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Cover calligraphy Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿, Tang calligrapher and statesman

Čeveng—

THE QOTONG, THE BAYAD AND THE ÖGELED

史 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, Dörbed, Qotong, Bayad, Ögeled, Mingyad, Ĵaqačın, Torγud, Qošud, Čaqar, Dariyangγa, Altai-yin Uriyangqai, Qasaγ, Qamniyan-nar-un γarul ündiisü bayidal-un ügülel* (Essay on the Origin and State of the Darqad, the Uriyangqai of Lake Köbsögöl, the Dörbed, the Qotong, the Bayad, the Ögeled, the Mingyad, the Ĵaqačın, the Torγud, the Qošud, the Čaqar, the Dariyangγa, the Uriyangqai of the Altai, the Qasaγ, and the Qamniyan). 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 Dörbed, 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.

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

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- KW* RAMSTEDT, G. J. *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*. Helsinki, 1935.
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Other Abbreviations

pers. Persian

TRANSLATION

The Qotong

[62] (The Qotong) winter and summer by the mountains near the Buryasutai River at the Toytaqu-yin Sili in the former Joriytu Qan or Bayan Čindamani 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 native¹ Turkic language, they have long since adopted² 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 transcribe³ 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 Čering Ubasi dwelt by the Qabtaγ and Bayidaγ (mountains), the Qasaγ Čangtuu raided and pillaged (his people). Being in a desperate situation,⁴ (Čering Ubasi) attacked them with the (full) strength of his own troops, despoiled them and took them prisoners; (whereupon) by (order of) the Tngri-yin Tedkügsen Qaγan⁵ (= the Ch'ien-lung Emperor) those Qotong were made the domestic slaves of Čering Ubasi.

[63] After the Qotong had briefly lived and farmed at J̄aγ Bayidaray as well as at Čaγan Sur together with the same Dörbed, they moved in 1778 to Lake Ubsu and Ulaγanγum (Ulangom). Now the (population) statistics of the Qotong have not been gathered specifically. However, since there are two Qotong sumuns called Bayan Mandal and Altan Tegeli, had I found the original register and looked at it, I would have been able to know exactly⁶ (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 aimak⁸ the precise number⁹ (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 on¹⁰ the report obtained from the Office of the Čindamani Aimak in 1930 that there were 320 (Qotong) households is not correct.¹¹ Probably it would be nearer the truth to say¹² that there were 413 tents—a figure obtained (from the statistics) for 1916.¹³

¹ Lit, 'their own'.

² Lit., 'have all kept going over to'. The text has *orojayaγsayar* for *oročayaγsayar*.

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).

⁶ Lit., 'clearly'.

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 Čindamani 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'.

¹⁴ Lit., 'as for ... , it said'.

¹⁵ I.e., the report.

¹⁶ This is a mistake for 4.3%. See further on.

¹⁷ See above, p.[59].

¹⁸ Lit., 'if we say that'.

¹⁹ Lit., 'of'.

²⁰ Lit., 'mouth' (*ama*) = 'individual, soul'. The same usage is found in Chinese.

²¹ Lit., 'Small Country'. It translates ru. *narodec* = fr. *peuplade*.

²² Lit., 'they say'—referring to the earlier-mentioned reports by Vladimircov, etc.

²³ Lit., 'there is no man knowing the books', i.e., they are illiterate.

²⁴ Lit., 'other than to take a wife among themselves'. Here *abulča* - 'to link join' = 'to marry'.

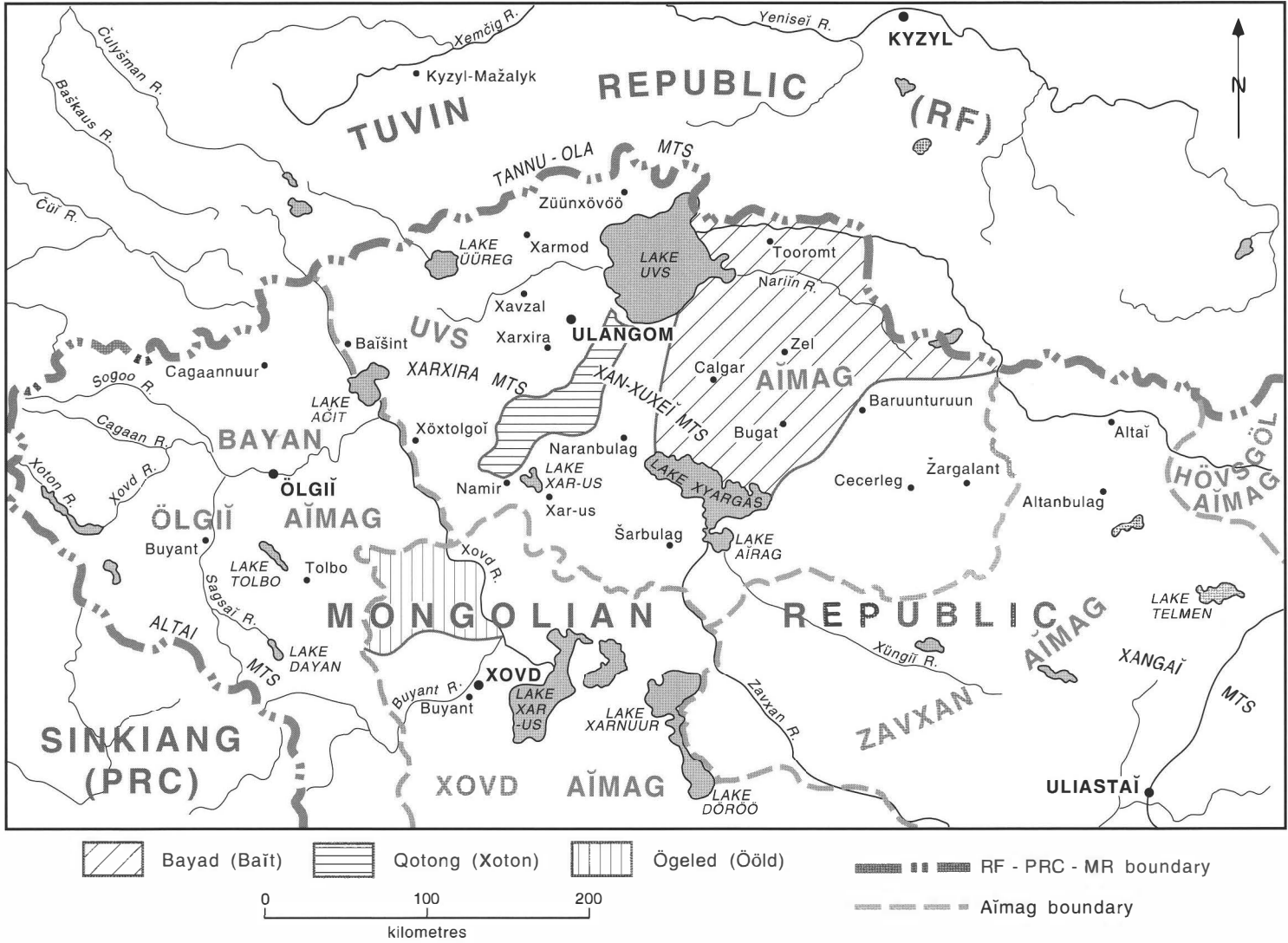
²⁵ Lit., 'and also'.

²⁶ *Muqur toloyatai*; cf. *BRS*, p.304a, s.v. 'muxar'.

²⁷ I.e., 'tribe(sman)', or 'clan(sman)'.

[64] 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 to¹⁴ the report brought (back) in 1931 by Čengdüsürüng of the Central Committee, the Qotong had (= represented) 4.3% of the total population of the Čind(a)mani Aimak. It¹⁵ 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 that¹⁸ there are six individuals in every tent, there are really 2,478 individuals¹⁹ in the 413 households. And, if we compute the 4.3% of Čengdüsürüng'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 population²⁰ of the Qotong is approximately 2,400 (individuals).

[65] If we look at the article entitled "The Ethnic Minority²¹ 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 (= Muslims) in a crude fashion. To a greater or lesser degree, their manners and dress are also different from the Dörbed's. It is reported²² 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 [66] They call themselves Qotong and say that they are of the same stock as the Qasaγ, the Kirgis and the Kūngker people (i.e., the Turks), and they call the Dörbed and the western Mongols in general Qalimaγ (= Kalmyk). They call the Dörbed of their own banner 'otoγ'.²⁷ The interior of their tents is not



Map 1
North-western Mongolia

²⁸ Lit., 'the verses of (= at) the beginning of the Muqamid's Word', viz. the introductory verses of the Koran. For *qumar*, see the Commentary.

²⁹ Lit., 'dies and is born, and is sitting and is going (= behaving) in the usual manner'.

³⁰ For the reading *mulda*, see the Commentary.

³¹ Lit., 'the corpse'.

³² See the Commentary.

³³ Lit., 'masters'.

³⁴ A mistake for '400', see the Commentary.

³⁵ *Kilgere*: the implication is that this was compulsory service, i.e., corvée.

³⁶ Lit., 'their nomadic camp (*nutuy*) having wintered'.

³⁷ Lit., 'He who has the ability to sow however many sacks of wheat, the same (has the right) to take as much land'.

³⁸ Lit., 'comrades who have seen it'.

³⁹ Lit., 'from the part of'.

⁴⁰ Lit., 'wrapping them around completely (*tasur* = *tasu*) with the whip'—i.e., by whipping them mercilessly.

⁴¹ Lit., 'only the will of the prince and high officials decides (i.e., determines them)'.

⁴² *Saysin* = *šaysin*.

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).²⁸ When a person dies, or is born, or is going about in his usual way,²⁹ their priests called *mulda*³⁰ (= *mullab*) carry out the religious services, and their rituals are singular. They enter the body³¹ 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 *oboŷa* (= *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 Jōriytu Vang, not only were they not the owners³³ 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 (*qamjilya*); [67] 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 forty³⁴ sacks of (ground) wheat every year to their wang and the princes, had to send eleven labourers to work³⁵ in the wang's palace in summer. It is said that, at that time, after they had wintered in their nomadic camp³⁶ along the Sibeg and Barŷasutai 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."³⁷

Further, as to what the Mongolian comrades (themselves) say, those who have witnessed it³⁸ 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 by³⁹ 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).⁴⁰

Vladimircov [68] 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.⁴¹ In 1911, the scholar Vladimircov heard (some Qotong) talking in a prating manner,⁴² 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)!⁴³ How many sacks of grain are we (not) offering to the prince’s residence! We are also offering sheep. (And) we usually tend⁴⁴ the (prince’s) herds. (Our) obligations are heavy.”⁴⁵ In character and behaviour the Qotong have become timid and cowardly because they have been oppressed, (their prince and high officials) having imposed on them⁴⁶ in this way the obligations of domestic slaves.⁴⁷

The main occupation of the Qotong is farming, and if we examine the statistics for 1916, (we see that) in the(ir) 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 Bayančindamani⁴⁸ 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. [69] 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 imperfect⁴⁹ 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).⁵⁰ And, if we compare them with the (more) numerous Mongols, we can say that they carry out⁵¹ 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,⁵² their language has ended by becoming Dörbed, and so they could not help being absorbed⁵³ 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.

[70] Because in Inner and Outer Mongolia there is no other minority people like these⁵⁴ Qotong who for so many years⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ As this is a different matter from (that pertaining to) the serfs (*qamjilya arad*) who, in accordance with the laws of the Manchus and the Autonomous Government, were assigned⁵⁷ 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).

⁴³ Lit., ‘at the same time (or together: *čuy*) are consuming (us)’.

⁴⁴ *Qariyulday* pro *qarayulday*.

⁴⁵ Lit., ‘great’.

⁴⁶ Lit., ‘applying (to them)’.

⁴⁷ See above, p.[66].

⁴⁸ Here Bayančindamani is written as two words, as also below, p.[69].

⁴⁹ Lit., ‘unpolished (or crude)’ (*büdiügülig*).

⁵⁰ Lit., ‘follows’.

⁵¹ Lit., ‘they have’.

⁵² Lit., ‘although the origin of the Qotong is the Turkic race’.

⁵³ Lit., ‘there was no means other than entering’.

⁵⁴ Lit., ‘such’.

⁵⁵ Lit., ‘while lasting so many years’.

⁵⁶ Lit., ‘regarding it as relationships of an economic kind’.

⁵⁷ *Olyoqu* = *olyaqu* ‘to grant, provide’.

⁵⁸ Lit., 'which enter from the left side'.

⁵⁹ I.e., the plain beyond the valley of these two rivers.

⁶⁰ Lit., 'are entered in the books of that time'.

⁶¹ = *oboy yasu*. Cf. pp.[10]-[11]. The main clan of the tribe (*ayimay*) was the Bayad clan, and the name of the tribe was also Bayad.

⁶² Lit., 'from this'.

⁶³ For these canals, cf. pp.[38], [54].

⁶⁴ A variety of red currant. See the Commentary.

⁶⁵ Lit., 'there is also'.

⁶⁶ The text has *Nomigqan*. This is Čeringdorji *Nomingqan*, on whom see p.[48].

⁶⁷ Lit., 'if one hears'.

⁶⁸ See the Commentary.

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 Čeringmögke as their leader, were included in the aimak of Tegüs Külig Dalai Qan of the Sayin Jayayatu League of the Dörbed.

Scholars like Grümgrjmayilo (= Grumm-Gržimaïlo) have written that they are in fact people of genuine Mongol origin (= stock) who, in Činggis (Qayan's) time, had settled in the region of the Jada and Jaltar rivers, left-hand affluents⁵⁸ of the Selenge (= Selenga) River, as well as in their outward plain,⁵⁹ and which are mentioned in contemporary writings⁶⁰ as the Jada (River) Bayayud and the Steppe Bayayud. In these same early books, among the (people) of Turkic origin there seems to have been a clan⁶¹ 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 Toytayu-yin Sili and Qan Köküi. Formerly, they lived up to the Jabqan 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,⁶² 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 *bōγo*-canals.⁶³ The Bayad call them the '*bōγo* of Galdan Bošoγtu'. *Bōγo* 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*,⁶⁴ 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 found⁶⁵ <Nomingqan⁶⁶ (has informed)>. Also, one hears⁶⁷ that there are a few wild horses. They live in the Jabqan Bölög,⁶⁸

[73] As for the number of households and individuals of the Bayad, according to the statistics for 1929 the Bayad within the Bayanmandal 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 Grümgrjımayılo (= Grumm-Gržımaılo) 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 livestock⁶⁹ 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 Jaqaçin, 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, Qotuyıyd, Bayad, Dörbed, Qasaı and Mingıad, that the breeds⁷⁰ 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 been⁷² ten banners; and it is not yet possible to know precisely the differences of clans (that exist) among the(se) Bayad. Some say that there are⁷³ Čoros, Bulıutur, Qasud, Čamqad, Čayanud 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 Tejıyeleng.

The Ögeled

[75] The Ögeled—a single ethnic group⁷⁴—nomadize between the lower reaches of the Qobdo and Buyantu rivers, and in between the Altai Uriyangqai, the Mingıad, the Tariyaçin and the Jaqaçin. They are to the east of the Tergetü 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 Qayırqan Ayula Banner and were mixed with (those of) the Tariyaçin, 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 consult⁷⁵ the records of the Čambugarab and Erdenibürin sumuns of the Ögeled combing them out from the statistics⁷⁶ 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 Erdenibürin 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 truly⁷⁸ Mongol stock: they are, indeed, the central branch of the Four Great

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 *Ayımay*: 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'.

⁷⁹ This is evidently 'recorded' oral history. See the Commentary.

⁸⁰ Or 'simultaneously', 'at the same time as'.

⁸¹ Lit., 'distortedly pronounced'.

⁸² I.e., the present-day Ögeled are the descendants of the main body of the Four Oyirad confederation.

⁸³ Lit., 'What is called Ögeled'.

⁸⁴ Lit., 'what is called Oyirad'.

⁸⁵ Lit., 'having gone'.

⁸⁶ Lit., 'in the period of the breaking down among (themselves)'.

⁸⁷ See above, n.5. The text erroneously has *Qayan-u Tedkügsen* for *Tedkügsen Qayan-u*.

⁸⁸ *Küisü temterinkiduqui-dur*. See the Commentary.

⁸⁹ Lit., 'hither and thither, here and there' (*ob tob ende tende*). For *ob tob*, see *KW*, p.283a.

⁹⁰ *jasay* = *jasay-un noyad*. Cf. "Dörbed", nn.83 and 84.

⁹¹ Lit., 'saw' = 'suffered, experienced'.

⁹² *Yasu oboyud* = *oboy yasu*. See the Commentary, p.[11].

⁹³ Written *ǰögös*.

Oyirad. 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 *Baryu 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) *Bayıral*.

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

Ögeled⁸³ is (therefore) the name of a great clan, while Oyirad⁸⁴ is the name of a confederation. Since the Ögeled were⁸⁵ 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 Kokunor, 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 khans *Davači Qayan* and *Amursana*. And, from 1755 to 1758, when the great army of *Tngriyin Tedkügsen 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*.

[78] 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 clans⁹² which are (found) among these Ögeled of *Qobdo*, the ones which *Vladimircov* noted are the following: *Qošud*, *Sira Qoyid*, *Čayan Qoyid*, *Qoyid Čuday*, *Qara Bürgüd*, *Tolitu Bürgüd*, *Anduu Šabınar*, *ǰisa Šabınar*, *Barılǰa Šabınar*, *Tayıčuud*, *Noyan Čoros*, *Noqai Čoros*, *Čayan Tuǰ*, *Bayılǰas*, *Kirgis*, *Kirei Čuday*, *Qulaqai Čuday*, *ǰögös*,⁹³ *Abaıanas*, *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 Pozdneyev, who went (there) in 1892, Grümmgržimayilo (= Grumm-Gržimařlo), 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 Buriyad. 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.

⁹⁴ Lit., 'who are on the Orqon'.

⁹⁵ Lit., 'As for the Ögeled of the Orqon'.

⁹⁶ Lit., 'shallow'.

⁹⁷ Lit., 'the centre'.

⁹⁸ Lit., 'remarks are observed'.

⁹⁹ *öriduysan-i* is an error for *öridügsen-i*.

¹⁰⁰ Lit., 'it could not overcome (the debt)'.

¹⁰¹ Lit., 'how the Ögeled of Qobdo were'.

¹⁰² I.e., if one calculates the average number of animals per household.

¹⁰³ Lit., 'are apportioned'.

¹⁰⁴ Lit., 'are apportioned'.

¹⁰⁵ Lit., 'we have taken and divided the mean'.

¹⁰⁶ Lit., 'among the Ögeled'.

¹⁰⁷ Lit., 'Although from some scholars' (quarters) there are statements'.

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 Pozdneyev 1971.

For the Qotong ethnic group, see Vladimirtsov 1948, p.xiv (*s.a.* 1916: see below); Grumm-Gržimařilo 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 Toγtaqu-yin Sili, cf. pp.[41]; [36], [37]. For the former Joriγtu Qan (= Vang) Banner (*qosiyun*), see pp.[45] and [59]; for the Bayančindamani, cf. *ibid.* See Tatár Fosse 1979, p.9. Usha = Ubsa (Uvs). See the Commentary, p.[34].

The results of Vladimircov's investigation of the Qotong are contained in the literature cited in Hamayon 1970, p.46 (cf. Vladimirtsov 1948, p.xiv); for their language see, in particular B. Ya. Vladimircov and A. N. Samořilovič, “Tureckii narodec Khotony” [The Turkic People of the Khoton], *Zapiski Vost. Otdel. Imp. Russ. Arkh. Obšč.* 23 (1916): 265–90. Cf. Tatár Fosse 1979, *passim*. There is no reference to the language of the Qotong in Beffa-Hamayon 1983, no doubt because this group has been assimilated linguistically to the Dörbed.

Čering Ubasi was one of the Three Čering—the three taijjs of the Dörbed—already mentioned on p.[34]. See the Commentary. For the Qabtaγ and Bayidaγ mountains, cf. *ibid.*, p.[34]. Qasaγ Čangtuu is a Sino-Mongolian hybrid compound: Qasaγ = Kazakh, and Čangtuu = chin. *Ch'an-t'ou* 塵頭 ‘turban’, ‘turbaned Moslem’ (= *Ch'an-bui* 纏回). 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*; *ECCP*, pp.10a–11b; Tatár Fosse 1979, p.7ff. Cf. also the unsatisfactory official Kazakh account in M. O. Auezov et al., eds, *Istoriya Kazakhskoj SSR*, Akad. Nauk Kaz. SSR, I, Alma-Ata, 1957, pp.262–4. For the domestic slaves (*ger-ün boyol*) and their status, see Žamcarano's remarks further on, esp. pp.[66]–[67].

Page [63] The Jāγ Bayidaγ Waterfall and the early Dörbed settlement there were mentioned on p.[34]; the Jāγ Bayidaγ on p.[52] also in connection with the Qabtaγ and Bayidaγ 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, Tatár 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 Aḡula Banner'. For the situation of the Bayančindamani and Bayanmandal sumuns within the Čindamani Aimak (Čandmani Uulyn Aı̄mag) in the period 1924–29, cf. *AELM*, no.20. The Altan Tegeli Sumun is not included in the map, but see Tatár Fosse 1979, p.9.

The households and the tents'. The household or family (*erüke*, lit. 'smoke hole of a yurt') corresponds to chin. *chia* 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. Samoïlovič) 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.

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The term *Lalu* 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 Tatár Fosse, p.1. For the culture and customs of the Qotong in recent times see *ibid.*, p.9ff.

For *Küngker* 'Turk' see Vladimircov 1929, p.140; Sinor 1991. This word is a borrowing from pers. *xūnkār* (> tib. *kuñ-kar*) *id.* Cf. also Tatár Fosse 1979, p.5, n.18.

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For *qumarsee* Vladimircov and Samoïlovič, op. cit., p.270, where this term is rendered as *lyadunka*, i.e., 'carriage-box, pouch'. Cf. also Grumm-Gržimaïlo 1930, p.279. Concerning this object, still used as an amulet by the Qotong in 1971, cf. Tatár Fosse 1979, p.12.

For the *mulda* (in Qotong *muldā*), i.e., the *mullab*, see loc. cit.

The *obo**ya(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 Pozdneyev 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' (*nutuy anu*) renders Potanin's *v yurtakh* 'in the yurts'. For the 'along ... along' of Žamcarano, Potanin has 'in the valleys ... in the valley'.

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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-Gržimaïlo 1930, pp.283–4.

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

Page [71] The area inhabited by the Baya (Baït) 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 Baya ethnic group, see *OSZM*, II, pp.33–4; Prim., p.18 (n.121); IV, pp.326, 654; Pozdneyev 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-Gržimaïlo's main source on the Baya.

For Čering Mönge and the Dörbed's submission to the Manchus, see p.[34] and the Commentary. For the Sayin Ĵayayatu League, see p.[51].

Grumm-Gržimaïlo's remarks about the Baya and their origins are found in Grumm-Gržimaïlo 1930, pp.240–2. Regarding the mentions of the Baya 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 (= Bayayud), as well as in the contracted form Bayit (cf. kh. Baït). The tribe is also mentioned in Rašid al-Dīn's *Collection of Chronicles* and in the later Mongol chronicles, such as SaĴang SeĴen's *Erdeni-yin tobĉi*. See *HCG*, pp.82–9; Schmidt 1829, pp.59, 89, 183, 251. At the origin, the Baya, 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 Tegüs KülüĴ Dalai Qan Aimak of the Dörbed, see *AELM*, no.18: I.

For the Four OyiraĴ confederation (*qolboyān*), see pp.[34], [46], [48], [49]; and the Commentary to p.[46].

Page [72] Regarding the black and red currants (*qara ulayān űker-űn nidű* = *Ribes nigrum* and *Ribes rubrum*), and the *ulayāna*, 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*] *ĉikiteĉ*) 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.

Ĵabqan BűlűĴ: *bűlűĴ*, 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.

Page [73] For the Bayanmandal Ayula Banner (kh. Bayanmandal Uulyn Xoűuu), see *AELM*, no.20: I/Ĵandman' Uulyn AĴmag/1.

For the references to Potanin, etc., see *OSZM*, II, p.34; B. Ya. Vladimircov, “Otčyot B. Vladimircova o kommandirovke k baitam Kobdoskogo okruga” [Report of the Mission to the Bait of the Kobdo District], *Izv. Russ. komm. dlya izuč. Sredneĭ i Vost. Azii*, St. Petersburg, 1912, 2nd Ser., no.11, pp.100–4; Grumm-Gržimaĭlo 1930, p.242.

Professor Lus’ report was eventually published in Ya. Ya. Lus et al., *Domašnie životnye Mongolii. Materialy Životnovodstvennogo otryada Mongol’skoĭ 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 Ėrdĕnĕbüren Sum (= Erdĕnibürin Sumun). For the physical geography of this region, see Murzaev 1954, pp.236, 248, 329, 346; Ovdienko 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 Pozdneyev 1971. See also *IM*, pp.4, 74.

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The Ögeled inhabit also two sumuns in the Arxangaĭ Aimak, viz. Ölzĭit Sum and Ögiĭnuur Sum.

For the Ögeled ethnic group, see Schubert 1971, pp.106, 109, 113; *AELM*, nos.22, 23; Veit, II, p.299b, s.v.; Popov 1895, p.92b of the Index, s.v. ‘Ėlyuty’; *OSZM*, I, p.407b, s.v. ‘Olety’; II, p.75b, s.v. ‘Olyuty’; IV, p.995b, s.v. ‘Olyoty’, ‘Olyuty’; Pozdneyev 1971, pp.201, 203, 208, 214–15, 219–22; Pozdneyev 1977, pp.134–5, 137; Grumm-Gržimaĭlo 1930, pp.253–60; Hamayon 1970, pp.31–2 (also for additional literature); Beffa-Hamayon 1983, p.132.

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].

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Regarding the origin and early history of the Ögeled, Žamcarano gives as his source ‘the notes of an old oral history’ (*nigen qayučin aman teüke-yin temdegle*). The oral history in question is unknown to me; however, the story of Barĭu Bayatur and his sons is well known, and we find it, for instance, in the chronicle of the Qori 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 *ögelen* ‘child from another wife’. See *DO*, p.531b, s.v. *ölon*. For another etymology—also groundless—see the story related by Pozdneyev 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

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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]; *ECCP*, p.1078a, *s.v.* ‘Eleuths’; Sinor 1963, pp.322–4; Čimitdoržiev 1987, pp.62–85. Žamcarano 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’ (*kiüsü temerin 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 Tayiji, hence the appellation ‘Dambi Ögeled’ which is often given to them to distinguish them from other Ögeled.

Page [78] For the *daruŷa* 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 Brunnert & Hagelstrom 1912, pp.449–50, nos.876–7; Pozdneyev 1971, pp.201–3, 221; Legrand 1976, pp.43, 168, 169.

The Treasury building (*Sang-un oron bayising*), i.e., the Qobdo Treasury, which is also mentioned in Pozdneyev 1971, p. 203.

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

The ‘Ögeled of the Orqon’ are those residing in the Arxangař 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 Žamcarano:

1. X. Nyambuu, *Mongolyn ugsaatny züin udirtgal* [*An introduction to the ethnography of Mongolia*]. Ulan Bator, 1992;

2. *Mongol ulsyn ugsaatny züi* (original title: *BNMAU-yn ugsaatny*) [*The ethnography of Mongolia*]. Edited by the Mongolian Academy of Sciences (Šinžlëx Uxaany Akademi), in four volumes. Ulan Bator, 1987 (Vol.1), 1996 (Vol.2).

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