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THE QOTONG, THE BAYAD AND THE ÖGELED

Translated by I. de Rachewiltz and J. R. Krueger

INTRODUCTION

The present essay on the Qotong, the Bayad and the Ögeled contains Chapters Three, Four and Five of Čeveng's, i.e., C. Ž. Žamcarano's, book Darqad, Köbsögöl Nayur-un Uriyangqai, Dorbed, Qotong, Bayad, Ögeled, Mingyud, Jaqacın, Torjud, Qosud, Çaqar, Dariyangya, Altai-yin Uriyangqai, Qasay, Qamnyan-nar-un yarul ündüüs boidal-un ügülel (Essay on the Origin and State of the Darqad, the Uriyangqai of Lake Köbsögöl, the Dorbed, the Qotong, the Bayad, the Ögeled, the Mingyad, the Jaqacın, the Torjud, the Qosud, the Çaqar, the Dariyangya, the Uriyangqai of the Altai, the Qasay, and the Qamnyan). Chapter One, devoted to the Darqad and the Uriyangqai of Lake Köbsögöl, appeared in translation in East Asian History 1 (June 1991): 55–80; and Chapter Two, on the Dorbed, in East Asian History 10 (December 1995): 53–78.

In preparing the present translation we have followed the format and conventions of the previous ones, using the same abbreviations for primary and secondary sources, etc. A number of new titles are listed in the Bibliography.

These three chapters have already been translated by L. W. Moses, but without commentary, and appeared in the Mongolia Society Bulletin 6, no. 1 (Spring 1967): 11–14; 6, no. 2 (Fall 1967): 71–2; and 7, no. 1 (Spring 1968): 20–3.
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

(See Chapter One, pp.58–60; Chapter Two, pp.64–6)


MSB The Mongolia Society Bulletin


Other Abbreviations

pers. Persian
The Qotong

[62] (The Qotong) winter and summer by the mountains near the Burjasutai River at the Toyaq-yin Sili in the former Jorituy Qan or Bayan Cindamani Banner; and, in the autumn and spring, they nomadize along the Tegeli River, encamping in the Usba Plain.

Although the origin of the Qotong is not exactly clear, it is certain that they are of Turkic stock. Having forgotten, for the most part, their native\(^1\) Turkic language, they have long since adopted\(^2\) the Dörbed dialect of the Mongolian language. In view of the fact that the scholar Vladimircov, who went (to the Qotong) in 1909, was able to transcribe\(^3\) barely two hundred Turkic words, it is obvious that they have totally lost their language; and how would it have been possible for a small number of Qotong not to forget their language during almost a full two hundred years when they dwelt in the midst of the Dörbed?

History has it that right at the time when Čerėng Ubasi dwelt by the Qabtaq and Bayiday (mountains), the Qasay Çangtuu raided and pillaged (his people). Being in a desperate situation,\(^4\) (Čerėng Ubasi) attacked them with the (full) strength of his own troops, despoiled them and took them prisoners; (whereupon) by (order of) the Tngri-yin Tedkügen Qayán\(^5\) (= the Ch‘ien-lung Emperor) those Qotong were made the domestic slaves of Čerėng Ubasi.

[63] After the Qotong had briefly lived and farmed at Jāy Bayidaray as well as at Cayan Sur together with the same Dörbed, they moved in 1778 to Lake Ubsu and Ulayanyum (Ulangom). Now the (population) statistics of the Qotong have not been gathered specifically. However, since there are two Qotong sumuns called Bayan Mandai and Altan Tegeli, had I found the original register and looked at it, I would have been able to know exactly\(^6\) (the number of Qotong). My reason (for not having done so) is that the original of the statistics from the two banners of the Dörbed for the year 1929 had not yet been dispatched (to the capital;\(^7\) nevertheless,) I shall not refrain from making a rough estimate.

According to a report from the aimak\(^8\) the precise number\(^9\) (of individuals making up) the 320 households of the Qotong in 1930 is not known. In the statistics for 1916, beyond recording the households and the tents (ger), one did not register (the number of) individuals. According to this (source), there were 150 households and 197 tents in the Altan Tegeli Sumun; and in the Bayanmandal Sumun there were 151 households and 216 tents. (Thus,) the households of the Qotong add up to 301 and the tents to 413. Surely, the statement based on\(^10\) the report obtained from the Office of the Cindamani Aimak in 1930 that there were 320 (Qotong) households is not correct.\(^11\) Probably it would be nearer the truth to say\(^12\) that there were 413 tents—a figure obtained (from the statistics) for 1916.\(^13\)

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1. Lit., ‘their own’.
2. Lit., ‘have all kept going over to’. The text has orojayaysayar for oročayaysayar.
3. Lit., ‘found and wrote down’.
4. Lit., ‘Having exhausted (all) means’.
5. Lit., ‘The Ruler Supported by Heaven’—the reign-title of the Ch‘ien-lung Emperor of the Ch‘ing (r.1736-95).
7. I.e., to Ulan-Bator. We had to break the original sentence in two for it was too long in English.
8. I.e., The Cindamani Aimak.
9. Lit., ‘how many (individuals) were the number’.
10. Lit., ‘according to’.
11. Lit., ‘can it be fault-free?’
12. Lit., ‘if one said that …, it would seem to be’.
13. Lit., ‘in the year 1916’.
As for the reason (for this conclusion), all the scholars and members of the Party and the (Revolutionary Youth) League who went to that area, besides reporting that the households of the Qotong are approximately 400, said that there were many persons within one household. Also, according to\(^14\) the report brought (back) in 1931 by Čengdüşürüng of the Central Committee, the Qotong had (= represented) 4.3\% of the total population of the Čind(a)mani Aimak. It\(^15\) said, “If we estimate it, wouldn’t \(<34\%>\)\(^16\) be about 2,000 (individuals)?” In (my) account on the Dörbed,\(^17\) I said that the Qotong were 320 households; and that, if one reckons on (the basis of) five (individuals) for each household, (this makes) 1,600 (individuals). Now, (according to) the reports of comrades who have observed the Qotong, there are from five to ten individuals in (any) one tent. Since they say that their growth (rate) is in general far greater than the Dörbed’s, assuming that\(^18\) there are six individuals in every tent, there are really 2,478 individuals\(^19\) in the 413 households. And, if we compute the 4.3\% of Čengdüşürüng’s report in the total figure of 54,573 (individuals) for the population of the aimak according to the statistics for 1930 of the former Čindam(a)ni Aimak, and we find that (the percentage) in question actually amounts to 2,346, because (of this) I am of the opinion that the population\(^20\) of the Qotong is approximately 2,400 (individuals).

If we look at the article entitled “The Ethnic Minority\(^21\) Called Qotong of Turkic Stock” written by the scholar Vladimircov, who in 1911 specially investigated the Qotong, as also at the second volume of the work called North-Western Mongolia concerning Potanin’s journey from 1876 to 1877, and at such things as the observations of the student Čeringdorji who went there in 1924–25, (we notice that) the physical appearance of the Qotong is quite different from that of the Mongols and that their eyes are large and deep-set. The nose is high and straight. The beard and hair look like those of the people of Turkic stock who have big heads. Their religion follows the customs of the Lalu (¼ Muslims) in a crude fashion. To a greater or lesser degree, their manners and dress are also different from the Dörbed’s. It is reported\(^22\) that their main occupation is agriculture and, next to it, animal husbandry. Formerly, they used to read their own religious books in Arabic script, but now no one knows (how to read) the(se) books.\(^23\) They live in Mongol(-type) tents. As for their marriage (customs), it is reported that they do not cherish entering into family alliances with the Dörbed and have no other (desire) than to take a wife among their own (people).\(^24\) Furthermore, the Dörbed have no desire to take a daughter-in-law from the Qotong, and, by the same token,\(^25\) no desire to give their daughters (to them). It is (also) reported that they do not grow the pigtail, but have short cropped heads.\(^26\)

They call themselves Qotong and say that they are of the same stock as the Qasy, the Kirgis and the Kungker people (i.e., the Turks), and they call the Dörbed and the western Mongols in general Qalimay (¼ Kalmyk). They call the Dörbed of their own banner ‘otoy’.\(^27\) The interior of their tents is not
clean. Instead of Buddhist objects of worship, within a case called qumar, and inside a rather small and curious rectangular box, they keep and worship the introductory verses of Muqamid (= Muhammad). When a person dies, or is born, or is going about in his usual way, their priests called mulda (= mullah) carry out the religious services, and their rituals are singular. They inter the body of the dead in one spot. Some (of them) sacrifice to (the deities of) the earth and the water, (some) sacrifice to the lord of fire and such like: the fact that they perform the sacrifice by slaughtering a sheep and erecting an obo (32) is similar to the custom of (our) shamans. When they sacrifice to the water at the onset of the spring sowing, they cut off the head of a sheep and make an offering of it; and the men cut their beards and cast them in the water.

Since the Qotong were once the domestic slaves of the Jorjytu Yang, not only were they not the owners of their cattle and property, but not even of their own lives. Although (this was the case), in actual fact one has not heard of a (single) instance when a prince (noyan) decapitated slaves. It is certain (however) that they were not on a par with the prince’s serfs (qamijyla); and they were (indeed) like any object whatsoever (belonging) to the prince. They were not subject to the taxes and levies usually borne by the commoners, (but) only and exclusively served the prince in question; and, in Potanin’s time, the Qotong, besides giving forty sacks of (ground) wheat every year to their wang and the princes, had to send eleven labourers to work in the wang’s palace in summer. It is said that, at that time, after they had wintered in their nomadic camp along the Sibege and Baryasutai rivers to the west of Lake Kirgis, with the coming of summer they moved, transhuming along the Tegeli River, (near) the shore of Lake Ubsu.

Vladimircov writes as follows: “When they sow crops, they first divide up their fields, (then) they begin to work. The one who can sow the most sacks of wheat can (also) take the most land.”

Further, as to what the Mongolian comrades (themselves) say, those who have witnessed it relate that just when the water (i.e., the ice) was melting in the early spring, and the Qotong were about to irrigate the fields, monks specially delegated by the prince came and, wielding whips, forced them to undress, enter the water and (thence) irrigate (the fields). If the Qotong, unable to stand the cold, came running briefly out (of the water, the monks) used to force them back by letting the whips coil all around (their bodies).

Vladimircov remarks that besides delivering wheat to the princes, (the Qotong) perform various tasks, such as working in the prince’s mill and herding his cattle. Sometimes they present him with (offerings of) livestock, hides and silver. There is no (fixed) plan nor measure in the taxes (imposed upon them): the prince and the high officials do just as they please. In 1911, the scholar Vladimircov heard (some Qotong) talking in a prating manner, saying that (their) taxes were hard to bear. They were complaining, saying...
that the Dörbed high officials “are fleecing us at the same time (as the prince).” How many sacks of grain are we (not) offering to the prince’s residence! We are also offering sheep. (And) we usually tend the (prince’s) herds. (Our) obligations are heavy. In character and behaviour the Qotong have become timid and cowardly because they have been oppressed, (their prince and high officials) having imposed on them in this way the obligations of domestic slaves.

The main occupation of the Qotong is farming, and if we examine the statistics for 1916, (we see that) in the two sumuns there were 86 ploughs for each (sumun), hence 172 ploughs altogether. According to the report of 1930, (the information that) there were 191 ploughs in the entire Bayančindamani Banner was entered in the statistics; and, if we subtract the 172 ploughs of the Qotong from this figure, there remain only 19 ploughs as the Dörbed’s share. These are the ploughs of the Dörbed of the banner in question. This confirms the fact that the Qotong play an essential part in the agriculture of the Bayančindamani (Banner) of the Dörbed.

Although the Qotong were oppressed and exploited during the period of imperialistic government, they are now regarded as being quite prosperous. However imperfect the statistics for 1916, (we notice that) when they state that the tents of the Qotong are altogether 413, they allot 2 camels, 4 horses, 10 oxen and yaks, 120 sheep and 26 goats to every tent.

The Qotong are very industrious and, agriculture being their main occupation, husbandry is next (in importance). And, if we compare them with the (more) numerous Mongols, we can say that they carry out skilled work and, as a result of having acquired the people’s freedom and having no longer to pay taxes and (supply) corvée-labour to the princes (who were their former) masters, they have thus been able to become rich. However, as regards education, one hears that they seem to have fallen behind.

Be that as it may, although in origin the Qotong are of Turkic stock, their language has ended by becoming Dörbed, and so they could not help being absorbed into the culture of the Mongols. However, were one to investigate such things as their general conditions and economy, it could be both interesting and instructive for the comrades of the Revolutionary Youth.

Because in Inner and Outer Mongolia there is no other minority people like these Qotong who for so many years served as domestic slaves of the princes, there is probably no more attractive subject of research than this on Mongolian feudalism from the point of view of economic relationships. As this is a different matter from (that pertaining to) the serfs who, in accordance with the laws of the Manchus and the Autonomous Government, were assigned to the ruling princes and the taijis, (some) very interesting things on the entire banner (to which the Qotong belonged) are bound to emerge (from this investigation).
The Bayad

[71] Those called the Ten Bayad, having submitted to the Ch'ing state together with the Dörbed of Ulayanyum (= Ulangom) mentioned above, and electing Ceringmögke as their leader, were included in the aimak of Tegüs Küülü Dalai Qan of the Sayin Jâyayatu League of the Dörbed.

Scholars like Grümmgrjimientos (= Grumm-Grzimailo) have written that they are in fact people of genuine Mongol origin (= stock) who, in Chinggis (Qayân)’s time, had settled in the region of the Jada and Jaltar rivers, left-hand affluents of the Selengge (= Selenga) River, as well as in their outward plain, and which are mentioned in contemporary writings as the Jada (River) Bayaýud and the Steppe Bayaýud. In these same early books, among the (people) of Turkic origin there seems to have been a clan and a tribe called Bayad.

Be that as it may, concerning the Bayad under discussion, they later joined the Four Oyirad confederation, and at the time of the collapse of the Jungars they lived together with the Dörbed of Ulayanyum, (in the region extending) from Jay Bayidaray up to the south-east of Lake Ubsu, where they are now residing, and (from) the Narin River, which is south of the mouth of the Tes River, [72] up to Lake Kirgis, along the northern and southern (slopes) of the Toytaýu-yin Sili and Qan Köküi. Formerly, they lived up to the Jabqân River.

The aspect of the country is not particularly different from the territory of the Dörbed. There is pit coal at the Narin River, and at a distance of a modo and a half (= 1.6 km) to the north from there, there is iron-yielding ore. With regard to this (matter), it may be worth mentioning that, because both pit coal and iron mines are found (there) together, in the future this would be a place to investigate closely for the purpose of utilizing it.

Evidence that farming was (practised) in early times on a considerable (scale) are the traces and remains here and there of the boyo-canals. The Bayad call them the ‘böyo of Galdan Boșoytu’. Böyo is the term for a rather large canal.

As for what grows along the mountains, for the most part there are larches, poplars, birches, cedars, and black and red currants and ulayana, which are (all) species of wild berries, etc.

The territory of the Bayad is equal(ly divided between) cattle-raising and crop-sowing, and for small scale hunting there are the wild animals that were described in the section on the Dörbed, such as marmots, foxes and martens. In the Bayad country wild asses are also found (has informed). Also, one hears that there are a few wild horses. They live in the Jabqân Böög.

[73] As for the number of households and individuals of the Bayad, according to the statistics for 1929 the Bayad within the Bayanmandala Ayula Banner are 2,273 households (or) 11,692 individuals. That is about half (the number of) the Dörbed.

All scholars have noted that, however close in dialect, customs, etc., the Bayad are to the Dörbed, there is a difference (among them such that) just
by looking at (the former) one recognizes them as not being Dörbed. Potanin, Vladimircov, and Grümngrijmayilo (= Grumm-Gržimailo) have noted that (the Bayad’s) clothing, and especially their hats, as well as their accent and syntax, all show different characteristics (from those of the Dörbed).

Their main occupation is (raising) the five kinds of livestock\(^69\) and, if we look at the statistical tables, (we see that) yaks are numerous and oxen are few (in number). In the case of the Darqad, Dörbed, Ögeled and Jaqačin, yaks are (also) numerous and Mongolian oxen are few (in number). In 1931, Professor Lus, who carried out an investigation of the cattle, noted after passing through the Qalqa, Darqad, Qotuyuyid, Bayad, Dörbed, Qasay and Mingyad, that the breeds\(^70\) of cattle of each clan are visibly different,\(^71\) the red oxen of the Bayad are considerably numerous, and the horses of the Darqad are white. He (i.e., Lus) stated that such differences\(^74\) are originally related to the past history of each (of these people).

As for those called the Ten Bayad, they are so named from their having formerly been\(^72\) ten banners; and it is not yet possible to know precisely the differences of clans (that exist) among the Bayad. Some say that there are\(^73\) Čoros, Bulyutur, Qasud, Čamqad, Čyaŋud and Dongqorud. Of these, the Čoros are of Dörbed noble stock, while the others are entirely Mongol clans.

However, the Qasud are really a clan of Tangnu Tüva (= Tannu Tuva). The Bayad have a single monastery, called Tejiyeleng.

The Ögeled

\[75\] The Ögeled—a single ethnic group\(^74\)—nomadize between the lower reaches of the Qobdo and Buyantu rivers, and in between the Altai Uriyangqai, the Mingyad, the Tariyačin and the Jaqačin. They are to the east of the Tergetū mountain range and not far from the city of Qobdo. Even though their territory has plenty of mountains, ravines and rocks, it is good for raising cattle.

Because in 1929 the (population) statistics of the Ögeled were taken together with (those of) the Naran Qayirqan Ayula Banner and were mixed with (those of) the Tariyačin, it is difficult (now) to sort them out and separate them (from one another).

According to the statistics for 1926 of the Qobdo Ögeled, who had formed one banner called Čambugarab, they were 3,525 individuals. If we consult\(^75\) the records of the Čambugarab and Erdenibirin sumuns of the Ögeled combing them out from the statistics\(^76\) for 1921, (we see that) since the households in the Čambugarab Sumun were 303 and the individuals 1,785 (in number), and (since) the households in the Erdenibirin Sumun were 329 and the individuals 1,989 (in number), the total (figure)\(^77\) for the Ögeled of Qobdo is 632 households and 3,774 individuals.

\[76\] Concerning the origin of the Ögeled, they are one sizable group of truly\(^78\) Mongol stock: they are, indeed, the central branch of the Four Great

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\(^{69}\) See p.[58] and n.138.

\(^{70}\) Lit., ‘the kinds (= species) and origin (= pedigree)’.

\(^{71}\) Lit., ‘were seen dissimilar’.

\(^{72}\) Lit., ‘having gone as’.

\(^{73}\) Lit., ‘As to what is said by some, they say (that there are) ...’.

\(^{74}\) Ayimay: here with the meaning of ‘tribe’ and, by extension, ‘a large group of people, an ethnic minority’. Cf. BRS, p.37b (3).

\(^{75}\) Lit., ‘open and look at’.

\(^{76}\) I.e., from the census registers.

\(^{77}\) Lit., ‘in all’.

\(^{78}\) Lit., ‘really proper’.
This is evidently 'recorded' oral history. See the Commentary.

Or 'simultaneously', 'at the same time as'.

Lit., 'distortedly pronounced'.

I.e., the present-day Ögeled are the descendants of the main body of the Four Oyirad confederation.

Lit., 'What is called Ögeled'.

Lit., 'what is called Oyirad'.

Lit., 'having gone'.

Lit., 'in the period of the breaking down among (themselves)'.

Lit., 'distortedly pronounced'.

Lit., 'What is called Oyirad'.

Lit., 'What is called Ögeled'.

Lit., 'suffered, experienced'.

Yasu oboyud = oboy yasu. See the Commentary, p.[U].

Written jogos.

As for the early origin of the Ögeled, they have one (and the same) history as the Qori and the Buriyad. In the notes of an old oral history, it is written79 that one of the three sons of (the person) called Barayu Bayatur was named Qoridai, the next was Buriyadai and the third was Eligüdei. Besides, since Eligüdei was fond of warfare, he went on fighting in the west and (his people) came to be called Ögeled. Because Qoridai—of the two Qoridai and Buriyadai—was fond of hunting, he was occupied chiefly with hunting. Buriyadai watched over the family hearth, raised cattle, and dwelt around (Lake) Bayiral.

Be that as it may, since the name of the Ögeled became actually famous from the fifteenth century (on) and circulated together80 with (that of) the Oyirad, some scholars say with regard to the word Ögeled that in the Chinese writings the word Oyirad has been distorted in transcription81 and turned into Ögeled. The Mongols gradually got used to it and have (also) come to say Ögeled.

Some say that the Ögeled are a group quite distinct from the Oyirad. In reality, those who are called Ögeled and have become a sizable group of Mongols (77) are the leading branch of the Four Oyirad in which has passed the main force of the latter.82 Ögeled is (therefore) the name of a great clan, while Oyirad is the name of a confederation. Since the Ögeled were at the head of this union, in ordinary speech as well as in books and in the histories, they are called the Ögeled Nation (ulus); they are (also) called the Oyirad Nation. Owing to the fact that the Ögeled behaved in a forceful and violent (manner) for about two hundred years, they were at war with the Qalqa Mongols and the Manchu dynasty, with Tibet's Kokonor, Russian and Chinese Turkestan, India, Afghanistan, Bukhara, Kiva, and, moreover, with the Russian empire. (As a result,) they were dispersed and scattered and, in the period when they called themselves Jungars, having suffered rather heavy losses during their internal quarrels,86 they definitely declined at the time of their last khan Davaqi Qayan and Amursana. And, from 1755 to 1758, when the great army of Tngriyin Tedküseng Qayan (= the Ch’ien-lung Emperor)87 of the Manchu butchered88 the Jungars, more than one million Ögeled died by the swords of the Manchu troops. And so, because they dispersed like that in all directions and were reduced (in number), those among them who were of the Ögeled lineage which, properly (speaking), constitute the main force of the Four Oyirad, are (all that) survives, here and there,89 (of the latter). Among them, the subject people of Dambi Tayiji constitute at present the Ögeled of Qobdo.

At the time of the Ch’ing empire, (the Ögeled) did not have governing princes,90 but they had a special intendant (daruya). Having been administered by the amban of Qobdo, they fulfilled91 their fiscal obligations, such as supplying fuel to the Treasury building.

If one enumerates the clans which are (found) among these Ögeled of Qobdo, the ones which Vladimircov noted are the following: Qoşud, Sira Qoyid, Çarın Qoyid, Qoyid Čudaŋ, Qara Bürgüd, Toluti Bürgüd, Anduu Şabinar, Jisa Şabinar, Barihça Şabinar, Tayičuud, Noyan Çoros, Noqai Çoros, Çarın Tuğ, Bayılğas, Kırgis, Kirei Čudaŋ, Qulaqai Čudaŋ, Jögös,3 Abayanas, Sus, and Ötegüs. From this we observe that, as for the Ögeled of Qobdo,
the(ir) various clans are mixed. While the Ögeled of Qobdo have kept the dialect of their own Ögeled language and (their own) customs, they are different from the Ögeled of the Orqon.94 As for the latter,95 since they constantly reside among the Qalqa, in (their) speech they follow the Qalqa dialect.

Regarding the Ögeled of Qobdo, even though the scholar Potanin, who investigated Mongolia from 1877 to 1880, and Pozdneeyev, who went (there) in 1892, Grümmgrijmayilo (= Grumm-Gržiimaiilo), who went (there) in 1903, Vladimircov, who went (there) from 1910 to 1911, [79] and many other investigators have been through (the country of) the Ögeled, the facts and information (about them) are unsatisfactory,96 as (these scholars) did not make (the Ögeled) the focus97 of (their) investigation.

Formerly, the early investigators made remarks98 such as that the Ögeled of Qobdo have become very poor and wanting, that considering their indebtedness99 to the Chinese, even if one exhausted the entire property of the Ögeled, it would not be sufficient100 (to pay off their debt); and that they make a living around the city of Qobdo by hiring themselves as labourers. One does not know what the condition of the Ögeled of Qobdo101 at the time of the Autonomous Government was.

After the establishment of the People’s Government, the fact that there was a complete abolishment of the exploiting debts (in favour) of the Chinese and a lightening of the fiscal obligations made it possible for the property of the Ögeled Banner of Qobdo to become (the people’s) own (property), and the increase in cattle (thereof) is obvious.

Now, if we carefully scrutinize the statistics for 1921, (we see) that there are hardly any families totally lacking cattle. Most of them have come to possess cattle as (a means of) livelihood. In Čambugarbu Sumun there are 303 households, and if one calculates (the number of animals) apportioned to each household,102 they are103 4 camels, 9 horses, 1 ox, 14 yaks, 164 sheep, and 22 goats.

Next, in the Erdenibürin Sumun [80] there are 321 households, and for each household there are104 5 camels, 8 horses, 4 oxen, 7 yaks, 75 sheep, and 34 goats. In this (instance), we have taken the average105 and disregarded the fractions. If we make a tentative estimate of the poor and the wealthy, out of 100 households 35% have 1 to 20 (head of) cattle, 28% have 20 to 50, 23% have 51 to 100, 12% have 100 to 200, and 2% of the households have more than 200.

If one considers the many other banners, the yaks, camels and sheep of the Ögeled106 appear to be numerous. Some among the Ögeled people of Qobdo practice hunting. They (i.e., the Ögeled of Qobdo) sow crops on a small (scale). They work for wages. They have no carts, nor machines and tools for various kinds of work. Although some scholars say107 that there are signs that the Ögeled of Qobdo are declining as a line, if we carefully consider the total number of individuals per household, their increase seems to be greater than (that of) the Qalqa and the Buriaj. And, if we observe [81] the physique of the big and small Ögeled men and women that one meets in Qobdo, they give on the contrary the impression of a flourishing ethnic group.
COMMENTARY

Page [62] Since the territory inhabited by the Qotong (Xoton) is part of Uvs Aimak, where they live in the midst of the Dörbed, for the physical geography of the area see the descriptions of this aimak in Murzaev 1954, Ovdienko 1964, Schubert 1971, MNR, and Mongolia, as well as the relevant sections in OSZM, II, and Pozdneev 1971.

For the Qotong ethnic group, see Vladimirtsov 1948, p.xiv (s.a. 1916: see below); Grumm-Gržimaïlo 1930, pp.274–84; Hamayon 1970, pp.13, 46–7, and the important literature cited in ibid., p.46; Schubert 1971, pp.108, 109, 113, 164, 220; Veit 1990, II, pp.133, 174; AELM, nos.22, 23 (cf. Map 1 of “Dörbed”, where this group is isolated). See also the reference to the Qotong in “Dörbed”, p.[59]. The contemporary Qotong have been the subject of a thorough investigation by M. Tatár Fosse in 1971. See Tatár Fosse 1979. Her data are compared and contrasted with those of the earlier investigators, in the light also of an important contribution by the Mongol scholar S. Badamxatan which appeared in 1960.

For the Buryasutai River and the Tọtaqu-yin Sili, cf. pp.[41], [36], [37]. For the former Jörjëtu Qan ( = Yang) Banner (qosiyun), see pp.[45] and [59]; for the Bayancindamani, cf. ibid. See Tatár Fosse 1979, p.9. Usba = Ubsa (Uvs). See the Commentary, p.[34].


Cering Ubasi was one of the Three Cering—the three taijiis of the Dörbed—already mentioned on p.[34]. See the Commentary. For the Qabtaq and Bayidary mountains, cf. ibid., p.[34]. Qasaq Çanqtuu is a Sino-Mongolian hybrid compound: Qasaq = Kazakh, and Çanqtuu = chin. Ch‘an-t‘ou 檔頭 ‘turban’, ‘turbaned Moslem’ (= Ch‘an-hui 檕). The reference is to the Moslem eastern Kazakhs led by Ablai who in 1755 supported Amursana (cf. the Commentary, p.[34]) in the Jungars’ ‘rebellion’, whereas the earlier-mentioned Dörbed chiefs (i.e., Čering Ubasi and others) did not join the rebels and were later rewarded by the Ch‘ien-lung Emperor (r. 1736–95). See MHM, pp.116–7; Veit 1990, II, p.11 et passim; ECGP, pp.10a–11b; Tatár Fosse 1979, p.7ff. Cf. also the unsatisfactory official Kazakh account in M. O. Auezov et al., eds, Istoriya Kazakbskoj SSR, Akad. Nauk Kaz. SSR, I, Alma-Ata, 1957, pp.262–4. For the domestic slaves (ger-iin boyoöl) and their status, see Zamcarano’s remarks further on, esp. pp.[66]–[67].

Page [63] The Jay Bayidaray Waterfall and the early Dörbed settlement there were mentioned on p.[34]; the Jay Bayidaray on p.[52] also in connection with the Qabtaq and Bayidary mountains. This locality is given, as a populated place, at 46 56 N
and 99 10 E in MOST, p.74b. The Qotong's migration to Lake Ubsa (Uvs) and Ulangom in 1778 followed the earlier migration of the Dörbed to these localities as already described on p.34. Cf., however, Tatër Fosse 1979, pp.7–8.

Concerning the two Qotong sumuns of Bayan Mandal (also written Bayanmandal) and Altan Tegeli, it should be noted that the former is referred to on p.59 as belonging to the Bayad; on p.73, the author refers to 'the Bayad within the Bayanmandal Ayula Banner'. For the situation of the Bayançindamani and Bayanmandal sumuns within the Çindamani Aimak (Çandmani Uulyn Aimag) in the period 1924–29, cf. AELM, no.20. The Altan Tegeli Sumun is not included in the map, but see Tatër Fosse 1979, p.9.

The households and the tents. The household or family (erüke, lit. 'smoke hole of a yurt') corresponds to chin. cbia 家, i.e., a group of blood-related individuals (kin) living together under one master. The tent (ger) is, of course, the yurt dwelling.

For the article by Vladimircov (and A. N. Samoïlović) mentioned by Žamcarano, see above, Commentary to p.62. For the reference to Potanin's work, see OSZM, II, pp.15–8. Čeringdorj's report is not available to us.

The term Lalü for Muslim is a borrowing from Tibetan (kla klo). See MED, p.515a–b. It should be pointed out that the term Qotong is a standard Mongol designation for a Muslim, as well as for any inhabitant of Sinkiang. For its meaning and usage see Tatër Fosse, p.1. For the culture and customs of the Qotong in recent times see ibid., p.9ff.

For Kungker 'Turk' see Vladimircov 1929, p.140; Sinor 1991. This word is a borrowing from pers. xünkär (> tib. kun-kar) id. Cf. also Tatër Fosse 1979, p.5, n.18.

For qumar see Vladimircov and Samoïlović, op. cit., p.270, where this term is rendered as iyadunka, i.e., 'cartridge-box, pouch'. Cf. also Grumm-Grzymało 1930, p.279. Concerning this object, still used as an amulet by the Qotong in 1971, cf. Tatër Fosse 1979, p.12.

For the mulda (in Qotong muldä), i.e., the mullah, see loc. cit.

The oboya(n) 'heap, pile, mass' is 'specifically an obo, a mound or cairn of rough stones built as a landmark or monument where special religious ceremonies are performed in honor of the genius loci' (MED, p.598b). Cf. also Pozdneev 1971, pp.8, 51; Heissig 1980, pp.103–5; Hamayon 1990, p.856b (Index).

The qamjilya (rus. denščik) or serfs formed a special category of subjects attached to a nobleman's household. On them see Vladimircov 1948, p.25; Legrand 1976, p.107 et passim (see Index, p.215a).

For the reference to Potanin's report on the Qotong see OSZM, II. p.15, where, however, the figure for the ground wheat levy is 400 sacks (uyuta). The '40' of Žamcarano is obviously a typographical error for '400'. 'In their nomadic camp' (nutur anu) renders Potanin's v yurtakh 'in the yurts'. For the 'along ... along' of Žamcarano, Potanin has 'in the valleys ... in the valley'.

Page [65]

Page [66]

Page [67]
Page [68] The information on the Qotong quoted from Vladimircov comes also from this scholar’s earlier mentioned report which we have been unable to check, but see Grumm-Gržimailo 1930, pp.283–4.

For the Bayančindamani statistics, cf. above, p.[59].

Page [71] The area inhabited by the Bayad (Baît) is, like that of the Qotong, part of present-day Uvs Aimak; therefore, for the physical geography of the region, see the sources already cited in relation to the Dörbed and the Qotong.

For the Bayad ethnic group, see OSZM, II, pp.33–4; Prim., p.18 (n.121); IV, pp.326, 654; Pozdneev 1971, p.209; Vladimirtsov 1948, p.xiv (s.a. 1912), 63, 69; Hamayon 1970, pp.13, 30; Beffa-Hamayon 1983, p.132; Schubert 1971, pp.105, 109, 112; Veit 1990, II, p.188; AELM, nos.22, 23. The most important western contribution to the investigation of this group is undoubtedly Vladimircov’s study of 1912 (see above and below), which was Grumm-Gržimailo’s main source on the Bayad.

For Čering Môngke and the Dörbed’s submission to the Manchus, see p.[34] and the Commentary. For the Sayin Jayaŋtu League, see p.[51].

Grumm-Gržimailo’s remarks about the Bayad and their origins are found in Grumm-Gržimailo 1930, pp.240–2. Regarding the mentions of the Bayad in the early (thirteenth- and fourteenth-century) sources, the name of this tribe does indeed appear several times in the Secret History of the Mongols in the plural form Baya’ut (= Bayaŋt), as well as in the contracted form Bayit (cf. kh. Baît). The tribe is also mentioned in Rašid al-Dīn’s Collection of Chronicles and in the later Mongol chronicles, such as Sayang Sečen’s Erdeni-yin tobći. See HCG, pp.82–9; Schmidt 1829, pp.59, 89, 183, 251. At the origin, the Bayad, or rather Baya’ut, were a subordinate tribe of the Kiyat (see the Commentary, p.[49]). It is in the Collection of Chronicles that the Baya’ut are actually listed among the Turkic tribes of Mongolia. Cf. OSZM, II, Prim., p.18, n.121.

For the Tegtis Küllig Dalai Qan Aimak of the Dörbed, see AELM, no.18: I.

For the Four Oyirad confederation (qolbogyan), see pp.[34], [46], [48], [49], and the Commentary to p.[46].

Page [72] Regarding the black and red currants (qara ulayan ąker-in n notes = Ribes nigrum and Ribes rubrum), and the ulayana, it would appear that the latter is merely a variety of red currant, for it is given as R. rubrum in all reference works. Cf., e.g., KW, 448b. An informant from Ulan Bator identified it simply as ‘a red berry.’

The wild ass (qula[for qulan] čikitei) is the Equus hemionus or kulan; the wild horse (taki) is, of course, the Equus przewalskii of Central Asia which, virtually extinct in Mongolia, was recently (1994) reintroduced into that country from Australia.

Jabqan Bölög: böög, lit. ‘division’ or ‘section’, is the designation of a small administrative unit. See BRS, p.123a. This locality is at 48 54 N and 93 07 E.


Professor Lus’ report was eventually published in Ya. Ya. Lus et al., Domašnie životnye Mongolii. Materialy Żivotnovodstvennogo otryada Mongol’skoj ekspedicii Akademii Nauk SSSR v 1931 g. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936). (The date of publication in the Mongol script title is, however, 1935.) Žamcarano had obviously had access to it before its publication.

The area inhabited by the Ögeled (Ööld) is to the north and north-west of the city of Qobdo (Xovd—the Kobdo of our maps) in the northernmost part of Xovd Aimak, between the Xovd and Buyant rivers, i.e., in the Erdenebūrėn Sum (= Erdenibūrın Sumun). For the physical geography of this region, see Murzaev 1954, pp.236, 248, 329, 346; Ovdenko 1964, p.270 ff.; MNR, pp.32–3; Mongolia, pp.186–91. For the individual localities, see as usual the entries in MOST, and the various descriptions in OSZM (see below) and Pozdneiev 1971. See also IM, pp.4, 74.

The Ögeled inhabit also two sumuns in the Arxangaï Aimak, viz. Ölziit Sum and Ögiiuur Sum.


The Four Great Oyirad is another designation of the Four Oyirad confederation (qolboyatu ulus), of which the Ögeled were one branch and, indeed, the leading group. See below, p.[77].

Regarding the origin and early history of the Ögeled, Žamcarano gives as his source ‘the notes of an old oral history’ (nigen qayučin amanteuke-yin temdegle). The oral history in question is unknown to me; however, the story of Baryu Bayatur and his sons is well known, and we find it, for instance, in the chronicle of the Qorì Buriats of 1863 which was edited by Poppe in 1935. Cf. also Schmidt 1829, pp.53, 373, n.6, 404, n.6, for some early references to the Ögeled in a Mongolian source.

Concerning the etymology of the name Ögeled, the one cited by Žamcarano, viz. that ‘Ögeled’ is a corruption of ‘Oyirad’, is incorrect. Ögeled is the plural of ögelin ‘child from another wife’. See DO, p.531b, s.v. ñlom. For another etymology—also groundless—see the story related by Pozdneiev and cited in Hamayon 1970, pp.31–2.

The history of the Ögeled during the Ch’ing period is one with that of the establishment of the Oirat confederation and the Jungar khanate in the seventeenth century, the expansion of the latter into Central Asia, Tibet and Mongolia, and the bloody
wars with the Manchus, ending with the annihilation of the Jungars in the late 1750s. For these events, see the references already given in the Commentary, pp.[34] and [45]-[46]. ECQP, p.1078a, s.v. ‘Eleuths’; Sinor 1963, pp.322–4; Čimtodoržiev 1987, pp.62–85. Zamcarano claims that during the final stage of the conflict, from 1755 to 1758—which, in fact, encompasses separate Jungar and Mongol insurrections—Ch’ien-lung’s army butchered (lit., ‘killed feeling the navel’) ‘more than one million Ögeled’. This figure is so exaggerated that makes one wonder whether ‘one million’ may not be a slip for ‘one hundred thousand’, even though the two numerals (saya and bum respectively) are quite distinct in Mongolian. The expression ‘to kill feeling the navel’ (küsü temterin kidu-) derives from the traditional practice of ‘feeling’ the belly of the animal to be butchered in order to part the hair prior to cutting it open with a knife in order to introduce the hand and sever the aorta.

That group of Ögeled who settled north of Qobdo was led by their chief Dambi Tayiž, hence the appellation ‘Dambi Ögeled’ which is often given to them to distinguish them from other Ögeled.

Page [78] For the daruya or intendant, see the Commentary, p.[15].

For the amban, i.e., the governor or viceroy (see ibid., p.[29]) of Qobdo in the late Ch’ing administration, see Brunner & Hagelstrom 1912, pp.449-50, nos.876-7; Pozdneiyev 1971, pp.201–3, 221; Legrand 1976, pp.43, 168, 169.

The Treasury building (Sang-un oron bayisinf!), i.e., the Qobdo Treasury, which is also mentioned in Pozdneiyev 1971, p. 203.

The names of the Ögeled clans listed by Zamcarano were recorded by Vladimircov during his journey to the Qobdo region in 1910–11, and they are quoted in Grumm-Gržimailo 1930, p. 254, from the original manuscript.

The ‘Ögeled of the Orqon’ are those residing in the ArxangaI Aimak. See above, p.[75].

N.B. Although in the Commentary references are only to Western-language books and articles, readers with some knowledge of modern Mongolian are advised to consult the two following publications, which are of paramount importance for the study of the ethnic groups discussed by Zamcarano:

1. X. Nyambuu, Mongolyn ugsaany zuün uürtgal [An introduction to the ethnography of Mongolia]. Ulan Bator, 1992;


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