict. In making the transliteration and transcription, I mainly follow L. Ligeti's system<sup>4)</sup>.

## Transliteration

- 1 mōn-k'a deñ-ri-yin k'u-č'un-dur
- 2 yekä su ja-li-yin 'i-h'än-dur
- 3 qa'an jar-liq ma-nu
- 4 č'ä-ri-'u-dun no-yad-da č'ä-rig ha-ra-na ba-la-

- 5 qa-dun da-ru-qas-da no-yad-da yôr-č'i-  
6 qun ya-bu-qun 'el-č'i-nä d'ul-qa-que
- 7 jar-liq  
8 jiñ-gis-qa-nu  
9 "äo-k'äo-däe (qa)'a-nu  
10 (sä)-č'an qa'a-(nu)  
11 (")-äöl-jäe-t'u (qa'a-nu)  
12 k'äu-läug qa'a-nu  
13 bu-yan-t'u (qa'a-nu)  
14 (g)ä-g'an qa'a-nu  
15 qu-(t'uq)-t'u qa'a-nu  
16 ja-ya'a-t'u qa'a-nu  
17 rin-č'en-dpal qa'a-nu ba jar-li-'ud-dur do-yid 'er-k'ä-'ud sän-šhi-ñud  
"al-ba "al-ba qub-č'i-ri "äu-lu "äu-jeñ  
18 deñ-ri-(yi) jal-ba-ri-ju hi-ru-'är "äo-gun "a-t'u-qayi k'äg-däg-säd  
"a-ju-'ue 'e-du:'ä bär bäo-'ä-su 'u-ri-da-nu  
19 (jar-liq)-un yo-su-'ar "a-li-ba "al-ba qub-č'i-ri "äu-lu "äu-jeñ  
20 deñ-ri-(yi) jal)-ba-ri-ju  
21 bi-da-na h(i-ru-'är) "äo-gun "a-t'u-qayi k'an yi-du-lu thiñ-jiw  
jhiw-huän yi-šan sän-žin wan-šiw-gäun-dur čäu-či tuñ-ših jin-ciñ  
t'uñ-huän tay-šhi č'uñ čuñ-jin  
22 tay-(dh)iy liñ(?) jin-žin yun-hi-bun-cuñ du-ti-dem  
li-taw-ši miñ-taw-gue-dhiy tuñ-wi tay-šhi u-ji-cuän  
tuñ-wi ji-häu tay-šhi u-taw-cuän gäu č'uñ  
23 (ti-dem) t'ä-ri-'u-t'an sän-šhi-ñud-dä u-ri-du yo-su-'ar  
ba-ri-ju ya-bu-'ayi  
24 jar-liq "(äög)-(bä)e 'e-dä-nu gäun<sup>9)</sup>-gôn-dur gä-yid-dur "a-nu 'el-č'in  
bu ba-'u-t'u-qayi 'u-la'a ši-'u-sun<sup>9)</sup>bu ba-ri-t'u-qayi 'e-dä-nu  
gäun-gôn-dur 'e-lä qa-ri-ya-tan jhañ-ten  
25 qa-(jar) 'u-sun baq t'ä-gir-mäd gäy-den-k'u dem k'ä-bid  
qa-la-'un 'u-sun šir-gä k'äo-näör-gä-dä-č'ä "a-li-ba  
"al-ban<sup>7)</sup> qub-č'i-ri bu ab-t'u-qayi k'äd k'äd bär  
bol-ju k'u  
26 č'u bu k'ur-gä-t'u-gäe ya-'u k'ä-ji "a-nu buli-ju t'a-t'a-ju  
bu ab-t'u-qayi 'e-dä ba-sa sän-šhi-ñud  
27 jar-liq-t'an (k'ä)-ju yo-su "äu-gä-'un "äue-läs bu "äue läd-t'u-gäe  
"äue-lä-du-'ä-su "äu-lu-'u "a-yu-qun mud  
28 jar-liq ma-nu ("üä)n-tuñ qu-t'u-'ar hön qa-qayi jil (na)-mu-run t'ä  
29 ri-'un za-ra-yin (ha)r-ban  
30 däör-bä-nä šaň-du-da bu  
31 k'ue-(dur) bi-č'i-bäe

## Transcription

- 1 mōnka dēnri-yin kučün-dür  
 2 yēke su jali-yin 'ihe'en-dür  
 3 qa'an jarliq manu  
     4 čeri'üd-ün noyad-da čerig haran-a bala-  
     5 -qad-un daruqas-da noyad-da yôrči-  
     6 -qun yabuqun élčin-e du'ulqaquï
- 7 jarliq  
 8 Jīngis qan-u  
 9 Öködeï (qa)'an-u  
 10 (Se)čen qa'a(n-u)  
 11 Öljeitü (qa'an-u)  
 12 Külüg qa'an-u  
 13 Buyantu (qa'a)n-u  
 14 (G)ege'en qa'an-u  
 15 Qu(tuq)tu qa'an-u  
 16 Jaya'atu qa'an-u  
 17 Rinčen-dpal<sup>9)</sup> qa'an-u ba jarli'ud-dur doyid érke'üd sen-šhiñ-ud  
     aliba alba qubčiri ülü üjen  
 18 dēnri-(yi) jalbariju hirü'er ögün atuqai ke'egdegsed aju'uï edü'e  
     ber bö'esü uridan-u  
 19 (jarliq)-un yosu'ar aliba alba qubčiri ülü üjen  
 20 dēnri-(yi) jal)bariju  
 21 bidan-a h(irü'er) ögün atuqai ke'en Yi-du-lu Thiñ-jiw  
     Jhiw-hüen Yi-šan Sen-zin wan-šiw-gün-dür čü-či<sup>14)</sup> Tuñ-šin  
     jin-čin<sup>9)</sup> tuñ-hüen tay-šhi čuñ-čuñ-jin  
     22 tay-(dh)iy liñ-(?) jin-zin yun<sup>10)</sup>-hi-bun-čuñ du-ti-dem  
         Li-taw-ši Miñ-taw guï-dhiy<sup>11)</sup> tuñ-wi tay-šhi  
         U-ji-çüen Tuñ-wi<sup>12)</sup> ji-hü tay-šhi U-taw-çüen gü-čuñ-  
     23 (ti-dem<sup>13)</sup>) teri'üten sen-šhiñ-ud-de uridu yosu'ar bariju  
         yabu'ai
- 24 jarliq ögbeï éden-ü gün<sup>5)</sup>-gôn-dur geyid-dür anu élčin bu ba'utuqai  
     ula'a ši'üsün<sup>9)</sup> bu barituqai éden-ü gün-gôn-dur éle qariyatan  
     jīañ-tēn  
     25 qa(jar) usun baq tegirmed gey-dēn-ku dem kebid qala'un  
         usun širge kōnōrge-deče aliba alban<sup>7)</sup> qubčiri bu  
         abtuqai ked ked ber bolju ku-
- 26 čü bu kūrgetügeï ya'u keji anu buliju tataju bu abtuqai éde  
     basa sen-šhiñ-ud  
 27 jarliq-tan (ke'e)jü yosu üge'un üiles bu üiledtügeï üiledü'esü  
     ülü'ü ayuqun muđ  
 28 jarliq manu (ue)n-tuñ qutu'ar hōn qaqqai jil (na)mur-un te-

- 29 -ri'ün zara-yin (ha)rban  
 30 dörben-e Šandu-da  
 31 buǰüi-(dür) bičibej

### Translation

- 1 With the Might of Everlasting Heaven
- 2 With the Protection of the Great Fortune Flame
- 3 Imperial Edict of Us, the Emperor.
- 4 An Imperial Edict, addressed to military commanders, military personnel,  
     5 *daruγas* and *noγans* of castle-cities, and to messengers  
     6 going to and fro.
- 7 In the Imperial Edicts of
- 8 *Činggis-qan*
- 9 *Ögödei-qayan*
- 10 *Sečen-qayan*
- 11 *Öljeitü-qayan*
- 12 *Külüg-qayan*
- 13 *Buyantu-qayan*
- 14 *Gegegen-qayan*
- 15 *Qutuγtu-qayan*
- 16 *Jayayatu-qayan*
- 17 *Irinčenbal-qayan*, it was stated that Buddhist, Nestorian and Taoist clergy, not observing any tribute or taxes, were to pray to  
     Heaven and to pronounce benedictions. Even now, stating that in  
     accordance with previous
- 18 Imperial Edicts, not observing any tribute or taxes, they are to pray  
     to
- 20 Heaven and to pronounce benedictions for
- 21 Us (= *Činggis-qan*'s descendants or the Mongol royal family), we  
     have bestowed
- 22 an Imperial Edict to be retained and taken away by *Li Tao-shih*,  
     Great Teacher, pure and calm penetrator of emptiness and  
     knower of the mystery, assigned as Chief Director under the  
     main [temple] and the exalted pure man of the rank of Great  
     Virtue and spiritual [mystery?] 洞誠真靜通玄大師充崇真大德靈□  
     真人 [yun?] 下本宗都提點李道實; and by *Wu Chih-ch'üan*, Great  
     Teacher, of the enlightened path of honourable virtue and  
     deep obscurity 明道貴德洞微大師吳志全, and *Wu Tao-ch'üan*,  
     Great Teacher, of deep obscurity and utmost vacuity 洞微<sup>12)</sup>致虛  
     大師吳道泉 who were both assigned as directors 俱充提點<sup>13)</sup>; and  
     by other Taoist clergy, who are in the Taoist temple<sup>14)</sup> of

*I-shan Hsien-jên wan-shou-kung* 釋山仙人萬壽宮 in *T'eng-chou* 滕州, *Tsou-hsien* 鄒縣, of *I-tu-lu* 益都路.

- 24 Messengers must not dismount at these Taoist temples and their cloisters, must not take post-horses and provisions, and must not seize any tribute or taxes from fields 庄田, lands and waters, gardens, mills, pawnshops, inns, shops, bath-houses, vinegar and yeast [for spirits] belonging to these Taoist temples. No one
- 25 is to extend force or take, snatch away or seize anything of theirs whatsoever. Likewise, these Taoists must not commit unlawful deeds; they have an
- 27 Imperial Edict. If they do so, shall they not be struck with fear?
- 28 Our Imperial Edict was written on the fourteenth of the first month of autumn, in the Year of the Pig, the third year of *Yüan-t'ung* 元統 (= 1335), while staying
- 31 at *Shang-tu* 上都.

### Notes

- 1) This stele is recorded in the *Chün-ku-lu* 攬古錄 by Wu Shih-fen 吳式芬, *chüan* 19, p. 32b.
- 2) See Masa'aki SUGIYAMA, "Babuša-daiō no ryō-ji-hi yori" (From the Inscription of Prince Babuša's Edict), *Tōyōshi Kenkyū* (*The Journal of Oriental Studies*), (in print).
- 3) Except for two cases, we have no data about the question of who translated the Mongolian edicts into Chinese. Cf. Masa'aki SUGIYAMA, "The 'Phags-pa Mongolian Inscription of *Buyantu-qaγan's* Edict in Yuanshi xian 元氏縣, belonging to *Č'aqaan-balaqasun*", *Zinbun: Memoirs of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies*, Kyoto University, no. 22, 1987, pp. 17-18 and p. 21, n. 7.
- 4) L. Ligeti, *Monument en Écriture 'Phags-pa. Pièces de Chancellerie en Transcription chinoise*, Budapest, 1972.
- 5) The 'Phags-pa script mistakenly has *n* where *ñ* should appear, representing the Chinese word *kung* 宮.
- 6) Usually in 'Phags-pa Mongolian edicts *ši·u-su* < *ši'üsü*, without *n*.
- 7) Likewise, usually *'al-ba* < *alba* without *n*.
- 8) Mon. *Irinčenbal*; Skr. *Ratnaśrī* (> Turco-Mon. *Aratnaširi*), Ch. *Pao-chi-hsiang* 寶吉祥.
- 9) Ts'ai Mei-piao writes *jên* 人, although it is clear from 'Phags-pa *cin* that 靜 is meant. Moreover, this same person (Li Tao-shih) appears in another inscription possessed by the Jinbun-ken, the *Hsien-jên wan-shou-kung ch'ung-chien-chi* 仙人萬壽宮重建記 (1322; this inscription is recorded in the *Shan-tsou chin-shih-chih* 山左金石志, *chüan* 23, 21b). In this case, his title is indeed given as *Tung-ch'eng chên-ching* 洞誠眞靜, thus confirming the 'Phags-pa version. See also *Mêng-ku tzü-yin* 蒙古字韻, which gives 靜 as a character represented in 'Phags-pa script as *cin*.
- 10) Ts'ai's text omits the character corresponding to *yun* in the 'Phags-pa script.
- 11) Ts'ai prints blanks for these two characters, but they can be determined from the 'Phags-pa script to be *kui-te* 貴德. In addition, this person, Wu Chih-ch'üan, appears in another inscription, *Ch'ung-hsiu ch'ang-shêng-kuan-chi* 重修長生觀記 (1344), in the Jinbun-ken collection, where his title is given in exactly this same form with the characters *kui-te*.
- 12) Ts'ai leaves out the two words *Tuñ-wi* [Chinese 洞微] that appear in the 'Phags-pa script.

- 13) These four words are rendered in the 'Phags-pa script as a transliteration of the Chinese characters *chü-ch'ung t'i-tien* 俱充提點. This surprising fact suggests that the entire passage starting from *čü-č'i* 住持 [note 14] was adapted from a previous Chinese-language document.
- 14) Except for this inscription and the Sino-Mongolian inscription of the Ch'ung-yang wan-shou-kung 重陽萬壽宮 dating in 1351 (Ts'ai, no. 89, p. 93; Ligeti, no. 12, pp. 77-82), in all of the other eleven inscriptions this sentence appears with the 'Phags-pa Mongolian word *aqun* rendered into Chinese as *yu-te* 有的. The above-mentioned two inscriptions give the word *čü-č'i* 住持 instead.

