

## CHAPTER 1. THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

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## 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 “urianhad.” 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-uriahia, 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 *Uriankhain* 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 Chzharchiut, 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 become the bases of the newly established Mongolian state. *Uriankhain* 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 *Uriankhain* 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 *Uriankhain* then moved into submission Arik Buh, who was the fifth son of Tula. Then *Uriankhain* 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 *Uriankhain* (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 “Ikh 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 haruulyн 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. Batmunh Dayan Khan (1466–1517) had temporarily suspended the separatist trend in Mongolia that began after the fall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368. Batmunh 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.

Batmunh 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”

(Sagan Setsen 1960: 215). 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 *Uriankhain* 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 Dorzhavdan 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

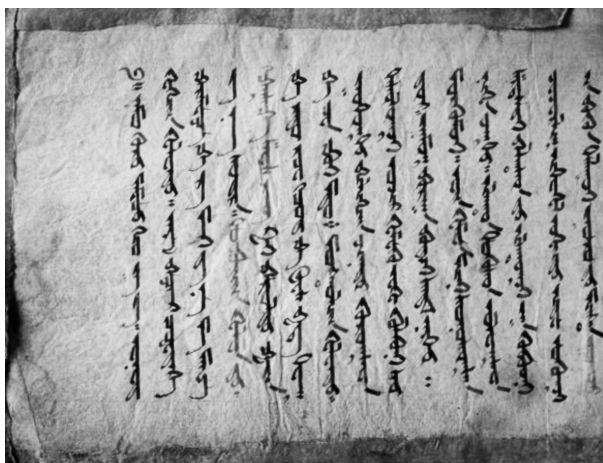


PHOTO 1 Oirat Mongol's ancient book spelling *tod useg*

*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 Chzhelme 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” (Iltgel 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 Nertiyn Tuukh*), “The Millennium Chronicle” (*Altan Khurden Myangan Khegeest Bichig*), “A Brief History of the Mongols” (*Iltgel 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 – *ILkhagvasuren*). 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 Gersenze.

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 Dzhungar Khanate stayed independent. It lasted more than a hundred years. Galdantseren Khan died in September, 1745 and struggle for power began in Dzhungarian 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 Gariin Bodlogiin Bichig 1991: 9). By 1758, Dzhungar 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 *Dzhunggar*, 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 *Dzhunggar*, *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 Aimags: *Dzasakt-khan*, *Tushetu-khan*, and *Tsetsen-Khan*. Later, in the middle of XVIII century, were created by *Sain Noyon-Khan*, *Khovd* Aimags and *Altai* County.

By the beginning of XIX century, number of *khoshuns* reached 86. Aimags 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 Aimags 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 *khoshuns* 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*, *javraa burged*, and *tsagaan tug*, etc. *gonzai* - *jortomos*, *mundas*, *huurchid*, *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 Altantsugts. 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. *Oortsag Soum* was divided into *arvans*: *salbin*, and *bodoon*. *Oortsag 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*, *Dund 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 Dagiyn 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 - Tsakhirtai*.

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 (*khoro*), 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 Kharuul Urtuu*. Population of *Khoshuns* was taxed 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.