THE INITIAL FORMULAE
IN A COMMUNICATION OF A MONGOLIAN VICEROY
TO THE KING OF KOREA

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The initial formulae of Mongolian rescripts and letters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have captivated the minds of scholars for many years. Władysław Kotwicz, "Formules initiales des documents mongols aux XIII-e et XIV-e siècles," was the first to deal with them comprehensively. Eric Voegelin, "The Mongol Orders of Submission to European Powers, 1245-1255," unaware of the article by Kotwicz, confined himself to formulae in a restricted number of documents, concerning which he reached some very convincing conclusions. Such initial formulae, we should observe, while reflecting certain basic features of their Turkish prototypes, are constant neither in structure nor content and reveal diachronic as well as synchronic variations and innovations which are attributable in part to geographical and institutional diversities of the imperium mongolicum.

Two documents in colloquial Chinese, communications in the nature of ultimata from the Mongol Viceroy Sartay, delivered to the King of Korea in 1231 and 1232 respectively, are found in the Koryo sa (Kao-li shih) 23.4r5-5vl and 23.6r1-7/4. At the beginning of the communication of 1231 we find initial formulae for which no precise parallels have hitherto been adduced. Although I propose to deal with both communications in full in a separate study, it has seemed preferable at this juncture to discuss first the initial formulae in that of 1231 and the problems they present.

The text of these formulae of Sartay's communication reads as follows (4r5-7):

T 'ien-ti ch'i-li 天底氣力
T 'ien tao-chiang-lai-ti yen-yü 天道將來底言語
So-te pu-ch'iu-ti jen 所得不秋底人
Yu yen hsia-liao 有眼瞎了
Yu shou mei-liao 有手沒了
Yu chiao-tzu ch'üeh-liao 有脚子腐了
Sheng-chih 聖旨

Murakami Shōji 村上正二, "Moko raichō no honyaku 蒙古來牒の翻訳" ("Translation of Mongolian Credentials in Goryeo-sa"), attempted complete transla-
tions of the communications into Japanese. In his honyakubun 翻訳文 ["translation"] of the communication of 1231\(^9\) the text in question reads (p. 82):

Ame no chikara wo moteru あめの力こもてる
Amatsu kami no iute kitareru kotoba naru zo あまつ神の川で
來られる言葉なるぞ。
matsuowazaru hito wo e taru ni あつるはざる人を得
たらに。
ni wo sokone taru ari 眼をそこねたるあり。
te wo nakushi taru ari 手をなくしたるあり。
ashi wo kizutsuketaru (bikko ni naru) ari 足を傷けたる（跛に
在る）あり。
to no seishi arishi wo motte, との聖旨ありしをって, と

["Having the Rescript of which the text reads:
"[These] are words which the Heavenly gods
Who possess Heavenly power have come speaking.
In respect of getting people who have not yet submitted,
There are some whose eyes [we] shall damage,
There are some whose hands [we] shall remove,
There are some whose legs [we] shall injure (shall cripple) . . . ."
]

Gari Ledyard, "Two Mongol Documents from the Koryū sa," 10 translated the communications into English. In his version the same text reads (p. 228):

Strength of Heaven! Words spoken from Heaven: those people we get who do not braid their hair(?) will have their eyes blinded, their hands removed, their legs crippled! Edict.

В. М. Серов [V. M. Serov], ПОХОД МОНГОЛОВ В КОРЕЮ 1231-1231 ГГ. И ЕГО ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ11 ["The Expedition of the Mongols into Korea of the Years 1231-1232 and Its Consequences"], for his part, had occasion to translate the documents into Russian directly from Ledyard's translations, the communication of 1231 being found on pp. 143-144 and that of 1232 on pp. 151-152. Although he introduced an occasional innovation of his own, Serov seems to have followed Ledyard's translations slavishly and uncritically without any concern for the problems posed either by the English translations or by the original texts themselves. His translation of the text with which we are here concerned reads as follows (p. 143):

<< Эдикт хана гласит: << Силы неба! Слова, изящные с неба: люди, не заплетающие своих волос, ослепнут, их руки отнимутся, а ноги будут искажены! >>>.

[[The Edict of the xan says: << Forces of Heaven! Words, coming from Heaven: People, not plaoting their hair, shall become blind, their hands shall be amputated, and the legs shall be crippled!]]>

In the South-Korean translation of the communications in the Yōkchu Koryū-sa 譯注 高麗史 (I-chu Kao-li shih),12 the text in question reads (p. 580, ll.9-11):

Hanul ui kiryō (気力) ul kajin

hanūnim i naeryō ponaen malsüm isinira

uri ka pokchong (服従) -haji annān cha(者) tūl āl chabannünde
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i tūlūn nun i môn cha(著) ka ikko
son-i ttőrjyö nagan cha(著) ka ikko
tari ka ssōgün cha(著) ka issōttä.
Kūraesō sōngji (聖旨) ka naeryōsō . . . .

[These] are the words which the Deity
Possessing the power of Heaven has sent down.
As we have captured those who do not submit,
As for these,
There were those whose eyes are blind,
And there were those whose hands are fallen away,
And there were those whose legs are rotten.
Therefore, the Rescript having come down, . . .

Б. Сумьябатаар [B. Sum’yaabaatar], ”Солонгос туухийн сурвалж, монгол хөөгээд монголчуудын тухай (2)” ["Solongos tüüxiin survalž, mongol xiiigeed mongoliçasudyn tuxai (2)"] ["On a Source of Korean History, Mongolia and the Mongolčuud (2)"] cited the text with which we are here concerned on page 214, the North-Korean translation of it on page 215, and gave his Mongolian translation of the latter on page 217.

The North-Korean translation reads as follows (p. 215):

<< Uri ka ch’ōnai iūl pattaru kiriyok ūl paltong-hanun kōs ini irōni chōrōni mal man hamyōnsō chagi ūl chugyōn ūl ttokttk-toke naenoch’i mot-hanun saramün mach’i nun i issōdo mot pogo sujok ūl tugodo ssūl chul morūn kōt kwa kat’un cha ida. Yojōn e hwangje ūl myōngnyōng ūro . . . . >>

["Since, having received Heaven’s intention (天意), we exercise[its] (發動) power (偉力), as for the man who merely speaks in this way and in that way and cannot express his own (自己) opinion (主意) meticuiously, he is the same as one (著) who, although he has eyes, cannot see and, although having hands and legs (手足), does not know how to use [them].

"Previously (前) by order (命令) of the Emperor (皇帝) . . . ."

Sum’yaabaatar’s translation of the latter reads as follows (p. 217):

Bid tengeriin iveeleer augaa xučiigu Olson bögööd xaš yalš xooson yarixyg erxemleč dotor bodloo ūl garga xün bolwoos núdtel bolove yum xarž es čdadax. gar xötelt bolove tiunee xeregleč ūl čadaxtai utga negen bolai. üünii ömnö xaanu zarlīgaar Šalidair Xočiin cergiigu ilgeesen yaval bol . . . .

["We have got power and might by the protection of Heaven and, if there be a person who prizes idle, empty conversation and does not express his inner thoughts, he is the same as one who, even though he have eyes, is not able to see anything; even though he have hands and feet, is not able to use [them].

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"Before this, as for the fact that Salidai Xorči had sent the army by order of the Xaan, . . . """

These introductory formulae present a number of problems, not the least of which is the exact nature of the text itself in the form in which it is found in the Koryŏ sa (Kao-li shih). It should be observed that the text at the outset, however, that, with the exception of Ledyard and the South-Korean translator, all the translators—Japanese, Russian, North-Korean and Mongolian—have regarded the formulae as constituting themselves the text of a rescript or edict in the mistaken assumption that the term 聖旨 (shen chih) "rescript" which immediately follows the initial formulae closes rather than introduces the text of the rescript. It would, perhaps, have been visually better, however, if Ledyard had used a colon (:) instead of a period (.) after the word "Edict." by which he translated the term, if only to make it perfectly clear that it refers to what follows and not what precedes, even though the initial formulae constitute the introductory part of the rescript as a whole. From his Russian translation—"ЭДИКТ ХАНА ПЛАСИТ " ['The Edict of the xan says']—it is evident that Serov did not share Ledyard's opinion as to the manner in which this part of the communication is structured.

It is obvious from a perusal of the sundry translations that the scholars who have dealt with these formulae have been rebuffed by a number of apparent difficulties. Turning now to the initial formulae alone, such we find that they are essentially three in number—the third of the three consisting of a topic and three comments. The first of the three are the words 天底氣力 (T'ien-ti chi-li) "The Might of Heaven." Ledyard, regarded them as "an abbreviated form" of the Mongolian Mönge kgtri-yin küčin-dür "In the Might of Everlasting Heaven." (Despite Ledyard's reference to Nicholas Poppe, The Mongolian Monuments in bPags-pa Script, pp. 67-68, n. 1a, for a discussion of the ways in which k'uč'undur/küčündür ~ küčin-dür has been translated, I cannot believe that the Mongolian suffix of the datius-locutivus in dür-dür is to be comprehended in this instance as if it had the function of an instrumental in -i yer. For the meaning of 裏 (li) in this case cf. Erich Haenisch, Untersuchungen über das .

Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih, 'Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen' and Antoine Mostaert, C. I. C. M. et Francis Woodman Cleaves, Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhân Aryan et Oļejetũ à Philippe le Bel, where this question is discussed in considerable detail.) In translating küčin-dür as ch'i-li-li "in the might" the Chinese rendered the Mongolian original verbatim and precisely. The notion here is not that an action is performed "by the might of Heaven" in the sense of "by means of the might of Heaven," but rather "in the might of Heaven" in the sense of "in virtue of the might of Heaven," just as we say "in the name of" in English or in hoc signo "in this standard" in Latin. It is a nuance of locution—a delicate nuance—which should be observed in translation into English, as, indeed, it was, with an occasional exception, into Chinese.

"The abbreviated form in this document," Ledyard observed, "is, as far as I can learn, the only such instance." Although he cited a passage from the Hei-Ta shih-lüeh 黑澣事略 [Sketch of the Affairs of the Black Tatars], properly a passage from the pen of P'eng Ta-ya 彭大雅, an important passage, which I prefer to translate (11r3-5): "As for their constant expression (其常談 ), it is always: T'o-cho ch'ang-sheng t'ien-ti chi-li huang-ti-ti fu-yin 托着長生天底氣力皇帝底福蔭 'Relying on the Might of Everlasting Heaven and the Fortune of the Emperor.' As for things which they wish to do, then they say: 'Heaven has caused
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[them to be] thus.' As for things which have already been done by others, then they say, 'Let Heaven know (= decide).' There is never an item which they do not attribute to Heaven. From the Lord of the Tatars [down] to his people, there is no [instance in which it] is not so,' he overlooked another passage in the same text, properly a passage by Hsü T'ing in reference to the

牌 (p'ai) or plaques, that is, badges of authority worn on the belts of the Mongols, in which we read (15r1-2): 'On the plaque are inscribed Hui-hui 回回 [= Uyur] characters, which seldom go beyond such phrases as 長生天底氣力 (Ch'ang-sheng T'ien-ti ch'i-li) 'In the Might of Everlasting Heaven.' ' While the latter example does, it is true, have the words 長生 (Ch'ang-sheng) ('Everlasting'), it does not have the postposition 裏 (li) ('in'). In this respect it appears to be comparable to the formula as we find it in the communication of Sartaj. We might even cite as another similarly abbreviated translation of the same Mongolian formula (Möngke tngri-yin küüen-dür) the words Dei fortitudo 'The Might of God' with which the litterae certissimae atque verae of Güiyig to Innocent IV open, whereas a more literal Latin translation is Per virtutem eterni Dei 'Through the virtue of the Eternal God' as it appears at the beginning of the preceptum of Möngke to Louis IX and Per potentiam Dei excelsi 'Through the Power of God on High,' at the beginning of the verba of Eijiidei to Louis IX.

The exceptions to the rule notwithstanding, I am of the opinion that in the text of the communication in the Koryō sa (Kao-li shih) there is a scribal inadvertence—one of many in both communications, to which I shall have occasion to draw attention in due course—which was occasioned by the fact that, his eye being inadvertently attracted to the character 天 (t'ien) ('Heaven') (4r5) with which the communication opens, the scribe wrote 天 (t'ien) a second time for 裏 (li) ('in') or, possibly, through an inadvertence occasioned by a distraction, copied the lower part of 裏 (li) itself, as if it were 天 (t'ien). If so, this not only means that the communication in its original form opened with the words 天底氣力裏 (T'ien-ti ch'i-li li) ('In the Might of Heaven'), but also that the second formula, concerning which more shall be said below, is not 天道將來底言語 (T'ien tao-chiang-lai-ti yen-yü) 'Words Which Heaven Speaks,' but rather 道將來底言語 (Tao-chiang-lai-ti yen-yü) ('Words Which [We] Speak').

As for the formula T'ien-ti ch'i-li-li 'In the Might of Heaven' as such, it would correspond to a Mongolian Tngri-yin küüen-dür 'In the Might of Heaven,' for an example of which cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, 'The Lingji of Arry of 1340.' Two examples of a slight variant of the formula are found in Ts'ai Mei-piao 蔡美彪, Yüan-tai pai-hua-pei chi-lu 元代白話碑集錄 [Collected Records of Yuan Dynasty Pai-hua Stelae], which respectively open with the formulae 天地底氣力裏 (T'ien-ti-ti ch'i-li-li) 'In the Might of Heaven and Earth' and 天地...
In the Might of Heaven and Earth," both reflecting an un-attested Mongolian Tenggeri γαγαρ-αν, γαγαρ-αν, which may be compared, however, with the words de’ere Tenggeri γαγαρ-αν, γαγαρ-αν, "protection of Heaven above and Earth [below]" in the Mongol-un niuča (= niuča) to(b)ča’an or The Secret History of the Mongols which reads in the Yuan-ch’ao pi-shih 元朝秘史 29 6.25v3-5 as follows: Ene tusa-yin ēni hači uruy-yun uruy-yun ēni hači qari-uluy-yi de’ere Tenggeri γαγαρ-αν ēni ēni medetiugei. "[As to] how to benefit from this thy service, let the protection of Heaven above and Earth [below] know (= decide) how I shall return the benefit unto the seed of thy seed." The word de’ere is glossed 上 (shang) "above," tenggeri, 天 (t’ien) "Heaven," γαγαρ-αν, 地 (ti) "Earth of," and ēni ēni, 護助 (hu-chu) ("protection").

In 氣力 (ch’i-li) "might" we have the earlier, alternate form of the more usual, present-day 力氣 (li-ch’i). As a translation of the Mongolian γüčü(n) (≈ küčü(n)) "might" in the Mongol-un niuča (= niuča) to(b)ča’an or The Secret History of the Mongols § 260 cf. the Yuan-ch’ao pi-shih, Hsü-chi 續集 L.45r3: tenggeri γαγαρ-αν γüčü(n) nemegdeji "[his] might being increased by Heaven and Earth." The word tenggeri is glossed 天 (t’ien) ("Heaven"), γαγαρ-α, 地行 (ti hang) "Earth by," γüčü, 氣力 (ch’i-li) ("might"), nemegdeji 被添着 (pei-t’ien-cho) "being increased."

In 天底 (T’ien-ti) ("of Heaven") we have the determinative suffix 底 (ti) which alternates, as we have just seen above, with 的 (ti) in the language of this and comparable documents. Cf., e.g., Ed. Chavannes, "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l’époque mongole," 30 where we read (p. 369, n. 2): "le mot 底 est l’équivalent de 的 moderne." For other examples of its use in this communication cf. 4r6, 4v6, 5r2, 5r5, 5r6, 5r7-8, 5r8-9, and 5v1 below. For the solitary example of 的 (ti) in the communication cf. 5r8 below. For the usage of this determinative suffix in Chinese cf. Lü Hsiang 昌湘, "Lun ‘ti’ ‘ti’ chih pien chi ‘ti’ tzu-ti yu-lai 讀‘底’, 「地」之辨及「底」字的由來 ("Notes on the Etymology of the Particle ‘te’"), 31 Kao Ming-k’ai 高名凱, "Han-yü kuei-ting-tz’u ‘ti’ 漢語規定 詞 ‘的’ ("La particule déterminative ti en chinois"), 32 Jaroslav prošek, "La fonction de la particule ti dans le chinois médiéval", 33 and P. Demiéville, "Archaismes de pronciation en chinois vul-gaire." 34

As for the second of the three formulae, the text has 天道將來底言語
的氣力裹 (T’ien-ti ch’i-li) "In the Might of Heaven and Earth," both reflecting an unattested Mongolian Tngri ɣaʃ-r’un kʊčʊn-dʊr, which may be compared, however, with the words de’ere Tenggeri ɣaʃ-r’un ihɛ’el "protection of Heaven above and Earth [below]" in the Mongɣol-un niuʃa (= nτ’uʃa) to[b]č’a’n or The Secret History of the Mongols which reads in the Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih 元朝秘史 29 6.25v3-5 as follows: Ene tusa-yiŋ ɕiŋu hulɛγ-un uruγ-a ɕiŋu hulɛ qari-ul’yu-yi de’ere Tenggeri ɣaʃ-r’un ihɛ’el medetũgei. "[As to] the benefit of this thy service, let the protection of Heaven above and Earth [below] know (= decide) how I shall return the benefit unto the seed of thy seed." The word de’ere is glossed 上 (shang) "above," tenggeri, 天 (t’ien) "Heaven," ɣaʃ-r’un,地的 (ti-ti) "Earth of," and ihɛ’el, 護助 (hu-chu) ("protection").

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