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Cover calligraphy Yan Zhenqing 顏眞卿, Tang calligrapher and statesman

Cover illustration *'Rokuro'* [Lathe], by Tachibana Minkō 橘岷江, in *Saiga shokunin burui* 彩畫職人部類 [Illustrations of different types of craftsmen], Edo, 1770

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
ČEVENG (C.Ž. ŽAMCARANO), MONGOLIAN SCHOLAR AND PATRIOT

Čeveng—

THE DARQAD AND THE URIYANGQAI OF LAKE KÖBSÖGÖL

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

INTRODUCTION

In 1979, the Mongolia Society at Indiana University, Bloomington, published a facsimile edition of C.Ž. Žamcarano's book, *Darqad, Köbsögöl Nayur-un Uriyangqai, Dörbed, Qotong, Bayad, Ögeled, Mingyad, Jaqačin, Turyud, Qošud, Čaqar, Dariyangy-a, Altai-yin Uriyangqai, Qasay, Qamniyan-nar-un yarul ünd üsü bayidal-un ügülel* [Essay on the Origin and State of the Darqad, the Uriyangqai of Lake Köbsögöl, the Dörbed, the Qotong, the Bayad, the Ögöled, the Mingyad, the Jaqačin, the Turyud, the Qošud, the Čaqar, the Dariyangya, the Uriyangqai of the Altai, the Qasay, and the Qamniyan"].[1] The original edition appeared in Ulan Bator in 1934 and very few (perhaps not more than one or two copies) reached the West.[2] We must therefore be very grateful to the Mongolia Society for making available this extremely rare and important work.

The Author uses the name Čeveng on the title page.[3] The work was published by the Scientific Committee of the MPR *(Bügüde Nayiramdaqu Mongyol Arad Ulus-un Sinfilekü Uqayan-u Küriyeleng)*, which in 1961 became the Academy of Sciences of the MPR. The date of publication is given as May 1934 *(Mongyol Ulus-un 24 on 5 sar-a-du keblen neyitelebei)*; however, Žamcarano had apparently completed it in 1931.[4] The circumstances of Žamcarano's banishment to Leningrad soon after (1932), his arrest in August 1937 and subsequent death in a camp in Buryatia a few years later, have been described by Professor R.A.Rupen in his biographical essay on Žamcarano and, more recently, by Professor N. Poppe.[5] These tragic events were chiefly, if not uniquely, responsible for the obliteration of the original edition of the book in the Soviet Union as well as in Mongolia.

[1] Ts. Zhamtsarano, *Ethnography and Geography of the Darkhat and Other Mongolian Minorities*. With a Mongolian-English Glossary by John R. Krueger, The Mongolia Society Special Papers, no.8 (Bloomington, Indiana, 1979). The word *ügülel* of the title, which we have rendered as 'Essay', may also be translated 'Description' or 'Account'.

[2] See R.A.Rupen, "Cyben Žamcaranovič Žamcarano (1880–?1940)," *HJAS* 19 (1956): 144 and n.6; J.R.Krueger, Preface to Zhamtsarano, *Ethnography*, p.5.

[3] For the names used by Žamcarano in his writings see Rupen, "Žamcarano", p.128. In some of his works, Žamcarano uses also the names Buriyad Čeveng, and Buriyad Jimsarang-yin köbegün Čeveng. See, e.g., his *Suutu Boyda Činggis Qayan-u altan suryal orosiba* (Urga, 1915), p.29; and *Ulus-un erke* (Urga, n.d.), p.75. In Mongolia he is referred to as Jamsarin-u Čeveng (see the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, ed. Č. Nasunbaljur [Ulan Bator, 1958], p.3).

[4] See Krueger, Preface to Zhamtsarano, *Ethnography*, p.5. Cf. Žamcarano's statements on pp.[8], [22].

[5] See Rupen, "Žamcarano," p.137; N. Poppe, *Reminiscences*, ed. H.G. Schwarz (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1983), p.132; also R. Loewenthal in /OVER

The Mongol chronicles of the seventeenth century, tr. by R. Loewenthal, GAF 3 (Wiesbaden, 1955), pp.ix–x.

[6] See Krueger, Preface to Zhamtsarano, *Ethnography*, p.6. In addition to these two (unpublished) translations, three sections (on the Qotong, the Bayad, and the Ögeled Mongols) translated by L.W. Moses have appeared in the *Mongolia Society Bulletin* 6, no.1 (Spring 1967): 11–14; 6, no.2 (Fall 1967): 71–2; 7, no. 1 (Spring 1968): 20–3.

Žamcarano's *Essay* is a true mine of information on the Mongol ethnic groups of the MPR with the exclusion of the predominant Khalkha population. It is also an excellent specimen of modern literary Mongolian in the old script *(Mongγol-un qaγučin bičig)*—the traditional Uighur-Mongol script which was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet in the 1940s. Because of this, it deserves to be read by anyone interested in Outer Mongolia prior to World War II.

Selections from this book have been used for teaching purposes in the United States and, indeed, two complete English translations are already in existence, one by Professor F.W. Cleaves of Harvard University, the other by Professor J.R. Krueger, S.A. Halkovic, Jr., Dr. L.W. Moses, and R.G. Service of Indiana University.[6] Although they were completed many years ago they are yet unpublished.

Figure 1
C. Ž. Žamcarano (1880-?1940), at the age of about thirty-four

The present translation has no claim to literary merit. Its main objectives are to make known to a wider public the contents of Žamcarano's book, and to help students of Mongolian interested in the text as such. Footnotes and an essential Commentary will assist towards a better understanding of an often difficult piece of writing. Additional information for further research on many issues raised by the Author can be found in the literature cited in the Commentary and listed in the Bibliography. Please note that nearly all references are to literature in Western languages which is easily available to the reader.

Žamcarano's work is divided into twelve sections dealing with the various ethnic groups. They are the following (page references are to the Mongolian text):

1. The Darqad and the Uriyangqai of Lake Köbsögöl page [1]
2. The Dörbed [34]
3. The Qotong [62]
4. The Bayad [71]
5. The Ögeled [75]
6. The Mingγad [82]
7. The J̌aqačin, the Turγud, and the Qošud [85]
8. The Čaqar [93]
9. The Dariγangγa [99]
10. The State of the Uriyangqai of the Altai [111]
11. The Qasaγ [129]
12. The Qamniγan [134]

The first section, on the Darqad and the Uriyangqai of Lake Köbsögöl, is translated in full in the present issue of *East Asian History*; the other sections will appear in subsequent issues as they are completed.

The numbers within square brackets in the translation refer to the pagination of Žamcarano's text; words within angle brackets (< >) are words placed within round brackets in the original text; and words within round brackets in the translation are our own additions.

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These will be used throughout the Translation and Commentary. Additional items will be listed separately in subsequent issues.

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BSSV MILIBAND, S.D. *Bibliograficheskiĭ slovar' sovetskikh vostokovedov.* Moscow, 1977.

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EMS *Études mongoles . . . et sibériennes*

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GAF Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen

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TTKO Trudy Troickosavskogo-Kyakhtinskogo Otdeleniya Priamurskogo Otdela IRGO

UAB Ural-Altaische Bibliothek

UAS Uralic and Altaic Series

Uray-Köhalmi 1984 URAY-KÖHALMI, K. "Die Fischerei und die mongolischen Völkerschaften." In B. Gunda, ed. *The fishing culture of the world.* Vol.2, pp.727–43. Budapest, 1984.

VFPA Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology

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ZIRGOOE Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geografičeskogo Obščestva po Otdeleniyu Etnografii

Other Abbreviations

bur. Buriat, after *BRS*

chin. Chinese

ger. German

kh. Khalkha (Qalqa), after *MX77T* and *MMED*

ma. Manchu

mo. Written Mongolian

N.P. Personal communication of Prof. N. Poppe

ord. Ordos, after *DO*

pl. plural

ru. Russian

tib. Tibetan

TRANSLATION

The Darqad and the Uriyangqai of Lake Köbsögöl

[1] The Darqad-Uriyangqai Borderland designates a corner of territory which impinges, from the western, northern and eastern sides, on to the great lake called Lake Köbsögöl at the northern frontier of Mongolia. The reason (why it is so named) is that the majority of the people that have settled on this territory are called Uriyangqai since they were originally of Uriyangqai stock;[1] also some are called Darqad because they were 'privileged' *(darqad)* as hereditary lay subjects *(unaγan šabi)* of the Holy J̌ibǰundamba.

With regard to the fixed (geographical) features[2] of the territory called the Darqad-Uriyangqai Borderland, (they are as follows): In the very centre is situated such a beautiful lake (as Lake Köbsögöl), which extends from north to south, oblong in shape, 120 *modo* (= 128 km) in length and over 40 *modo* (= 42.7 km) in width.[3] It has not yet been possible to fathom its depth. In it are two islands called Yeke Küi ('Greater Navel') and Baγa Küi ('Lesser Navel') (respectively). A river with a considerable (volume of) water called the Eg flows out from the southern end of this lake, and, [2] flowing constantly, (eventually) drains into the Selengge River from the left.

North of Lake Köbsögöl is the Sayan Range. It is the continuation of the Erke Darqaγ Tayiγa Range, and at its eastern end is a perpetually snow-clad high mountain called Möngke Sardiγ. It is also called Möngke Čaγan, as well as Bürin Qan.

In the south-east of Möngke Sardiγ is the mountain range which is the source of the Tüngkün and Üür rivers; however, in relation to Möngke Sardiγ (that range) is not as high. The mountains branching off from the mountains on the northern and eastern sides of Lake Köbsögöl are many; the watercourses[4] descending from these mountains are numerous and some of them enter Lake Köbsögöl, (while) some flow into the Üür River.

The Üür River enters the Eg River. The best-known watercourse from among those descending from the southern slopes of Möngke Sardiγ is the Qangγa. It flows into the northeastern corner of Lake Köbsögöl. The rivers and streams that flow from all directions and enter Lake Köbsögöl are altogether more than forty.

The setting of both Möngke Čaγan <Sardiγ> and (Lake) Köbsögöl is very fine: they are like ornaments that mutually (enhance) each other. Möngke Sardiγ [3] is beautifully seen in the clear waters of (Lake) Köbsögöl as if it had risen[5] out of a mirror.

On the eastern side of Lake Köbsögöl, and at a considerable distance from the water, there is a mountain range running from south to north which is not so high and steep.[6] All the streams descending from the western side of this range flow into (Lake) Köbsögöl. The watercourses issuing from the eastern side are rivers like the Darkintu and Ariγ, and they enter the Üür River which descends from the Γurui Range.

[1] Or 'lineage'; lit. 'bone'. See the Commentary.

[2] Lit., 'appearance and form'.

[3] These figures (and subsequent ones) are only approximate.

[4] Lit., 'waters'.

[5] Lit., 'grown'.

[6] As the Sayan Range and Möngke Sardiγ.

Eastward from (Lake) Köbsögöl is the territory of the Köbsögöl-Uriyangqai. Directly on the western side of the same (Lake) Köbsögöl is the territory of the Darqad, which is likewise a mountainous region rich in watercourses. The rather large rivers and watercourses along which the Darqad live pour in on the right-hand side of the river Quvakem,[7] which is one of the many sources of the Enisei (= Yenisei) River. And, as the river Šiškid, which originates from the mountain called Altan Tayiγa within the Ulaγan Tayiγa and Qan Tayiγa ranges at the eastern end of the Tangnu Range, proceeds (in its course) flowing from south to north, it passes many lakes meandering towards the west. Progressing in its course, it takes the name Gesel (at the point) where it becomes hemmed in by cliffs on both sides, and enters the Quvakem.[7]

[4] On the eastern side of this river there is a mountain range called Qoridul Sardiγ, which also runs from south to north. There is a river called the Arsai River which, flowing from south to north along the depressions east of this range, enters the Šiškid (River) from the right.

Along the depressions east of the Arsai River and the west bank of Lake Köbsögöl—between these two—there is a continuous mountain range (formed by the two massifs) called Mount Dulaγan and Mount Bayan, also running from south to north.

The mountain ranges called Qoridul Sardiγ and Mount Bayan are formidable mountains with a great (number of) awesome crags and rocks, and with tier upon tier of high peaks. The western flank of the Qoridul Sardiγ, which is turned towards the Šiškid River, looks[8] very steep and precipitous.

As for the other range, Mount Bayan,[9] its eastern flank, which is turned towards (Lake) Köbsögöl, also appears[10] frighteningly steep and precipitous.

Between these two ranges the Arsai River flows along considerably high ground.[11] The length of the course[12] of the Šiškid River is 200 *modo* (= 213.4 km). The width of the area covered[13] by the same river is from 50 to 100 *modo* (= 53.3–106.7 km). It is a greatly eroded area.

[5] The northern border of the Darqad territory is the Erkeg Darqaγ Tayiγa, which goes from Möngke Sardiγ westwards, serving as border as far as the Tenggis Pass. From this Tenggis Pass, a river called the Tenggis River flows from north to south and enters the Šiškid from the right.

On the west side of the Darqad is the territory of Tangnu Tüva[14] and to the north is the territory of the Soviet Union. The southern border (of the Darqad territory) runs eastwards from the Beltes River and the Aγari River to the southern end of Lake Köbsögöl. (These two rivers) are situated along the southern slopes of Mount Tangnu and the long ridge[15] which is the source of the Delger River.

The others are the Uriyangqai of Lake Köbsögöl. The territory of (these,) the Qašud Uriyangqai, is the territory of the two Uriyangqai *sumun* which in former imperialistic times were (the seat of) the superintendents *(bügüde-yin daruγa)*. In the north and east, it borders on the Soviet Union; in the south it extends[16] from the former Temür Garrison westwards as far as the Eg River.

7 = Quva Kem, i.e. the Kyzyl-Khem.

8 Lit., 'has the form'.

9 The text has Bayan Ulaγan *pro* Bayan Aγula(n).

10 Lit., 'has assumed the shape'.

11 Lit., 'ground raised considerably high'.

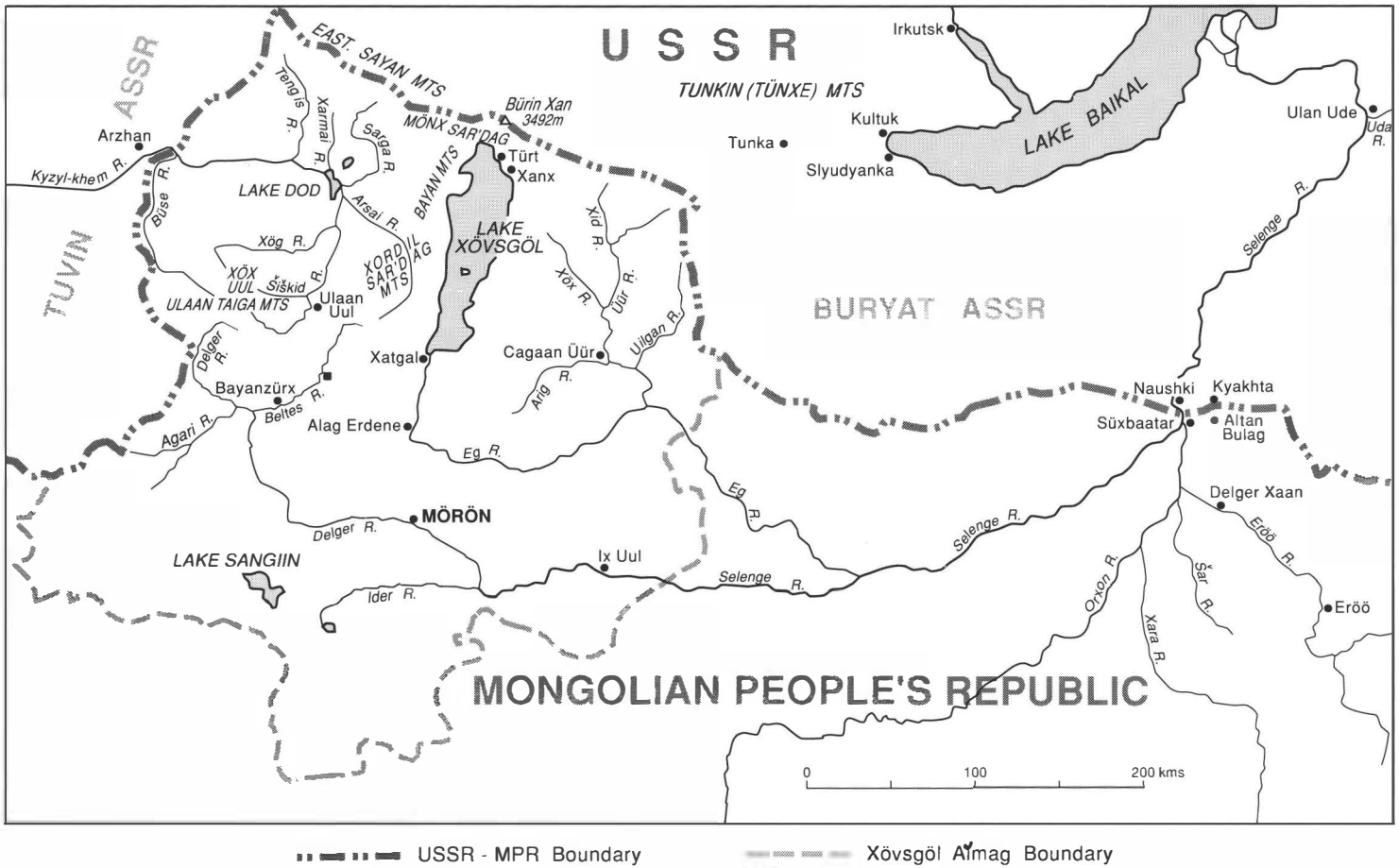
12 Lit., 'water'.

13 Lit., 'the area occupied', i.e. the Šiškid River basin.

14 i.e., Tannu Tuva, now the Tuvin ASSR.

15 Reading *γorbi* for the *γobi* of the text; cf. ord. *Ǫurwi 'colline à longue ligne de faîte'*.

16 Lit., 'it stands'.



Map 1
North-Western Mongolia (Xövsgöl Aĭmag)

The territory of the Darqad and the Uriyangqai is surrounded and pressed in by very high mountain ranges with perpetual snow, and the very centre is washed by (that) great reservoir of water, (Lake) Köbsögöl. Because (of this), the weather is very cold and it snows [6] early and heavily.

Moreover, owing to the presence of mountains and taiga, swampy and frozen areas are abundant, and flies and mosquitoes are hard to endure. Because the plains and desert lands are infrequent, while forests and willow groves are very thick and dense, it rains without interruption even in summer time: it is that kind of country. It is quite correct to say that it is a borderland with cool seasons where field crops do not grow.

Grass and trees grow at the foot and on the lower and middle slopes of the high mountain ranges. As one climbs higher, the forest trees gradually become thin and sparse, (till) there is (only) a stretch of grass-covered ground.[17] If one goes further up from here, mosses and lichens gradually appear, (then) completely bare rocks without any kind of plant life, (then) snow and ice.

The Darqad-Uriyangqai Borderland being a region consisting, at once, largely of very intractable mountains, very swift watercourses, swamps, gorges, woods <thickets>, ice and snow, is a place poorly (provided) with wide carriage roads for communication among the people.

With regard to the natural resources, since larches, birches, cedars and spruces are abundant, [7] it is likely that in the future the economic management of forests will be methodically undertaken; and there is no lack of water.

Also, as rivers like the Šiškid, the Üür, the Ayari, the Beltes and the Eg are in[18] wide plains and valleys with good pastures, (this) is a region where it may well be possible to carry out cattle-raising on a large scale by making provisions of hay and fodder.

With regard to the fish resources of Lake Köbsögöl, even though the (actual) species are not numerous, rather rare fishes like the *beliyüs*,[19] the lenok salmon and the grayling are plentiful, but because in their bodies there are particularly harmful intestinal worms peculiar to fish,[20] they are not fit for consumption. On the other hand, because the fish of the Šiškid River, i.e. fishes like the *ayɣbalay* or whitefish, the lenok salmon, the taimen and the grayling are very fat, plentiful and harmless, the Darqad have been catching them from early times until the present with seines and drawnets, and have (thereby) continued to profit from them.

As for their share of game and wild animals, stags, bears, squirrels, sables, musk-deer and the like are present, but one cannot say that they are so abundant. Most of the squirrels and sables of the Darqad region usually come over from the neighbouring Tangnu Tüva territory.

In the Darqad-Uriyangqai Borderland, which is being described, there must surely be all kinds of (natural) resources, such as mineral (wealth)[21] in the mountains; however, [8] as there has not yet been time to investigate them fully, it is difficult to describe them in detail and be specific about them.[22]

[17] Lit., 'ground where there is grass and verdure'.

[18] Lit., 'with'.

[19] The loach is probably meant. See the Commentary.

[20] Lit., 'intestinal worms of fish'.

[21] Lit., 'mines'.

[22] Lit., 'saying (they are) such and such'.

Graphite is abundant. Ochre, too, is abundant, and entire hills and spurs of it jut out into Lake Köbsögöl. They say that in the river Köke Čilaγun,[23] a tributary of[24] the Eg River, there are lead- and silver-bearing ores. Likewise, one hears that there is copper in the area called Köke Aγula[25] at the sources of the Šiškid River; and that in the mountains of the Üür River there are gold, a kind of native iron ore (suitable for) steel, and the ore called wolfram.

It seems that the area from which the gold comes is along the rivers and streams that are at the source of the Delger River, on the southern slopes of the mountain called Altan Tayiγa, which is the continuation of Mount Tangnu, and the southern border of the Darqad territory. However, the facts acquired by the investigators jointly sent out in the summer of this year 1931 by the Scientific Committee and the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, and by the mountains and mines investigators jointly sent out by (our) Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the Economic Council of the Soviet Union have not yet been processed and published.

They say that there are hot mineral springs here and there in the Darqad-Uriyangqai area, [9] the most famous one being called Qalqan-u Rasiyan.

Regarding the elevation of the Darqad-Uriyangqai area, the height of Möngke Sardiγ is 10, 992 feet; that of some of the Bayan Mountains is 8,000 feet. The height of the Qoridul Sardiγ is 7,200–8,000 feet. Within the Qoridul Sardiγ Range there is a majestic[26] high mountain called Delger Qan which is over 8,000 feet. The Tenggis Pass is 6,940 feet (high).

As (further) examples, the height of the Šiškid River is 5,200 feet near the mouth of the Tenggis River; and the elevation of Lake Köbsögöl is 5,574½ feet, measured opposite the mouth of the Tui River. Thus, we observe that the Šiškid river is actually (in) a depression which is even lower than Lake Köbsögöl.

[23] Lit., 'Blue Stone'.

[24] Lit., 'entering into'.

[25] Lit., 'Blue Mountain'.

[26] Lit., 'princely'.

Concerning the (Darqad and Uriyangqai) Peoples

It is appropriate to discuss separately who and what are those (peoples) named Darqad and Uriyangqai. [10] However, since there is no research published expressly on this (subject), especially with regard to the Uriyangqai, the information (concerning them) is far from complete.[27]

The Darqad are called Darqad for the following (reason): Once, because a certain noble called Deleg Noyan and his wife Dejid Aqai jointly presented their subjects and their own persons to the Öndör Gegen,[28] and because (as a result of that) they became 'privileged' *(darqad)* commoners independent (of their previous lords), having (thus) been made 'privileged', they were called Darqad and became the hereditary lay subjects of the J̌ibǰundamba Qutuγtus.

Discussing their origin, most scholars say that the Darqad are people of the same stock as the Uriyangqai of Turkic origin, and that only their language and culture have become Mongol. Further, Dolbeǰev says that the Darqad possess

[27] Lit., 'greatly imperfect'.

[28] Lit., 'Lofty Brilliance'—a popular designation of the First Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu.

a language close to that of the Buriyad of Erkeü (= Irkutsk), and Šišmarev has stated that they have a language which is identical with that of the Qori Buriyad.

If we look at the clans[29] of the Darqad, they are called Qara Darqad, Quva Darqad and Quvaluur Darqad,[30] but this simply (indicates) that they have differentiated the name of Darqad whereby they name themselves, and nothing else.

As for the Uriyangqai, they call the Darqad 'the Adai Darqad'. If we inquire more thoroughly, (we learn that the Darqad's) clans[31] are called Šaranud, Qaranud, Baγud, Činud, Qoroloi, Ögeled and Manǰiraγ. [11] Clans with these names are all clans that are found among the Mongols, and they are especially numerous among the Buriyad.

Quite recently, in 1927, the young student Sangǰi (= Sanžeev) investigated the phonetics of (that) language[32] for the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union: the publication (of his work) by the Academy as a monograph[33] is imminent. Concerning his information, (Sangǰi) claims that even though the Darqad language is close to the Buriyad language, Oyirad dialect (forms) can be detected[34] in it. Dolbeǰev has also noted the existence of Oyirad dialect (forms in Darqad).

The learned Potanin has said that when the Darqad shaman makes the *ongγo*-spirit enter (his body), he summons it in the Uriyangqai language. (Potanin) also says that since the Uriyangqai regard the Darqad as one branch of their own Uriyangqai (people), might not the Darqad indeed be Uriyangqai who, forgetting their own language, have adopted the Mongolian language?[35]

In our opinion, because (the question of) whether[36] those who are called Darqad are of genuine Mongol origin, or of Uriyangqai-Turkic origin, or of mixed origin, is a matter to be decided by a special investigation, at this juncture we should (merely) regard that corner (of land) called Darqad as a region which, culturally and economically,[37] is (still) considerably isolated and backward.

[12] It is difficult to say precisely[38] what the population figure of the Darqad is. Šišmarev writes[39] that according to the registers of the Office of the Great Šabi compiled in 1861, the total number of the (Darqad) population (consisting of) males, females, monks and laymen was 7,015 individuals; of these,[40] 1,390 were monks. He (also) says that forty years later,[41] in the 26th year of Badaraγultu Törö,[42] i.e. 1901,[43] there were altogether 5,120 individuals; of these,[40] 1,120 were monks.

However, in the book by Dolbeǰev, who investigated the Darqad in 1905, it is stated that the total population figure for the Darqad is 4,500; out of this, about a thousand are monks.

Dančinov's section of Baron Vitte's exploration team of the expedition sent by the government[44] which went through the Darqad-Uriyangqai (territory) in 1915 reported[45] that in the Northern Division *(otoγ)* of the Darqad there were 230 households, in the Eastern Division 320 households, (and) in the Western Division 160 households: altogether 710 households (com-

29 Or 'sub-groups' *(oboγ yasu)*.

30 *Qara* and *Quva* mean 'Black' and 'Brownish' respectively; *Quvaluur* derives from *quva*, but its exact meaning is not clear.

31 *Yasu* = *oboγ yasu*.

32 i.e., the Darqad language.

33 Lit., 'special volume'.

34 Lit., 'seen'.

35 Lit., 'have entered into the Mongolian language?'

36 Lit., 'which one (of these three possibilities is correct): . . . ?'

37 Lit., 'from the point of view of culture and economy'.

38 Lit., 'precisely, saying, "such and such"'.

39 Lit., 'wrote'.

40 Lit., 'in this (number)'.

41 Lit., 'after forty years had elapsed'.

42 'Inspired Rule'—the Mongol appellation of the Kuang-hsü reign period (1875-1908)'.

43 Actually, the 26th year corresponds to 1 Jan.-10 Nov. 1900.

44 Lit., 'of the exploration (mission) sent by the government'.

45 Lit., 'said'.

prising) 5,930 individuals. If we look at the 1924 records,[46] (it is stated that) there are 6,175 individuals. And, in this year of 1931, according to information received by Ölǰeyiqutuγ, the official in charge of the Economic Council, the total population [13] figure for the Darqad is said to be 6,893.

Of these six separate figures, Šišmarev's figure, the 1901 figure, and the 1924 and 1931 figures are reliable; only Dolbeǰev's 1905 figure is probably too low.[47] As to what may be the reason for this, (it is that) Dolbeǰev does not actually say from where he got his figure. The others are all figures (taken from) taxation records. If they are incorrect, they are so to the extent that[48] (the tax-payers) intentionally lowered somewhat the number of individuals (in their households) and (the amount) of property (they owned) in order to reduce the taxes (to be paid). By taking and comparing these figures, one can determine the increases and decreases in the Darqad population.

If we consider (the statistics for) the forty years that have elapsed since 1861,[49] as the number of individuals decreased by 1,895, (the Darqad population) of about 7,000 was reduced to 5,000. If the information of Dolbeǰev is reliable, (the population) continued to decrease even further, reaching the figure of 4,500 (in the year 1905). After this (date), by[50] steadily increasing until 1924—(thus) continuing to grow for twenty whole years—it became 6,(1)75 individuals. Having continued to increase also after this (date), it became 6,893 in 1931. Although (this figure) comes quite close to 7,000, which was (the figure) of seventy years before, [14] it is still short by over 100 individuals.[51]

In considering such a fluctuation in the (population) figures, the way in which the Darqad (population) increases and decreases is a matter deserving particular attention.[52] One recalls such (calamities) as famines[53] and cattle plague which hit the Darqad in the years[54] 1898, 1899 and 1900; (however,) one cannot state (that this is) the actual, genuine truth.[55]

Table 1 *Population Figures of the Darqad*

Year	1861	1901	1905	1915	1924	1931
Population	7,015	5,120	4,500	5,930	6,175	6,893

In the first of these columns is the figure from the register of (the Office of) the Great Šabi published in Šišmarev's work. The second is the figure from the register of (the Office of) the Great Šabi of the 26th year of Badaraγultu Törö (1901). The third is the figure appearing in Dolbeǰev's book. [15] The fourth is the figure (in the report) of Dančinov's section of Baron Vitte's exploration team. The fifth is the figure obtained by the government through its representatives[56] in the 14th year of the Mongolian (State) (1924). The sixth is the figure which comes from the Economic Council office and which was returned by Ölǰeyiqutuγ in the 21st year (1931).

From the beginning—when they (first) came under the administration of (the Office of) the Great Šabi—the Darqad were divided into three divisions *(otoγ)*, each tribe having one chief *(daruγa)*. (The Darqad) were (thus)

46 i.e., the taxation records (*büridkel* = *alban-u büridkel*).

47 Lit., 'is a figure that has been reduced'.

48 Lit., 'it is possible that'.

49 Lit., 'the 1861st year'.

50 Lit., 'while'.

51 i.e., to match the figure of 7,015 individuals of 1861.

52 Lit., 'to which it would be appropriate greatly to pay attention'.

53 *Jud turqun* = *jud turqan*, kh. *zud turxan* 'starvation, dearth'.

54 Lit., 'in the period of the years'.

55 i.e., the actual cause of their population decrease.

56 Lit., 'through government representatives'.

directly administered by these chiefs who judged all their cases orally, as they did not know how to arbitrate by means of written records. Cases which they could not settle among themselves were finally judged[57] on the occasion of the arrival of the various headmen *(ǰayisang)* sent every three years from the Office of the Šangǰoodba, which administered the (hereditary) lay subjects of the J̌ibǰundamba Qutuγtu, for the purpose of arbitration (in general) and taking (population) statistics.[58]

The chiefs of the tribes were chosen from among the Darqad and were confirmed by the Office of the Šabi. Apart from the taxes and levies due[59] to the Treasury of the Gegen,[60] there were no (other) taxes imposed on[61] the aimaks *(ayimaγ)*, the banners *(qosiγu)*, or the population as a whole. [16] Investigators have noted that, in accordance with the laws of the Manchu empire which stated that the Darqad should communicate to the outside only through the Beltes Garrison, (the Manchus) did not let them go outside; and as it stated that (the Darqad) should not let Chinese trade(rs) come in from the outside, the (Manchus) built palisade(-like) enclosures fencing them in. (As a result,) there was no end of confusion, such as when (Darqad) herds entered the area of a Mongol garrison and the Mongols seized their cattle, and when (the Darqad) came to retrieve (the cattle) and (the Mongols) would not give them (back). The Darqad were thus pressed in and confined to their own territory; because (this state of affairs) lasted (many) a long year, their customs did not evolve.[62] Being left behind from the point of view of culture, the people of this corner-region have coarse manners and there is hardly one person (among them) who is literate.

As for their dress and domestic practice, it is said that there is no way they can be particularly distinguished from the Mongols'.

One report says that their religion is the same as that of the Soyod Uriyangqai of (Lake) Köbsögöl. Having embraced Buddhism,[63] they have (built) a considerably wealthy monastery where over a thousand monks live, called the Darqad Monastery. (However,) their monks do not follow[64] the practice of keeping strictly to their monastic cells. Some of them mingle with the people and transhume with them. Furthermore, a great number of novices are seen catching fish and do work jointly (with laymen). [17] Also the old Shamanism is widespread.

The Darqad regard (herding) horses, oxen, yaks, sheep, goats and, occasionally, reindeer and camels as their primary occupation. They do not breed and raise camels, but only use them as (beasts of) burden.[65] The most important occupation of the Darqad is fishing and hunting.

Regarding their food and drinks,[66] they obtain things like milk and meat from[67] the livestock, and snake-weed *(meker)* and potatoes *(tömösü)*[68] from[67] the ground, and they preserve them.[69] As for what is called *meker*, Potanin and Dolbeǰev have remarked that in the autumn, by poking (into the ground), (the Darqad) find where the rats have gathered the roots of a wild plant of the buckwheat family and stored them in their burrows. They get from some burrows up to 10 pounds of *meker*, which they make into bread to eat

57 Lit., 'they conclusively judged'.

58 i.e., the census—for taxation purposes.

59 Lit., 'to give'.

60 i.e., of the Jebsundamba Khutukhtu.

61 Lit., 'involving'.

62 Lit., 'were obstructed'.

63 Lit., 'having entered into the Burqan's (= Buddha's) doctrine'.

64 Lit., 'have'.

65 Lit., 'for the purpose of loading'.

66 Lit., 'their eating and drinking'.

67 Lit., 'that come from'.

68 See the Commentary.

69 Lit., 'make into dried stuff *(qataγaγ*, from *qataγa-* 'to dry')'.

throughout the winter. It is not harmful to the health; on the contrary, it is nourishing.

The tents in which the Darqad live are Mongol tents *(ger)*. The Darqad raise their cattle entirely by transhumance and, in the summertime, they spend the summer along the Šiškid River. With the coming of winter,[70] some of them pitch their winter camp and winter along the southern slopes of (Mount) Tangnu and along the Beltes and Aγari (rivers). Some spend the winter going along the west shore of (Lake) Köbsögöl. Some of the poorish (herdsmen) [18] transhume to the north and winter along the Tenggis River. Still others—it is said—even winter along the Kög River.

They say that even though the Darqad territory has seasons so harsh that it is impossible to sow field crops, it is (nevertheless) very suitable for raising cattle; and that although the Darqad are crude in their cattle raising, their sheep, oxen and yaks are quite big,[71] and their meat is good.

Let me show the comparative estimates[72] of the cattle of the Darqad by means of four sorts of register (figures).

The first[73] is (the figure from) the various registers of the Office of the Šabi which Šišmarev used in 1861. The second is the register (figure) taken in 1901 from the same office. The third is the figure for the year 1915 (obtained) from Dančinov's section of Baron Vitte's exploration team. The fourth is the figure of the register issued by the representatives of the People's Government in 1924, i.e. the 14th year of the Mongolian (State).

In this (respect), the following is to be noted in particular: considering that[74] around 1898 and 1899 calamities occurred in the Darqad area[75] with the twin concomitants[76] of cattle plague and famine, one should not be surprised that the figures in the second column are exceedingly low.

[19] The estimates of the increase and decrease of Darqad livestock are tabulated as follows:

Table 2 *Type of Livestock and Amount by Year*

	1861	*1901*	*1915*	*1924*
Horses	12,521	478	4,200	15,621
Oxen & Yaks	17,143	323	5,800	22,413
Sheep & Goats	35,561	1,443	1,800	57,209
Camels	439	6	720	420

In this comparative table,[77] the young (of the animals) are not recorded: only the livestock of mature age are recorded.

If we look at these figures, (we notice that) after exactly forty years had passed since 1861, the livestock of the Darqad had become very small; [20] and it must (therefore) be true that calamities like famines and cattle plague had occurred in the Darqad territory about 1901. Investigators such as Potanin and Dolbeǰev have unanimously remarked that, starting from the same year 1861 up to 1870-80, and especially up to 1905, the Darqad people,

70 Lit., 'when it becomes winter'.

71 Lit., 'corpulent and big'.

72 Lit., 'the precedents', or 'examples' *(üliger fisiye)*.

73 Lit., 'one'.

74 Lit., 'because it is thought that'.

75 Lit., 'in the Darqad direction'.

76 Lit., 'coming doubly'.

77 Lit., 'table with columns'.

oppressed by the taxes and levies of the Treasury of the Gegen, and by heavy indebtedness to the Chinese, became (increasingly) impoverished with every coming year and were approaching (a state of) sheer penury.[78]

In the second volume of the four-volume (work) called *North-Western Mongolia* composed by the learned Potanin who went on an exploratory mission in 1880, he wrote the following: "Russian merchants trading in the territory of the Darqad exchange Russian goods for husbandry products. They also export (to Russia) a small number of furs. Every year, in addition to exporting and driving off about 2,000 oxen from the Darqad territory, they also export sheep. The merchants say to one another, 'While formerly good Darqad oxen[79] yielded[80] 15 poods (= 245 kg) of meat (each), now choice oxen yield less than 12 poods (= 195 kg). There are no more[81] fully grown[82] oxen: the cattle of the Darqad have become undersized.' [21] Besides,[83] insofar as the cause of the Darqad cattle becoming so undersized is concerned, it is natural that they have become undersized by reason of the fact that they have reached (the point when) the new born young animals do not catch up, by replacement, with the number of cattle that every year are sold and driven outside on the hoof, and the number of cattle that are lost through (natural) deaths."[84] Further, the people who were trading in cattle said[85] at the time that in about ten years there would be no cattle (left) to be sold and driven outside from the Darqad territory. Still, Darqad cattle and sheep had long been renowned as livestock for their large size and excellent fat and meat.

Only four years had passed since (the Darqad) had reached the extreme point of the decline in 1901 according to[86] the figures displayed above, when Dolbeĭev, who had gone (there) to investigate, composed, upon (completion of his) investigation, the book called "The Darqad Borderland." Because what he has written about the kinds (of goods) exported from the Darqad to Russia is also of interest, we have shown it below. If we contrast the number of livestock with the number of individuals, (we notice that) while in 1861 there were more that four (head of) large cattle[87] and over five sheep or goats per person, there was not even a single (head of cattle per person) in 1901. [22] After more than twenty years had elapsed since that (time), and having come to the year 1924, if we look (at the figures, we notice that) there were more than six (head of) large cattle and over nine sheep or goats per person. In general, the livestock of the Darqad shows signs of considerable increase. The population of the Darqad as in 1861 is in accordance with the same pattern of decrease up to 1924 and 1931; however, if we consider the population of 1902, (we notice that) it has kept on increasing steadily up to 1915 and 1931. Whereas livestock (such as) horses,[88] oxen and sheep have all greatly increased, only the camels were unable to increase proportionally.[89] Although it would have been interesting to consider the amount of Darqad livestock for the last year, 1931, it cannot (unfortunately) be done[90] because, time being (too) short, I was unable to find out.

78 Lit., 'their entering into sheer penury is approaching'.

79 Lit., 'castrated bulls' (four years old or more).

80 Lit., 'had'.

81 Lit., 'are finished'.

82 Lit., 'big and corpulent'.

83 *Гадана*, rendering the ru. *krome togo* of *OSZM*, vol.3, p.167.

84 i.e., the young animals do not reach maturity and, therefore, cannot replace the number of cattle sold to the Russian traders and those lost through natural causes.

85 Passive construction in the original.

86 Lit., 'within'.

87 Such as oxen, horses and camels, as opposed to sheep and goats.

88 Lit., 'the herds of horses'.

89 Lit., 'such much'.

90 Lit., 'what shall we do (about it)?'—rhetorical.

Although the Darqad as a whole are now regarded as prosperous, in reality the livestock is distributed unevenly among the common people *(arad)*. In the notes of the above-mentioned[91] Dolbeǰev, who investigated the Darqad twenty-five years ago, he writes that the majority of the Darqad people have become poor, and (only) a small number of kulaks *(nid urγan bayačud)* have grown rich. [23] Former investigators have noted the fact that the Darqad poor[92] were numerous and that they lived in a backward and destitute (state). Among them[93] is the same 1905 account by Dolbeǰev in which he wrote such things as the following: "Although a few people are rich, most of the Darqad nomads every year suffer increasing losses and become poorer. Some of them apparently have no cattle at all and subsist with difficulty. In this region it is difficult to find outside work; especially in the wintertime, if there are cows and ewes,[94] in the periods when their milk dries up it is very hard. Is there a way out of such (a predicament)? This is why among the Darqad the occupation of 'finding',[95] (that is, the practice of) *meker*-gathering, is (so) widespread."

I have carefully considered providing examples[96] of trade goods which, in Dolbeǰev's time, were imported from the Darqad into Russia[97] via the Mung Pass, together with (their respective) cash values. As it seems interesting to compare (these) with the taxes and the instalments on debts[98] (paid) by the Darqad at that time, I have set them out and shown them (below).

[24] **Table 3** *Names of Trade Goods Exported from the Darqad to Russia in 1905*

	Quantity	*Value*[99]
Big-horned cattle[100]	2,500	100,000 tögörig
Sheep	3,000	12,000
Horses	120	3,000
Fish	3,000 pood	9,000
Sheep wool	1,500 pood	4,500
Butter	150 pood	1,500
Sable skins	4,000	120,000
Squirrel skins	100,000	15,000
The total (value) traded is 265,000 tögörig.		

The sables and squirrels in this table come from the territory of the Tangnu Uriyangqai; the others are all raw materials that come from the Darqad. [25] Because of the practice of smuggling[101] herds of horses as well as sheep and goats and the like from the Darqad, and bringing them to Mören-ü Küriye, the raw materials that come from the Darqad are not fully noted down (in this table); and, as the same year, 1905,[102] was a period when Russia and Japan were engaged in a great conflict, it was also a time when the need for livestock and meat in the Russian territory was quite considerable. The figures published here bear witness to the conditions of that time. If we explain them (further) and calculate the value of the squirrels and sables traded in from the Uriyangqai as being 100,000 tögörig,[103] (we see that) the income for the Darqad is 165,000

91 Lit., '(of) a short while ago'.

92 In the text, *ügeyiti* is a misprint for *ügeyitei*.

93 i.e., among their reports.

94 Lit., 'sheep'.

95 Used like 'prospecting' (i.e. searching for gold, etc.) in English.

96 Lit., 'the fact of having shown as examples'.

97 Lit., 'causing them to penetrate from the Darqad in the direction of Russia'.

98 Lit., 'the (re)payment of debts'.

99 Lit., 'price'.

100 Lit., 'big oxen'.

101 Lit., 'Because one used to smuggle'. The form *burulaγul-* = *burūlaγul-*, i.e. mo. *buruγulaγul-* 'to cause to run away, to hide; to smuggle'.

102 Lit., 'in the same year 1905'.

103 100,000 tögörig was the price paid by the Darqad to the Uriyangqai hunters and trappers for the squirrel and sable skins.

tögörig. At that time, (the Darqad) gave every year 25,000 tögörig in taxes to the Treasury of the Gegen out of this amount;[104] and they were (also) required to pay 48,000 tögörig (every year) to the Chinese as interest on a debt which had reached 100,000 tögörig. When, on top (of that), we calculate that the value of the goods bought (annually) from the Chinese was 25,000 tögörig, it seems that the Darqad made a (yearly) profit[105] of 67,000 tögörig. Even though it may be said that this is quite a large profit for a small number of people, the profits at that time were the kulaks' gains. (Thus,) the statement that a few became rich (while) the majority was poor is obvious(ly true) in the circumstances. Also, the scanty Darqad, who at that time numbered (only) 4,500 individuals, [26] owing to the taxes (imposed) by the Treasury of the Gegen which increased every year and the sudden exaction (of the same),[106] borrowed money at interest in great haste from the shops of the Chinese at Mören-ü Küriyen. Because they had borrowed[107] on such (terms that) the interest (on the loan) was 48 mönggö per tögörig, they were in debt up to 100,000 tögörig. The mere payment,[108] with a (great) effort, of the interest money on the (borrowed) capital[109] (every year) was a very heavy burden for these few people. The merchants of that time were of the normal exploitative[110] kind, and regularly went together in person to trade.

Furthermore, in 1914, according to the information of the exploration team sent by the Autonomous Government, the taxes paid altogether in one year by the three Darqad divisions *(otoγ)* to the Treasury of the Gegen amounted to[111] 43,737 tögörig, and to the Darqad Monastery 21,000 tögörig. They said that the time when the Russian ruble[112] began to fall was in that period. Now, in the Darqad area, the Mongolian cooperatives are branches of STORMONGTO.

Has the increase in the cattle of the Darqad (not) been due,[113] firstly, to the fact that the greedy and exploiting usury of the Chinese has been abolished; secondly, to[113] the fact that the taxes (imposed) by the Treasury of the Gegen have been abolished; and, thirdly, to[113] the fact that in the last ten years [27] there have been no calamities such as (adverse) weather conditions, epizootics, cattle plague, and foot-and-mouth disease?

Although the Darqad regard livestock as their primary (concern), they also catch fish, which they eat themselves, and which they trade outside more than any (other) region of Mongolia; for this reason we should say a few[114] words about it. All investigators have regularly noted the fact that the Darqad and the Uriyangqai of (Lake) Köbsögöl catch fish. Of[115] the (usual fishing) equipment, such as seine, net, drawnet and creel, the drawnet alone is the means which the Darqad employ in the Köbsögöl region. (This) has turned-down teeth like those of a hand-held grass-rake. At the time when the fish spawn, they catch them, drawing them towards themselves as if raking. Actually, until now there has not been (any) specific investigation of the fishing activity (of the Darqad). As for the catch, along the Šiškid River there are (fishes) like the whitefish, the taimen, the grayling and the lenok salmon. Most tasty and lucrative of all are the whitefish <also called *beliγüs*> and the taimen.

[104] i.e., out of the 165,000 tögörig.
[105] Lit., 'there was an excess for the Darqad'.
[106] By the Treasury officials.
[107] Lit., 'taken'.
[108] For *tolojü* read *tölöjü*.
[109] For *eki mönggön-ü* read *eke mönggön-ü*.
[110] Lit., 'ordinary gnawing merchants'.
[111] Lit., 'was'.
[112] Lit., 'the Russian tögörig'.
[113] Lit., 'in consequence of'.
[114] Lit., 'two or three'.
[115] Lit., 'Among'.

Dolbeǰev wrote as follows: "As for the practice of catching fish within the Darqad Borderland, it is a special right (enjoyed) by the whole native population *(nutuγ-un arad)*. [28] They fish from August to October. With the coming of autumn, they usually catch the whitefish and the taimen which spawn up the small streams from the many lakes and the Enisei River. And, taking their fish straight from the seines, they sell them to the Russian traders who, making (their arrival) coincide with the fishing season, have brought special wooden casks. The fish they have bought is placed under salt until the middle of September. When the cold (weather) arrives, they freeze it and, in October, send it to Tüngkün (=Tunka) and Erkeü (= Irkutsk). The petty merchants within the Darqad Borderland go around and yearly buy 50-60 pood (of fish) each. Formerly, the price of a pood of fish was 20-30 mönggö; now it has reached 3 tögörig." Every year they have been catching and selling from 1,000 to 3,000 pood of this tasty fish. The fish caught by the Soyod Uriyangqai living to the east of (Lake) Köbsögöl are not included in this. Musk, wild onions and ginseng also come from the Darqad region.

Now, with regard to the Darqad Borderland, it is necessary to find out by means of a special investigation how they (i.e. the Darqad people) are faring in the new conditions. And, [29] if we look at the brief report of the experienced scholar Lüs (?) who went there, he says on the basis of the investigation of this year's livestock that the oxen, yaks and sheep of the Darqad are fine; he (also) says that their mainstay is the yak, that the Darqad are good at processing[116] dairy products,[117] and that their dwellings and living (conditions) are quite comfortable. Their regional centre[118] is Darqad-un Küriye, which[119] now, with public health doctors, cooperatives and STORMONGΓO, and elementary schools, displays the outward signs of large-scale progress.

Next, the Uriyangqai who live on the eastern side of (Lake) Köbsögöl were formerly (divided into) four *sumu* and were called Qasud Banner of Köbsögöl (Köbsögöl-ün Qasud Qosiγu). They used to pay their taxes in furs to the amban of Küriyen (= Urga). If we discuss the origin of (this) people, they seem to be Soyod of Turkic origin, or of Tüva Uriyangqai stock.[120] And, if we consider the different[121] clans (that exist) among them, there are (some) with names like Qasud, Qaliγusi, Irkid, Sirkid, and Aγamaγ, which do not exist at all among those of Mongol stock.[120] On the contrary, it is correct to say that they are clans of numerous lineages of Turkic origin.

As to their language, Sangǰeyiyev (= Sanžeev) has remarked <(in) 1927> that although it is identical[122] with the language of the Uriyangqai people of Tangnu Tüva and the Altai, they say that they and the people of Tangnu Tüva do not understand each other's language. [30] He[123] says that those who continue to speak in their own language have become few in number, (while) those who speak Mongolian have become the majority. He (also) said that these Uriyangqai usually call the Darqad 'Uiγur', and that besides referring to themselves also as Uiγur, they like to live in the forests. Those who have huts (made) of wood bark are many. The Darqad call the Uriyangqai of Tangnu Tüva 'Geyiše' ('Guests').[124]

116 Lit., 'procuring'.
117 Lit., 'white food'.
118 Lit., 'central place'.
119 Lit., 'and'.
120 = lineage *(yasutan)*.
121 Lit., 'the differences of'.
122 Lit., 'one and the same'.
123 i.e., Sanžeev.
124 See the Commentary.

As for their religion, there are both monks *(lama)* and shamans *(böge)*, and among some of the larger monasteries are the Qangqa Monastery, the Ariγ Monastery, and the Qutuγtu Monastery. There is an elementary school at Qangqa.

Formerly, at the time of the Manchu Empire, they had a superintendent called *ükeri da* (ma. *uheri da*); under him there were (officials) called *ǰanggi* and *kündü*. At that time, their administration was the same as that of the Tangnu Uriyangqai.

Further, there were those, called Ariγ Uriyangqai, who were the subjects of Prince Namsarai. At the time of the Autonomous Government, some of their *sumu* became the lay subjects *(šabi)* of the Holy (J̌ibǰundamba)[125] <(such as the former subjects of) Duke Talhasürüng of the Soyod Uriyangqai>, and some of them were administered by the General Office <(such as the former subjects of) Duke Nayidanǰab of the Köbsögöl Uriyangqai>. In recent times, after (the establishment) of the People's Government, they were unified with the Darqad, [31] and a larger banner *(qosiγu)* has been established (comprising both these Uriyangqai and Darqad) called Banner of Lake Köbsögöl and Mount Delger (Köbsögöl Dalai Delger Qan Aγula-yin Qosiγu). Apparently, the Mongols of the Qadqal, Köküi, Tarkintu, Uyalγa, Araγabural, and Erinčalam garrisons have (also) been included.

In fact, there have been no investigators at all who have gone to the area of the Uriyangqai of the Qasud Banner, and (consequently) there is no way one can say anything about their population figures, and their customs and living conditions. In 1880 the learned Katanov, who investigated the dialect of the common language of the Soyod Uriyangqai, said in his book: "Are the people of the Qasud Banner altogether about 5,000?" Still another scholar said that the number of Qasud is 3,000. If we look at recent statistics, the (population) figure is considerably higher.[126] According to the information of Ölǰeyiqutuγ, the Qasud alone of the Uriyangqai of (Lake) Köbsögöl (number) 3,209 individuals. As those called the Northern Sirkid are said to (number) 848 individuals, and (those called) the Southern Sirkid 2,324 individuals, added together there are 6,441 persons.

Most of the Qasud live along the Üür River; the others live along the Qangγa River and the Ariγ River. Their cattle raising and nomadic way of life are like those of the Darqad. Although their dwellings are Mongol tents, they say that some of them use also cone-shaped tents covered with reindeer [32] hides, or with birch bark or larch bark. Tents exactly like these are seen occasionally in the Darqad area. Among the Soyod, reindeer are raised to a certain extent.

Although the investigations of the Uriyangqai subject to the State of Tangnu Tüva conducted by many scholars who went (there) are considerable, there are no investigations of the Uriyangqai of Lake Köbsögöl. Among these,[127] as observed from data of 1931, there live more than 200 households of Buriyad which[128] (correspond to) 1,086 individuals. Their occupation is (raising) cattle and building stockyards, cutting grass (for hay), and using

125 i.e., of the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu.
126 Lit., 'numerous'.
127 i.e., the Uriyangqai of Lake Köbsögöl.
128 Lit., 'and'.

farming machines. They make rather wide use of four- and two-wheel carts with iron axles. The land along[129] the Eg River can be cultivated. These Darqad and Uriyangqai are about 15,000 people (altogether). However, in view of the statement that the total population figure for the Banner of Lake Köbsögöl and Mount Delger Qan taken at the 1931 (census) is 20,186, no doubt the Mongols of several garrisons *(qarayul)* have been included among these.[130]

The territory of the Darqad and Uriyangqai region is, by its (very) nature, suitable for breeding sheep, goats, oxen, yaks and hybrids.[131] Fishing is plentiful, [33] and, in particular, the fishes of the Šiškid River of the Darqad are very good. It is also possible to do some hunting of muskdeer, squirrels and sables. In the future it may (even) be possible to pursue the quest for (various) kinds (of minerals) from mountain mines, such as copper, graphite, gold, and lead; and to stimulate the forest industry.

From the Köldüg (= Kultuk) Station, which is a Siberian Railway station on the shores of the Bayiγal,[132] crossing the Mung Pass of Tüngkün, passing by the Qangqa Monastery, and proceeding along[133] the eastern side of Lake Köbsögöl, one arrives at Qadqal. From there there is a great commercial route going as far as Mören-ü Küriye and Uliyasutai, and steamboats going from Qangqa on Lake Köbsögöl as far as the southern shore. Because (of this) and, undoubtedly, (also) because there are facilities for transporting raw materials, and for driving on the hoof and exporting cattle such as oxen and sheep, as well as for importing goods brought from the outside, the Darqad and Uriyangqai Borderland surrounding Lake Köbsögöl has the potential, in future, to become a rich and attractive region in which all favourable conditions for growth and development will be realized.

[129] Lit., 'around'.

[130] i.e., among the 20,186 Darqad and Uriyangqai.

[131] *Qayinuγ*, i.e., a yak-cow hybrid, or a bull-yak cow hybrid.

[132] i.e., Lake Baikal.

[133] Lit., 'following'.

COMMENTARY

Page references (in square brackets in the Translation) are to Žamcarano's text. Please note that all names and terms are given in the standard Written Mongolian transcription since the text is in the old script, not in the new (Cyrillic) script. When called for, the official Khalkha-Mongolian form is given in parentheses. In the Map only the latter forms are used, but not all place names mentioned by Žamcarano have been included.

Page [1]

For the physical geography of the region under discussion, i.e. Lake Köbsögöl (Xövsgöl Dalaĭ) and its surrounding area in the present Xövsgöl Aĭmag, see the relevant sections in Murzaev 1954, Ovdienko 1964, Schubert 1971, and *MNR*, the entries in the *CLGW* and *MOST*; and, especially, the literature cited in Badamxatan 1986, 11, n.1. Cf. also the interesting descriptions and data found in Schubert 1963, pp.168ff.

For the Darqad (Darxad) and Uriyangqai (Urianxaĭ) groups see Schubert 1971, pp.106–7; *AELM*, nos 22, 23; Wilhelm 1957; Okada 1986–87; as well as the

Page [1] (*cont.*) numerous references in the works of G.N. Potanin (esp.in *OSZM*, vol.4) and A.M. Pozdneev (esp.Pozdneyev 1971). Cf. also Vladimirtsov 1948, pp.281a, 272b. For the Darqad in particular the reader should have constant recourse to S. Badamxatan's important monograph on the subject (Badamxatan 1986). For the Uriyangqai of the Altai see Section 10 of Žamcarano's work, forthcoming.

For the term *yasu(n)* 'bone, stem', hence 'lineage (by patrilineal descent), stock' (cf. ger. *Stamm*), and *darqan* (pl. *darqad*) 'privileged', i.e. exempted from taxes and obligatory services, see Vladimirtsov 1948, pp.285b, 281a. Cf. Badamxatan 1986, p.206, '*Jas*'. The term *yasu* is often synonymous with 'clan' *(oboγ yasu)*.

The term *šabi* means both 'disciple' and 'monastic serf', i.e. 'lay subject, vassal' of the Lamaist Church headed by the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus. See Bawden 1989, p.14 et passim; Badamxatan 1986, p.10 et passim. Cf. also below p.[12].

For the Holy J̌ibǰundamba (Boγda J̌ibǰundamba), usually known as the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu or 'Living Buddha' of Urga, see Bawden 1961, and Bawden 1989, 465b. The circumstances whereby the Darqad acquired their name are described in more detail by the Author further on.

1 *modo (mod)* = 1 *verst* = 1067 m.

Page [2] The Tüngkün River is not marked on our maps of the region. The Üür River is, of course, the Uri River of our maps.

Page [5] For the *sumu(n)* (lit., 'arrow') as the designation of an administrative and military unit in the system of regional organization and administrative divisions in Mongolia under the Ch'ing see Brunnert and Hagelstrom 1912, pp.443ff.; Bawden 1988, p.473b. The two superintendents (*bügüde-yin daruγa*, lit., 'chiefs of all') to which the Author refers were subordinate to the military governor of Uliasutai and had jurisdiction over all the Uriyangqai tribes, whereas the Darqad were under the jurisdiction of the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu. See Mayers 1897, p.100, nos. 554 and 555. The term *bügüde-yin daruγa* (= ma. *uberi da*) occurs again on p.[30].

The Temür Garrison (Temür-ün Qaraγul) was one of the *qaraγul* (lit., 'guard, picket'), or frontier posts, set up by the Ch'ing along the border of Qalqa (Xalxa, Khalkha) with Russia. See Mayers 1897, p.90, no.517.

Page [7] The *beliyüs* (< ru. *belous* 'white whisker[s]') must be a popular name of one of the common fishes of Lake Köbsögöl other than those mentioned in this section. We think it is the loach (ru. *golec*), which abounds in the lake and which has characteristic barbels. See Ovdienko 1964, p.239. As for the *aγbalag*, this is simply the Turkic name (*aq* 'white' and *balaq* 'fish') of the *čaγan J̌iγasu* or whitefish (ru. *belaya ryba*; the *sig* of the Yenisei). The *tulu* is the taimen (*Hucho taimen*, sometimes called the salmon trout because in Russian the latter, *Salmo trutta*, is also referred to as *taĭmen*'. See *GSE*, vol.25, p.71a.) For Darqad fishing see Schubert 1971, pp.58–9; Badamxatan 1986, pp.91–3. For further references to fishing in the region see p.[27].

Page [8] Native iron ore (suitable for) steel', i.e. for steel production. The text reads *öber-iyen bütügsen bolod temür*, lit. 'self-formed steel iron'. *Öber-iyen bütügsen* 'self-formed' is, apparently, a calque of Russian *samorodnyĭ* 'native (with reference to metals)'; cf. *samorodok* 'native ore, nugget' (N.P.).

'In the summer of this year, 1931': see the Introduction for the relevance of this date.

The term *toqoi (toxoĭ)* is rendered as 'foot'. See *KMRS*, p.209a; *BRS*, p.432a. According to *MOT*, p.414a, its length is 32 cm. However, most Mongolian-Chinese and Mongolian-Japanese dictionaries equate the *toqoi* to the Chinese foot or *ch'ih*, which is 33.3 cm. Cf. *MED*, p.829b. Page [9]

On the First Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu and his epithet Öndör Gegen see Vladimirtsov 1948, p.241, n.1; Bawden 1961, pp.43ff.; Bawden 1989, p.465b. Page [10]

For the origins and early history of the Darqad see Badamxatan 1986, pp.17ff., 24–5.

In this and the following pages Žamcarano quotes various authorities: some of them are well-known scholars, others are lesser known researchers and authors about whom little information is available to us at present. No attempt has been made to trace the exact sources of the quotations, except when they are obvious.

For B.V. Dolbežev, a Russian secretary and later consul in Urga, see Grumm-Gržimaĭlo 1930, p.830; Ramstedt 1978, pp.60–1, 158–9. He is the author of the essay "Darkhatskiĭ okrug," which appeared in *TTKO* 12, 1.2 (1909): 97–107, and which is one of Žamcarano's main sources on the Darqad. Cf. Rupen 1964, vol.2, p.27, no.501; and Badamxatan 1986, pp.14, 198 (according to which the essay appeared in '*Trudy SOIRGO*, I, 1–2, [Saint-Pétersbourg, 1911]'; Dolbežev's patronymic is given as 'Ya'.).

For Ya.P.Šišmarev, also a Russian consul in Urga (1872–92) and explorer of Mongolia, see Pozdneyev 1971, pp.183, 317, 320, 385; Pozdneyev 1977, p.300; Murzaev 1948, pp.34, 40, 42, 200; Badamxatan 1986, pp.14, 202; Čimitdoržiev 1987, pp.228a. For his publications see also Rupen 1964, vol.2, p.103, nos.1899–1903.

For the Mongolian languages to which the Author refers in this section (Buriat, Qori Buriat, Oirat), see the relevant sections in Poppe 1965, *HdO* 1964, and *AELM*.

For a discussion of the kinship term *oboγ* 'clan, surname, etc.' and its usage among different Mongol peoples, see Vladimirtsov 1948, p.283b; Bacon 1958, passim; Schubert 1971, pp.88–9, 102–3. On the Darqad and Uriyangqai clans see Badamxatan 1986, chapter 2.

The 'young student' Sangǰi is, of course, the late Garma Danzaranovič Sanžeev (1902–1982), on whom see Milliband 1977, pp.494b–5a; *NAA* 1983, no.3: 214–16; Badamxatan 1986, p.15. The monograph in question, entitled *Darkhatskiĭ govor i fol'klor* (112 pp.) appeared in Leningrad in 1931. See Sinor 1963, p.121, no.1773. On p.[30] he is called Sangǰeyiyev. Page [11]

The 'learned' (*erdemten*—a polite designation for scholars) Potanin is the great Russian ethnographer and explorer Grigoriĭ Nikolaevič Potanin (1835–1920), on whom see *GSE*, vol.20, p.471a; Barthold 1947, pp.303, 307; Rupen 1964, vol.1, pp.15–16 et passim; Čimitdoržiev 1987, p.226b. His major work, *OSZM*, is the work to which Žamcarano frequently refers. For the passage in question cf. Badamxatan 1986, p.41.

For the role of the *ongγo(n)* in Mongol Shamanism see Heissig 1973, p.353 et passim; more for their role among the Darqad see Badamxatan 1986, pp.157ff., 169–71.

The Office of the Great Šabi (*Yeke šabi-yin yamun*, also referred to as *Šabi yamun* and *Yeke šabi*) was in Ch'ing times the chief administrative office of the clerical Page [12]

Page [12] *(cont.)* estate, comprising both the subjects *(šabi)* and territory of the Khutukhtus. See Brunnert and Hagelstrom 1912, p.448, no.875; Farquhar 1970, 123–4, no.22; Bawden 1989, p.472b.

For the population statistics of the Darqad up to 1915 see Badamxatan 1986, pp.27–8, 34.

Concerning the three *otoγ*, or divisions, of the Darqad see ibid., pp.26, 127, 206.

For the Russian expedition to Mongolia led by Baron Vitte, i.e. Baron P.A. Witte, in 1914–16, see Murzaev 1948, pp.112, 113; Badamxatan 1986, p.14 (where, however, 'Betta' is an error for 'Vitte'). Cf. Rupen 1964, vol.1, pp.78, 84, 447, 477; and *HMPR*, pp.253–4. For the Buriat N. T. Dančinov, one of its section heads, see Čimitdoržiev 1987, pp.193–4.

Page [15] For *daruγa* 'chief' see Vladimirtsov 1948, p.181 and n. 8; cf. also F. W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953): 237–55.

For *Jayisang* 'headman' (< chin. *tsai-hsiang* 'chief minister'; cf. *DOTIC*, 514–15, no.6819) see Brunnert and Hagelstrom 1912, p.445, no.873A; Vladimirtsov 1948, p.282b; Badamxatan 1986, pp.26, 207.

The Office of the Šangǰoodba *(Šangǰoodba-yin yamun)* was the office of the head, lit. 'treasurer' (*šangǰoodba* or *šangǰodba* < tib.), of the Khutukhtu's administration, i.e. the *Yeke šabi-yin yamun* (see above). See Brunnert and Hagelstrom 1912, pp.448–9, no.875; Bawden 1989, p.472b; cf. Rupen 1964, vol.1, p.505a; Pozdneyev 1971, p.498a; *MED*, p.752b.

For the Treasury of the Gegen *(Gegen sang, Gegegen sang)* see Pozdneyev 1971, pp.383ff. *Gegen* (= *Gegegen* 'Brilliance, Luminary')—a polite and honorific designation of the great lamas, corresponding to 'His Serenity'; it was normally used for the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu, alone or in combination with *Boγda* ('Holy'). Cf. Pozdneyev 1971, pp.373ff.; Bawden 1961, passim.

For the aimaks *(ayimaγ)* and banners *(qosiγu[n])* in the Ch'ing period see Brunnert and Hagelstrom 1912, pp.442ff.; Vladimirtsov 1948, pp.280b, 282a; *HMPR*, sect.5. Cf. Schubert 1971, pp.228, 263; Badamxatan 1986, pp.205, 206.

Page [16] For the situation of the old Beltes Garrison (Beltes Qaraγul) see Popov 1895, p.406.

For the Soyod see Poppe 1965, pp.39, 102, 104, 118, 161; Badamxatan 1986, pp.14, 56–7.

The Darqad Monastery (Darqad-un Küriye) on the Uri (Üür) River at 50 31 N and 101 24 E had become, before its suppression, a fairly important regional centre. Cf. p.[29].

Page [17] *Meker* is either the *Polygonum bistorta (üker meker)*, or the *Polygonum viviparum (quraγan meker)*; the latter is apparently meant here. For the gathering and preparation of *meker* as described by Potanin in *OSZM*, vol.2, p.113, see the translation of the relevant passage by F. W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 19 (1956): 262–3, n.689. Cf. Badamxatan 1986, pp.93–4. *Tömösü(n)* is the *Solanum tuberosum*. Buckwheat *(saγaγ budaγan)*, i.e. *Fagopyrum esculentum (=F. sagittatum)* belongs to the same family *(Polygonaceae)* of the *meker* or snake-weed.

For some interesting studies on the Mongol tent or yurt *(ger)* see *AAC*, pp.17–56. For the different types of Darqad tents see Badamxatan 1986, pp.101–4. On the Darqad way of life see ibid., ch.4.

Page [18] The Kög (kh. Xög) River is the Khögiin or Högiyn Gol of our maps (the Khuk Gol of old maps), at 51 09 N and 99 24 E.

For the Darqad economy, in particular livestock statistics, see Badamxatan 1986, pp.27–34, 68ff. Page [18] *(cont.)*

The passage from Potanin's work quoted in a somewhat free and condensed form by Žamcarano is actually found in the third volume. See *OSZM*, vol.3, pp.166–7. Page [20]

1 pood (ru. *pud)* = 40 Russian pounds *(funt)* = 16.38 kg.

For Dolbežev's essay "The Darqad Borderland," in the original Russian "Darkhatskiĭ okrug" (lit., "The Darqad Region"), see above, p.[10]. Page [21]

The contrast between the livestock of 1861 and that of 1901 expressed in units per capita refers of course to averages, as clearly indicated by the Author's use of the verb *noγda-*, a passive of *no-* (= *ono-* 'to hit a target; to be due to [as a share]'); thus, *noγda-* = *onoγda-* 'to be alloted to, to fall to one's lot or share, to be due' *(MED*, p.615b*)*. In other words, the number of cattle, large and small, that the Darqad people owned at the time would have resulted in so many units per capita had each individual received his own equal share (which was not the case in practice). For the decline in livestock in Outer Mongolia cf. *HMPR*, p.254.

For the Mung Pass (Mung Dabaγa) see below, p.[33]. Page [23]

Mören-ü Küriye was the important trading centre south of Lake Köbsögöl. Mörėn (Mörön) is since 1931 the centre of Xövsgöl Aĭmag. *Küriye* means 'compound, enclosure', '*grand group de nomadisation clanique'* (Badamxatan 1986, p.207), as well as 'monastery'. Page [24]

The tögörig (tögrög, tugrik) was, and still is, the Mongolian (MPR) monetary unit; 100 mönggö (mungu) make one tögörig. The term tögörig was also used for the Russian ruble (Oros tögörig). Page [25]

The period of Autonomous Government was from 1911 to 1919. See Bawden 1989, ch.5.; *HMPR*, sect.6. Page [26]

For the Darqad Monastery (Darqad-un Küriye[n]) see pp.[16] and [29] and Commentary on p.[16] above.

STORMONGTO is the acronym for Sovetskaya Torgovlya s Mongolieĭ (Soviet Trade with Mongolia), the early Soviet-Mongolian trade organization which operated in the MPR through numerous branch offices *(salburi*, kh. *salbar)* and the Mongol cooperatives *(qorsiya*, kh. *xoršoo)* system. It was replaced by MONGOLTORG and, in the last decades, by VOSTOKINTORG. (Pers. comm. of Prof. V.Ya. Arkhipov, Moscow.)

With regard to the cattle diseases mentioned by the Author in this section, *mal-un emgeg*, lit. 'cattle disease', corresponds to *ǰud emgeg* 'epizootic' (cf. *DO*, 238b); *milǰan* = *üker-ün milǰan* 'cattle plague' (see pp.[14] and [18]); and *toboriγuu* = bur. *toboroo(n)* 'stamping (of feet or hoofs)' > 'foot-and-mouth disease'; cf. *BRS*, p.423a. Page [27]

The fishing equipment of the Mongols as given by the Author comprises the following items: *gölmi* (kh. *gölmiĭ)* 'seine,' rather than 'net' (see *MMED*, p.127b); *ögesi* 'net' or 'netting'; *tataγur* 'drawnet' (from *tata-* 'to pull, draw'): we use the term 'drawnet' in order to retain 'dragnet' for *γubčuur*, *γubčiγur;* and *gürü* (bur. *gür)* 'creel, wicker-basket for fishing'. Cf. Badamxatan 1986, pp.92–3. For some interesting observations on fishing among the Mongols see Uray-Köhalmi 1984.

Tüngkün, not to be confused with the homonymous (?) river (on which see p.[2]) is Tunka (kh. Tünxe), the town in the Buryat ASSR between Kultuk and Türt (Turtu). Page [28]

Page [29] We have not been able to identify 'the experienced scholar Lüs'. Lüs (Lus) may transcribe Lewis or Louis.

For the Uriyangqai of Lake Köbsögöl see the references given above, p.[1], and Badamxatan 1986, pp.23–4, 60 (on the Qasud Uriyangqai of Qangqa [Xanx]).

'The amban of Küriyen'. *Amban* is a word of Manchu origin meaning 'high official, dignitary'; it was the equivalent in rank to a governor or viceroy. See Mayers 1897, pp.100–1, n.556; Bawden 1989, p.459a. Küriyen (kh. Xüréé) = Boγda-yin Küriyen, lit. 'The Enclosure of the Holy (Qutuγtu)', i.e. the residence of the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu—another name for Urga (< mo. *örgügen* 'residence of a prince or person of rank'), the present-day Ulan Bator (= Ulān Bātur, mo. Ulaγan Baγatur, kh. Ulaanbaatar, 'Red Hero'). See Pozdneyev 1971, p.43 et passim; Bawden 1989, p.475a. The *amban* of Urga was the chief representative of the Ch'ing administration in Mongolia. See Brunnert and Hagelstrom 1912, p.453, no.879A; Čimitdoržiev 1987, p.221. Sanžeev is called here (actually at the very beginning of p.[30] of the original text) Sangǰeyiyev, which is the russified form of his Mongolian name Sangǰi which occurs on p.[11]. For Sanžeev's research on the Darqad, resulting in two monographs published in 1930 and 1931, see above, p.[11]; Milliband 1977, p.495a; and *NAA* 1983, no.3: 214.

Page [30] For the presence of 'Uiγur' clans among the Darqad and the Uriyangqai, see Batamxatan 1986, pp.56–7.

'Geyiše', the name used by the Darqad to designate the Uriyangqai of Tangnu Tüva, i.e. Tannu Tuva, means 'Guests'. It corresponds to mo. *geyiči(n)* 'guest, visitor'. For final mo. *či* > *še* see Poppe 1965, pp.113–14.

Qangqa, or Hanh (kh. Xanx), is the important Darqad centre at 51 30 N and 100 40 E.

For ma. *uberi da* (= mo. *bügüde-yin daruγa)* see above, p.[5]. The *ǰanggi* was the head of a *sumu*; the *kündü* was the official immediately under him. See Brunnert and Hagelstrom 1912, p.447, no.874; *DO*, pp.185b, 436b; Bawden 1989, pp.175, 178.

Page [31] For Nikolaĭ F. Katanov (1862–1922) and his investigation of the Uriyangqai language see Poppe 1965, pp.104–5. Cf. Badamxatan 1986, p.199.

Page [32] On the breeding of reindeer see Badamxatan 1986, pp.86–7.

Page [33] For the wildlife and hunting in the Darqad and Uriyangqai region see ibid., pp.87–91.

Köldüg is, of course, the town of Kultuk at the south-western end of the Baikal; 'the Mung Pass of Tüngkün' is the pass in the Tünxe Mountains north-east of Lake Köbsögöl; and Qadqal is Khadkhal, Hatgal (kh. Xatgal), at the southern end of this lake.

Additional Note Further information on the history and organization of the Ch'ing administration of Mongolia can be found in J. Legrand's work, *L'administration dans la domination sino-mandchoue en Mongolie Qalq-a. Version mongole du Lifan Yuan Zeli.* Mém. de l'Inst. des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, vol.2 (Paris, 1976).

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