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**Yeke Caaji, the Mongol-Oyirod Great Code of 1640:
Innovation in Eurasian State Formation**

Richard Taupier

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Gwasg Prifysgol Caerdydd

Yeke Caaji:

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Introduction

In the year 1640 an assembly (kuriltai) of Mongol and Oyirod¹ nobles gathered to discuss and approve a code of law intended to govern relationships among them and to regulate the behavior of their subjects. While the resulting document is reasonably well known among scholars of Central Asia, it is the position of this work that its purpose has been largely misunderstood and that modern descriptions of early seventeenth century Oyirod history are confused and incomplete. This current work endeavors to establish a better understanding of the motivations behind the Great Code of 1640 and what the participants hoped to gain by its adoption. It does so through a close examination of the text itself and other original Oyirod sources and an analysis of competing secondary narratives. This creates the opportunity to reconsider the document from new and more carefully articulated perspectives. The result is an appreciation of the Great Code as an important document in Mongolian history. Through this perspective we can see the document as a sign of waning Chinggisid authority and recognition that innovation in state formation was needed to enable the continued existence of the Mongol and Oyirod states.

The Great Code has been discussed in 21st century scholarship in several conflicting ways. In *China Marches West* (2005) it was characterized as little

¹ While the text of this monograph uses the system of transliteration advocated by Atwood in his 2004 *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, that system is applied to Oyirod spelling in the 17th century. The result is words such as Oyirod rather than the modern Oirad, as well as numerous other 17th century spellings. The text uses the vowels ö and ü, as they are inconsistently transcribed under other systems. Unlike the transliteration system recommended by the U.S. Library of Congress this text uses the more familiar kh rather than x in words such as khaan.

more than a failed attempt at state building when no Mongol Khaan held sufficient authority to be proclaimed as supreme leader.² Perdue's strong adherence to an imperial model of state building led to his dismissal of the Great Code as important in any meaningful way. One year later, in 2006, a group of papers in *Imperial Statecraft* explored political forms and governance techniques in Inner Asia, demonstrating the sophistication of politics on the Eurasian steppes. Nicola Di Cosmo wrote that tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces represented the essence of Inner Asian politics.³ Lkhamsüren, in the Central Asian Survey (2010), compared the *Mongol-Oirat Great Code* with the Treaty of Westphalia. David Sneath, editor of *Imperial Statecraft*, expanded his thesis into a position very different from Perdue. He used the Great Code as an example of the existence of what he called *the Headless State* (2007). He criticized the anthropological paradigm behind Perdue's work as outdated, based on a largely abandoned view of pre-imperial Asian states as primitive and tribal. Indeed, Michael Khodarkovsky had observed in 1992 that so-called primitive states were generally dismissed as unworthy of serious study.

The goal of this current work is to create a new frame within which to examine the Great Code and to propose some new interpretations of its purpose and meaning in Mongolian history. This research takes the position that so-called primitive tribal states among the medieval Mongols were largely imagined entities, that non-imperial states were often quite sophisticated, and that an ancient and enduring system of aristocracy was the foundation upon which new central Asian states arose. Moreover, the book provides a full translation of the Great Code, allowing readers to view and consider its content for themselves.

² Perdue, P. China Marches West: the Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia. New York: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005. P. 108

³ Di Cosmo, N. Competing Strategies of Great Khan Legitimacy in the Context of the Chaqar-Manchu Wars (c. 1620 – 1634) in Imperial Statecraft, D. Sneath ed. Bellingham, WA: Center for East Asian Studies, 2006

It is quite possible that scholars have been unwilling to look more carefully at the Great Code because of several unresolved questions. Where, for example, was the 1640 Assembly held and who called it? Nineteenth and twentieth century Russian historians believed that it was held in the Tarbagatai Mountains in the Jöünger region, under the initiative of the Oyirod noble Baatar Khung Tayiji.⁴ Though the basis of this conclusion is not clear, historians following Russian historiography persist in the assertion. More recently Japanese Historian Junko Miyawaki asserted that the kuriltai was called by the Mongol Jasagtu Khaan and held on Khalkha territory. The empirical evidence discussed later in this work supports Miyawaki's position.

The question of who called the Assembly is important. Interpretations of the Great Code must vary greatly if it was hosted by someone other than the Jasagtu Khaan. Among Mongols and other Central Asian people during much of the second millennium, descent from Chinggis Khaan was the key element of political authority. Rulers who were not direct male descendants needed to appeal to other sources of political legitimacy. Not even conquest was viewed as sufficient to justify the title of Khaan, which was restricted even among the descendants of Chinggis. Following the Mongol Yuan Dynasty in China (1260-1368), Northern Yuan leaders from north and west of China could take the title only with the agreement of other senior nobles, and only descendants of Khubilai Khaan (Chinggis's grandson) were eligible. That is until the late sixteenth century.

Early in the sixteenth century, Dayan Khaan, the sole remaining direct male descendant of Chinggis Khaan, had re-centralized control of the Eastern Mongols under his authority and introduced the principle of primogeniture in passing on the title. But by the second half of that century de-facto political authority had again decentralized as the rulers of the six uluses into which Dayan had organized the Mongolian people began to demonstrate greater autonomy. Altan Tayiji of the Tumed Ulus had become far more powerful than his more

⁴ Perdue, P. China Marches West: the Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia. New York: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005. P. 107

senior kin, Darayisun Khaan, of the Chakhar Mongol Ulus. The Chinese were forced by Altan's military strength to recognize him as the Rightful Prince. Altan, to bolster his legitimacy as an independent Khaan, then sought to re-introduce Buddhism to his people and in 1578 was given the title of Khaan by the Third Dalai Lama, adding Buddhist ideological legitimacy to his weaker Chinggisid inheritance. Other less senior rulers among the Eastern Mongols began to adopt Buddhism, and the title Khaan as well, initially with recognition of the Dalai Lama.

The title of Khaan was not used by the Oyiroid until Gūshii Khaan was so named by the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1637.⁵ Only once had an Oyiroid leader, Esen Tayishi, sought to take the title of Khaan, in the fifteenth century. He was assassinated soon after. But the proliferation of the title Khaan among the Eastern Mongols in the early 1600s made it possible for the Oyiroid Gūshii Khaan to accept the title. Though he was not a descendant of Chinggis, he was a direct descendant of Chinggis's younger brother, Khabutu Khasar, and leader of the Khoshoud Mongols who had joined the Dörbön Oyiroid in the 15th century. No other Oyiroid nobles were given the title until Khoshoud Ochirtu Chechen Khaan (Gūshii nephew) in 1666, Galdan Boshugtu of the Jöüngars in 1678, and Ayuuki Khaan of the Kalmyks in 1681. Thus, at the time of the 1640 Assembly, only Gūshii Khaan of the Khoshoud held political status comparable to the Eastern Mongol khaans. The other twenty-five attending nobles held such titles as Tayiji (Prince) or Noyon (Noble)

The document to which they all agreed was based on three core Mongolian governance concepts. *Törö*, often translated simply as state or government, originally meant custom or tradition of state, and was concerned with the regulation of high government affairs.⁶ *Ulus*, translated here as polity, is a body of people under the control of a particular noble or aristocratic household, regardless of size. *Yasa*, meaning law, regulates everyday affairs and criminal

⁵ Yang, Ho-Chin. *The Annals of Kokonor*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1969

⁶ Humphrey and Hurelbaatar (2006) provide a valuable discussion of the use and evolution of this term among the Mongols and Manchus

behavior such as the dowry for daughters of nobles and commoners of various levels of wealth, the penalties for stealing livestock, fighting, and for insulting noble or religious persons.

Only two pages of the *Yeke Caaji* are concerned with high government affairs, specifically regulating the behavior of political leaders within the Great State (*yeke aimaq ulus*) to which the 1640 Code applied. This Mongol-Oyirod State included among its first governing principles the sovereignty of the polities that were its constituent elements. In so doing it established, in written law, a principle in Eurasian governance, that a polity (*ulus*) that joined the Great State had rights that the State as a whole could not abridge. In other words, that State was not subject to the autocratic decisions of a central ruler but rather to the set of laws to which they all agreed. The penalty for breaking the rules of state was banishment and division of all property among other nobles.

Ulus has been variously translated in English as state, tribe, nation, or community. An *ulus* is a political and administrative unit of people, varying in size. A small *ulus* could be nested inside a great (*yeke*) *ulus* just as a modern state can be an administrative division within a larger nation-state. For that reason, it is best translated as polity, a term that indicates its political nature but recognizes that scale and degree of independence can vary. A lesser noble (son, brother, uncle or cousin) could rule an *ulus* within a greater political entity, under a senior noble. But an important issue here is that several *uluses* could join *törö* via conquest or alliance and still maintain separate identities. When that larger state dissolved, its constituent elements survived on their own or as units within other states. So when several Mongol and Oyirod *uluses* created the Great Mongol-Oyirod State in 1640 they did not disappear but merely joined a common political structure, ruled by common laws meant to regulate internal and external relations.

The majority of the *Yeke Caaji* is not concerned with high government affairs however, but with *yasa*, laws governing everyday affairs that proscribed specific penalties for various legal infractions. Those penalties (often fines of livestock)

varied according to social and economic status. Great nobles paid fines that could amount to hundreds or thousands of animals as well as households of people who were counted among their subjects. Therein lies a central element of Mongol and Oyiurod ideology that went unquestioned. This is that the political units formed by noble Mongol and Oyiurod leaders were treated essentially as private, family property. Nobles (*noyod*) essentially owned the households under their political control and they could under some circumstances be forced to give them away to another noble, as part of a fine. Thus, while the rights of commoners were protected under *yasa*, they could not choose within which *ulus* they lived. In contrast, European rulers seemed to place greater emphasis on territory, which they too could be made to release as part of a political agreement.

The *Yeke Caaji* lays bare the stratification of Mongol society into greater and lesser nobles, four types of government officials, Buddhist lamas, laymen and servants, leaders of forty and twenty households, rich and poor commoners, servants and slaves. Only white bone lineages constituted the nobility. And, in so far as ruling was a corporate family enterprise (all noble sons had the right to rule some number of households, however small), it was traditionally possible to be a noble only by birth. A substrate of authority just below the nobles-by-blood was made up of the sons-in-law who married the women of noble families, and they might be from the ranks of lesser nobles or even rich commoners. These noble-sons-in-law collected taxes, administered justice and performed other official administrative duties. But they did not own an *ulus* like the sons of white nobles.

In general, commoners, those born to black bone lineages, had a ceiling placed on their social aspirations. If they were good managers of livestock and exhibited good character and leadership skills, they could rise to the level of camp elders. Skills in war were extremely important and camp (*otog*) leaders who performed civilian functions during times of peace usually led divisions of warriors in times of war. Prominence in a combination of those theaters could lead to marriage into a noble family and an appointment as an administrative official, but seldom more.

The *Yeke Caaji* offers important insights into the lives of those commoners. We learn, for example, that in addition to livestock (horses, camels, cattle, sheep and goats), body armor was highly valued. Penalties for its theft were high and rewards for recovery of lost armor were correspondingly high. Courage and obedience in battle were highly rewarded and lack thereof punished severely. Marriage was clearly an important social institution and codes addressing it in *Yeke Caaji* are fairly extensive. Readers will find the section on the penalties for stealing common household items offers insights into daily life and economic pursuits. Some items are a bit obscure, such as tweezers for removing parasitic worms from sheep. There is no part of the Great Code that does not offer some insight into nomadic life leading up to and during the 17th century. The law, as a whole, encouraged behaviors that contributed to an orderly society and ensured some degree of protection for persons at all levels, even servants and slaves.

Where was the Assembly of 1640?

The primary source *Sarayin Gerel* (1692) provides the most information about the location of the Great Assembly, on folios 3 and 4. “*Then the Seven Banner Mongol Jasagtu Khaan sent a messenger called Ulabu Sanjin and invited him [Zaya Pandita] to come. He spent the [remainder of] Dragon Year (1639) there, and at the end of Tsagaan Sar, in the spring of the Year of the Snake (1640), Zaya Pandita left Tomor Chorgo. From Jasagtu Khaan’s place he was invited to TüsHEETÜ Khaan; from TüsHEETÜ Khaan’s place he was invited to Maha Samadhi Chechen Khaan. He [Zaya Pandita] gave teachings to those fortunate ones and became a lama of these three great Khaans and the Seven Banners. [At that time] there was held a great assembly of the Seven Banner [Khalkha] Mongols and the Four Oyirod: there was the Mongol Jasagtu Khaan, two Oirat Tayiji, and others.*”⁷

⁷ Taupier, Richard. The Oirad of the Early 17th Century: Statehood and Political Ideology. Scholarworks, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2014. A more complete translation is pending publication in 2019 under the title Moon Light: The Story of Zaya Pandita and Buddhism among the Western Mongols.

Zaya Pandita's movements were carefully documented in *Sarayin Gerel*, his biography. He left Tibet in the fall of 1638 and arrived in Jöüngaria early in 1639 and stayed with Ochirtu Tayiji "on the side of the Tarbagatai Mountains." In the summer of that year he traveled to Usun Khujir on the Bulnai River. In the spring of 1640 he left Tomor Chorgo on the northeastern edge of the Tarbagatai mountains and traveled further northeast to the pastures of the Jasagtu Khaan. The Jasagtu Khaan (Ruling Khaan) was then senior among the Khalkha khaans, and the TüsHEETÜ (Supporting) Khaan was subordinate. After the Assembly he traveled further to the east to visit both the TüsHEETÜ and Maha Samadhi Chechen Khaans. He did not return to Jöüngaria until 1642.

It is also true that the Jasagtu Khaan was the first of the attending nobles named in the Yeke Caaji itself, an indication of his seniority among the Assembly. Chinggisid ideology would have made it very unusual for anyone other than him to preside, even though the Oyiroid were treated as equals in the Great code. The Eastern Mongols would never have attended as subordinates to an Oyiroid noble. The Khalkha continued to be so opposed to Oyiroid subordination that more than fifty years later, when the Oyiroid Boshugtu Khaan had defeated the Khalkhas in battle, they chose to surrender to the Manchus rather than be ruled by the Oyiroid

A reading of the works of three Russian historians (Golstunskii, Ryzanzanovskii, and Zlatkin) who claimed that the Great Assembly took place in Jöüngaria, convened by Baatur Khong Tayiji, gives no empirical evidence. Golstunskii's claim appears based on the belief that Zaya Pandita was residing in the Tarbagatai Mountains of Jöüngaria when the Assembly was held, and that he played an important role. *Sarayin Gerel*, his biography, indicates that this was not so, and no primary source supports the idea that Zaya Pandita played an important role. He was not named in the document as one of the attending lamas nor was he well known among most of the Oyiroid (including Baatur Khong Tayiji) until after the Assembly. His first recorded encounter with Baatur Khong

Tayiji in Sarayin Gerel was in 1646.

Ryazanovskii's assertion about the location of the assembly merely indicated that because the Great Code was more important to the Oyiroid than the Mongols that it must have occurred in Jöüngaria. Zlatkin stated that one of the important events to take place in the territory of Erdini Baatar Khung Tayiji was the Assembly of 1640, but cited no evidence. His position was consistent with his campaign to portray Baatur Khong Tayiji as the most important among the Oyiroid nobles of the time. But no Oyiroid historical documents support that position. Baatar Khong Tayiji was one of several senior and equally important Oyiroid nobles of the time. In Jöüngaria he was one of two Princes (Tayiji), along with Ochirtu Tayiji of the Khoshoud. In fact, that period in Jöüngar history is referred to by native Oyiroid historians as the time of the two princes.

The Sponsors of the Great Code

The Forty and Four

The name by which this historic document is often known (the Mongol-Oyiroid Great Code) does not appear anywhere in the text. It is one of the conundrums with which we must deal in seeking to understand its meaning and value. It is only on the second page of the text, following a list of twenty-eight nobles who attended the Assembly, that the phrase occurs from which the document derives its most basic name. "*These great nobles of both the Forty and Four started to write the great code.*" Thus the document was first named the *Great Code of the Forty and Four*. But how is it that the Forty and Four were understood to mean the Mongols and the Oyiroid?

In the case of the Four Oyiroid (*Dörbön Oyiroid*) the mystery, on its surface, is not overly difficult to solve. Through much of their history, the Western Mongols were commonly referred to as the Dörbön (Four) Oyiroid, even when the Four to which the term referred were not immediately apparent. Its significance is largely

historical. The Oyirod were first known in history as one of the constituent elements of the Great Mongol Empire, established in 1206. The 13th century *Secret History of the Mongols* is the first historic document to mention the Oyirod by name. They are named in verses 141 to 144 as the *Oyirat* under the noble shaman Quduqa-beki who in 1201 joined Jamuqa in opposing Chinggis Khaan as the ruler of the Mongols, and lost.⁸ Circa 1207 the Oyirod voluntarily allied with Chinggis's son Jochi in an effort to bring the northern forest people under Mongol control. The reward for their allegiance was that Quduqa-beki and his sons were allowed to maintain rule over their own people and given the privilege of entering into marriage alliances with Chinggis and his descendants.

The Dörbön descriptor seems first to have appeared in the late 14th century,⁹ after the fall of the Yuan Dynasty in 1368, when the Mongols were driven out of China only to find the Oyirod in control of the Mongolian plateau. Hence the Western and Eastern Mongols, the four Oyirod tumen (nominally ten-thousand) and the six Mongol tumen, became enemies¹⁰ and contested control of the Central Asian steppes for most of the next three hundred years.

The Four Oyirod on the plateau in the late 14th century were the original Oyirod plus the Naiman, Kereyid, and the Barghud.¹¹ Through territorial wars and wars of succession these uluses were repeatedly divided and reformed so that in the early 17th century, prior to the adoption of the Great Code of 1640, the four principle Oyirod polities were known as the Khoyid, Dörböd, Torgoud and

⁸ Onon, Urgunge. The History and the Life of Chinggis Khan: the Secret History of the Mongols. Leiden and New York: Brill, 1990

⁹ Atwood, Christopher. Encyclopedia of Mongolian and the Mongol Empire; New York: Facts on File, 2004. P. 420

¹⁰ Perdue, P. China Marches West: the Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia; New York: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005. P. 54

¹¹ Elverskog, Johan. Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2010. P. 195

Khoshoud.¹² What distinguished these four polities from the Eastern Mongols is that they were ruled not by descendants of Chinggis Khaan but by four other Eurasian aristocratic lineages that arose prior to or during the Mongol Empire.

The use of the term Forty to designate the Mongols participating in the Assembly is rather more perplexing. While some historians have suggested that the designation of forty Mongol tumen goes back to the time of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, it is not true. Onon, in his introduction to *The Secret History*, wrote that there were 129,000 Mongol warriors following Chinggis's consolidation of all the Mongolic speaking people of the region (about 13 rather than 40 tumen).

References to the forty Mongol tumen instead date to the Mongol Chronicles of the 17th century that place the number of warriors among the six Mongol uluses of that period at 400,000 (forty ten thousands).¹³ The puzzling element is that nobles of only one of the six major Mongol uluses of the 17th century were present at the 1640 Assembly, representing perhaps some 75,000 or more fighting men and their households. In fact, the Khalkha Mongols at the Assembly were known as the Seven Banners (*Khoshun*). If the scribes of the Great Code had wished to more accurately represent those present at the Assembly, they might have called it the Great Code of the Seven and Four.

The fact that they did not, tells us something else was intended by asserting that *the Forty and Four started to write the Great Code*. Therein lies the crux of the matter. The use of the term Forty and Four conveyed an ideological message that this new Great State that was the rightful continuation of the Great State of

¹² The list of Oyiroid Uluses in 1640 often includes the Jöüngars and the Choros but those names are of a different nature. Choros was the aristocratic household that ruled the vast majority of Dörböd people and the Jöüngars, led by the Choros nobles, were a subdivision of the Oyiroid formed circa 1637 under Baatar Khong Tayiji that also consisted of many Dörböd households.

¹³ Lhamsuren (2010) wrote that the 17th century Mongol chronicles gave the population of Eastern Mongolian warriors as 400,000. With one warrior from each household and an average household of five, that would suggest a total population of about 2 million.

Chinggis Khaan, in contrast to the new Qing state declared four years earlier by the Manchu leader, Khung Tayiji. The new Qing had by various means incorporated five of the six Mongol uluses into their nascent empire and had begun to make ideological arguments that they had obtained the mandate of heaven to rule a new State that subsumed the Great State of the Chinggisids.¹⁴

Thus, calling it the Great Code of the Forty and Four constituted an ideological argument that offered those Mongols who had joined with the Qing an opportunity, or at least a theoretical option, to forsake the new Qing State and rejoin the Khalkhas and Oyirod in a more authentic State that embodied the ideological principle that only the direct male descendants of Chinggis Khaan could form a Great State in Eurasia. Indeed, the powerful ideology of Chinggisid heritage had been at the top of the heap of the principles of Eurasian state formation for nearly 350 years, with virtually no successful challenges.

The Participants

It is believed that of the twenty-eight nobles named on the second page of the *Yeke Caaji*, fourteen were Oyirod and fourteen Khalkha. Because the Great Code continued to hold greater significance over time for the Oyirod than the Khalkhas, more effort has gone into identifying the specific attending Oyirod nobles. Those Oyirod nobles represented three of the four aristocratic lineages that ruled the uluses within the *Dörbön Oyirod*. The Dörböd ulus was under the control of the Choros lineage that, accurately or not, linked itself to the ruling clan of the Turkic Uighurs of the 8th century, through a shared ancestral legend.¹⁵ One of their greatest ancestors was the 15th century Esen Khaan who became the

¹⁴ Di Cosmo, Nicola. *Competing Strategies of Great Khan Legitimacy in the Context of the Chaqar-Manchu Wars (c. 1620 – 1634)* in *Imperial Statecraft*, D. Sneath ed. Bellingham, WA: Center for East Asian Studies, 2006

¹⁵ Atwood, Christopher. P. *Encyclopedia of Mongolian and the Mongol Empire*. New York: Facts on File. 2004. p. 420. Okada and Miyawaki (2008) wrote however that the Choros leaders were descended from the Naimans, one of the Mongols groups conquered by Chinggis Khaan.

most powerful of all Mongol or Oyiroid Khaans of that period before he was assassinated. The Galwas nobles, who claimed descent from Chinggis's brother Khabutu Khasar, and thus shared a patrilineal link to Chinggis's Golden Lineage, ruled the Khoshoud ulus. The Torgoud considered them selves to be descendants of the Kereyid ulus, who were a branch of the Tatars, recognized in Chinese annals as a distinct people in the early 10th century.¹⁶ The Khoyid leaders, who were not named as present at the 1640 Assembly, claimed descent from Quduqa-beki and the original Oyiroid.

The Oyiroid at the 1640 Assembly were represented by a Torgoud delegation of four, a Khoshoud (Galwas) delegation of three, a Dörböd (Choros) delegation of four from the Jöüngar region, and three Choros nobles who had moved from the Jöüngar basin along the Irtys River leading to the Western Siberian steppes. The four Torgoud nobles consisted of the senior leader Kho-Urluk from the Volga steppes (named simply Orlug in the Great Code) and his two oldest sons, Shukur Daiching and Yeldeng.¹⁷ The fourth Torgoud noble, Mergen Noyon, unlike Kho-Urluk, had remained in Jöüngaria with his ulus rather than nomadize via the Irtys River toward Russia.

Those identified as Khoshoud numbered three. The first was Gүүshi Khaan, who had been recently at war in the Khams region of Tibet, and his brother Köndölöng Ubasha, whose home territory at the time is uncertain. But he was apparently not with the large body of Khoshoud that had recently migrated. The third Khoshoud noble was Ochirtu (Tayiji) who came from the Tarbagatai region in southwestern Jöüngaria. Ochirtu was Gүүshi's nephew, the oldest son of Gүүshi's brother Baibaghas. Ochirtu led those Khoshoud in the Jöüngar region

¹⁶ Atwood, Christopher. P. *Encyclopedia of Mongolian and the Mongol Empire*. New York: Facts on File. 2004. p. 419

¹⁷ Khodarkovsky, Michael. *Where Two Worlds Met*; Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992. On page 85 he notes that these three attended but gives Yeldeng's name as Elden.

who had not moved to Kükünour with Gūshii on invitation of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

The identifiable Choros / Dörböd delegation from Jöüngaria consisted of Baatar Khong Tayiji, his son, Chechen Tayiji, and Baatar's younger brothers, Chouker and Mergen Daiching. Of the three Choros nobles from outside Jöüngaria, Dayicin Khoshuuci and Tenger Toyon were the sons of Dalai Tayishi (d. 1637), a key early ally of the Torgoud noble Kho-Urluk. Buu Yeldeng was the brother of the deceased Dalai Tayishi. Those Dörböd were still nomadizing along the Irtysh River to the northwest of Jöüngaria and had not yet followed the Torghuds to the Volga steppes.

Many of the Dörböd in Jöüngaria were ruled by Baatar Khong Tayiji. But the Dörböd outside the Jöüngar region were clearly an independent polity under the heirs of Dalai Tayishi.¹⁸ There were also Dörböd subjects under Köndölöng Ubasha, the brother of Gūushi Khaan. The Torgoud of the Volga steppes were led by Kho-Urluk and his sons.

The Khalkha, unlike the Oyirod, were all ruled by the same noble lineage, that of Chinggis Khaan. The Mongols had experienced periods of both centralized and decentralize political authority following the 1227 death of Chinggis. During the reign of Khubilai Khaan (r.1260-1294) things began to fall apart when Khubilai entered a civil war against his younger brother. With the fall of Khubilai's Yuan Dynasty in 1368 the Mongols splintered into several independently functioning groups. They were almost constantly at war among themselves and with the Oyirod who virtually subjugated the Eastern Mongols in the fourteenth century. Political authority was recentralized only in the early 16th century under Dayan Khaan (r.1480-1517¹⁹), but under his grandsons, especially Altan Khaan, the six

¹⁸ With the fall of Esen, his sons, Khamug Tayishi and Boru Nagal, divided the majority of Esen's people between themselves. Boru Nagal was said to have led the Dörböd and his brother Khamug Tayishi to rule the Choros.

¹⁹ Elverskog, Johan, C. The Jewel Translucent Sutra: Altan Khan and the Mongols in the Sixteenth Century. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003. P.

Mongol tumen began to function as independent polities in all but name, even though Dayan Khaan had introduced the principle of primogeniture, unusual among the Mongols. Elverskog (2003), in his introduction to *The Jewel Translucent Sutra*, provides a detailed examination of that late 16th century decentralization process.

Subsequently, the households under the seven sons of Dayan Khaan's youngest son, Geresenje, came to be known as the Seven (Northern) Khalkha Banners.²⁰ This division into seven discrete groups seems not to have lasted long before new divisions and a new hierarchy of leadership began to emerge, even as the name, the Seven Banners, persisted. Those banners became divided into left (east) and right (west) flanks under Geresenje's sons, Ashikhai (the eldest) and Noonukhu (the third). In the next generation, one of Ashikhai's sons, Laikhur, and one of Noonukhu's sons, Abatai, were acclaimed the Jasagtu (ruling) and TüsHEETÜ (supporting) khaans, respectively. Those titles soon became hereditary.

When we read the names of the Mongol nobles attending the 1640 Assembly, the first two names on the list are "Erdini Jasagtu Khaan followed by TüsHEETÜ Khaan". Their places on the list and the actual wording could not be accidental. Of the Chinggisid Mongols free of Manchu political control, the Jasagtu Khaan was the most senior. Only GüÜshi Khaan of the Khoshoud might have held greater military power, but he was a descendent of Chinggis's brother, not Chinggis. It is unlikely that GüÜshi could have called an assembly including the Khalkhas or that he held sufficient Chinggisid authority to establish a Great State including both Mongol groups. This is an ideological issue we will address later.

The other twelve assumed Khalkha nobles listed in the opening of the Great Code were the sons, brothers, uncles, nephews and cousins of the Jasagtu and TüsHEETÜ Khaans. We cannot say to what extent either of the Khaans held

²⁰ Atwood (2004) writes that these seven banners were in reality seven camp districts (otogs) of the northern Khalkha under Geresenje's seven sons.

authority over those other nobles at that time. Lkhamsüren (2010) points out that political authority within the Khalkha realm was undergoing further decentralization. Thus the Jasagtu and Tüsheetü Khaans may have been simply the firsts among equals. Even if their authority was greater than that, an assembly (*kuriltai*) of greater and lesser nobles had been for centuries the traditional context in which to discuss and approve a Great Code.

Political Context

The Geo-Political Environment

The geopolitical landscape of Central Asia shifted dramatically over the 16th and 17th centuries. The 16th century withdrawal of Ming China from steppe politics allowed Central Asia to develop free of interference from the Middle Kingdom. Without Ming political efforts to destabilize steppe governments, the Eastern Mongols gathered strength and found renewed political and economic stability. They recentralized under the political authority of Dayan Khaan in the early 16th century, as noted earlier.

That rejuvenated Mongol polity pushed the Oyiroid Mongols off the Mongolian plateau and out of Kükünour as well. By 1600 the Oyiroid were crowded between the Altai and Tian Shan Mountains and along the Irtysh and the Ili rivers. Surrounded on two sides by the Mongols and on a third by the Turkic Kazakhs, the only Oyiroid escape lay to the northwest along the Irtysh River leading to the Western Siberian steppes. While some Oyiroid uluses used that migratory route, the Oyiroid also began to re-build important internal alliances that served them well in gathering strength and finding greater unity.

Siberia had only recently become subject to exploratory excursions by Muscovite Russians and their hired Cossack adventurers. The end of the Rurik Dynasty in 1589 and the short reign of Tsar Boris Godunov from 1599 until 1605, led to the Time of Troubles, when several Rurik imposters vied for control of Russia. By 1612 the imposters had been expelled and Russian nobles chose a reluctant

sixteen-year-old Michal Romanov as their new Tsar. From 1608 to 1620 Russia also established diplomatic contact with both Khalkha and Oyirod Mongols.²¹

Both the Oyirod (Choros) Khara-Khula and the Khotogoid Khalkha Altyn Khan approached the Russians in the 1620s, seeking alliances. While the Russians were receptive to they remained unwilling to trade guns, fearing to arm nomadic groups that could turn on them. The Russians were mostly interested in whether the Oyirod or the Mongols could provide them with diplomatic contacts with China or with access to Chinese trade. The Oyirod in the Jöüngar region were known to the Russians as Black Kalmyks, as opposed to the White Kalmyks of the Volga steppes, with whom the Russians were more familiar.

The Kazakhs, directly west of the Jöüngar region, served as a buffer between the Russians and the main body of the Oyirod in the Jöüngaria Basin. The Kazakh state first began to form in the mid 15th century as one of several successors to the Mongol White Horde, after the Oyirod under Esen Khaan defeated the Uzbek Khaan Abu'l Khayr.²² By the mid 16th century the Kazakhs had expanded as far eastward as Lake Balkhash and numbered more than one million people. They were at times enemies and at other times allies to the Oyirod, but they were rarely as fierce and militaristic. The Oyirod / Kazakh border region was one of frequent raids in both directions. Very little has been written however about the details of their relationships.

Tibet, far to the south, was a significant geo-political player, though for entirely different reasons. The political stability and unity Tibet that experienced under the Yuan Dynasty (1260 to 1368) and their Sakya regents had long passed. The Tibetans of the 17th century were in the throes of intense regional and sectarian

²¹ Perdue, P. China Marches West: the Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia; New York: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005. P.

²² Olcott, M.B. The Kazakhs, Stanford, CA. Hoover Institution Press, 1995. P. 3

violence and in political shambles.²³ In spite of that, Tibet radiated great spiritual authority, and it was with that power that other Central Asian rulers wished to associate and use for political purposes.

In fact, the Eastern Mongols began to embrace the Buddhism of Tibet in the late 16th century, initially for political reasons. As a result, the Mongols experienced a significant cultural transformation over the next fifty years through the assimilation of a new Buddhist cultural world-view. Politically, Buddhism gave the regional rulers of the Mongol tumens enhanced legitimacy as Religious Kings (Dharma Rajas) and Wheel-Turning-Monarchs (Chakravartins). It also endowed the states they formed with a new purpose and offered individuals a path to liberation through the altruistic practices of kindness and generosity, and the cultivation of wisdom.

The Mongol adoption of Buddhism came at a time when the Great Mongol Ulus, brought together again under Dayan Khaan in the early 16th century, was rapidly decentralizing into smaller states under Dayan's grandsons. Elverskog (2003) provides valuable insights into the ways in which Mongols leaders built the ideological arguments to legitimate their evolution into smaller, sovereign states. During the brief recentralization in the early 16th century, Dayan had organized the six Mongol divisions into left and right wings. While all six Mongol divisions were outside the Great Wall, the three left divisions were to the north and the three right divisions were to the west.

Among the three western divisions, the leader of the Tumed Mongols, Altan, grew especially strong through conquests over the Ming, the Oyirod and other enemies. In 1571 the Ming negotiated a treaty with Altan, granting him the honorific title of Rightful Prince. The Khaan of the Chakhar Mongols protested this new status, for the title recognized Altan as de facto Mongol leader. In the later 1570s Altan turned to Tibetan Buddhism as an additional source of political legitimacy, not as Great Khaan but as the Khaan of his own sovereign Tumed

²³ See Dhondup, K. The Water Horse and Others Years for a detailed account of this period.

Ulus. At a well-documented meeting in 1578, the renowned Gelukpa teacher Sonam Gyatso was given the Mongolian title of Dalai Lama by Altan, who was in turn recognized as Khaan and Chakravartin, adding an additional source of political legitimacy with which many Central Asians were familiar.

Other Mongol leaders soon adopted this same political strategy. The Khalkha Tüsheetü Khaan, Abatai, met with the Dalai Lama in Altan's capital of Hohhot in 1582, signaling a start to the so-called second Buddhist conversion of the northern Mongols,²⁴ who became devoted to a religion that offered them new opportunities and aspirations. That decentralization set the new, smaller Mongol polities free to negotiate their own political alliances and made them more susceptible to external influences, especially the new Manchu power to the east.

When the last of the hereditary Great Khaans, Ligdan of the Chakhars, tried to forcibly reunite the Mongols in the 1620s and 30s, many Mongol leaders chose instead to ally with the Manchus. The Manchus promised them continued, peaceful control over their own polities even while linking them to the rising Manchu Empire. A combined Manchu / Mongol army drove Ligdan into exile in Kükünour where he died in 1634. By the time of the 1640 Mongol-Oyirod Assembly only the Khalkha Mongols remained independent of Manchu control.

The Jurchens of northeast Asia established a new Manchu identity for themselves in the early 17th century. They were the remnants of the earlier Jin Dynasty (1115-1234) that succumbed to the Mongols under Ogedei Khan. In the mid 16th century the Jurchens consisted of eight principal groups²⁵ divided into two confederations that cut across so-called tribal and clan lines.²⁶ The Jianzhou Jurchen leader Nurhaci brought nearly all of those groups under his control by

²⁴ Perdue, P. China Marches West: the Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia; New York: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005. P. 66

²⁵ These were the Ula, Yehe, Hada, Jianzhou, Warka, Hurha, Hoifa, and Haixi.

²⁶ Li, Gertrude Roth. Manchu: A Textbook for Reading Documents. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 2000

1618 and organized them first into four and then eight Banners. With the completion of Jurchen consolidation, Nurhaci went to war against the Chinese in Liaodong. The rise of the Manchus and the decline and eventual collapse of the Ming in 1644 have been addressed in great length in numerous books, and will not be repeated in detail here.

Nurhaci began also to form alliances with his Mongol neighbors even prior to 1600. For Nurhaci and his son Khung Tayiji (1592-1643) to succeed in their imperial ambitions, they had to neutralize the Mongols and enlist them as a fighting force. In 1593 the Khorchin Mongols entered into a pact of non-aggression with Nurhaci. Marriage exchanges and alliances between the Jurchens and the Khorchin and Khalkha Mongols ensued. Nurhaci wed a Mongol princess, his second wife, and with her fathered Khung Tayiji, his eventual heir.

The Manchu pact with the Khorchin carried an obligation to protect them from the Chakhar Mongols, who resented the Khorchin alliance with a non-Chinggisid ruler.²⁷ When the Chakhar Khaan, Ligdan, began a campaign in the 1620s to force recognition of his authority over the other Mongol uluses, Khung Tayiji seized the opportunity to lead a campaign against Ligdan. With the participation of Khorchin, Khalkha and other Mongol groups he forced Ligdan into exile in Kükünour in 1634 and took control of his remaining people.

A year after Ligdan died, his seal as the heir of Chinggis Khaan was presented to Khung Tayiji in Mukden. The last Chinggisid Great Khaan was dead and the symbols of his office fell into Khung Tayiji's hands as he began to assert the right of leadership over several Mongol polities. Khung Tayiji also received Ligdan's statue of the wrathful Buddhist deity Mahakala, made initially for Khubilai Khan. The statue represented the role of the Mongol Khaan as protector of the Buddha's law, and held tremendous symbolic significance in Central Asia.²⁸

²⁷ Crossley, Pamela K. *The Manchus*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell. 2002. P. 77

²⁸ Berger, P. *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*. University of Hawaii Press. 2003. P. 24

But the Oyiroid Khoshud leader, Gūūshi Khaan, stole much of Khung Tayiji's thunder as a potential new Dharma protector in Central Asia. In 1634 Tibet's Gelukpa Buddhist order had turned to the Oyiroid to intervene on their behalf against the Chakhar and Chogtu Mongols in Kükünour, and later the Karmapa Tsangpas of Southern Tibet, and the Bonpo Khampas of Eastern Tibet. Gūūshi Khaan did so with spectacular success, defeating the Chakhar and Chogtu Mongols in 1637 and the Tibetan Khampas and Tsangpas in 1640 and 1641. The Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) declared Gūūshi Khaan to be a Dharma King in 1638, and in 1642, after Gūūshi had defeated the Khampa and Tsangpa forces, he in-turn enthroned the Dalai Lama as the head of the Tibetan government. The fact that Gūūshi Khaan ruled an extensive empire encompassing the geographic whole of Tibet did not mean the disappearance of the Tibetan state.

How the Oyiroid were in the position to fulfill that mission requires a rather significant reexamination of what they had been up to during the previous forty years. Several Russian historians have presented the Oyiroid of the early 17th century as involved in nearly constant internal conflict and subject to the centralization efforts of the Choros nobles Khara-Khula and his son Baatur Khong Tayiji. Both father and son were characterized as seeking to consolidate the Oyiroid under their control and driving the Torgoud and Khoshud nobles out of Jöüngar to escape their designs. Yet a careful analysis of interactions between various Oyiroid nobles as well as other empirical evidence leads to a quite different interpretation.

The Oyiroid, as early as 1608, began to form numerous internal alliances and as a result were finally able to confront and drive-off the Khalkha Mongols who had been harassing them and seizing their pastures for the previous seventy-five years. In the early 1600's, their primary antagonist was Altyn Khaan²⁹ (Sholoi

²⁹ This Russianized spelling of Altan (Golden) was popularized in Russian history and by Perdue (2005). I use it here to distinguish him from the earlier Altan Khan of the Tumed Mongols.

Ubasha Khong Tayiji),³⁰ of the western Mongolian plateau. Baibaghas Khaan of the Khoshud Oyiroid led a pan-Oyiroid army of 48,000 men, of which 30,000 were Khoshud and the rest a mix of Dörböd, Torgoud and Khoyid, against Altyn Khaan's forces in 1618. There are records also of an Oyiroid assembly in 1616 in which Baibaghas is credited with leading the Oyiroid nobles in embracing Buddhism as a religion of state and at which the Oyiroid agreed to keep peace among them selves.³¹

The Dörböd leader Dalai Tayiji and the Torgoud leader Kho-Urluk were known to have entered into an important alliance in 1608.³² The Dörböd were split into two principal groups, both ruled by Choros nobles; Dalai Tayiji to the north, along the lower Irtysh River, and Khara Khula further south, in what would become known as the Jöüngar Basin. In 1625 there was a significant internal Oyiroid conflict, not a war of consolidation, but rather a war of succession among the Khoshoud nobility, with the older brothers Baibaghas and Güüshi set against a half-brother, Chouker. Baibaghas and Güüshi prevailed and in 1629 Güüshi led yet another large pan-Oyiroid army against a new Khalkha Altyn Khaan, the son of Sholoi Ubasha Khong Tayiji. It was the last notable Oyiroid / Mongol conflict until 1688 when Galdan Khaan went to war against the TüsHEETÜ Khaan, reportedly to enforce the Great Code of 1640, among other justifications.

Contrary to some perspectives on 17th century Oyiroid history, there is no primary textual evidence that the Choros nobles Khara Khula and his son Baatar Khong Tayiji sought to gain political control of the Oyiroid or that the Jöüngar Oyiroid designation existed prior to 1637. Khara Khula died in 1634 and Baatar Khong Tayiji and Güüshi Khaan remained staunch allies. When Güüshi Khaan accepted

³⁰ Miyawaki, Junko. "History of the Dzungars," in History of the Civilizations of Central Asia, Vo. 5. Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2003

³¹ Perdue, P. China Marches West: the Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia. New York: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005. P. 102

³² Khodarkovsky, Michael. Where Two Worlds Met. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992. Pp. 76-77

the mission to quell the enemies of the Fifth Dalai Lama in Tibet, and assembled an army for that purpose, Baatar Khong Tayiji went as his second in command, in charge of the left (jöüngar) wing. While the Dalai Lama recognized Güüshi Khaan as Religious King and Defender of Dharma, he also recognized Baatar with the title of Erdini (Precious One). The Mongol scholar, Sumpa Hambo Yeshe Paljor, wrote in the 18th century that during this conflict the left (jöüngar) and right (baroun-gar) wings of the Oyiroid federation were established by Baatur Khong Tayiji and Güüshi Khaan, respectively.³³

To further counter claims that Baatar Khong Tayiji drove Güüshi and others from the Jöüngar region, we have only to consider that Güüshi's nephews, Ochirtu Tayiji and Abalai Baatar, the sons of Baibaghas, remained in Jöüngaria after Güüshi had taken 100,000 households to Kükünour. The Oyiroid text *Sarayin Gere!* cites multiple instances in which Baatar Khong Tayiji, Ochirtu and Abalai fought as allies in regional conflicts. The Khoshoud under Ochirtu and Abalai remained free of alleged Jöüngar consolidation efforts.³⁴ It was these alliances and peaceful relationships among the Oyiroid that allowed them to achieve success in the conquest of Tibet and prepared them for the Assembly of 1640.

Ideologies of State

The Last Great Buddhist State

As mentioned earlier in this introduction, Eastern Mongols leaders began to turn to Buddhism in the late 16th century as a source of political legitimacy and a

³³ Dharmatala (1987) offers a quite extensive delineation of the lineages of the left and right Oirad on pages 130 to 154 in which he definitively states that they were founded by Baatur Khong Taiji and Güshii Khaan, respectively. Dharmatala is known to have relied a great deal on the mid 18th century *Mongolian Dharma History* of Sumpa Hambo Yeshe Paljor. Sumpa Hambo's later work, *The Annals of Kokonor* reflect this same information but not in such detail.

³⁴ Sumpa Hambo wrote in the *Annals of Kokonor* that following the death of Baatur Khong Taiji and the assassination of his son and principal heir, Sengge, that Ochirtu Taiji of the Khoshud was considered Khaan of Jöüngaria, thus testifying to the fragility of the Choros leadership over Jöüngaria prior to the time of Galdan Boshugtu.

means to encourage a new moral and cultural literacy among their people. In doing so they were heirs to a nearly two-thousand-year-old tradition, beginning with Asokan India, in which Asian rulers endowed their states with a sacred mission through the promulgation and protection of the Buddha Dharma. Such rulers were cast in the roles of wheel turning monarchs (Cakravartins), religious kings (Dharmarajas), and enlightened beings (Bodhisattvas).

Buddhist institutions developed rapidly among the Mongols after the 1578 meeting with the famed Gelukpa teacher, Sonam Gyatso, who from that time became known as the Dalai Lama. Mongol leaders quickly seized on many elements of Buddhism to reconceptualize and bless the new sovereign states they were founding. About 1585 Abatai Khaan began to rebuild the Buddhist temple complex near Karakhoram, first erected during the reign of Ogedei by Sakya Buddhist allies. A year after the passing of the Third Dalai Lama in 1588, a grandson of Altan Khaan was identified by the Tibetans as Sonam Gyatso's reincarnation. In 1603 the Fourth Dalai Lama arrived in Tibet under Mongol protection, where he lived until his early passing in 1617. New Mongol laws were promulgated³⁵ and many young Mongol nobles traveled to Tibet to be educated as Buddhist monks. The Oyiroid followed suit at a pan-Oyiroid assembly in 1616 when they too accepted Buddhism as a state religion. The success of Gūūshi Khaan as Dharma protector has already been discussed here, and like their Eastern cousins, the Oyiroid began a rapid transformation to Buddhism, using many of the same methods.

Thus it is not the least bit surprising that the 1640 Mongol-Oyiroid Great State was formed specifically as a Buddhist state. The first page of the Great Code is an invocation of the blessings of the historic Buddha Śakyamuni, several celestial Buddhas, the Gelukpa patriarch Tsongkhapa, the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, and their representatives who were present at the Assembly. It served as one of the central ideological arguments for the legitimation of the new State. It served

³⁵ In fact, much of the body of the Great Code was adopted from the legal code developed under Altan Khaan around the time of the Third Dalai Lama's teachings.

also to place it above the nescient Qing Empire as a Buddhist state, for the Manchus had just begun to recognize the value of Buddhist ideological principles in the formation of their state, and their initial efforts were quite modest.

Even later, when the Qing began to embrace Buddhism more earnestly, they had carefully to balance their appeal to Buddhist ideology with equal appeals to Confucian and Taoist traditions (among others), honored by Chinese and other subjects. As an empire they wore many hats and showed many faces. Pamela Crossley (2009) and Patricia Berger (2003) are among those who wrote about Qing imperial ideology. Because the Qing sought legitimacy through multiple ideologies they cannot be cast as a primarily Buddhist state. The only 17th century state to claim that distinction was the Mongol-Oyirod Great State of 1640.

Mongol Imperial Ideology

The second key ideological element underpinning the Great Code of 1640, though not openly articulated, was of equal historical significance. That was the principle of Chinggisid inheritance, based on a key element of Tengrism in which the human spirit resided in the blood. Amitai-Preiss (1999) summed up Chinggisid imperial ideology as a “heaven-given mandate to conquer the world and to place it under the rule of the descendants of Chinggis Khan”.³⁶ But the underlying custom, that the Eternal Blue Sky appointed a ruling lineage, was first noted within the Hsiung-nu Empire of the 3rd century BCE. Di Cosmo (2002) wrote that Hsiung-nu aristocratic leaders were seen as appointed by Heaven,³⁷ and described the selection of a “supra-tribal” leader as a sacral investiture followed by a new ideology requiring subordination to the imperial clan as well as the khaan. Chenggis Khaan could be described as the model for steppe imperial ideology that broke the mold. The success of Chinggis and his Borjigid clan in

³⁶ Amitai-Preiss, R. and Biran, M. Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World. Leiden and Boston: Brill. 1999. P. 62

³⁷ Di Cosmo, Nicola. Ancient China and its Enemies. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. P.183.

creating the largest land empire in world history placed the Chinggisid paradigm of imperial ideology at the center of Eurasian politics for the next six centuries.

The Chinggisid paradigm survived among the descendants of Chinggis's sons, including Jochi, and his son Batu, who ruled all successors to the Golden Horde, including the Kipchaq, Kazan, Crimean, Astrakhan, Uzbek, and Kazakh khanates. Even in 15th century Muscovite Russia, association with Chinggisid charismatic power carried great political weight.³⁸ It was equally powerful when the Chaghatayid Khanate split into two states in the 14th century, and among the Mongol leaders who formed states during the Northern Yuan Dynasty.

Thus, even when Oyiroid nobles surpassed Mongol leaders in strength, they were never able to successfully claim to rule the Mongols as a whole, having descended from noble families other than the Borjigids. When the Oyiroid (Choros) noble Esen took the title of Khaan in 1454 over both Oyiroid and Mongol subjects, some of his own generals rebelled and conspired in his assassination. Thus the 1640 recognition by the Khalkhas of the Dörbön Oyiroid nobles as their equals was a significant turn in Mongol imperial ideology. But in the minds of the Khalkha nobles, their kin, who had subordinated themselves to the Manchus, had committed a far greater break with imperial Mongol ideology. They had tacitly acknowledged that the mandate of heaven had passed to the Manchu Emperor and that the sun had set on the Chinggisid Mongol Empire.

It is likely that the Mongols who joined state with the Manchus did not see it that way. The Manchus were masters of political ideology, portraying the Qing Empire not as an exclusively Manchu enterprise, but as a Manchu-Mongol enterprise, a process that Elverskog (2006) explores in *Our Great Qing*. Lkhamsüren (2010) discussed an exchange of correspondence between the Jasagtu Khaan and the Manchu Khung Tayiji prior to 1640, in which they asserted competing ideological claims over the right to rule the Mongol polities. Di Cosmo (2006) examined the

³⁸ Keenan, Edward. "Moscovy and Kazan: Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy," in *Slavic Review* 26, 1967. Pp. 548-558

competing Manchu-Chakhar ideological strategies of 1620 to 1634. These contributions serve to demonstrate that the Great Code of 1640 was an integral part a grand historical debate as the tectonic plates of Eurasian political ideology shifted inexorably away from the Mongols. A half-century later, in 1691, when the Khalkhas sought the protection of the Qing, that debate was finally over.

A New Ideology of Statehood

There is another perspective on the Great Code of 1640 however that is easily overlooked if viewed only as the end of a political era. It was also the beginning of a new political era and the search to find new ideologies of statehood to replace those that had proven ineffective. Ligdan Khan had presented a very powerful lesson to the Khalkha nobles about how not to approach the recreation of a unified Mongol state. Ligdan's aggressive effort to reapply the Chinggisid imperial model and the principle of primogenitor introduced by Dayan Khaan had been a miserable failure. He was portrayed as a violent and evil ruler. He drove the majority of the Mongol uluses into the arms of the Manchus who offered them a better deal through the maintenance of semi-sovereign status for all who came willingly to join them, by making them a part of the Qing power structure.

The Jasagtu Khaan offered the Mongols and Oyiroid a potentially better option. That was a formally confederated state structure without an overlord, who would, over time, seek to erode the political authority of those not at the center. Hence, the proposed model was one without a center, avoiding a major stumbling block for lesser ruling nobles. The 1640 Code additionally built on the initiative of Altan Khaan to create new ideologies of distributed Mongol statehood. While Altan established those new principles de facto, the 1640 code established them de jure. From this perspective the Great Code and the Great Mongol-Oyiroid State were not attempts to make the best of a bad situation, but rather forward looking elements of statecraft which, if anything, were rather before their time.

The Great Code in World History

The 17th century could well be described as the autumn of a Mongol Empire that had a tremendous impact on Asia, Europe, and consequently the rest of the world. Even though the Empire had gone through many phases from its birth in the early 13th century, its 14th century decline, and its 16th century resurgence, it was the 17th century rise of the Manchu Qing that finally eclipsed the Mongol sun and brought about a new age. The simultaneous rise of the Russian Empire precluded Mongol expansion to the north or west. Mongol reluctance to concede leadership to the aggressive Jöüngars at the end of the 17th century precluded their resurgence under new leadership, unless the Qing collapsed entirely.

With the creation of the Mongol-Oyirod Great State, the sun also began to set in Central Asia on the use of Buddhism as a powerful ideology of state creation. Both the Mongols and the Tibetans continued to achieve important cultural advancements under the influence of Buddhism, but by the 1720s both states had been brought in different ways into the Qing political orbit. Beginning with the Kangxi Emperor (r.1661–1722), Manchu leaders claimed primacy as Buddhist cakravartins in Central Asia.

Yet the Oyirod, the other partners in the creation of the Mongol-Oyirod Great State, were on a different trajectory in 1640. The alliances they formed in the early 17th century established the value of coordinated action without central control. The Mongol-Oyirod Great State represented a new political possibility, the potential for state creation not through conquest but through collaboration among aristocratic households ruling the Eastern and Western Mongols. The Great Code of 1640 was for them not a failure to form a state under a single powerful Khaan, but rather a realization that they might maintain sovereign status for their individual polities while benefiting from membership in a Great State that could potentially hold its own between the Manchus and Russians.

I join Lkhamsüren (2010) in his comparison of the 1640 Great Code with the European Treaty of Westphalia, though I approach it from a different perspective.

Both treaties, for they served that diplomatic purpose, among others, established in law the principle of sovereignty for numerous smaller political entities and sought to enforce that sovereignty through a pact of mutual protection. Both treaties were forward looking, attempting to break from the past and from approaches to state formation that had proven problematic. Both were efforts to counter the urges of political depots to build great empires. Neither met with more than limited success in that regard. But both introduced ideas that resurfaced later and became incorporated in modern concepts of statehood.

The trifurcated Oyiroid, with the Jöüngars in the Jöüngar Basin of modern Xinjiang, the Baroun Gar Khoshoud in Tibet, and the Kalmyks on the Volga steppes, continue to grow in strength, but ceased to function as a whole in the 1670s. What began as a war of succession among the sons of the first Jöüngar leader, Baatur Khong Tayiji, enveloped the Khoshud and other Oyiroid polities in the Jöüngar region, in turn causing the Volga Kalmyks and Tibetan Khoshud to function as fully independent Khanates. The Jöüngars in particular remained the dominant power on the Central Asian steppes, and until 1688 kept peaceful relations with the Khalkhas. But when war broke out among the Khalkhas, the first Choros Khaan, Galdan Boshugtu, became embroiled in the conflict on behalf of the Jasagtu Khaan.

That in turn brought them into direct conflict with the Qing, who came to greatly resent Jöüngar refusal to recognize that they, the Manchus, had obtained the mandate of Heaven. From that point on it was virtually inevitable that the Manchus, with superior resources and allies capable of waging steppe warfare, would eventually defeat the Jöüngars and bring to an end the age of nomadic empires. It took the Qing until 1757 to finally defeat the Jöüngars and the anger he felt in the face of such obstinate opposition caused the Emperor Qianlong to order that all Jöüngar men, women and children, estimated at one million, should be hunted down and killed. The Jöüngar name was banned from use and their history rewritten by the Qing to recast them as barbarians who deserved no better than the humiliating defeat the Manchus inflicted on them. The settled

empires of China and Russia immediately began to restrict both long-range and seasonal migrations of steppe nomads. With that, an entire socio-economic system and culture began to fade, as more and more restrictions were placed on nomadic pastoralists.

Modern historians have written extensively about the 18th and 19th century Great Game between the Russian and British Empires for the control of Central Asia, after the Qing had begun to fade as an imperial power. It was a new game, but only to the extent that it was being waged by imperial forces external to Central Asia. It was not really new at all. The great political game for control of the Central Asian steppes was by that time two thousand years old. The Great Code of 1640 was one of the last political gambits in that far longer competition.

The Text of the Yeke Caaji

The version of the text translated for this study, one of several known extant texts, is considered the most complete and original. There are five known manuscripts of the 1640 Great Code, all in Oyiroid Todo Bechig (Clear Script). The originals of four of those manuscripts are in the archives of the Library of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg Russia. The two versions in the National Library of Mongolia are copies of two of the versions from St. Petersburg. The fifth suspected original is in Xinjiang China, but it may also be a copy obtained from St. Petersburg.³⁹

In 1889 the Russian scholar Golstunskii compared and commented on the variations among the manuscripts in the archives of the Library of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. The Russian publication containing his work is also available in St. Petersburg and in Elista, in the Russian Republic of Kalmykia. A limited edition reprint of the Golstunskii text was published in Russia circa 2006 and contained a copy of the text he considered most complete and original. Both

³⁹ Research on the manuscripts was conducted in Ulaan Baatar Mongolia where I met with Dr. Sukhbaatar, President of Tod Nomin Gerel (Clear Light of Dharma), the publisher of the *Bibliotheca Oiratica*, and a member of the Institute of History within the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, and with the Mongolian Academician, Dr. Tsooloo, who confirmed Sukhbaatar's information.

Sneath (2007) and Lhamsuren (2010) translated small sections from that reprint in their respective works. It is the Golstunskii text that is translated here. The Clear Script text in the Golstunskii publication is twenty-eight pages, but the final seven pages are new articles added by the Kalmyks to the 1640 Code in 1678 and again in 1740. The *Great Code of the Forty and Four* was not first written in Oyirod Clear Script, as it was penned in 1640, eight years before creation of the Clear Script. The Golstunski publication has the text in both Clear Script and Russian Cyrillic. A version of the text in Latin script is included in this publication. It uses the older, Lessing system of transliteration in use with *Tod Nomiin Gerel* in Ulaan Baatar.

Translation of The Great Code of The Forty and Four ⁴⁰

By Andre Boskhomdziev, Lkham Purevjav, and Richard Taupier

Page One

S1 May all be peaceful and bountiful.

S2 (We) prostrate to Ochir Dhara Lama⁴¹ who has manifest the three bodies (of a Buddha and) who has adorned himself with a great collection of blessings for all sentient beings (through) the two great oceanic accumulations (of merit and wisdom) and the teachings on emptiness.

S3 Oh Šakyamuni, foremost guide of all beings, please bestow mercifully upon us those warm rays from above (that dispel) our lack of faith.

S4 (We) prostrate to the feet of the supreme Holy Tsongkhapa who, as the successor of the Holy Lord of Religion⁴² explained the Wheel of the Dharma.

S5 (We) pray to the two Holies, the Dalai Lama,⁴³ the savior who became the adornment of the top-most realm of sacred snows, and the precious Panchen,⁴⁴

⁴⁰ This translation was a collaborative effort of Richard Taupier, Andre Boskmdziev of the University of Massachusetts and Elista, Kalmykia, and Lkham Purevjav of Ulaan Baatar Mongolia who spent a semester at the University of Massachusetts on a fellowship from the American Center for Mongolian Studies. Richard Taupier made final translation decisions, and thus any errors are his responsibility.

The translation is indexed by page and sentence number as found in the 1889 Golstunsky publication of the Todo Bechig manuscript of the Great Code. The subject-object-verb structure requires the sequence of phrases to be rearranged in English. Sentences do not end within each page, so sentence numbers start with the first new sentence of each page. Words (like this) do not appear in the text but are implied in the meaning of other words and added to make the meaning clear.

⁴¹ Given its primary position, this refers to the celestial Buddha Vajra Dhara who is the essence of all teachers and the source of esoteric (Tantric) teachings. Though it says Lama it is not thought to reference to a living person, though Neichi Toin was known by the name Ochir Dhara Khutugtu.

⁴² Meaning the historic Buddha, Šakyamuni.

⁴³ The Third through Fifth Dalai Lamas were especially important to both the Mongols and the Oyirod. The Third was was the first of the Dalai Lamas to hold the title while

who embodies the yellow visage of Buddha Amitabha for the sake of sentient beings.

S6 (We bow to) the Holy renowned Injan Khutagt Rinpoche,⁴⁵ (who) bestows complete benefit on all sentient beings through the Bodhi Mind (that is) equally (composed) of great compassion and the essence of voidness, (and) is not separate from all the Conquers.

S7 (We are here) in the presence of the three enlightened Khutugtus, Amoghasiddhi Manjushri, Aksobyha Manjushri and the so-called Inzan Rinpoche (who are) the fathers of religion.⁴⁶

S8 On the fifth new good day of the middle month of the fall in the Hero Iron Dragon Year (1640) (the following gathered):

Page Two

S1 Erdini Jasagtu Khaan followed by Tüsheetsü Khaan, Ubasha Dalai, Dalai Noyon, Dalai Khong, Khong Noyon, Chechen Noyon, Dayicin Khong Tayiji, Yeldeng Noyon, Mergen Noyon, Erdini Khong Tayiji, Dayibung Khong Tayiji, Tenger Toyon, Ayushi Hatun Baatar, Erdini Baatar Khong Tayiji, Köndölöng Ubasha, Gushi Nomiyyin Khaan, Orlug, Shukur Daiching, Yeldeng, Dayicin

alive. The Fourth Dalai Lama was a Mongol, born as a grandson of the Tumed Altan Khaan in 1589 and was escorted to Lhasa by a Mongol army. The Fifth was elevated to the position of spiritual and secular leader of Tibet by the Khoshoud Gushii Khaan.

⁴⁴ The Panchen Lamas were also reincarnate lamas in the Gelukpa lineage and during their early incarnations the Dalai and Panchen lamas were known as father and son tulkus, exchanging roles as teacher and student through several lives.

⁴⁵ The Panchen Lama sent Injan Khutugtu to teach among the Oyiroid in the 1630s. He attended the Mongol Oyiroid Assembly of 1640. Injan Khutugtu died in 1643 and Galdan Khong Tayiji was considered his next incarnation.

⁴⁶ Lkhamsüren (2010) wrote that one of the two Manjushri Tulkus named in this section was a Sakya lama and the other a Gelukpa lama. Their joint presence at the Assembly was taken to indicate a reconciliation of sorts between those Khalkha Mongols who supported the red hat Sakyas and those who supported the yellow hat Gelukpas.

Khoshuuci, Ochirtu Tayiji, Mergen Dayicin, Chouker, Chechen Tayiji, Medeeci Tayishi, Buu Yeldeng, Mergen Noyon, (and) Damarin.⁴⁷

These great nobles of both the forty and four started to write the Great Code.

S2 (If) anyone breaks this legal state of the Great Aimag⁴⁸ Ulus by killing and destroying (among) the unified Mongols and Oyirod, then punish (him) by banishment.

S3 Everything that was not his own should be taken and half given to those who (were attacked but) not killed.

S4 (If) some small frontier group raids the Great Aimag Ulus take (from them) one hundred armor breast-plates, one hundred camels, and one thousand horses, (and) make all that was taken to be returned and herds and provisions compensated; officials shall receive five *berke*⁴⁹ compensation and non-official persons (one) *berke*.

S5 (Any) Bargyu, Baatud or Khoiyid⁵⁰ who were with the Mongols between the Fire Snake Year and the Earth Dragon Year should stay with the Mongols (and) those (who were) with the Oyirod should stay with the Oyirod.

S6 Except for those years all other persons must be returned without trouble.

⁴⁷ See the Introductory sections of this paper to learn the identity of many of these named persons.

⁴⁸ There was considerable debate about how to best translate the word Aimag in this context. It would most often be translated as an administrative division within a larger polity (ulus) but here it clearly refers to the entire Great Ulus (yeke ulus) of the combined forty and four. One opinion is that it was intended to show common ancestry or kinship.

⁴⁹ A *berke* is a generic bundle of goods that could include livestock but often refers to a single share of the spoils in a particular circumstance.

⁵⁰ The Khotogoid Mongol Altan Khaan had taken many Oyirod captives in the early part of the 17th century, integrating them into his ulus. This article then indicates have those take after a certain year must be returned to the uluses from which they were taken.

S7 (If) anyone does not return some person, then two camels and twenty horses should be taken and the person should still be given back.

S8 (If) anyone escapes from the Oyirod, they should be returned to the Oyirod.

Page Three

S1 (When) an enemy of the Mongols and Oyirod comes, give that information.

S2 (If those) on the frontier hear (that) news and do not come (to the defense) take from (those who are) great nobles one hundred armor breastplates, one hundred camels and one hundred horses.

S3 from minor nobles who do not come take ten armor breastplates, ten camels, and one hundred horses.

S4 (If) anyone kills and robs and destroys the good work of the lamas made for the benefit of religion, take one hundred armor breastplates, one hundred camels and one thousand horses; in only some cases take everything.

S5 (If) some runaways (go) from one to another (*ulus*) take half of them and return the others.

S6 If someone is killed (however), keep those (runaways).

S7 The punishment for (taking) livestock is to (make them) give eight nines⁵¹ and to the witness give one nine.

S8 from those nobles (ruling) many people who do not give back (runaways), there should be taken one hundred armor breastplates, one hundred camels, (and) one hundred horses; also take the second half (of the runaways).

⁵¹ A nine can be made up of different combinations of animals of specific ages such as one camel, one horse, one mare, one ox, one cow, one ram, one goat with kid and one sheep. Another possibility is one camel, four horses, three cows and one sheep.

S9 (To those) lamas who hold many good people (give) five compensations. To minor (lamas) give two compensations, or one *berke*. From each ten people let them take one.

S10 No person is beyond this code.

S11 If a great noble breaks (this code) take (from him) ten camels and one hundred horses.

S12 (If) a noble of the level⁵² of Mergen Dayicin and Chouker breaks (this code) take five camels and fifty horses.

S13 (If) a lesser noble breaks (this code) take three camel-headed-nines.

S14 (If) noble sons-in-law or (any of) the four (types) of officials holding (official) positions break (this code) take (from him) two camel-headed-nines.

S15 (If) an official minister of a sub-group breaks (this code), take a camel-headed-nine.

S16 (If) a great noble escapes far away from the enemy by himself there should be taken one hundred armor breast-plates, one hundred camels, fifty households of people, (and) one thousand horses.

S17 (If) a noble of the level of Dayicin and Chouker escapes (alone) far from the enemy take (from him) fifty armor breastplates, fifty camels, twenty-five households of people, and five hundred horses.

S18 from minor officials take ten armor breastplates, ten camels, ten households of people and one hundred horses.

S19 from sons-in law and from the four (types of) ruling officials (take) five armor breastplates, five camels, five households of people and fifty horses.

⁵² This designates lesser nobles who rule smaller uluses and hence are not rich enough to pay fines as great as those levied on great nobles.

S20 from officials of each sub-group take three *berke*, three households of people, and thirty horses.

S21 The same as for sons-in-law and officials shall be (applied) to standard bearers and heralds.

Page Four

S1 The code for various commanders (who run away) is the same for aimag officials: make them strip their armor plates and wear a woman's outer dress.

S2 from guards of the door take one nine together with one household of people and one set of armor.

S3 from an armor-wearing warrior take one set of armor together with four head of horses.

S4 from an iron helmet-wearing warrior take one set of armor and three horses.

S5 from a warrior with armor jacket take two horses and a set of armor.

S6 from a person of low status, take one horse and one set of bow and arrows.

S7 from any person, who runs away, make him wear a woman's outer dress.

S8 (If) some person helps a nobleman to escape from danger give him special privileges: if (they) leave (that noble) then take everything and kill (him).

S9 (If) someone rescues a noble son-in-law or official then reward (him) according to the previous code.

S10 (If someone is charged) with deserting or retreating, it must be witnessed.

S11 (If) someone knows about a great enemy and does not tell (others), all descendants (of that person) will be taken and killed.

S12 (If) someone sees people going to pillage and does not report (this) half of (his) livestock will be taken.

S13 (If) there is sudden danger, then all must gather around (the) noble.

S14 (If) someone heard (of this danger) and did not come, then it will be according to the previous code; let it be known if they were near or far from (their) homeland.

S15 (If) someone nearby sees that an enemy has attacked a household and taken horses and (does nothing) then half his livestock and wealth will be taken.

S16 (If) someone dies (in such circumstances) they will be replaced according to custom.

S17 (If) someone (nearby) did take action then he should be given one berke by the relatives.

S18 (If) someone saw and heard and did not pursue (the enemy) (if they are) wealthy take half, if they are middle take nine, and if (they are) low take five.

Page Five

S1 to officials with or without authority give relay (transportation by horse or cart); clearly distinguish between messengers of state and religious affairs.

S2 (If) a great noble or a noble wife becomes ill or a great enemy attacks, give (transportation) to a messenger who is appointed for this purpose; if someone does not give (transportation) take nine nines of (the offended person's) choosing.

S3 (If) an insult (is made) to a Chorji⁵³, take nine nines.

S4 (For) an insult (to) a lama teacher of nobles, five nines must be taken.

⁵³ This is the Oyirod word for the Tibetan Tsoiji, meaning the chief educational official of a monastery or temple.

- S5 (For) an insult to a monk, three nines must be taken; (If the monk) is struck, five nines must be taken.
- S6 (For) insults to novices and nuns, five must be taken; (if they) are struck, nine must be taken.
- S7 (If) a layman with (religious) vows or a laywoman with vows is insulted, take a horse; if they are struck, then take double.
- S8 (If) a noble monk intentionally breaks his (holy) vows take half of his possessions and livestock.
- S9 (For) an insult to a married novice, one horse must be taken; (if) he is struck, take double.
- S10 (If someone) takes and rides a relay (horse) from a lama or a novice take one cow.
- S11 (If) they ride a horse given as an (religious) offering, take one horse; (if) a relay attendant is caught giving (an offering horse), then (the fine) must be taken from him.
- S12 (If) a messenger takes and rides an offering horse, he should be fined; (If) he did not know then make him take a formal oath (of innocence).
- S13 (If) a great noble is insulted, all must be taken.
- S14 (For) and insult (to) an appointed noble or son-in-law, take one nine; (if someone) strikes (them), five nines must be taken.
- S15 (For) an insult (to) a minor noble (or) son-in-law, take five; (if he is) severely beaten by hand, take three nines; (for) a minor beating, take two nines.

S16 (If someone) insults a bodyguard or a troop commander,⁵⁴ take a sheep and a horse; (if someone gives them) a great beating, take nine; for a minor beating, take five.

Page Six

S1 (If) a beating is according to an order of an appointed noble, a son-in-law, a minister, a minor noble, a minor commander, or a troop commander, there will be no trouble⁵⁵.

S2 (If) someone dies after (such) a beating (still) let there be no trouble.

S3 (If) any of these ministers beats someone based on pride, or beats (him) too much, take nine; (if) the beating was moderate, take five; (if) the beating was minor, take a horse.

S4 (If) someone is going about their rightful business and another (person) says this and that, calling (cursing) father and mother's name, then take a horse.

S5 (If) a messenger has no proper mission, (he) should ride a horse from his (own) aimaq; (if he) rides a long distance, take a three-year-old cow.

S6 (If) a relay-attendant does not tell his lord (a horse was taken) on that very same day, take a sheep; (if he tells) after one night, take a three-year-old cow.

S7 (If someone) beats a messenger, take nine; (if the messenger) is pulled (from his horse), take five; (if those) are not given, take them forcibly.

S8 (If) someone beats a relay-attendant take a horse.

S9 (If) someone pretends falsely to be a messenger and takes food, take nine, or, beat (him) five times, or take five; (if) it (occurs only) once take five.

S10 (For) a messenger on a long trip, he should have meals at noon and before (evening) camp; (if) the messenger eats extra (meals), take his horse.

⁵⁴ Literally translated as a commander of fewer than 40 warriors.

⁵⁵ Meaning that there is no offense.

S11 (If) someone rides a horse until it is exhausted, and does not replace the horse, take a three-year-old cow.

S12 (If) someone does not give an over-night stay, take a three-year-old cow.

S13 (If) a woman without children does not give an over-night stay, take her outer dress; (if she gives) a reason, then make her give (formal) testimony.

S14 (If) there is a camp (area) restricted to nobles and a hunter breaks (into this area), take a nine headed by a camel; (if) he did it without knowing, there is no trouble.

Page Seven

S1 (If) someone suddenly disrupts provisions⁵⁶ (due) to a great noble, take nine nines.

S2 (If) someone suddenly disrupts provisions to an appointed official or son-in-law, take nine.

S3 (If) someone disrupts provisions to a minor noble or son-in-law, take a horse.

S4 (If) someone takes advantage and wrongly consumes provisions, take a horse.

S5 (If) someone consumes in jest (the) noon and evening provisions, take a horse.

S6 (If) a subject person beats his teacher or his father or mother, take three nines; for a moderate beating take two nines; (for) a minor (beating) one nine must be taken.

S7 (Also, for) a severe beating, strike him thirty times; for a moderate beating, strike twenty times; for a minor beating, strike (him) ten (times).

⁵⁶ Meaning a feudal tithe or in-kind tax.

S8 (If) a daughter-in law beats (her) mother-in-law or father-in-law take three nines; for a moderate beating take two nines, for a minor beating one nine must be taken.

S9 (Also, for) a great beating, strike (her) thirty times, for a moderate beating strike (her) twenty times, for a minor beating strike (her) ten times.

S10 (If) a father beats his son or daughter-in-law to teach a lesson, it is not bad; (if) he beat them wrongly, take nine; (from) one of middle (wealth) take five; (from) one of minor (wealth) take one horse.

S11 (If) in-laws beat a daughter-in-law (wrongly) take two nines; (from) one of middle (wealth), take one nine; (from) one of minor (wealth) a five must be taken.

S12 (If) a son kills his father or mother and (he) is seen, caught, and brought to a noble, that person (who caught him) can consume a nine starting with *berke*; everything shall be taken and destroyed (from that son).

S13 (If) a father kills a son everything except his life must be taken.

S14 (If) a person kills a slave take five nines.

S15 (If) a female slave is killed, three nines must be taken.

S16 (If someone) kills a lost female take five nines.

S17 (If) one (wife) kills another (wife) (punishment) must be given (as if it were) any other human being; in other words, (her) ears must be cut off and (she must be) given to another person; the man (to whom she is given) must decide and choose (to) take (either) the female or livestock.

S18 A father (should) give an inheritance to (his) son according to custom; (if) the father becomes poor, take one from each five (animals he owns).

S19 When appointed nobles and sons-in-law propose (marriage for their son), then thirty *berke*, one hundred horses and four hundred sheep must be given.

S20 (For) minor nobles and sons-in-law, fifteen berke, fifty horses and one hundred sheep must be given.

S21 The dowry and goods should depend on the condition of the livestock and the least (to be given) should depend on the willingness of the two-households.

Page Eight

S1 (In return) for the daughter of a leader of forty⁵⁷ (households or warriors), there must be given (as a bride gift) five camels, twenty five head of large livestock⁵⁸, and forty sheep.

S2 The goods given for the dowry (should be) ten coats with collars, twenty (unsown) garments, a saddle, a bridle, a winter coat, along with a sleeveless robe and two horses.

S3 (If) a person⁵⁹ is given with the dowry then give an extra camel; based on the condition of the (dowry) goods, give extra.

S4 (In return) for the daughter of a leader of twenty, give four camels, twenty head of big livestock and thirty sheep; also, give five coats with collars, five unsown garments, along with both a horse and a camel.

S5 Depending on the condition of the goods, give extra.

S6 (For) guards, the amount of livestock will be this; for a person of modest (wealth) three camels, fifteen head of large livestock and twenty sheep; the bride gift should be both a camel and a horse and four coats with collars and ten unsown garments; depending on the condition of the gifts, give extra.

⁵⁷ A commander or leader is the head of a group of households during normal times but also leads a troop of forty warriors during war.

⁵⁸ This would be some combination of cattle, horses, and yaks, not sheep or goats.

⁵⁹ Implying a slave or servant.

S7 (For) a person of lesser wealth, the livestock should be two camels, ten head of large livestock and fifteen sheep; there will be given (as dowry) a horse and a camel, a coat with collar, a sleeveless robe, a saddle and bridle.

S8 Only daughters fourteen-years and older can be taken (as brides).

S9 Those (daughters) who are younger should be seized by informing leaders of forty or twenty (households); if someone breaks this code then the daughter will be given without any livestock.

S10 A leader of forty must kill (for food) four head of large livestock and five sheep (for the wedding).

S11 (For) a leader of twenty, it will be three head of large livestock and four sheep; (for) a modest person it will be two head of large livestock and three sheep; (for) a lesser person it will be one head of large livestock and two sheep.

S12 Each year, from forty (households) four sons must become householders.

Page Nine

S1 Ten sons from forty (households) should join together to give one ger.

S2 (If you) give (with the proposal) one additional large livestock, take one coat with collar; if you give another sheep take one (unsown) garment; do not take from the daughter's garments.

S3 (If) the household is not arranged and nothing is given then according to code, take two camels, five horses and ten sheep.

S4 Every year from each of forty (households, there) should (be) made two coats of mail; if they do not make it, then according to code, take a horse and camel.

S5 for daughters reaching the age of twenty (the groom's family) should go (to propose) three times to the (future) father and mother-in-law.

- S6 (If) this (ceremony) is not done inform the noble (of those people).
- S7 (If) (the daughter is given) without informing (the noble) the livestock that is given will be taken from the daughter's father according to the code.
- S8 (If) the (new) bride dies, then the dowry must be given back; if there was no wedding then half of the livestock will be taken (back).
- S9 (If) the groom gives, in addition to the gifts, a helmet, coat of mail, or armor breastplate, then take (for) the helmet, five; for the coat of mail or armor breastplate take a nine headed by a camel; if a rifle was given take five.
- S10 (If) someone steals an armor breastplate or quilted armor, take ten nines.
- S11 (If) someone takes a coat of mail, take three nines.
- S12 (If) someone takes a short armor jacket, take three nines.
- S13 (If) someone steals a helmet take one nine.
- S14 (If) someone steals a good sword, take nine from the best (livestock) and five from the lower (livestock).
- S15 (If) someone steals a spear take three of the best horses and one lower horse.
- S16 (If someone steals) a good bow with ten arrows, take three nines; for a modest bow and arrows, take nine; for the lowest quality bow and arrow take a goat with kid.
- S17 (If) there was a marriage proposal ceremony, it will be (legal) under the code; if there was no ceremony it cannot be legal under the code;
- S18 (from) a (marriage) proposal household in which the daughter was already promised and given to another, take from a wealthy (person) five nines headed by a camel, from (a person of) middle wealth take three nines headed by a camel, (and) from the lowest, take one nine headed by a camel.

S18 The woman and the gift of livestock must be taken back (from the new groom); (if this was done) without knowledge of (the bride's) father and mother, make (the punishment) three times the customary code.

Page Ten

S1 The truth must be clearly known by forceful investigation of father and mother; for this code it should be taken from the groom; the father who was given the daughter should consume (what was given).

S2 (for) a son raised (by another family), who grows to love his (adopted) father, there is no compensation; let him go alone by himself.

S3 (for) a daughter, take her back (by) giving compensation.

S4 (The fate of) a girl who is raised (by another family) should be decided by those who raised her; livestock will be consumed equally and goods will be given equally.

S5 (for) someone who allows an unengaged daughter to be given away, (if) wealthy take seven, from a middle one take five, and from the lowest take one camel.

S6 Anyone who comes from another person should go back (to the place) from which he came.

S7 (If) someone comes to rely on a noble and they gave him something, and if he earned some livestock, half should be taken (by those he came from).

S8 (If) some (livestock) dies from the bite of a mad (rabid) dog, take one from five; if a person dies, take one nine from one (who is) wealthy, seven from one of middle (wealth) and from the lowest take five.

S9 (If) a mad person kills someone take half (of all his belongings) and consider the quality (of that family); if that person keeps hurting people but then he finally dies, there is no guilt.

S10 (If) someone dies, Injured by a mountain spirit⁶⁰, take a nine headed by a berke, take five from one of medium (wealth) and take one berke from the lowest.

S11 (If) a lazy owner did not herd livestock to the pasture take one from (his) livestock.

S12 (If) a male camel, bull or stallion breaks-away, there is no payment (to the person watching them).

S13 (If) someone kills free (roaming) livestock or a person may it be (according to) what is right.

S14 (If) a horse kills its rider, may it be (according to) what is right (based on fault).

S15 (If) some (persons) run away and the husband is killed, take the female.

S16 (If) someone with armor is killed (while running away), take the armor; the next person (in the chase) can choose between the helmet and (arm or leg) guards, and the next persons can take whatever, according to who is first or later.

Page Eleven

S1 (If) an unarmed person (is killed) let (punishment) be by previous custom.

S2 (If) someone is captured and set free, take two horses with armor breastplates.

S3 (For) people who came (from another place) and who have been taken (or rescued) take from the great spoils (of the battle) nine with a berke.

S4 (If) someone is taken as a servant without permission of the noble and that person was valuable and died, gather (and give) a nine headed by berke.

⁶⁰ Meaning died suddenly with no apparent cause.

S5 During a raid, if someone was captured because his horse was speared that horse should be replaced and he should take nine; within three days if it is stolen back, take five; after that there will be punishment.

S6 (If) during an attack a friendly person is killed by mistake, a witness should say if that was true, and take one nine; if that witness says (it was) wrong, take three nines.

S7 During hunting, if someone is killed by accident, half punishment will be taken; take (the fine) according to (previous) example.

S8 (If any of) the six organs are injured, take five nines with berke; if thumb or index finger are lost, take two nines and a five; if the middle finger is lost, take nine, if the nameless finger is lost, take five; if the little finger is lost, take three; If (the finger) is recovered take nine with berke; if there is little (injury), take five; if garments are torn, take a horse.

S9 (If) a horse dies accidentally take a horse of the exact same quality; if someone eats the meat (of that horse) take one adult horse.

S10 (If) someone puts out a fire left in camp (when someone has moved), take a sheep.

S11 (If) someone rescues a person who might be killed by fire or flood, take five.

S12 (If) someone died trying to rescue (another) from fire or flood, take nine with berke.

S13 (If) a horse dies (while trying to rescue) it will be replaced along with a berke.

S14 (If) a slave recovers an armor breastplate or armor (leg or arm) guards (he can) take one horse for each.

S15 (If) armor plates and breastplates are recovered take both a horse and sheep.

S16 (If) a felt tent and other goods and possessions are rescued, then take one horse and cow and share it.

Page Twelve

S1 (If someone) saves livestock from fire, from each herd take two, or take one from smaller herds; consider the time (to rescue), the quality of the herd, and divide (accordingly).

S2 (If) someone set a fire for revenge, (the fine) will be a great berke.

S3 (If) a wealthy person dies (from a fire), there will be an attack; if a person of middle (wealth) dies, there will be taken thirty berke and three hundred livestock; if a low person dies, (take) fifteen nines headed by berke.

S4 This starts the code about stealing.

S5 The fine (for stealing) a camel is fifteen nines; for (stealing) a gelding or a stallion (it is) ten nines; for (stealing) a mare (it is) eight nines.

S6 (For stealing) a cow, a two-year old horse or a sheep, for those three above, six nines must be taken; each nine must include a camel; consider how much is consumed of what was stolen.

S7 (If) the (thief) was clearly caught, the owner must take half the fine and compensation of double (the stolen animals).

S8 for (young, stolen) animals born after the new-year, take one horse.

S9 (If) someone raids (the thieves) without telling the noble, the messenger of the noble and provisions (owed to the noble) must be doubled in compensation.

S10 There must be three approaches to the trail (of the thieves).

S11 (If) there is an investigation of the trail (left by thieves) (you) must go with good witnesses to the final end (of the trail).

S12 (If) there are no good witnesses make a choice (to continue or not).

S13 (If) the trails leads to a small community, the head (person of that community) must take an oath; if this is not the case (where the head person takes an oath), then separate the people of the community who did the stealing and punish according to law.

S14 The elder of the community must testify before the best people of the district; the best people of the district must give (testimony) before the noble.

S15 Even if there is no evidence of guilt, take from him a nine with berke.

Page Thirteen

S1 Debts must be recovered after three announcements before witnesses.

S2 You must tell the leader of twenty that you are making this announcement.

S3 (If) there is no announcement to the leader of twenty, then take a horse.

S4 (If) the creditor took (the debt back) during the day without announcement then the debt is forgiven.

S5 (If) he took it at night without (making an) announcement, he must be fined a nine.

S6 All debts of Bula Tayishi are forgiven.

S7 (If) a female comes with milk vodka and mutton what she owed is forgiven.

S8 (If) her debt was very big, she must still pay half.

- S9 (If) some livestock are wandering (off) and someone observes and announces (this) over three nights, then he can take⁶¹ them.
- S10 (If) someone takes (them) but does not announce it within twenty-four hours then take a three-year-old cow.
- S11 Also take nine from those who change the earmark.
- S12 (If) he shears (the livestock) take five.
- S13 (If) there is announcement there is no trouble.
- S15 (If) someone catches wandering (livestock) give (them) to the leader of twenty; the leader of twenty should give (them) to a shepherd.
- S16 The one who finds the wandering (livestock) may give them to the leader of twenty or to a shepherd.
- S17 (If) he does not give (them) (to either) then take double.
- S18 but if he is asked (about them) and still hides (the livestock) take nine.
- S19 (If) the wandering (livestock) are given to someone from far away, it will be as before (take nine).
- S20 (If) he gives to a nearby person take three nines.
- S21 Take seven if someone eats fallen livestock.
- S22 (If) a woman is attracted by a man and both like each other, (and have an affair) take from the woman four and from the man take five.
- S23 (If) a woman was forced against her will, take nine from the man.
- S24 (If) that woman was a slave take one horse.
- S25 (If) she was willing, there is no trouble.

⁶¹ Literally, he can ride them.

S26 (If) a girl was willing to sleep (with a man) take two nines.

S27 (If) they liked each other (before the marriage) take one nine.

S28 (If) some person sleeps (has sex) with an animal and someone sees it, he can take (that animal); the owner of animal can take five (from the person).

S29 (If) two people are fighting and someone comes in the middle (and tries to stop them) and he is hurt and dies, take nine with a berke.

S30 Each person who helped (to stop the fight) can take a horse.

Page Fourteen

S1 (If) a weapon with a blade was involved (in a fight) and a serious injury results, take five nines; if the wound was medium, take three nines, if the wound was small, take one nine.

S2 (If) someone is stabbed for no reason, take one horse; the (injured) person can take whatever weapon was pulled.

S3 (If) someone is able to calm him he can take one horse.

S4 (If) someone uses wood or stone (to beat someone) severely take nine with a berke; for a medium (beating) take a horse and sheep, and for a small (beating) take a three-year-old cow and whatever he (the aggressor) carried.

S5 (If) someone hits (another) seriously with a fist or a club, take five; for a medium (beating) take a horse and sheep, and for a small (beating) take a three-year-old bull.

S6 (If) the clothing was torn take a two-year-old horse.

S7 (If someone tears) out a tassel or hair queue, take five for either or both.

S8 (If someone) grabs (another) by the beard take a horse and sheep.

- S9 (If) someone spits in the face, throws dirt, or pulls a (dell) hem (take a) good horse.
- S10 (If) all of these happen take one horse and two sheep; if two of them happen take one horse and one sheep.
- S11 From a person (of) low (status) take a sheep and a lamb.
- S12 (If) someone tears (pulls) out a woman's hair and tassel, take one nine.
- S13 (If) someone hurts a pregnant woman and she miscarries take a nine for each month that she was pregnant.
- S14 (If) a young girl is scared because someone has kissed (her) in that secret place then take the equal of one dowry.
- S15 (If) the girl is older than ten then there is punishment. If she is younger than ten, there is no punishment.
- S16 (If) someone's eyes become ill or teeth are loosened, for those take five; for good (undamaged) eye and undamaged teeth take half in the same way.
- S17 (If) during a game or celebration some people die, that many horses will be taken.
- S18 (If) an adult is killed take one berke.
- S19 (If) two friends were playing and one (of them) died, take nine; take three nines if someone hides the fact that someone has died.
- S20 (If) in a game there are damages to an eye, teeth, arm or foot and they can be cured, there is no penalty; take five if they are broken.

Page Fifteen

- S1 (If) someone conspires with a person with illegal intentions and provides transportation and food, take seven nines.

S2 (If) before that bad person escapes he leaves livestock and possession behind with a family and that family hides these things, take three nines.

S3 (If someone steals) a silk coat or a long sable coat or a carpet made from tiger, leopard or otter, or a cape made of silk and ermine with quilted lining, (the fine) must be five nines.

S4 for (stealing) those capes made from the hides of wolf, fox, steppe fox, wolverine or beaver, the fine must be three nines.

S5 For (stealing) a good coat of tiger, leopard, or tight woven material, fur, tanned hides, otter, or a silk robe, (the fine) must be one nine.

S6 for (stealing) a wolf, lynx, wolverine, beaver, or fabric robe or medium coat, for all of those, (the fine) must be seven.

S7 for (stealing) furs of sable, fox, squirrel, steppe fox, wildcat, raccoon, ermine, starting from the biggest, take a three-year-old cow; for the small ones take one sheep; for the animals in the trap the same as above will be taken.

S8 for (stealing) a good silver saddle, bridle, or head rope, apply the same as for a sable coat.

S9 For (stealing) a medium (quality) silver saddle and bridle, it must be the same as for wolf and lynx (furs).

S10 For (stealing) a hammer, anvil and tongs it must be one nine, but determine if the quality is good or bad.

S11 Compensate with one berke if a person dies from a hunting trap that was announced; if he recovers there is no trouble.

S12 (If) a person dies even if (the trap was) announced but the location was secret take three nines; if he suffers but recovers give a sheep and horse.

S13 (If target) training was not announced and a person dies, take five nines; if he recovers take five.

S14 If there was no announcement (of target practice) and livestock dies then replace with livestock of same (quality).

S15 (If) there was an announcement there is no trouble. The owner may eat the animal that was killed.

S16 (If a trap) was announced and someone takes and eats the antelope (killed in that trap) then he should replace it with one that is exactly the same: if there was no announcement five should be taken.

Page Sixteen

S1 (If) someone rescues sheep attacked by a wolf, that person can take those sheep (that are still) alive (as well as) the dead (sheep).

S2 (He can) take five arrows if there are less than ten (sheep).

S3 (If) the (sheep) killed have been eaten then take a three-year old cow.

S4 (If) someone pulls a camel from the mud take a three-year old cow.

S5 for (saving) a horse from the mud take a sheep; for (saving) a cow, take five arrows; for a sheep, take two arrows

S6 (If) someone helps a person covered by a landslide, a person giving birth or a person who is sick, and cures him, they must give whatever they promised.

S7 (If) they made no promise then take a horse.

S8 (If) during a journey someone loses his ride on the way, the person who helps him and takes him home may take a horse.

S9 (If) there are two people who give testimony against each other, then the case is spoiled; but if during this testimony there were other witnesses, then learn (the truth) through investigation.

S10 (If there is) a person who has nothing and no livestock, the leader of twenty must testify and (the person) must be caught and given (to someone).

- S11 (If) someone refuses to give fermented horse milk then take a sheep.
- S12 (If) someone forcefully takes distilled milk liquor, take a horse with a camel.
- S13 (If) someone damages a ger, take a horse
- S14 (If) someone with a wood spike stabs a fire⁶² in a dwelling of a noble take six nines.
- S15 (If) this happens in dwelling of a subject person then take a nine.
- S16 (If) livestock were killed in jest, replace them with the same quality and quantity and take a horse; it should be investigated to know if it was a hoax or not.
- S17 (If) someone takes wandering livestock and says it is his, take five.
- S18 (If a person) gives false testimony that another has stolen (something) and insists (it is true), takes his possessions.
- S19 (If) it later becomes known that (he gave) false testimony he may be fined as much as he took; whatever livestock as he consumed through this false testimony should be returned in full.
- S20 (If) a thief brings and leaves bones and remains (of a stolen animal) (in a distant place) the owner of the local place can take nine.
- S21 (If) there is a trail and one group is following that trail and another is trying to cover that trail, then the leader of twenty should give testimony.
- S22 (If) he will not give testimony then the first person destroying the trail should give five; for each person who was involved (in hiding the evidence) the same number of horses must be taken.

Page Seventeen

- S1 (If) there is a small or large group of people who steal things and later someone (of that group) comes to tell (about this) that person will not be fined.

⁶² Meaning to attack the family hearth, a very damning symbolic action.

- S2 from the rest who were involved (in stealing) replace what was stolen.
- S3 (If) the informant tells after it was already known it does not count.
- S4 (If) a thief kills a warrior and robs him, take (from him) nine with berke.
- S5 (If) a messenger promised to go, (with a message) but did not, take nine.
- S6 (If) a messenger wanted a relay (horse) and was denied, take double.
- S7 All messengers are forbidden to drink (alcohol) until they have gone and returned.
- S8 (If) he drinks take five.
- S9 (If) a noble offers some drink he should take (it).
- S10 (If) there is a deserter from the outside who asks to join and he is killed, take five nines (from person who killed him).
- S11 (If) someone delivers (that deserter), (he may) take several quivers of arrows and the horse (the deserter was riding).
- S12 (If) someone catches a deserter who is escaping he can take half of everything but leave him alive.
- S13 (If) someone is offered a woman who was left behind, in that case that person should give nine with berke; from one of medium wealth take five; from the lowest ones take a camel and horse.
- S14 A slave woman cannot be counted as a witness; but if she brings bones and meat (as evidence) then it should count.
- S15 (if) someone steals any type of livestock by force and kills (those livestock) and there is a witness there must be a fine (equal to) the complete extent of that livestock.
- S16 (If) he does not confess the stealing then there will be an investigation.

S17 (If) someone breaks the line (during a hunt) by not going along with the line, take five horses.

S18 (If) someone galloped away (from the hunting line) three times (bow) shooting distance, take his horse.

S19 (For) twice the shooting distance, take a sheep.

S20 (If) it is one shooting distance take five arrows.

S21 (If) someone finds and hides an antelope killed by an arrow, take five.

S22 (If) someone finds and hides an antelope without an arrow, take his horse.

S23 (If) someone finds an arrow in the ground for which someone was looking and that person does not return it, take a horse.

S24 (If) someone kills a (trained hunting) bird on a leash take a horse.

S24 (If) someone witnesses any (crime) he can consume nine from the livestock fine (for that crime); the reward (will be) as much as was found.

Page Eighteen

S1 (In regard to stealing such items as) a flint, knife, arrow, file, rope, horse hobble, leather strip bridle, belt hammer, neck scarf, good hat, boots, pants, scissors, iron stirrup, wooden saddle, felt cape, saddle cloth, quiver cover, long sleeve shirt of woven fabric, belt made from woven fabric, case for breastplate and helmet, draw knife, axe, good bridle without bit, whole sheep meat inside of leather bag, a poor coat, woman's outer coat, saw, circlet, sheep tweezers, good ring, net for fish and birds, or trap; if any of those things are taken, a finger must be cut (off).

S2 (If) there is sorrow for the finger, (take) five, meaning two large livestock and three sheep.

S3 (For stealing) a horse rope, lasso, camel rope, needle, awl, comb, thimble, thread, sinew, buttons, bowl, ladle, wooden plate, pail, wineskin, poor hat, boots, socks, saddle girth, leather belt, bridle without bit, saucer, glue, wood awl, drill, whip, small cabinet, chest, horse blanket, sheep skin, goat skin, blue lamb skin, arrow, bow string, or any other small personal items one might carry, all fit under this code; for good ones take sheep and lamb, for bad ones take goat and kid.

S4 (For) two people making a claim (against each other), if they do not appear there is no hearing.

S5 The person who is making a claim must announce (his claim) three times and then go and give testimony with good witnesses.

S6 (If) that does not happen take a horse and send a messenger to get (him).

S7 (If) someone will not allow a search then apply by this rule.

S8 Know truth or deceit through a witness. If there is no witness, then the aimaq head must give his oath.

S9 (If) someone invites a female or male shaman take a horse from them.

S10 from the female shaman who came, take her horse.

S11 (If) someone saw this and he did not report (it), take his horse.

Page Nineteen

S1 (If) someone sees a shamanic doll they should take it.

S2 (If) the owner protects (that doll) and does not give it up, take a horse.

S3 (If) a (shamanic) curse is thrown at a good person, take five: if the curse is made to an ordinary person take two horses

S4 (If) a duck, sparrow or dog (is used by a shaman), for that take a horse.

S5 (If) a snake (is used by a shaman), unless it is from Alagh Mountain,⁶³ take two arrows; if someone has no arrows take a knife.

S6 (For) livestock that die from a winter storm, if the carcass is stolen within ten days, take a three-year-old cow.

S7 (If) a horse kicks a small child the person who rescues the child may take a sheep.

S8 Excluding a female camel without a baby, a mare that escapes the rope, or livestock that have just given birth, if someone milks (any other livestock) take a three-year-old cow.

S9 In the absence of the father and mother of a girl given (in marriage) pillage the father.⁶⁴

S10 (If) this happened without agreement (without telling) then apply the previous code.

S11 (If) someone convinces a woman to run away from (her) husband, from a wealthy person (who took that woman) take nine nines headed by a camel; from a (person of) middle (wealth) take five nines headed by a camel; from the least wealthy (person) take three nines headed by a camel.

S12 (If) the woman ran away (to another) at her own decision then take the livestock and the female that left.

S13 The older and younger brothers (of a woman who ran away) can give livestock of equal quality and take her back.

S14 (If) they have no livestock then the brothers and sisters of her aimaq can give livestock and take (her back).

⁶³ Alagh means motley or varied. In this case it may refer to a specific mountain.

⁶⁴ The meaning of this was not clear. It does not indicate for what crime the father would be punished. Rather than modify it to give it more specific meaning it was left as a literal translation.

S15 (If a woman) has no relatives in the aimaq then the nobles should know (what must be done).

S15 (If) a foster son still loves his (original) father, he and his (own) sons can go (back to his original home) but a daughter has to stay with the mother (who raised her).

Page Twenty

S1 (If) the father and mother of a foster daughter wish to take her back and she is older than nine, they should give nine.

S2 (If) the daughter was not raised well they should give half (of nine).

S3 (If) the child is older than fifteen she should remain (with the foster parents).

S4 Half of the livestock to be consumed at the wedding should come from both fathers and they should give equal provisions (for her marriage).

S5 There is no debt (obligation) for a grandson or granddaughter of a son on the mother's side.

S6 (If) the mother's side granddaughter or grandson takes (anything) from that (mother's family) side there is no punishment, but they ought to give some payment.

S7 (As for) livestock taken from someone, if there is a good witness he should take back an equal amount.

S8 (If) someone bought it (the livestock) then take the ones that are left.

S9 (If) someone took lost livestock and a year has passed, the payment will be half.

Transliteration of the Yeke Caaji – Great Code

This transliteration of Yeke Caaji (Great Code) from Oyirod Todo Bechig (Clear Script) to Latin Script is according to the Lessing system, as found in the Mongol-English Dictionary of Ferdinand Lessing. It is the only Mongolian-English dictionary based on the Uyghur-Mongolian or vertical script. That system is considered by some philologists to be non-optimal in several ways. The initial transliteration was done by Richard Taupier in 2015 and then reviewed and edited by Geshe Yeruult Janchiv in Ulaan Baatar, Mongolia in 2016, using an unpublished transliteration at Tod Nomin Gerel in UB that used the Lessing system. It is presented here as a PDF to preserve the fonts, as many text systems will not read fonts that represent the special letters and diacritical marks of the Oyirod clear script. The numbering is based on the page and line as they occur in the Golstunskii text.

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Yeke Caaji: The Mongol-Oyirod Great Code of 1640

Original Text

- 1.01 o siyin amuyulang boltoγai xoyor čuüllγani dalayin dunda, xōsun činariyin
- 1.02 nomiyin beye-eče, xotolo aqsan belge üliger-yēr čoqtoyo čimeqsen, γurban beye
- 1.03 xamtuduqsan očiro dara blama-du mörgömüi. xamugi uduriduqči šakyamuni
angqan
- 1.04 kömörildüqsen sejigi mini xaluün dulān gerel-yēr xayiralaji nēn soyirxo. tere-kiü
- 1.05 boqdo toyini jalγamji šajini ezen, tögüs nomiyin kürdüni ene čaqtu orčiuluqsan
- 1.06 dēdü boqdo bzungkapayin küldü terigüü-ber mörgömüi. бүкүү бэр amitani tula
- 1.07 abida burqani al šarayin düri-bēr bariqsan pavčün erdeni, ariun časutani
- 1.08 oroyin čimeq boloqsan, aburaqči dalai blama tere xoyor boqdoyin köldü
zalbarimui.
- 1.09 xočorli ügei xamuq ilayūqsadiyin mōn činar xōsun nigulesküi ilγal ügei bohdi
- 1.10 sedkil inu, xutuqtu inzan rinbüče kemēn aldaršiqsan tere boqdo xotolo
xamugiyin
- 1.11 tusayigi бүтэн soyirxo. šakyayin toyin ečige inzan rinbüče kigēd angkxobie
manzuširi
- 1.12 amuka sihdi manzuširi γurban xutuqtuyin gegēni ömönö, bātur tömör kalu
kemēkü
- 2.01 jiliyin namuriyin dundadu sarayin tabun sinidü sayin ödör-tü, erdeni zasaqtu
xān ekilen tüšetü xān, ubaši dalai
- 2.02 noyon, dalai xung, xung noyon, čēčen noyon, dayičing xung tayiji, yeldeng
noyon, mergen noyon, erdeni xung tayiji,
- 2.03 dayibung xung tayiji, tenggeri toyin, ayoüsi xatun bātur, erdeni bātur xung tayiji,
köndölöng ubuši, güüši nomiyin
- 2.04 xān, örlöq, šükür dayičing, yeldeng, dayičing xošuüči, očirtu tayiji, mergen
dayičing, čöüker, čēčen tayiji, medēči
- 2.05 tayiši, bō yeldeng, mergen noyon, damarin, döčün dörbön xoyoriyin noyod yeke
čāji ekilen bičibe.
- 2.06 aliba kümün ene töröyigi ebden, yeke ayimaq ulusi alaji talaji abubāsu mongγol
oyirod xoyor nigedēd,
- 2.07 töüni γaqča beyeyini talbid, biši бүкүни čöm abči talbiqčidu xayasiyigi ögöd,
üleqseni xoyor xayas abxu bolbo.
- 2.08 zaxayin čon küün ayimaq ulusiyigi talaji abubāsu zuün xuyaq zuün temēn
mingγan aduü abād, ali abuqsayini čöm

- 2.09 xariulād, kümün mal ediyini oro ökü bolbo. yamutu kümün tabun, orotu yamu ügei kümün γaqča berke. orotu
- 2.10 gal moyoi jil-ēče inaqši šoroi klu jil kürtele baryu bātud xoyid mongyoldukini mongyoldu singgebe, oyirodtukini
- 2.11 oyirodtu singgebe, teden-ēče busu xaluün amiyigi čöm sād ügei abulçaqu bolbo, ken kümün ese ögbösü ami büri
- 2.12 xorin aduü, xoyor temē abād, beyeyini abči ökü bolbo. čoqtuyin oyirodtu oroqson kümün bosbasu oyirodtu
- 3.01 xariülji öq. mongyol oyirodtu dayisun irebēsü kele öq. tere kele sonosči bayiji zaxayin yeke noyod ese irebēsü
- 3.02 zuün xuyaq zuün temē mingyan aduü abxu, baγa noyod ese irebēsü arban xuyaq arban temē zuün aduü abxu
- 3.03 bolbo. šajini tus blamanariyin üyile ayimagi alaji talaji abubāsu zuün xuyaq, zuün temē mingyan aduü abxu, γaqča
- 3.04 zarimi yeke keb abxu bolbo. ken ken-dü bosxuül irebēsü xayaslaji abād, xariülji ög. kümü alabāsu yeke keb.
- 3.05 maliyin yala nayiman yesü gerečidü nige yesy oq. olon ami noyod görlöji ese ögbösü zuün xuyaq zuün temē
- 3.06 mingyan aduü abād, xoyor xayas abxu bolbo. blamanariyin γartugi xaluün sayin amin tabun doliqtai, muü amin xoyor
- 3.07 doliqtai, ese bögösü nige berke, arban kümün-ēče nigeyini idekü büi. ene čāji-ēče ken kümün dabaxu ügei büi, dabaxulā
- 3.08 yeke noyoduüid ebdekule arban temē zuün aduü ab, mergen dayičing čöüker edeni üyeyin noyoduüid ebdekülē tabun
- 3.09 temē tabin aduü ab, baγa noyod ebdekülē temēn teriütei γurban yesü ab, tabanayud yamutu dörbön tüšimed
- 3.10 ebdekülē teme teriütei xoyor yesü ab, otoq otogiyin sayid tüšimed ebdekülē nige temētei yesü ab. dayisun-ēče
- 3.11 yeke noyod beye-bēr uduji dutāxulā zuün xuyaq zuün temē tabin öröke kümü mingyan aduü abxu bolbo. dayičing
- 3.12 čöüker edeni üyeyin noyod uduji dutāxulā tabin xuyaq tabin temē xorin tabun öröke kümü tabun zuün aduü
- 4.01 ab, baγa noyod-ēče arban xuyaq arban temē arban öröke kümü zuün aduü ab. tabanayüid zasaq bariqsan dörbön
- 4.02 tüšimed-ēče tabun xuyaq tabun temē tabun öröke kümü tabin aduü ab, otoq otogiyin tüšimed-ēče γurban berke
- 4.03 γurban öröke kümü γučin aduü ab, tuqčın bürēčin-ēče tabanang tüšimediyn yosōr alaqsan xosuüčini čāji
- 4.04 ayimagiyin tüšimediyn yosōr lübči xuyagi abād čegedeq ümüskekü bolbo. erketen kānar-ēče nige öröke kümü lübči
- 4.05 teriülen yesü ab, enggiyin lübčiten-ēče lübči terigüülen dörbön köl möri ab, duülyatu-ēče xuyaq γurban möriyini

- 4.06 ab. degelei xuyaqtu-ēče xuyaq xoyor möri ab. xara kümün-ēče sādaq nige möri
ab. kümün dutāxulā čegedeq
- 4.07 ümüskekü bolbo, noyodi ken kümün ɣarayaji irekyülē xoşuün dēre darxalaya.
orkixulā alaya talaya, tabanayüüd tüşimed
- 4.08 ekilen bügüdeyigi ken kümün ɣarayaji irekülē urida čājiyin yosōr šangnaya.
oryoqsan dutāqsan xoyoriyin iljali inu
- 4.09 gerečise medeye, yeke dayisuni üzeji sonosči bayiji ese kelekülē üreyin üre kōji
alaya talaya, dērme kümüni üzeji
- 4.10 bayiji ese kelekülē maliyini xayaslaya, ürgēn bolxolā noyod dēre čuqlaxu bolbo.
kerbe sonosči bayiji ese irekülē uridu
- 4.11 čājiyin yosōr boltoyai, nutugiyin oyiro xoloyin kiriyini medeye, dayisun ayil
talaji aduü kōji yabuqsayini ken kümün
- 4.12 alduülxulā ed mali xayaslaya, kümün ükükülē yosōr bosoxu bolbo, ese
alduüluqsan kümün ükükülē axa döü-ēče nige
- 5.01 berkēr bosxo, üzeji sonosči bayiji ese nekeküle sayināsa ed mali inu xayaslaya,
dundāsa yesü, muuɣāsa tabun
- 5.02 abtuɣai.
- 5.03 erke erke ügei ɣurban yamutu ulā öq, törö šajini tustu yabuxu elčiyin yabudali
iljaji medeye, yeke noyon
- 5.04 aɣa čilerkekülē yeke dayisun dobtoloxulā edeni tustu yabuxu elčidü öq. ken
kümün ese ökülē yesün yesün čāji
- 5.05 abtuɣai, čorjinori dārixulā yesün yesü ab, noyodiyin baqşı boloqsan blamanari
dārixulā tabun yesü abxu bolbo,
- 5.06 gelünggüüdi dārixulā ɣurban yesü abxu bolbo, ɣar kürkülē tabun yesü abxu
bolbo, bandinari dārixulā šabaɣančanari
- 5.07 dārixulā tabu abxu bolbo, nalixulā yesü abxu bolbo, ubaşi ubašančagi dārixulā
mori ab, nalixulān kiriyini medeye,
- 5.08 toyin kümün sanāɣar sakilān ebdekülē ed maliyini xayaslaya, ger abuqsan
bandinari dārixulā nige möri abxu bolbo,
- 5.09 nalixulā xolbō abxu bolbo, blamanar bandinarāsa ulā unuxulā nige üker ab,
setertü mori unuxulā mori abxu bolbo.
- 5.10 ulāči bariji ökülē ulāčisa abxu bolbo. elči unuxulā elčise ab, ese medeji unuxulā
šaxan. yeke noyodi
- 5.11 dārixulā talaxu bolbo. yamutu noyod tabanayüüdi amār dārixulā nige yesü ab,
ɣar kürkülē tabun yesü abxu bolbo,
- 5.12 baɣa noyod tabanayüüdi dārixulā tabu ab, ɣar kürči yeke nalixulā ɣurban yesü
ab, baɣa nalixulā xoyor yesü
- 6.01 ab. kānar šüülünggiyigi amār dārixulā möri xoi ab. yeke nalixulā yesü ab, baɣa
nalixulā tabu ab. yamutu
- 6.02 noyod tabanayüüd sayid baɣa noyod tabanayüüd demči šüülünggi ede bügüde
ejediyn zasaq zarliq čājiyin tulada nalixulā

- 6.03 γai ügei, naliqsan xoyino ükükülē γai ugei boltoγai. ede bügüde sayid sayirxaji nalixulā yeke nalixulā yesü ab,
- 6.04 dunda nalixulā tabu ab, baγa nalixulā mori ab. ken ken kümüni zöbör yabutala ečige ekeyin toloγoi duüdaji
- 6.05 öünei töünei geji kemēn šoqloji kelekülē nige möri ab, kereq ügei elči ayimaqγāsān unuxu bolbo, alaslaji unuxulā
- 6.06 γunji ab, ulgeji kümün ezen-düni ese kelekülē mön ödör bolxolā γuči ab. xonoxulā γunji ab. elči kümüni
- 6.07 nalixulā yesü ab, tataji orkiqulā tabu ab. ese ökülē bülāji abxulā ulāčiyigi nalixulā nige mori ab. elči
- 6.08 geji xudalār ulā unuji šüüsü idekülē yesü ab. ese gekülē tabu čoki, tabu ab, nigeyini bolxolā tabu ab.
- 6.09 xolo yabuxu elči üde xonoqdōn edetügei, ilöü idekülē moriyini ab. ken kümün mori ečēji yabutala möri ese
- 6.10 ökülē γunji ab. ken kümün xonoq ese ökülē γunji ab. üre ügei eme xonoq ese ökülē čegedegiyini ab, šiltaq
- 6.11 kelekülē saxa
- 6.12 noyodiyin xoriqson buüdal görösöni kümün ebdekülē temēn teriütei yesü ab, ese medekülē γai ügei. yeke
- 7.01 noyodiyin šüüsü tasulxulā yesün yesü ab. yamutu noyod tabanaγuüdiyin šüüsü tasulxulā yesü ab, baγa noyod
- 7.02 tabanaγuüdiyin šüüsü tasulxulā möri ab, buruü idekülē möri ab, üde xonoq-eče šoqloji yidekülē möri ab.
- 7.03 aliba kümün suryaqsan baqši-bēn ečige ekēn nalixulā γurban yesü ab, dunda nalixulā xoyor yesü ab, baγa
- 7.04 nalixulā yesü abxu bolbo, bere xadam eke ečigēn nalixulā γurban yesü ab, dunda nalixulā xoyor yesü ab
- 7.05 baγasa nige yesü abxu bolbo. yeke nalixulā γuči čoki, dunda nalixulā xori čoki, baγa nalixulā arba čogexu bolbo,
- 7.06 ečige küböügēn eši berēn suryan nalixulā γai ügei, buruüγār nalixulā yesü ab, dunda-eče tabu ab, baγa-eče nige
- 7.07 möri ab. xadumni berēn nalixulā xoyor yesü ab, dunda-eče yesü, baγa-eče tabu abxu bolbo. küböün ečige
- 7.08 ekēn alaxulā ken üzeqsen kümün bariji noyonduni kürge, berke teigüüteni yesü ide, beyēse bišiyini tarāxu bolbo.
- 7.09 ečigeni küböügēn alaxulā xaluün amināsa bišiyini abxu bolbo. kümün bōlōn alaxulā tabun yesü ab, eme bōl alaxulā
- 7.10 γurban yesü abxu bolbo, gēqsen emēn alaxulā tabun yesü ab. küni künin alaxulā kümüni keb-yēr bolbo, ese

- 7.11 gekülē čikiyini utulji öbörö kümün-dü ökü bolbo, eme mal xoyorōn nige yini ere songyoji ab,
- 7.12 ečige küböündēn önci keb-yēr öq, ečige ügeyireküne tabunāsa nige ab. yamutu noyod tabanaγuüdiyin xuda
- 8.01 bolxu maliyin tō γučin berke zuün tabin aduü dörbön zuün xoi abxu bolbo, baya noyod tabanaγuüdiyin mal abxuyin tō
- 8.02 arban tabun berke tabin aduü zuün xoi abxu, ed injaiyin ököqsen maliyin kiri medeji ökü bolbo. öünēse bayadxaxān
- 8.03 xoyor urugiyin duran medetügei, döčini demčiyin küükeni maliyin tō tabun temē xorin tabun bodo döčün xoi abxu
- 8.04 ökü ed arban zaxatai xorin zadayai emēl xazār debel čegedeq xoyor möri inja öq, kümün injatai bolxulā temē
- 8.05 xaramnaji öq. ököqsen ediyin kiri medeji xaramnaji öqtögei. xorini šüülünggiyin ökü abxu mal dörbön temē xorin
- 8.06 bodo γučin xoi bii, edni tabun zaxatai arban tabun zadayai möri temē xoyor öq, ediyin kiri medeji xarmaji
- 8.07 öq. kārariyin keb ene mal boltoyai, dunda kümüni mal γurban temē, arban tabun bodo xorin xoi bii. inja temē möri
- 8.08 hoyor dörbön zaxatai arban zadayai, ediyin kiri medeji xarmaji öq, adaq kümüni mal xoyor temē arban bodo
- 8.09 arban tabun xoi bii, möri temē debel čegedeq emēl xazar oqtögei, arban dörbön nasutai küükenēse dēqšī abxu
- 8.10 bolbo, doröqšiyigi demči šüülenggiyin kelēd bayituyai, ene čāji-ēče ken kümün dabaxula küükeyini mal ügei abči ökü bolbo.
- 8.11 döčini demčiyin aluši dörbön bodo tabun xoyin büi, xorini šüülenggiyin γurban bodo dörbön xoyin, dunda kümünē xoyor bodo
- 8.12 γurban xoyin, adaq kümünei nige bodo xoyor xoyin. jil büri döčini dörbön ger küböün-dü abči öqtögei, arban
- 9.01 küböün demneji nige ger abči öqtögei, ed-ēče inu bodo ökülē zaxatayigi ab, xoi ökülē zadayayigi ab, küükeni
- 9.02 xubčasunāsa büi abtuyai, ger abči ese ökülē čājini xoyor temē tabun möri arban xoi abxu, jil büri döčini
- 9.03 xoyor xarabči kelge, ese kelgekülē čāji möri temē abxu bolbo. xori küriqsen küükeni xadumduni γurban kele, ese
- 9.04 bolxolā noyon-du keleji öq. kelel ügei ökülē ögöqsen maliyini okini ečigēse ab, čājiyin kele-bēr boltoyai.
- 9.05 xorimnaqsan okin ükükülē ed injayini öq, ese xorimnaqsan bolxolā maliyin xayaslaji ab, duülyayin xarabči xuyaq
- 9.06 ökülē duülyāsa tabu, xarabči xuyayāsa temēn teriütei yesü ab, büi ökülē tabu ab, lübči xuyaq xulaqči abxulā

- 9.07 arban yesü ab, xarabčı abxulā ğurban yesü ab, degelei xuyaq abxulā ğurban yesü ab, duülğa xulaqčı abxulā
- 9.08 nige yesü ab, buü abxulā nige yesü abxu bolbo. sayin ildü selme xulaxulā sayināsa yesü muüğāsa tabu, jida xulaxulā
- 9.09 sayināsa ğurba, muüğāsa mori ab. sayin sādaq numun arban sumutai bolxolā ğurban yesü ab, dunda sādaq numun bolxolā
- 9.10 yesü ab, muü sādaq numunāsa ünügütü yamā ab, řayayitutai xuda čājıtai, řayayitu ügei xuda čāji ügei,
- 9.11 ğuyıqsan söyitü geri ečıge eke kümünē zokıçon ğaryaji ökülē sayin kümüni tabun yesün temēn terıgüütei dunduyın ğurban
- 9.12 yesün temēn terıütei. adayai temēn terıütei yesü, öğöqsen maltai emēn abxu bolbo. ečıge eke ügei bolxulā ğurban
- 10.01 čājiyin kebbēr bolbo, ečıge ekeyin ariuni řaxaji medeye, ene čājiyigi kürgen–eče abxu bolbo, ököqsen okini ečıge
- 10.02 idetügei, asaraqsan küböün ečıgedēn duratai bolji odxolā küböün doliq ügei bii, ğaqča beyēn odtoyai, eme
- 10.03 okin küükenēn doliji abtuğai, asaraqsan okini asaraqsan kümün medetügei, maliyini adali idēd ediyini adali öqtögei.
- 10.04 söi ügei okini orğoülxulā sayināsa dolō dundāsa tabu muüğasa nige temē ab
- 10.05 öbörö kümünēse ireqsen kümün ğazartān ireqsen kebbēr ğartuğai. tüřiqsen noyoni uruqni yuüma ökülē tus
- 10.06 beyērēn oloqsan maliyini xayaslaya, ğalzuü noxoi zuüji ükükülē tabuni nigeyini ab, kümün üküküle sayināsa yesü
- 10.07 dundāsa dolō muüğāsa tabu ab, ğalzuü kümün kümü alaxulā xayasla, kiriyini mede, kümün–dü xor geji yabun yabuqsār
- 10.08 alaqdaxulā gem ügei boltoğai, ezetei uülayın zubaqtu kümün ükükülē sayināsa berke terıgüütei yesü ab, dundāsa tabu
- 10.09 muüğāsa nige berke ab. xōmoi ezen ügei ese tuüqsan bolxolā tere malāsa nigeyini ab, buüra buxa ajırğa
- 10.10 alduülxulā tölösü ügei, sula mal kümü alaxulā zubagiyın yosör boltoğai, unuqsan mörin kümü alaxulā ezetei zubagiyın
- 10.11 yosör boltoğai, ken kümün ami böqlöji yabutala ereyin alaxulā emeyın ab. xuyaqtu kümü alaxulā xuyagiyın ab,
- 10.12 öüni xoyıtu kümün xarabčı duülğayın nigeyın songğoji ab, töüni xoyıtu kümün urid xojid kürüqsēr abtuğai.
- 11.01 nüçügün kümü alaxulā uridu kebbēr bolbo. zutāqsan kümüni böqlöji ğaryaxulā xuyaqtai xoyor möriyın ab, řuryuqsan
- 11.02 kümün ğaryaxulā yeke olzōso berketei yesü ab, noyonōsoni asağçı kötöçileqsen kümün ükükülē olzotoi bolxolā berketei

- 11.03 yesēr bosxo, ayandu olzo bolxolā teriün kümüni möriyin xatuyai, tere maliyin kümün tere tögöskeji öqtögei, yesü
- 11.04 ab, ɣurban xonotolo xulaqaxulā tabu ab, töünēse xoyituki yala bolbo, dayisundu el kümü endöureji alaxulā gereči
- 11.05 zöb gekülē nige yesü, buruü gekülē ɣurban yesü ab,
- 11.06 görösöndü kümü taşarlaji ükükülē xayas yala ab, uridu kümüni kirēr ab, zuryan erketen uüraxulā berketei
- 11.07 tabun yesü, erkei xomoxoi uüraxulā xoyor yesü nige tabu ab, dundadu xurɣun uüraxulā yesü ab, nere ügei
- 11.08 xurɣun uüraxulā tabu ab, űigičise ɣurba ab, edegekülē berketei yesü ab, baɣa čusun ɣarxulā tabu ab
- 11.09 xubčasundu kürkülē nige möri ab, taşarlaji möri ükükülē mörinön kirēr möri ab, maxan ide ese idekülē bödüün
- 11.10 möri ab, nöüqsen nutuyāsa kümün ɣal untarāxulā xoi ab, tüimer usun xoyortu ükükü kümüni abxulā tabu
- 11.11 ab, tüimer usun xoyortu tusalan geji kümün ükükülē berketei yesü ab, unuqsani ükükülē berketei bosxoji ab.
- 11.12 bōl kümün xarabči xuyaq ede ɣurban-ēče nijed möri ab. lübči xuyaq ɣarɣaxulā möri xoi xoyor ab. ger barān
- 12.01 ed tabur ɣarɣaxulā mori üker abči xubāji ide. tüimer-ēče kedün sürüq mal ɣarɣaxulā olon-ēče xoyor ab.
- 12.02 čön-ēče nige ab. čaq kiriyini medeji xayaltuyai. öşji tüimer talbixulā yeke berkēr boltoyai. sayin kümüni
- 12.03 alaxulā dobtoltoɣai, dunda kümüni alaxulā ɣučin berke ɣurban zuün mal abtuyai, adaq kümüni alaxulā arban tabun
- 12.04 yesün berke teriütei abxu bolbo.
- 12.05 xulayayin čāji ekilebe. temēni yala arban tabun yesün, aqta ajirɣayin arban yesün, güünei nayiman yesün, üker
- 12.06 dayān xoyin ɣurbuülayin zuryan yesü abxu bolbo. temēn yesün-dēn oroxu bolbo. xulayai kedüi idekülē tödüi zang
- 12.07 bari. ilöü barixulā yalayini xayasni ezeni bosxomji xolbōɣön abxu bolbo. aliba kēlitü üre čayan sarasa xōru nige
- 12.08 mori ab. noyondoni kürgel ügei talaxulā noyodiyin ɣarɣuü elčiyin ideşi xolbō bosxomji ab.
- 12.09 möri oruülxu ɣurban űüülgetei bolbo. mor orōd sayin gerečitei yabuji moxorüülxulā keb-yēr bolbo. sayin gereči
- 12.10 ügei bolxolā űüüji medeye. züq mor oruülxulā ayiliyin axayini űaxa. ese böğösi tölösöndēn. xulayai kiqsen kümüni
- 12.11 ayiliyini ilɣaji čājilaxu bolbo. ayiliyin axa otogiyin sayidiyin oyiro orotoɣai otogiyin sayid noyonön ömönö
- 12.12 oroji öqtögei. ayiliyin axa ariun čigi bolbo zakirɣa ügeyin tula berketei yesü ab.

- 12.01 öri ni tustu ğurban üye gereċitei keleji ab. keleküdēn ŝüülengdüni kele. ŝüülengge ese bolxolā moriyini ab.
- 12.02 kelel ügei ödör abxulā ürebe. söi kelel ügei abxulā yesütü. bula tayiŝiyin tuŝiyin öri ürēbe. eme arakitai
- 12.03 xoyitoi odċi abuqsani ürebe. olon bolxolā xayastai bolbo.
- 12.04 zobxoroqsan maliyin tus ğurba xonuülji zarlaji unutuğai. xonoğ zar ügei unuxulā ğunji ab. imneqsan-ēċe
- 12.05 yesü ab, kirğaqsanāsa tabu ab. zartai ireqlekülē ğai ügei. zolbi barīd ŝüülengdēn oğ. ŝüülengge kiyiredü öğ.
- 12.06 bariğċi kümün ŝüülengge kiyiri xoyortu öğ. ese ökülē xolbō ab. suratala nuüxulā yesü ab. zolbi xolo kümün-
- 12.07 -dü ökölē kebbēr bolbo. oyiro kümün-dü ökülē ğurban yesü ab. onğğai zar ügei idekülē dolō ab.
- 12.08 eme kümün kümünē sedkil neyilekülē xoyuüla duratai bolxolā emēse dörbō erēse tabu, eme duran ügei bolxolā küċir
- 12.09 kekülē erēse yesü ab, bōl emēse nige möri ab. duratai bolxolā ğai ügei. okini dura bolōso untağulā xoyor
- 12.10 yesü ab. duratai bolğolā nige yesü ab. aduüsu kümün untaxulā ken üzeqsan kümün aduüsunı ab. maliyin ezen
- 12.11 ċādu kümünēse tabu ab.
- 12.12 xoyor keruüliyin xōr dunda kümün ömöqlöji kümün ükükülē berketei yesü ab. kedüi kümün ömöqlökülē tödüi
- 13.01 köl möriyini ab. irtü mese xaqsan büliqsan ċabċiqsan ede yeke bolxolā tabun yesü, dunda ğurban yesü, bağa bolxolā
- 13.02 nige yesü. züğ bülükülē nige mori ab, ğarğaxulā ğarğaqsan yuümayini ab. kümün bariji toğtōxulā nige mori ab.
- 13.03 modon ċiluiğar yeke nalixulā berketei yesü ab, dundāsa mori xoi ab, bağāsa ğunji yuümayini ab. nudurğār
- 13.04 milāğar yeke nalixulā tabu ab, dundāsa mori xoi ab, bağāsa ğuna ab. debel xuğulxulā dayā ab, zalā ğejige
- 13.05 xoyor tabutu, saxalai xoi mori ab, niurtu nilmuqsan ŝoroi xayiqsan morini toloğoi ċokiqsan xormoi tataqsan
- 13.06 sayidani mori, ene büğüdēr neyilekülē nige mori xoyor xoi ab. xoyorni bolxolā mori xoi ab, muüğai xurğutu
- 13.07 xoi ab. eme kümüne üsü zalā tasulxulā yesü, küüke unaxulā kedüi saratai bolxolā tödüi yesü ab. kökōn
- 13.08 adxaxulā ünüskülē nuüċa oronōso nige inċi ab. arban nasutayiyāsa dēğŝi küüken ċāğitai, doröğŝi ċāği ügei.
- 13.09 bülki nidün ködölöqsan ŝüdün ŝüdülekü ŝüdün edenēse tabu ab. sayin nidün ŝüdün ğem ügei bolxolā adali

- 13.10 xayaslaya. nāduqsanāsa ulam kümün ükükülē kedüi bolxulā tödüi köl mori ab. bödüün kümün-ēce berke ab.
- 13.11 xoyuüla nāci yabuqsār ükükülē yesü ab. daruji nüüji ükükülē ƣurban yesü ab. nāduqsanāsa ulam nidü šüdü
- 13.12 ƣar köl ebderekülē emne edegekülē ƣai ügei. uüraxulā tabu ab.
- 14.01 buruü sedkiltü kümündü zokiçoji unulƣa künesü ökülē dolōn yesü abtuƣai. tere bosxoyin urida kümüni gerte
- 14.02 ed malān talbixulā töüni nüüji ese öküle ƣurban yesü ab.
- 14.03 torƣon debel bulƣan daxu bars irbis sub kibis torƣon olbu üyen daxu ede tabun yesütü bolbo. çino ünegen
- 14.04 kirsā zēken xaliu eden daxu mirāljin ƣurban yesütü bolbo. sayin debel bars irbis sayin çengmen bulƣari sub torƣon
- 14.05 labšiq ede yesütü bolbo. çino šülüüsün zēken xaliu bös labšiq dunda debel ede dolōdo bolbo. bulƣan ünegen keremen
- 14.06 kirsā manul çöyondoï üyen edenēse baƣa arātani axalan yekēseni ƣunji, bayāsuni xoi ab. xabxadu unaqsan arātu
- 14.07 edeni kebēr bolbo. sayin mönggön emēl xazār xudurya bulƣan daxu kebēr bolbo. dunda mönggön emēl xazār xudurya
- 14.08 çino šülüüsüni kebēr bolbo. aluxa döši örölbi yesütü bolbo. sayin müügiyini šüüji medeye.
- 14.09 zartu sālidu kümün ükükülē nige berkēr bosxo. edegekülē ƣai ügei. xuluyai zartu sālidu kümün ükükülē ƣurban
- 14.10 yesütü. zoboji edegekülē möritei šülü öq. zar ügei sālidu kümün ükükülē tabun yesütü bui. edegekülē tabutu. zar
- 14.11 ügei yamar bese mal ükükylē maliyin kirēr bosxo. zartai bolxolā ƣai ügei. sālidu üküqsen körösöni ezeni idetügei.
- 14.12 zartai görösü kümyn idekülē görösöni bosxo. kirēr ƣaqçayigi abçi öqtögei. zar ügei tabu ab. çino
- 15.01 kituji yabuxu xoyigi ken kümün alduülxulā amidu ükuqsen xoi ab. arbanāsa uruü tabun surnü ab. alaqsan onƣayigi
- 15.02 idekülē ƣunji ab. šabarāsa temē ƣaryaxulā ƣunji ab. mörinösö xoi ab, ükerēse tabun sumu xoyinōsa xoyor
- 15.03 sumu ab. böji üküqsen kümün töröqsön kümün ebeçin kümüni emneji edegekülē yuü amalaqsan bolxolā töüni öq. ese
- 15.04 amalaqsan bolxona möri oq. juülçin ayan abadu unulƣa aldaji yabutala ken kümün tusalaji gertenü kürgeji möri ab.
- 15.05 xoyor yalatu kümün zaryu zālduxu dēre xariu yala duradxulā ürēye. xariu yala duradxu gereçitei bolxolā
- 15.06 šüüji medeye. xara beye kümün mal ügei bolxona maliyin tustu šüülenggiyini šaxa. beyeyini bariji öq. çigē ese
- 15.07 ökülē xoi ab. araki bulāji abxulā emēltei moriyini ab. ger ebdekülē mori ab. ƣulumtadu modo xadxuxulā

- 15.08 noyodoi bögösü zuryān yesü ab. albatu kümünē bolxolā yesü ab. šoqloji alaqsan mali kirēni bosxoji öq.
- 15.09 möriyini ab. šoqloqson ügei xoyoriyini šüüji medeye. zobxoroqson mali mini geji abxulā tabu ab. güjirji kümün
- 15.10 xulayai kümün kebe geji taluxulā xoyino medekülē güjirēr yala abxulā töügēr yalatai boltoyai. güjirēr ideqsen malān
- 15.11 tögöskeji ab. xulayayiçi kümün sebesü yasu abçi ireji nutuqtu orkixulā nutugiyin ezen yesü ab. mör möškiji
- 15.12 iretele mori ebdekülē šüülenggiyini šaxa. ese oroxulā türüün kümüni tabutu. kedüi kümün bolxolā tödüi köl moriyin
- 16.01 abxu bolbo. olon çön kümün odçi yulayai keji xoyino nigeni ireji kelekülē keleqçidü yala ügei, bišeseni küçēji
- 16.02 ab. kümün medeqsen xoyino kelekülē tō ügei yulayayiçi kümüni ken kümün çeriq xurāji bulāji abxulā berketei yesü ab.
- 16.03 amalaqsan elçi ese odxulā yesü ab. elçiteyidü ökü unulya öq getele ese ökülē xolbötoi ab. elçi nāru
- 16.04 çāru kürtele arki bü uü. uüxulā tabulaya, noyon ökülē uütuyai. yazāyāsa suruji ireqsen büsxuüli alaxulā tabun
- 16.05 yesü ab. kürgeji irekülē kedün sādaq köl möriyini ab. yadaqşi yarxu bosxuüli barixulā amināsa bišiyin xayaslaya.
- 16.06 kümüni gēqsen emeyigi doliji abxu kümün berketei yesü öqçi ab. dundāsa tabu, adaq emēse möri temē ab. bōl
- 16.07 eme gereçidü tō ügei, yasun maxan xoyori açaraxulā tōyo. yamar bese mali küjirliji tuüxulā alaxulā ünēn bolxolā
- 16.08 maliyin kirēr yala boltoyai. xuluayayin kebiyin šaxāyār šaxan medeye.
- 16.09 ken kümün aba ebdekülē zergēr bayixulā zergēr yabuxulā tabun möri ab. yurban ondosxo yazartu dobtoloxulā
- 16.10 möriyini ab, xoyor ondosxo bolxolā xoi ab, nige ondosxo bolxolā tabun sumu ab. sumutu görösön zartai bolōd
- 16.11 daraxulā tabu ab. sumu ügei görösöni nuüxulā köl möriyini ab. yazarāsa abuqsan sumu suratala ese ökülē möri ab.
- 16.12 ösortu subüü alaxula möri ab. yamar bese yuüma gereçilekülē maliyin yalāsa yesü idetügei. ölögiyin kirēr šangnaya.
- 17.01 ketü xutuya sumun xuürai aryamji kēriyin çidür sur xazār zöüqsen aluxa küzüübçi sayin maxalai yodosu
- 17.02 ümüdü xayıçı kiyira tömör dörō modon emēl kemneq jançi kejim uçıya suqsarya bös kiyiliq bös büse xuyaq duulayayin
- 17.03 ger ōli suke sayin xudurya ami ügei idē uütutai büküli xoyinoi maxan bolxolā muü debel çegedeq kirō çimeqtei
- 17.04 xoi çimküür sayin biliseq öši tor külmi xabxa edeni abxulā xuruyuyini utulxu bolbo. xuryan xayiralaxulā tabu

- 17.05 xoyor bodo ɣurban xoi ab. ʃalbuür xuyiba buruntuq zöü šöbökö sam xuruübči utasan šürbüsün tobči ayıya
- 17.06 šanaya tebši könöq küküür muü maxalai ɣodosun oyimosun olong jirim sur xudurya xabtaya ʃököçö zusun uxubi
- 17.07 öröm milā üküq abdara nemnē nekei eligen xurisxa ɣodoli numuni kübči nisalbur yamar bese zöüqsen iker ʃikir
- 17.08 yuüma ene ʃäjidu baqtaba. sayināsa xurɣutu xoi, muüɣāsa işigetü yama ab.
- 17.09 xoyor zaryutu kümüni zerge ügei bolxolā zaryu bü öq. zaryatu kümün ɣurbanta keleji sayin gereçitei odči kele.
- 17.10 ese bolxolā möriyini abči ire elçitei, neqjiül oqto ese ökülē keb-tü tōbo. ünən xudal xoyoriyini gereçöse
- 17.11 medeye. gereçi ügei bolxolā ayimagiyin axayini saxaya.
- 17.12 uduya bögi ken kümün abči yabuxulā uriqçi kümüni möriyini ab, ireqçi udayani möriyini ab. üzeji bayiji
- 18.01 kümün ese abxulā töüni moriyini ab. onɣyo ken kümün üjekülē abxu bolbo. ezeni bulālduji ese ökülē möriyini ab.
- 18.02 xoyiluɣa sayin kümün-du orkixulā tabu ab. muü kümün-du orkixulā xoyor möri ab. anggir boqşoryo noxoi
- 18.03 edenēse möri ab. alaɣ uülayin moɣoiɣōso bişi moɣoi-ēçe xoyor sumu ab. sumu ügeyigēse xutaya ab. zudtu
- 18.04 üküqsen maliyin zobolɣo arban xonoɣōso nāru abxulā ɣunji ab. bāxan küükeni mörin tuyilji alan aldaji yabutala
- 18.05 tusalaqsan kümün xoi ab. xayiduül temē xolbō alduüluqsan güü sine töröqsön mal edenēse bişiyini sāxulā
- 18.06 ɣunji ab.
- 18.07 küüke daxuülaya küükeni eçige ekēse ügetei bolxolā eçigeyini talaya. üge ügei bolxolā uridu ʃäjiiyin kebēr bolbo.
- 18.08 sayin kümüni emeyigi kümün orɣuülxulā temēn teriütei yesün yesü anzu ab. dunda kümüni emeyigi orɣuülxulā temēn
- 18.09 teriütei tabun yesü ab, adaq kümüni emēse temēn teriütei ɣurban yesü ab. emeyigi üsüd ügei abči odxulā
- 18.10 orkiqson emetei majiyini ab. axa döüni ögöqsen maliyin kirēr mal öqçi abxu bolbo. mal ügei bökösüi ayımaq axa
- 18.11 döüni yesü öqçi abxu bolbo. ayımaq axa döü ügei kümüni noyod medekü bolbo.
- 18.12 asaraqsan küböün eçigedēn duratai bolxulā xara beyēn küböügēn abči odxu bolbo. okin küükən ekedēn bayixu
- 19.01 bolbo. asaraqsan okin küükeni eçige ekeni abxudān yesün nasunāsa dēqşi yesün ökü bolbo. muütur asaraqsan bolxolā
- 19.02 xayasiyini öq. arban tabunāsa dēqşi asaraqsan eçige ekedēn bayixu bolbo. xoyor eçigeni maliyini xayas idekü, ediyini

- 19.03 adali öq. küböün zētü kümün-dü öri ügei. zē kümün nayačunarāsa xulaxulā yala ügei, tölösötei bolbo. jiliyiqsen
- 19.04 mali kümünēse lab gerečitei abxulā maliyin toloçoyigiyini ab. xudalduji abuçsan kümün böqsöyini ab. zolbin ali bese
- 19.05 mali bariqsan kümün jil tōrixulā töliyini xayaslaji abxu. xoyino öböriyin ajırça buxa buüra-ēče töröqsön
- 19.06 töliyini čöm ab. xoyor nigenēse ideši ügei, arbanāsa dēqši xoyor yesünēse çurban kürtele nige idekü. xayisu
- 19.07 tulça xulaxulā sayināsa yesü ab, dundāsa tabu ab, adaçāsa çunji ab.
- 19.08 dkā ldan xung tayijiyin zakā zarliq ene. otoq otogiyin axalaqčini döçin döçinön demčidüni keletügei. demčini
- 19.09 çuqluülji abtuçai, ese çuqluülxulā yesü abād demçiyini bālaya. otogiyin axalaqčini ese zakiba gem otogiyin axalaqčidu
- 19.10 boltoçai. keleji bayitala ese abxulā demčidü boltoçai. demçi muüçan asara ge. asaraji ese bolxolā otogiyinön
- 19.11 axadu kele ge. otogiyin axalaqçi öbörögiyin ilyal ügei neyide asara ge. asaraxu arça ügei bolxolā dēre medöül ge.
- 19.12 asaraltai bayitala ese asaraba gem, kümün ükübe gem kümüni çājör boltoçai. zöbtöi buruütai üküqseni šüüji medeye.
- 20.01 yerü xuluyayin tustu arban ger nige axalaxutai axalaqčini arban gerēn zakituçai. xuluyai keqseyini keleji
- 20.02 yabutuçai. ese kelekülē axalaqčiyin çariyin xadaxu bolbo. bišiyini tömörör bolçoxu bolbo. nige kümün çurba xulayai
- 20.03 kekülē tarxāxu bolbo. yerü örö xošuün-du yabuqsan kümün ene xör dunda soliqson kümün çuqluülji abtuçai. otoq
- 20.04 ugei bolboci otoq bolji ayımaq ugei bolboci ayımaq bolji yabutuçai: ouni buruu keqsen kumun buruu geqtun. sanayan
- 20.05 keleqtün. zöb geqtün geqsen kümün ene dēre keleqtün. öündü ese kelēd xoyino eyimi teyimi bilei geji kelekülē nurçuni
- 20.06 zöb bolçoyidu dura ügei geji uürlaxu bi. nasun ürgülji amuyulang boltoçai.
- 20.07 yambar bese zaryutu gerečitei çurban udān keletele ese bolxolā zöbtöi buruütai bolboçi torçoxu bolbo.