第一章  国民の組織の形態

著者


CHAPTER 1. THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Historical information on the Uriankhains

The genus of the Uriankhain was one of the most ancient and powerful one that has directly involved in many of the most important historical events in the life of Mongols since the long period of times. For the first time they are mentioned in the legend of “Ergene-Kunes”, cited by Rashid ad-Din in his famous “Compendium of Chronicles.” According to it, among the tribes who had generalized name of “darligin,” there was indicated a tribe called as “uriankhad.” Tribal alliance “darligin” famously managed out of difficult terrain which lacked of living space (Rashid ad-Din 1952: 153–160).

Prominent historian D. Sukhbaatar alleges that those events that reflected in the legend of “Ergene-Kuns” can be attributed to the period of domination of the Huns in Central Asia (Sukh - batar 1980: 184–186). Many historians, based on reports from Chinese sources say that the area “Ergene-kun” are to be about rivers in the region of Ergun-kun and Khingan Mountains in the east (Gantulga 2000: 17–18). N.V. Kuner thought that word “urianhat” was already known from the second millennium BC, when it was worn by tribes lived in Amur River basin, and then it began to spread westward (Kuner 1958: 215). L. L. Viktorova, who studied the issues of ethnogenesis of the Mongols, had an opinion that the I-III century BC on the vast territory from Lake Baikal in the west to Khingan Mountains including parts of Onon River in the east, lived syanbians who were originally called “Uriankhain” (Viktorova 1980: 93). In her opinion, Uriankhains had kinship ties not only with the Huns, but with syanbians and uhantsains L. Gumilev also noted that in the V century BC in the northeast, near Onon River lived a tribe called “urianhay” (Gumilev 1989: 79–80). The opinion is supported by the Mongolian scientist-ethnographer S. Badamhatan. He wrote that the word “urianhay” was distributed not only among the tribes that lived in the area of Onon River and Mount Burhan Haldun including Hingan Mountains in the east, but also among the tribes who lived in the mountains of Sayan Tannu-Ula (Ethnography of Mongolia 1996: 276).

Next, Uriankhain tribes would disappear, and then would reappear. In the Mongolian historical and literary sources of “Secret History of Mongols” (Sokrovennoe skazanie 1941) you find information about the genus of Uriankhains. It says that Horilartay-Mergen from a tribe Hori-Tumet had migrated from the homeland Arik-Usun for mutual legal wrangling and arguments about the
use of hunting grounds, under the patronage of Shinch-bayan-urianhia, who was the master of Mount Burhan Haldun-Ula, where there were many wild animals (Sokrovennoe skazanie 1941, §9) Arising as according to historians in X century BC famous Mongolian genus borzhigin, to which belonged Khan himself, the founder of the centralized state of the Mongols in the XIII century, had a kinship with Uriankhai race. (“Secret History of Mongols” says about it: “... Going head-on, grabbed Bodochir a half-term pregnant woman: “... Who are you?” – He asked. “... I am”, she says, from the tribe Chzharchu, on behalf of Adanhan-Urianhaizhin. ... after coming in to Bodonchiru, that half-term pregnant woman had a son. ... This was the origin of the genus Chzhadran. This woman gave birth to another son, is already on Bodonchir. ... Bodonchir became the founder generation Borzhigin” (Sokrovennoe skazanie 1941, §38–42).

The Court of Genghis Khan had a number of famous military leaders – people from the genus of Uriankhai, including such brilliant generals of Genghis Khan as of Chzhelme, Subeetay, and Udach. After the formation of the centralized Mongolian state in 1206, all these generals were appointed by Genghis Khan as the chief-in-noyon of Tumen, which had became the bases of the newly established Mongolian state. Uriankhai Tumen, the leader of which was Udach, by right of inheritance was carrying security guards in the area “Ikh Horig” where there was a collective burial of ancestors of Genghis Khan, Altan Urag. They were called s darhads (protected). By order of Genghis Khan, they were released from the other Khans services, including military service.

All Uriankhai Tumen first were under Tulu, the youngest son of Genghis Khan, and then Elzhigidey Noyon, who was the son Hachiun-brother of Genghis Khan. One part of the genus of Uriankhai then moved into submission Arik Buh, who was the fifth son of Tula. Then Uriankhai tribes were under the influence of various historical events and were divided into several pieces as being scattered in the west, east and central parts of Mongolia.

After the death of Genghis Khan, the struggle began for the throne of the great khan of all Mongolia. In the competition between Arik Buh and Kublai, Arik Buh relied on the Oirat, among whom there was also the genus of Uriankhai (Gantulga 2000: 42).

During the period of the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), Mongolia has ceased to be the political center of the empire. Founder of the dynasty, Kublai Khan (1223–1293) gave Mongolia into submission to its fourth son Nomhon, and in 1294, when he died, he was succeeded by his grandson Kublai Gamalag, who was the son of his second son Chingim.

During the Kublai Khan, part of Uriankhains /according to some estimates there were about 30,000/, was settled along the Great Wall of China. According to some Mongolian historians, Kublai himself relocated Uriankhains there from the
area “Ilkh Horig” where they were stationed as security guards at the graves of the great khans of Mongolia. When the Yuan Empire fell, these Uriankhains began to play an important role in the fight of Mongols for the restoration of its rule in China. The rulers of Ming dynasty (1368–1644), who replaced the Yuan, organized a major military campaign against them in 1387, as a result, they were subjugated. These Uriankhains known from historical sources as “Uriankhains of the three guards” – Gurvan haruulyn urianhians.

Mongolian sources from the period of Ming Dynasty wrote about the other Uriankhains as follow: “... Uriankhains are very brave. They live on the northern side of Gobi semi-deserts. Mongolians call them by the nickname yellow Mongols-(yellow Huwa). One prisoner’s beard and whiskers were light in color. His hair was stiff, his eyes were yellow, the body healthy and incredibly moving. Another tribe named as the Urianhians is located in the northwest. By nature they are alike each other. They had attached a red-colored tape to the headgear. The number of troops was less than one Tumen (ten thousand). They breed mainly horses and camels” (Oirad Tuukhiin Dursgaluud 1985: 6).

By the end of XIV century, Uriankhains had briefly left the stage of history, but since the XVI century, a number of sources did start mentioning about them with the connection of turbulent political events taking place during that period. Batmuhn Dayan Khan (1466–1517) had temporarily suspended the separatist trend in Mongolia that began after the fall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368. Batmuhn Dayan Khan had trusted and often relied on Uriankhain Tumen in his numerous military campaigns with the aim of suppressing those separatists. Under him, Mongolia was divided into ten Tumens, four of them were Oirats and the remaining six Tumens were Eastern Mongolians. The latter were the mainstay of Dayan Khan. They were in turn divided into three left and three right Tumens. According to sources, among the three left tumens there was Uriankhain Tumen.

Batmuhn Dayan Khan especially emphasized the merits of the Uriankhains before the great ancestors. He was fond of saying that: “... they / Uriankhains-I.Lkhagvasuren/ have the great destiny to guard the tomb of our great ancestors” (Sagan Setsen 1960: 209). Batmunkh Dayan Khan himself had been associated with the Uriankhains via family ties. But by the end of his reign, he ordered, Uriankhains were denied the right to have their own Tumen and they were divided into smaller parts. The sources reported the following: “... Uriankhain Tumen raised a rebellion against the authority of Dayan Khan. Dayan Khan sent Tsakar and Khalkha Tumens against them. He also informed about it to his son Barsbold Zhonon who raised against them three Western Tumens. Clash of the combined forces with Uriankhains occurred in the area Zorgol. Uriankhain Tumen was defeated there. After that they were denied the right to have their own Tumen and incorporated into 5 different Tumens, dividing them into smaller pieces”
Sources did not report on the reasons of why Uriankhains rebelled against the Great Khan.

After these events Uriankhains finally lost their former power. According to Mongolian sources, after Batmunh Dayan Khan, one part Uriankhains was subordinate to his younger son Gersenze /1513–1549/. He owned a vast territory from Khingan Range in the east to the Altai Mountains in the west, down to Gobi Desert in the south. In his possession, he instilled a new administrative system, the smallest unit of which was “khoshun”, but the borders of the newly created khoshuns remained unexecuted until the end of his power. Then there were created seven khoshuns, the sources referred to them as the “seven northern khoshuns” or “seven Khalkh khoshuns.” The Uriankhain tribes were included in the two khoshuns. Sources are sometimes called then as “two Uriankhains” or “Khalkha Uriankhains.” When Gersenze died, his widow has divided his possessions among the sons. Regarding this, a source says: “... after the death of Gersenze, his widow Ikh Taih was giving her seven sons gifts. ... the seventh son Sam Buyman was given a Uriankhain land. Buyman himself was born in the year of the wooden dragon” (Galdan tuslagch 1961: 67–68). According to Mongolian historian Ts. Gantulga, this in fact were Uriankhains known in history as the “two Uriankhains” or “Khalkha Uriankhains” (Gantulga 2000: 63). Buyman himself was born from the younger wife of Gersenze, Menhuy, who was from the genus of Uriankha and Buyman was the youngest son, so he got the Uriankhain land. Sons of Gersenze lived with their possessions on the left and right sides of the Khangai mountains. Later, several hundred Uriankhains were led by Dorzhravdan Ilden, the second son of Sam Buyman, moved into the area of the lake Huh-Nuur Lake. They created a new khoshun there, which came to be known as “Khalkh
Khoshun of Huh-Nuur Lake.”

Since the end of the XVII century, large part of Uriankhains become active participants of the so-called “Alliance of Four Oirat” which then became the basis of Junggar Khanate (1635–1758). This was reported in the source as follows: “... These Uriankhains with such tribes as tsoros, derbet, torguud, hoshiud, hoyd and consisted of four large Oirats, and was one of the Oirats” (Durben Oiradiin Tuukh 1992: 274). N.Y. Bichurin noted that “... Uriankhains .... lived under the leadership of the tribal chief Tsoros” (Bichurin 1834: 31). Of the same opinion had Mongolian ethnographer H. Nyambuu (Nyambuu 1992: 123). Mongolian historian Ts. Gantulga based on historical sources with respect to Oirats concludes that ancestral leaders – noyons of genus tsoros, who was one of the major genus of “Union of Four Oirats”, were descendants of Uriankhain warlord Chzelme the Hero of the seventh generation, but were not descendants of Hutug-Bekh as believed by some historians (Gantulga 2000: 165).

Mongolian sources of this period reported that “... there are several different kinds of Uriankhains. They live by hunting. One part is subject to Oirats, and another part – to Khalkh” (Iltegel Shastir 1961: 9). Gradually they were involved in a lengthy struggle for hegemony between Khalkh and Oirat Union.

In 1587 (The Lunar Year of Pig) has occurred a major clash between military forces between Khalkh and Oirat Union, which ended in a complete defeat of military forces of Khalkh (Zlatkin 1964: 112–114). Khalkh army led by Sholoi-Ubashi-Khuntaiji (1567–1627), who was the great-grandson of Gersenze and went down in history as the first Altan Khan, a warlord allied with Uriankhain Sain Madzhig. Of great interest presents the identity of Sayn Madzhig. He had been repeatedly mentioned in Mongolian sources, such as “The History by man named Asragch” (“Asragch Nertiyin Tuukh), “The Millennium Chronicle” (“Altan Khurden Myangan Khegeest Bichig), “A Brief History of the Mongols” (Iltegel Shashtir). They say that “... his name is Zorigt Chandgan Sain Mazhig or Tsol Tsetsen Noyon. He was born in 1560, and was the fourth son of Sam Buyman” (grandson of Gersenza – I.Lkhagvasuren). He ruled the land Uriankhain (Otog) and glorified by the nickname “Black Tiger Mountain and Uriankhain Sain Mazhig.” According to Ts. Gantulga, he received Uriankhain land inherited from his father Sam Buyman, which, as mentioned above, got as a gift from his mother after the death of his father Gersenza.

The Uriankhains took an active part in the high-profile military and political developments in Dzhungarian Khanate during the Galdan Boshigt Khan (1644 –1697). Historian S. Buyanchuluun wrote that “... Galdan Boshigt Khan gradually gained momentum. A total of 11 Tumens consisting of Uuld, Khalkh, and Uriankhain tribes were under his command” (Buyanchuluun 1937: 92).

Since that time, a permanent residence for the main part of Uriankhains
became the *Altai*, and they were called as “Altaic Uriankhains” by the name of their inhabitation. Then said about them the following saying: “Altai Uriankhains live at all thirteen slopes of the greater Altai, they live there still, as if *ovoo* at mountain top, and as if stone statue in steppe.”

The Southern Mongolia in 1636, and the northern Mongolia in 1691 pleaded vassalage to Qing empire only Dzungar Khanate stayed independent. It lasted more than a hundred years. Galdantseren Khan died in September, 1745 and struggle for power began in Dzungarian Khanate, which greatly weakened his position in the face of the Qing. At this time, in case if the Qing begun open warfare against Oirats, the Uriankhains were in a very strategic location. One of the decrees of the Qing Emperor says: “.... If *Uriankhains* remain there, where they live now, they can cause serious obstacles to the advancement of our troops. They might transmit information on the location of our troops to the Oirats or they might strike on our troops from the back. Therefore, this danger has to be addressed prior to the beginning of the large war against the Oirats”  (Dzuun Garin Bodlogiin Bichig 1991: 9). By 1758, Dzungar Khanate ceased to exist.

The *Uriankhains* actively participated in the fight against the Qing (1755–1758) under the leadership of Amarsanaa and Chingunzhav. The *Altai Uriankhains* still believe in the legend on the upcoming return of Amarsanaa, according to which he would return to his native land and liberate their people from the Qing. The *Altai Uriankhains* wore in one of the ear silver earrings and a ring, and on his forefinger – a large silver ring. They explained it this way: when Amarsanaa returns it was a sign by which he could easily distinguish the *Altai Uriankhains* from the other tribes. Until now, people have not forgotten the names of the *Altai Uriankhains*, who had showed the special courage in the fight against the Qing.

**Administrative Structure**

After the fall of the Khanate of Dzunggar, on all Mongols had been circulated a set of laws, which obliged the Mongol rulers to serve with all their human and material resources to Qing empire, and that in turn ensured the Mongol rulers of the preservation of their rights and privileges. This body of law was first published in 1689 under Emperor Kangxi (1662–1725), and in 1815 during the reign of Chia-tsine (1796–1820) has been revised and supplemented. These laws were not only code, but a kind of agreement between the Mongol rulers and the Qing authorities. These legitimized the new military and administrative control system with a complex feudal-bureaucratic hierarchy in Mongolia. Later these became known collectively as “The Code of the Chinese Chamber of Foreign Relations.” His translation from Chinese into Russian language was implemented in 1789 in by N.Y. Bichurin, and from Manchu into
Russian, in 1817, by C. T. Lipovtsev.

After the fall of the Khanate of Dzunggar, Khalkha remained as the core of Outer Mongolia. The introduction of this military and administrative control system was a long process, having passed several stages. There were first established three Aimag: Dzasakt-khan, Tushetu-khan, and Tsetsen-Khan. Later, in the middle of XVIII century, were created by Sain Noyon-Khan, Khovd Aimag and Altai County.

By the beginning of XIX century, number of khoshuns reached 86. Aimag and khoshuns which were before only administrative units, but now served also as military units: Aimag divided into khoshuns, which consisted of soums consisting of 150 riders, each (Sodnomdagva 1961: 82).

In 1762, Khovd County was formed, and town of Khovd took shape as a regular administrative center of Western Mongolia, and there was appointed governor, who was in charge of the county. Originally, Khovd governorship was subject to Uliastay Governor General, but gradually it has become to solve most problems yourself; particularly issues relating to ethnic groups lived in the county. There were divisions: military, financial, economic, national, border, and department of postal services (urtoo), etc. He was subject to the following khoshuns: two torguut khoshuns, zahchin, myangat, olet khoshuns, “seven khoshuns of Altaic Uriankhains” and finally two Aimag of Durbets – right and left, etc. According to some reports, so-called “seven khoshuns of Altaic Uriankhains” were created in 1756-1757 years (Iltgel Shastir 1961: 125). The basis of these khoshuns were three khoshuns-Khovoot Shar, Shuluun Shar, and Shuluun Tsagaan, which were established in about 1755. Administration management by Altai Uriankhains was constructed as follows: the main administrative units become khoshuns, which were divided into several soums and soums – a few of arvans, which represented as a group consisting of 10 individuals liable for military service (Sodnomdagva 1961: 82).

Now, without going into details of the specific description of the issue and the history of the introduction of military-administrative division, let’s briefly describe each khoshun and its division into relevant soums and arvans, and the tribal and genetic composition of their populations, using our field, and some archival materials relating mainly to the end of XIX - early XX century. Here we want to draw attention to the fact that the names of the soums had ethnic names. However, this does not mean that every Soum brings together representatives of only one ethnic group, whose name is worn. Each Soum population was mixed, and probably not always a tribal group that gave him the name, was numerically dominant. Characteristics of genetical and tribal mixture with respect to soums were indicated by the titles of genera (yas or elken), recorded by soums of this khoshun. Even for some khoshuns soums were not got divided into arvans.
Neither informant could explain the reason for this phenomenon.

1. Uriankhain khoshun. (sometimes called as khoshun of Zuun Amban). It was main khoshun. Khoshun Chancellory was at the river of Sagsay. There were the following soums: oortsag, akh, gonzai and sangiin. These soums had of the following genera: oortsag - shar dunkhul, khar dunkhul, zaamid, mundas, oolog, tsagaan tug, irkhit etc; akh - khar burged, shar burged, favraa burged, and tsagaan tug, etc. gonzai - jortomos, mundas, hurchid, irkhit etc., sangiin - bayad, sam, zaamid, khurchid, oolog, zoos and ulaan soen, and so on. Here soums, however, had no divisions into arvans.

2. Meyrin Zangin Khoshun. Khoshun Chancellory located near the lake of Altantsuugs. There were the following soums: akh, shaazgay, yotuun and onguda. Here soums also had no divisions into arvans.

3. Tsagaan soyon Khoshun. Khoshun Chancellory located near the river of Tsagaan Gol. There were the following soums: Burguut and Saryglar. Here soums also had no divisions into arvans.

4. Senden Gun Khoshun. Khoshun Chancellory located near the river of Kharganat. There were the following soums: akh and Oorchag. Here soums also had no divisions into arvans.

5. Darkhan Beis Khoshun. Khoshun Chancellory was on the river of Bulgun. There were four soums: akh, myangat, oorchag and tservee. Akh Soum was divided into arvans: derbet, akh, Huram and oriyas. Akh Soum also had genera: shar Gol, burviin, mongol, derbet, zuun nasan, darhad, derbet, and etc.

   Myangad Soum were divided into arvans: buyan-ulzii, darkhad, hasag and jal. Myangad Soum had genera: ikh khoid, baga khoid, khalzad , shar darkhad, khar darkhad, and khoo darkhad etc. Oortsg Soum was divided into arvans: salbin, and bodoon. Oortsg Soum had the following genera: derbet, oriyas, kholdon, emch, ikh hoid, baga hoid, and halzad etc. Tservee Soum had only one hasag arvan. Tservee Soum had the following genera: hasag, oriyas, kholdon, emch, khalzad, buyan-ulzii, and etc.

6. Saruul Gunii Khoshun (sometimes called as Gombo Da khoshun). Khoshun Chancellory office was near the lake of Tolbo-Nuur. There were the following soums: Akh, Durd Gol, Oortsag, Khoit Gol, and Tavan Khorin. There were the following arvans: zuun nas, khuram and derbet. The Soum had the following genera shagzay, khorkhon, burev, ikh hoid, baga hoid, holdon, and akh, etc.

7. Shar Dagiy Khoshun. Khoshun’s territory located alongside with the river Khovd. There were soums: akh, shaazgay, khongolog, yatuun and onguda. They were divided into arvans: akh, and zuun us. The soums had the following genera: khoo darkhad, shar darkhad, derbet, kholdon, akh, onguda, and etc.

At the time of the Qing governance, “the seven khoshuns of Altai Uriankhains” had only 27 soums. These khoshuns were divided into two Ambans -
Right and Left. Each of them was headed by Amban-Noyon, a feudal prince, who had the title of Gun (lord of the fifth degree). He wore over the hat a cap made of red coral bead at . The structure of the left Amban included 4 khoshuns: Uriankhain Khoshun, Khoshun of Senden Gun, Khoshun of Tsagaan Soyon, Khoshun of Shar Dagiyn, and the right Amban - 3 Khoshuns: Darkhan Beis, Saruul Gun, and Meiren Gun. The Chancellory of the left Amban was at the area of Sagsay-Shar Bulagl, and the Chancellory of the Right Amban was at the area Orongo - Tsahirtai.

According to our informants, out of the 4 Khoshuns of the Left Amban-Noyon, the Altai Uriankhains lived in only one Uriankhain Khoshun who spoke Mongolian while in the other three Khoshuns lived Tuvans who were Turkish-speaking, and out 3 khoshuns of the Right Amban-Noyon, the Altai Uriankhains lived in 2 Khoshuns, and in one Khoshun lived monchagi – one of Tuva genera (sometimes called kukchuluutun – I.Lkhagvasuren).

Of the two Amban-Noyon, the Left Amban-Noyon was empowered to decide all questions relating to Altai Uriankhains in Khovd. Each Amban-Noyon had Chancellory and worked for him staff officers consisting about of 10 people. Assistant to the Amban-Noyon functioned as the manager of his office and was called Zahiragch.

Amban Noyon received a salary of 75 lan, Meirin zangin – 65 lan in the amount of silver. First it came from Uliastai, but in 1787 wages began to arrive from Khovd. For the slightest offense, Meirin zangi deprived of power and its dependencies on Khoshun population, which are collected all sorts of natural and exactions that bore a variety of labor service. Each Khoshun of Altai Uriankhains had a certain territory for nomads, with a certain amount of population. Population of Khoshuns was divided into serfs and conscripts. Soum was headed by chief-hundu, and Arvan was headed by Arvan’s Darga. Ruler of Khoshuns - Meirin zangi appointed them. Rulers of Khoshuns along with administrative, and civil rights were vested the rights of commanders. Men 18 to 60 years were considered as the military conscripts.

All Khoshuns of Altai Uriankhains militarily formed one group (khoroo), headed by Amban-Noyon. Warriors of Altai Uriankhains had to be ready at short notice to speak on the war under the banner of Qing authorities. Population of Khoshuns bore a special guard duty at the western borders of Mongolia. It also carried the mail service (urtuu) – Altai’s Arvan Gurvan Khuruul Urtuu. Population of Khoshuns was tax called alban.

Alban is a kind of annuity by products, a very hard impact on the lives of ordinary people, draining and dooming their lives at a very low level. Mongolian historian C. Nasanbalzhir writes that Albanians had to pay in kind, furs, at the rate of three sables with each family, and in the absence of sable, equivalent
amount of other furs (Nasanbalzhir 1964: 22).

Because the *Altai Uriankhains* were engaged primarily in nomadic herding, but not in hunting, for tax alban, they were forced to buy furs from hunters, but mostly from vendors at high prices. In addition, rulers of *khoshuns* at the expense of the population of the *khoshuns* bought themselves titles and awards from the Qing authorities. All that money and interest thereon, as part of the money Amban-Noyon borrowed from the Chinese merchants, the loan was gradually paid by the population of their *khoshuns*. According to some researchers, rulers of *khoshuns* took away over a third of their income from the population. Bureaucracy of the rulers of *khoshuns* gradually turned into a mainstay of Qing authorities in Mongolia. In every way by encouraging and rewarding rulers of *khoshuns* Qing government pursued a policy of disengagement, avoiding, for example, expansion of Amban-Noyon’s governance, and even on the contrary, tried to restrict it.