

THE ORIAT PRESENCE WITHIN THE GOLDEN HORDE

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ABSTRACT

Utilizing both primary and secondary sources this work attempts to show the possibility of an Oriat presence within the Golden Horde, and therefore residing in the lower Volga River valley prior to the seventeenth century. This work includes research into the early people of the Golden Horde and how such groups as the Hoy-in Irgen affected what the Golden Horde would become. In addition an in depth discussion of linguistics was conducted to determine where the member groups of the Golden Horde came from and where they traveled to.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter:	Page:
I. Mongol Linguistics.....	1
II. The Impact of Jochi Khan on the Golden Horde.....	22
III. A Footprint on the Steppe: Defining the Hoy-in irgen.....	42
IV. Among the Horde; The Oirat Foundation of the Golden Horde	64
V. Annotated Bibliography.....	83
VI. Appendix.....	94

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations	Page
1. Map of the four Khanates.....	24
2. Picture of the mausoleum of Jochi Khan.....	94
3. Picture of a kulan.....	94
4. Map of the Hoy-in irgen traditional homeland.....	95
5. Map of the Dzungaria.....	96

CHAPTER I

MONGOL LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

In order to understand the relationship between the Golden Horde and the Oirat people one must first understand that the Central Eurasian steppe is home to a highly diverse population. Long before the rise of the Communist regimes in both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, these grasslands were home to pastoral nomadic societies. Historians tend to divide these societies into the categories of Turkic and Mongol. Yet migratory horse cultures are notoriously oblivious to such arbitrary dividing lines, and it is well documented that the Mongols intermarried with almost every culture that they contacted. This blurring of the lines between Mongol and Turk is evident in Peter B. Golden's work *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples; Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*. Here he points out that the Tuvan's "ethnogenesis, like others in the region, involves... [both] Mongol elements as well as Turkic."¹ Adding credence to this is the documentation that the Tuvans are historically a Mongol people, as they celebrate Genghis Khan as their great hero, yet linguistically are Turkish based, as is the majority of

¹ Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992, 414-415.

the “populations of the Sayan region (Tuva, Tofa).”² Another difficulty that comes along with researching pastoral nomadic cultures is that there is a scarcity of sources available. Because of the lack of current sources; many older sources and less scholarly sources, have been utilized to draw in more information.

This combining of cultures leads to confusion among scholars due to the simple fact that the two main classifications of people may refer to the same item, person, or thing by a completely different name or spelling. Therefore, before any research can be conducted of the pastoral nomadic societies, these linguistic variations must be addressed.

Further complicating the language barrier of these societies were the migratory patterns and conquests of and by these people. Due to the nature of the ever-increasing numbers in Mongol nomadic society these horse cultures came into contact with a wide range foreign entities. This contact led the integration of both spoken and cultural practices and eventually assimilation by either the host peoples or the invaders. This is made apparent in Dr. Charles Halperin’s work *Russia and the Golden Horde; The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History*. Here he points out that when the “Mongols... arrived on the Pontic and Caspian steppe in the thirteenth century [they] practiced various forms of shamanism, as did most of the indigenous Turkic population into which they became assimilated.”³ As Halperin demonstrates the primary group with which they came into contact was a “confederation of Turkic nomads the Kievans... [referred to as] the Polovtsy... [this same group of people] in Turkic [were called the]

² Juha Janhunen (edited by), *The Mongolic Languages*, Routledge, London and New York, 2003, 102.

³ Charles Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1985, 7.

Kipchaks; [while] in Latin and Greek, [they were named the] Cumans or Kumans.⁴ Adding even further confusion, when the Mongols finally “consolidated... [their] position...[in the] recently conquered territories of ... [this same confederation, they adopted the name] Khanate of Kipchak.”⁵ As Halperin points out, this is the group that conquered and legalistically dominated the Kievan Rus who in turn named them the “Golden Horde.” In his work Halperin emphasizes that the Mongol empire was anything but an empire. In fact the Rus ruled themselves under the Mongols and were only expected to pay tribute, a system that the Russian would later adapt when they conquered Siberia. This was in large part due to the fact that “the Russians were no more inclined than the nomads to occupy the lands they ravaged. They lacked the skills to hold their own on the steppe and could neither provision garrisons so distant from their own fields nor survive on the products of pastoralism.”⁶ As such “battles... were won and lost, but lands never were.”⁷ As was standard practice at the time, assimilation was often carried out through marriage contacts. Yet Halperin mentions that these marriage contracts were often one sided in nature as the “barbarians” often married their daughters into Russian society, but “Russian women did not marry Polovtsy... as this would have meant moving to the steppe and possibly being only one of several wives of a nomad prince.”⁸

Another group that the Mongols came in contact with is presented in Dr. Igor de Rachewiltz’ work *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*. In this work Rachewiltz discusses how various Papal envoys encountered the Mongols. Rachewiltz points out that the

⁴ Charles Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1985, 14.

⁵ Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1971, 82.

⁶ Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde*, 15-16.

⁷ Ibid., 16.

⁸ Ibid., 18.

Golden Horde had established their headquarters originally “at Bulgar on the upper Volga... [which Batu later relocated] further down the river... near the present village of Selitrennoye on the Akhtuba. This became the town of Sarai (Persian for ‘Palace’), later called Old Sarai or Sarai-Batu to distinguish it from Sarai-Berke.”⁹ Here again evidence is presented of the presence of linguistic variations. Both in the name of a “Mongol” city that bears a Persian name and the fact that the people group associated with it first used the Turkish name of Kipchak Khanate and were later referred to the Russian name of the Golden Horde. Rachewiltz points out that the papal envoys began being sent because the Europeans had “the feeling of impending doom [that] was largely generated by the sad state of disorder in the Church and the growing conviction that the Tartars, as instruments of Divine Providence had descended on Europe to administer a salutary punishment on all of Christendom. Hence the name ‘hammer of God’ often applies to them at the time.”¹⁰ The Christian European populace feared this “hammer of God” because they believed them to be “the biblical people of Gog and Magog released from their segregation in the Caucasus [and] their invasion [was seen as the] heralding [of] the coming of the Antichrist and the end of the world.”¹¹

There are notable similarities between Dr. Charles Halperin’s work *Russia and the Golden Horde; The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History*, and Dr. Igor de Rachewiltz’s work *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*. Both of these scholars are well respected in their fields and their works are frequently used in historical analysis. De Rachewiltz is considered one of foremost experts in the translation of *the Secret History of the Mongols*, so much so that Halperin cites one of his works, entitled “The His-yu lu

⁹ Ibid., 82-83.

¹⁰ Ibid., 83.

¹¹ Ibid., 83.

of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai," in his book about the Golden Horde in Russia. Much like De Rachewiltz, Halperin is considered the foremost expert in research about the Golden Horde and is therefore most often the source that is utilized to describe this people group. In addition, both of these works extensively portray the inner workings of the Golden Horde. Halprin does this by describing how this particular group of Mongols affected the legal system and organization of Russia both while they were in control of the area and for years after their decline. De Rachewiltz also discusses issues that involve the Golden Horde, although this was not the intention of nor the thesis of his work. Yet often when Papal envoys traveled from west to east the first group they encountered was the Batu Khan led Golden Horde.

While both of these works have similarities there are many more differences. Halperin's work is very meticulous in his approach to citation. So much so that he even cites himself nineteen times. Whereas de Rachewiltz work has flaws in citation, so much so that they reader often does not know where he got his information from. Yet Halperin's work is often confusing as he contradicts both himself and known historical facts repeatedly. For example he states that "Chingis Khan's empire did not fragment after his death as had those of Alexander and Charlemagne."¹² Yet he is a Golden Horde expert, and the Golden Horde itself is in fact one of the fragments of Genghis Khan's empire. In addition Halperin is extremely biased in his writing. This is because he is a Russian historian, and as such the majority of his sources are in fact Russian. In addition both works were created during the Cold War and this caused a certain writing style to be imposed. Halprin frequently ignores written sources from people groups who may have

¹² Charles Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde; The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1985, 24.

been invaded by the Mongols and his refusal to utilize the *Secret History of the Mongols*. While these sources are biased that does not mean that they do not contain any valuable information and therefore should not be entirely discounted. In stark contrast to Halperin, de Rachewiltz writes some of the best analogies and explanations of the Mongols. One of these explanations is the importance of Mongol royal blood not touching the ground when he writes; “[these] practices... were not enforced out of sheer cruelty as some authors claim. [The Mongols] rationale is rather to be found in the shamanistic belief that blood contains the soul or spiritual essence of man, and that when a noble’s blood was spilt, it exerted a malign influence on the ground on which it fell.”¹³ With these few simple lines he puts so much of the Mongol views into light. This explains why the Mongol general Jebe who attended a wounded Genghis Khan once swallowed great quantities of his blood instead of spitting it on the ground. In addition, it explains why Nestorian Christians do not have depictions of Christ on their crosses. The image of blood is considered a taboo subject and as such the Mongols preferred method of execution was to roll a person into a rug and repeatedly have riders force their horses to run over the rug.¹⁴

In addition to having a better writing style than Halperin, de Rachewiltz utilizes many points of view to lay the groundwork for his work. There is no doubt that he utilized *the Secret History of the Mongols* as a reference point, but in addition he utilized the works of many of the papal envoys and Ilkhanate sources. Yet in the end it can be

¹³ Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1971, 100-101.

¹⁴ This information has been encountered repeatedly in many sources and is considered common knowledge.

argued that neither of these historians completely fulfilled all the requirements of a historical monograph.

Another work that deals with the linguistic and cultural impact on the Eurasian steppe is Tim Cope's *On the Trail of Genghis Khan; An Epic Journey Through the land of the Nomads*. Here Tim Cope, an Australian, decided he would ride the trails of the Eurasian steppe from Mongolia to Hungary. Along the way he was introduced to strange languages and cultural practices that he generously notates in his work. This notation includes an in depth discussion of cultural practices within pastoral nomadic societies. One of the first cultural practices that he notes is that a large portion of the populace of Mongolia raises "sheep, goats, cattle, camels, and horses"¹⁵ and that these "five...types of steppe livestock... [are] known collectively in Mongolian as *tavan tolgoi mal*."¹⁶ Other authors have noted that traditionally the Mongols were known to survive by hunting during the warmer months and only utilized the meat from their livestock when the game was scarce. Yet the evidence presented by Cope points out that during the late spring and summer months, dairy became a staple of the steppe cultures. Cope also points out in his work that there are various linguistic variations for "fermented mare' milk, *airag*— [which is] better known by the Turkic term *kumys*."¹⁷ In addition to these cultural and linguistic attributes the single most significant trait that Cope displays of the nomadic peoples comes from Kazakhstan. This trait should seem very familiar to anyone who has done any research on Jochi Khan as it deals with the practice of bridal abduction. Cope was exposed to this nomadic tradition while on a hunt with several locals who were

¹⁵ Tim Cope, *On the Trail of Genghis Khan; An Epic Journey through the land of the Nomads*, Bloomsbury Press, New York, 2013., 11.

¹⁶ Ibid., 25.

¹⁷ Ibid., 33.

teasing one of their own by saying; “It’s time for Shashbek to get hitched! His mother needs someone to talk to in the evenings! Who is going to cook for his poor parents when they are old?”¹⁸ What Cope did not realize, at the time, was the method these men intended, to acquire Shashbek a wife. As had been the custom since well before the time of Genghis Khan “men could kidnap their desired future wife, with or without her agreement or prior knowledge.”¹⁹ The modern abductions

involved luring the girl from another community, or simply kidnapping her by horse. Once she was at the kidnapper’s family home, a messenger would be sent to the parents, who would then send their oldest son and his wife, or oldest daughter and her husband. Across the steppe’s nomad societies it had always been essential to marry someone who was not related along the paternal line for at least seven generations back.²⁰

As Cope points out during the time of Russian occupation this practice was banned, yet upon their departure it had a kind of renaissance and was now thought to be more of a staged event. But Cope points out “based on the dark, angry look of the bride’s brother-in-law and the uncontrolled sobbing of her sister, [this] wife steal was clearly anything but a staged event.”²¹

Unlike both Halperin’s and Rachewiltz’ texts this work cannot be classified as historical monograph. However in the sense of both linguistic and cultural reference it is leaps and bounds more useful than both, because it explains the common practices of pastoral nomadic people who currently live on the Central Eurasian steppe. Much like Rachewiltz’s work this book is not thoroughly cited and this can be expected due to the fact that the author is not a scholar. Yet, also like Rachewiltz’s work this book is written

¹⁸ Ibid., 176-177.

¹⁹ Ibid., 177.

²⁰ Ibid., 177.

²¹ Ibid., 179.

introduce the reader to areas of study of which they may not have previously been aware. In this sense this work compares with Halperin's in that it creates a line of thought that may have not previously existed. In addition it not only supports Halperin's unintended idea of a multicultural landmass but provides evidence to the existence of such a place. The Mongols ruled from Eastern Asia to Western Europe and from Kievian Rus to the Middle East and to see that some of their marital practices are still being utilized in Kazakhstan could prove to not only be very interesting to the Golden Horde historian but may be one of the most vital pieces to understanding the impact of their culture.

To understand these variations a baseline must be established with one of the indigenous populations, in this case the Mongols. To do this I have adopted a methodology utilized by Dr. Donald Ostrowski of Harvard University in his article "City Names of the Western Steppe at the Time of the Mongol Invasions."

In this article he utilizes a technique in which two different versions of § 274 of the *Secret History of the Mongols* are compared. In this instance the translations of Dr. Igor de Rachewiltz and Dr. Francis Woodman Cleaves, two of the foremost experts in their field, are used. One of the difficulties that Dr. Ostrowski inevitably encountered was the fact that the Mongols did not have their own written language but instead, under the direction of Genghis Khan, adopted Uyghur. Yet neither Cleaves nor Rachewiltz translations are from the Uyghur text as there are no surviving copies. For anyone to translate the *Secret History of the Mongols* they instead have to turn to Chinese texts. Adding to this difficulty is the fact that Chinese is known for its poetic tendencies and copies of the *Secret History of the Mongols* have been changed from the original to make them sound more rhythmic. As Ostrowski points out this phenomenon is commonly

referred to as the Chinese gloss. By researching several different versions of the same section of the script, Ostrowski is in essence attempting to counteract this Chinese gloss.

In turn the same technique can be utilized while studying § 239 of the *Secret History of the Mongols*. By reviewing the Rachewiltz version of the section and then compared it to both Dr. Urgunge Onon's version and Dr. Francis Woodman Cleaves. Rachewiltz' version is written as such:

After Joči had subjugated the People of the Forest from the Šibir, Kesdim, Bayit, Tuqas, Tenlek, Tö'eles, Tas and Baġigit up to his side, he came back bringing with him the commanders of ten thousand and of thousands of the Kirgisut and the leaders of the People of the Forest. He caused them to pay homage to *Činggis Qa'an* with gifts of white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables.

Činggis Qa'an welcomed Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat, saying, 'He came to submit before the others, leading the Tümen Oyirat.' And he showed favour to him, giving Čečeyigen to his son Inalči. He gave Joči's daughter Qoluiqan to Törölči, elder brother of Inalči. He gave Alaqa Beki to the ruler of the Önggüt.

Činggis Qa'an favoured Joči, saying, 'You, eldest of my sons, who only now for the first time have left home, you have been lucky. Without wounding or causing suffering to man or gelding in the lands where you went, you came back having subjugated the fortunate People of the Forest. I shall give this people to you.' So he ordered.²²

In comparison Onon's Translation states

In the Year of the Hare, [Chinggis Qahan] had Jochi ride out with the soldiers of the right flank against the people of the forest, guided by Buqa. Quduqa-beki of the Oyirats had come to submit ahead of [the rest of] the ten thousand Oyirats. He sought out Jochi and led him to his own ten thousand Oyirats at Shiqshit, where he made them submit. [Then] Jochi made the Oyirat, Buriyat, Barqun, Ursut, Qabqanas Qangqas and Tubas [people] submit. When he arrived at the ten thousand Kirgisüts, the Kirgisüt lords Yedi-inal, Aldi-er and Örebek-digin submitted and came [to join Jochi]. Taking white gerfalcons, white geldings, and black sables, they came for an audience with Jochi. Jochi made the nearby forest peoples, the Shibirs, Kesdiyims, Bayits, Tuqas, Telengs, Tö'eles, Tas and Bajigids, submit to our side. He [then] took the Kirgisüt leaders of ten

²² Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Deweese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004.

thousand and one thousand for an audience with Chinggis Qahan and [gave him] the white gerfalcons, the white geldings, and the black sables. [Chinggis Qahan] received Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat and bestowed favour on him, since he had submitted before [the rest of] the ten thousand Oirats and had led them to him. He gave Checheyigen to his son Inalchi and Jochi's daughter Qoluyiqan to Inalchi's elder brother Törelchi. He gave Alaqa-beki to [the ruler of] the Önggüts. Bestowing favour on Jochi, Chinggis Qahan said: 'You, the eldest of my sons, have left the yurt [for the first time]. Your journey has been smooth. Without losing or harming either men or geldings, you subdued the fortunate forest people and returned. I wish to bestow [these] people on you.'²³

Finally Cleaves version states

§239 [14r] In the year of the hare [1207] [Činggis Qahan] made Ĵoči to set forth with the soldiers of the right hand unto the People of the Forest. Buqa went, guiding [him]. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirad, before the ten thousand Oyirad, submitting himself, came in [unto Ĵoči]. Coming, [14v] leading Ĵoči, guiding [him] unto his ten thousand Oyirad, he made [them] to submit themselves at Šiyšid. Ĵoči, having bought into subjection the Oyirad, Buriyad, Baryūn, Ursud, Qabqanas, Qangqas, and Tubas, when he arrived at the ten thousand Kirgisud, the chiefs of the Kirgisud, Yedi Inal, Al Di'er, and [15r] Öre Beg Digin, chiefs of the Kirgisud, coming in to submit themselves, coming, having taken white gerfalcons, white geldings, and black sables, presented themselves unto Ĵoči. From the Šibir, Kesdiyim, Bayid, Tuqas, Tenleg, Tö'eles, Tas, and BaĴigid hither, Ĵoči subjugating the ten thousands and of the thousands [15v] of the Kirgisud and themselves unto Činggis Qahan with the white gerfalcons, with the white geldings, and with the black sables. Going to meet Quduqa Beki of the Oyirad, saying, "He is come, aforetime submitting himself and [16r] leading [hither] his ten thousand Oyirad," he favoured [him] and gave Čečeyigen unto his son, unto Inalči. He gave Holuiqan, daughter of Ĵoči, unto Törolči, elder brother of Inalči. He gave Alaqa Beki unto the Önggüd. When Činggis Qahan, favouring Ĵoči, spake, he made a decree, saying, "Eldest of my sons, being [16v] but issued from in the tent, thou [hast been] one of whom the way [is] good. Not wounding or not making to suffer men or geldings in the lands in which [thou] art gone, thou art come, having brought into subjection the fortunate People of the Forest. I will give the people unto thee."²⁴

²³ Urgunge Onon, *The Secret History of the Mongols: The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan*, Curzon Press, Richmond, Surrey, 2001, 222-223.

²⁴ Francis Woodman Cleaves, *The Secret History of the Mongols; For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and provided with Exegetical Commentary*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1982, 173-174.

Using Ostrowski's methodology it can be discerned that the people group known as the Hoy-in irgen (forest people) or at least a portion of this group, were given to the eldest son of Genghis Khan, Jochi at the conclusion of this conflict that is listed as having occurred in 1207. At the same time, within this section of the *Secret History of the Mongols* there are some linguistic variations that are discussed in further detail in Chapter three of this work. All three of these translations clearly state that the Oirats consisted of a Tümen, or ten thousand men, and the entirety of this Tümen would have been under the discretion of a new ruler, in this case Jochi. This in turn leads to the question that if this tribe was subjugated to him, would it not be entirely possible that when he later invaded Europe that these people would have been forced to accompany him. In addition the section states that both Genghis Khan and Jochi honored the Oirat people by marrying a daughter into the tribe. As Jack Weatherford points out in his work *The Secret History of the Mongol Queens: How the Daughters of Genghis Khan Rescued his Empire*, this would make them sons-in-law or *güregen*. As such "the guregen served under their father-in-law, according to the tradition of bride service that Genghis Khan had revitalized and strengthened. Instead of herding the father-in-law's goats, camels, and yaks, these sons-in-law became herders of men; they would serve in Genghis Khan's army and fight in his wars."²⁵ Thus would not Törölchi be responsible for escorting his father-in-law, Jochi, on any type of militaristic offensive and seeing as he was an Oirat prince he would not have entered into any type of combat situation alone?

These translations of *The Secret History of the Mongols* presents compelling evidence to what could be argued as the beginning of the Golden Horde. Yet this one

²⁵ Jack Weatherford, *The Secret History of the Mongol Queens: How the Daughters of Genghis Khan Rescued his Empire*, Broadway Paperbacks, New York, 2010, 35-36.

methodology is not enough to prove the Oirats as part of that origin. Therefore, further methodologies must be utilized. One alternative method is presented by Dr. Christopher Beckwith in his work *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present*. Within this work Beckwith argues that pastoral nomadic people were not known to create anything²⁶ and literacy was not common until late in the Mongolian conquests. This makes it difficult to trace these horse cultures through archeological means. Yet Beckwith states that these pastoral nomadic people can be traced by following their linguistics. When this methodology is put in conjunction with Dr. Elena Indjieva's dissertation *Oirat Tones and Break Indices (O-ToBI): Intonational Structure of the Oirat Language* a map can be created of where Oiratic speaking individuals reside in today's day and age.

By combining these two methodologies a type of Oirat timeline can be started. The first methodology creates a definite beginning of the Oirat's rise by their subservience to Jochi. The conclusion of this same timeline can also be established utilizing the second methodology and the work of Dr. Indjieva as she states that the Oirat language is only spoken in three areas today (Kalmykia, the Xinjiang province of China and the Uyghar Autonomous province).²⁷

Yet within this theory there are obstacles and one such obstacle arises when discussing linguistics and it is important to differentiate between the various names that have been applied to the same thing. This is a point that is vividly brought to the forefront by Dr. Michael Khodarkovsky in his work *Where Two Worlds Met: The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600-1771*. In this work Khodarkovsky points out that the

²⁶ A subject to be debated later.

²⁷ I must note that while Dr. Indjieva claims that this language is spoken in three places it is in fact just two as the Xinjiang province and the Uyghar Autonomous province are in fact the same place.

Russians are notorious for changing the names that Mongol peoples referred to things. He points this out by informing the reader that the Oirat people were called Kalmyks by the Russians and that Kalmyk is believed to be a name of Turkish origin that meant those left behind. Yet these people were descended from the same Oirat groups that Jochi had encountered years before. This same linguistic problem exists with other Mongolic words that have been changed by the Russians due in large part to pronunciation problems. For example *ger* was changed to *yurt*, “Kipchak Khanate” was changed to Golden Horde, and even Mongol was changed to Tatar. With this cautionary information, presented by Khodarkovsky in hand, one then can begin delving into a text. Therefore when looking at a text from a Western historian’s perspective a group, item, or area may have one name, yet when looking at it from an Eastern perspective an entirely different name may be used. It is therefore the researcher’s task to discover these different names and know what is perceived as different groups by the conflicting sides is actually the same people.

This also means with the ever expanding influence of Islam these same people were exposed to Arabic. Adding to the confusion, is the fact that the Mongols conquered more territory than any other civilization in the history of man, and as such they came in contact with a huge swath of many different cultures. Because of their conquering tendencies there is archival evidence of them written in Mandarin, Russian, Hungarian, Korean, Japanese, and Polish. With the large variety of text written about them from many different civilizations, it is easy to understand how linguistic confusion may arise.

This confusion is compounded with the introduction of religious cultural tendencies. Both Christianity and Islam spread across these steppes and in so doing impacted the language and cultural practices of the pastoral nomadic societies. This

means because of the missionary work of Catholics; French, Latin, Greek, and the various dialects of Persian were introduced to these Turco-Mongol peoples.

Other evidence of this clashing of cultures can be seen in Dr. Reuven Amitai-Preiss's work *Mongols and Mamluks; The Mamluk—Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281*. The significance of this war cannot be understated for it is this conflict that many Mongol historians attribute to the demise of the Mongol empire, because it is one of the few mentioned examples of all of the Mongol conquests, where the Mongols not only failed but were defeated. In this work Amitai goes into great detail to lay out the early conflict between the Ilkhanate and the Egyptian Mamluks. Linguistic variations do not play a role in this conflict, but cultural, in particular religious variations do. As Amitai points out the Mamluks had embraced the teachings of Islam while at the early stage of the war the Ilkhans were still shamanistic. Much later the Ilkhans embraced Christianity and this compounded the problem even further as the land area that they were trying to conquer, Syria, had already been subjected to several crusades. Yet at the same time the Golden Horde, a separate Chinggisid line, had embraced Islam and was considered allies of the Mamluks. Amitai states that this agreement "originated in their mutual understanding that they shared a common enemy in Hülegü."²⁸ Therefore a disagreement over religion was at the heart the feud between the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanate, which will play a role in later research about the Golden Horde.

This conflict was in all likelihood started by "Hülegü himself... [with] the execution of three Jochid princes who were leading contingents in his army."²⁹ In addition "tensions were... exacerbated by Berke's and Hülegü's support of Arigh-böke

²⁸ Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks; The Mamluk—Ilkhānid War, 1260-1281*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, Cambridge Press, New York, 1995, 78.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

and Qubilai respectively for the succession to the Qa'anate."³⁰ Not to mention the slaying of the Caliph in Baghdad by Hülegü which would have caused enough tension on its own to cause war, seeing as how Berke had accepted the tenants of Islam. While Amitai-Preiss presents all of these justifications for open conflict between the Ilkhans and the Golden Horde he leaves out the most significant and the oldest reason of all. Berke's father, Jochi Khan, was believed to be a bastard by both his brothers and their offspring. Dr. Amitai wrote that "Jochi's questionable parentage doesn't seem to come up in the give and take of these early years... The impression is that if anyone has a legitimacy problem it is Hulegu, at least until he gets confirmation of his rule from Qubilai."³¹ Yet the legitimacy question over Jochi Khan still plays a role in many of the texts that are written, and this subject will be researched in greater detail in chapter two. Yet, it is this simple omitted belief that Jochi Khan was illegitimate that may have led directly to the aforementioned executions, upon the death of Möngke Khan, Hülegü's brother.

Since both the Mongols and the Golden Horde were under new leadership, or at least contention for leadership, Hülegü probably was taking the opportunity to get rid of the illegitimate offspring of his grandmother. Yet open conflict between the "cousins" did not begin until "the winter of 600/1261-2, [which Amtai-Preiss presents]... appears [to have been]... carried out at a leisurely pace."³² It was at this time that "Berke sent an army under Prince Noghai... through the Darband Pass... [otherwise known as] the "Iron Gate"... and took up position in the region of Shirvān."³³ As Amitai-Preiss points out this

³⁰ Ibid., 79.

³¹ Reuven Amitai, Eliyahu Elath Professor for Islamic History, The Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies & The Institute of Asian and African Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mt. Scopus, reuven.amitai@mail.huji.ac.il, email received by Philip McCarty on Monday 05/11/2015 @ 9:17 PM.

³² Ibid., 79.

³³ Ibid., 79.

army was met by Hülegü's forces straight on and Prince Noghai was defeated first at "Ala Tagh on 2 Shawwāl 660/20 August 1262... [and again on] the Qipchaq Steppe on 1 Safer 661/15 December 1262."³⁴ It was during this initial advance that Hülegü's army fell upon "Berke's deserted but well stocked winter encampment (qishlaq). [And] For three days the Īlkhānid troops indulged in merriment, until they were surprised by Berke's forces and completely routed (1 Rabī I 661/ 14 January 1263.)"³⁵ This in turn caused Hülegü and his troops to retreat back to more familiar territory. As Amitai continues he tells how the mistreatment of the Jochid had begun years before. Golden Horde troops had abandoned Hülegü's army because he "had began to massacre... [them, and] at some point Berke had ordered these soldiers to return to him, and barring that, to make their way to Baybar's [the Mamluk] kingdom."³⁶ What all of this meant was that Hülegü had in essence overextended himself by starting a war with both the Mamluks and the Golden Horde. This in turn put him in a position where he was fighting a two front war, which historically has not been beneficial to winning a conflict.

While Amitai's work defines the relationship between the Ilkhanate and the Golden Horde Dr. Thomas T. Allsen's work *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* speaks of a rich tradition of exchange that had existed for millennia between Persia and China. Within this work Allsen demonstrates the conflict between the various Mongol subtribes. For example prior to the formation of the Ilkhanate "With territories in North Caucasia and Khwārazm, the rulers of the Golden Horde pressed their rights in Khurāsān and Georgia, hoping, perhaps, to use these assignments as stepping stones to

³⁴ Ibid., 79.

³⁵ Ibid., 80.

³⁶ Ibid., 81.

extend their influence throughout the Middle East.”³⁷ Yet as Allsen points if this land area was not cared for by the entirety of the Mongol state but instead was “transformed into a qanate on an equal footing with that of the Chaghadaids and Jochi[d],... [then the] Toluid power could be projected along the southern flank of the Golden Horde and the vast economic and cultural riches of the Middle East monopolized rather than shared.”³⁸ Because of this desire by the descendants of Tolui to establish a second khanate “Hülegü’s campaigns against the Ismā’īlīs and `Abbāsids were the last joint military ventures of the unified Mongolian Empire.”³⁹ This meant that “the new alignment saw the formation of one Jochid, one Chaghadaid, and two Toluidid polities.”⁴⁰ This in turn meant that once the power structure was established that there would be direct conflict between the different branches of the Chinggisid line. Yet at this time the Ilkhante had not been fully established and was in a state of limbo after the death of Möngke Khan. Allsen also points out that “the Jochids, centered on the lower Volga, controlled western Siberia, Khwārazm, North Caucasia, the Qipchaq steppe, and the majority of the Rus principalities. Initially, they supported Ariq Böke, but following his submission they joined the coalition of princes fighting Qubilai.”⁴¹ At the same time Hülegü was supporting the ascension of Qubilai as the next Khan in hope that he would help with the formal identification of the Ilkhanate. During this time “the Hülegüid realm...fought the Chagadai princes in Khurāsān and their Jochid rivals in Transcaucasia.”⁴² Allsen further defines the conflict between the Ilkhanate and the Golden Horde which was a direct result

³⁷ Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2001, 20.

³⁸ Ibid., 20.

³⁹ Ibid., 24.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 24.

⁴¹ Ibid., 24.

⁴² Ibid., 24-25

of the power base that was shown by Ilkhans. In response to the show of power “Berke (1257-66), a convert to Islam, forged an alliance with the Mamlūks who had defeated Hūlegü’s armies at ‘Ain Jālūt. This marked the first time a Chinggisid prince had involved a sovereign, outside power in the Mongols’ internal disputed.”⁴³ Little did these groups of Mongols know that their infighting would ultimately lead to the destruction of the Empire that Genghis khan and his descendants had fought so hard to achieve.

There are many similarities between Reuven Amitai-Preiss’s work *Mongols and Mamluks; The Mamluk—Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281* and Thomas T. Allsen’s work *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*. The primary similarity between the two works is that both deal directly with the ascension and conflict of the Ilkhanate with the other Chinggisid lines. Amitai points out that this conflict between the Ilkhanate and the Golden Horde led to open hostilities and the ultimate invasion of Golden Horde lands by the Ilkhanate. Adding perspective to this invasion is Allsen’s statement that the Golden Horde had previously invaded what would become Ilkhanate territory, wanting to gain a stronger foothold on the riches of the Middle East. In addition both works cite that part of the conflict between these two groups can be attributed to the acceptance of Islam by the Golden Horde. Before this time Mongols were known as a strictly religious tolerant society. Yet with not just the acceptance of Islam by the Golden Horde but the mandated enforcement of this religion, the Jochid became a theocracy, in strike contrast to the rules that Genghis Khan had imposed. One of the greatest similarities between these two works is that both authors have spent a great deal of time researching their subject matter and have cited their sources beautifully, thus proving their expertise in the field.

⁴³ Ibid., 24-25.

While there are similarities between these two works there are many more differences. Amitai's work is intended to be a retelling of the conflict between the Ilkhanate and the Mamluks. As such he does not go into great detail on the formation of the Ilkhanate and does not spend a great deal of time speaking about the conflict with their northern cousins. In contrast Allsen's work focuses around social practices. Part of these social practices is the relationships between the various Chinggisid lines. Where Amitai does not go into great detail about the Ilkhanate, Allsen is almost forced to. The oddity of this is the fact that the one of the focuses of Amitai's work is the aforementioned Ilkhanate whereas Allsen claims to spend his efforts on the court practices of the Mongols and the transition of cultural ideas from Persia to China.

Conclusion

When these list of works are observed on their own, they stand strong but when they are placed in conjunction with each other another picture starts to develop. The works of Dr. Charles Halperin and Dr. Igor de Rachewiltz show that the land area known as Central Eurasia can be a confusing place where linguistic tendencies are often conflicting. Yet as Dr. Christopher Beckwith points out these conflicting linguistics should not be feared because they are evidence to support the arrival of a particular group, which in turn can allow a historian to form a timeline of events in an area. This in turn can allow a historian to utilize the methodology of Dr. Donald Ostrowski to look for linguistic clues in several translations of the same text. When all of this is placed in conjunction with the realization that linguistic variations are often used to define the same term as Dr. Michael Khodarkovsky presents, the outline of the formation of the Golden Horde can be seen. This penciled in formation can be seen better when the later

conflict between the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanate is presented. With the conflicting cultures, languages, and religions there is no wonder why historians have typically avoided the research of this land area. Yet it is my intention to progress into the undefined and to discover the existence of a presence of the Oirats within the Golden Horde or at least supply reasonable doubt that they could have in fact been a part of this branch of the Chinggisid line.

CHAPTER II

THE IMPACT OF JOCHI KHAN ON THE GOLDEN HORDE

This chapter addresses the formation and early activities of the so called Golden Horde, and the migratory patterns of the Oirat tribes. To assist with this research one must first understand the governance of the Mongol empire, and the initial location and definition of the *Hoy-in irgen*. Among these four subjects are the interwoven tendencies of Mongol history. Complicating this are the linguistic, cultural, and religious differences of the vast majority of the pastoral nomadic societies. These differences in the Mongol sphere of influence can confound even the most learned of scholars. To ease the frustration associated with this confusion, this information must be individually studied. Because of the lack of archaeological material, historians have to rely on translation, investigation, and speculation; yet hidden within the quagmire of Mongol history is the reality of the Oirat tribes and their travels and at the heart of this research lays a detailed account of Jochi Khan. Jochi Kahn is significant because he has an enormous impact not only on the Oirat tribe but also the Golden Horde

To understand the migratory patterns of the Oirat tribes one must first grasp the lifestyle of the pastoral nomads. It is important to know that when the term pastoral nomad is used, it is in reference to what could more easily be classified as horse cultures, and while many of these people celebrated the multiple breeds of livestock animals, their primary source of existence, centered on their horses. Before the emergence of Genghis

Khan, this was one of the few things that could unite a steppe people group within the areas.

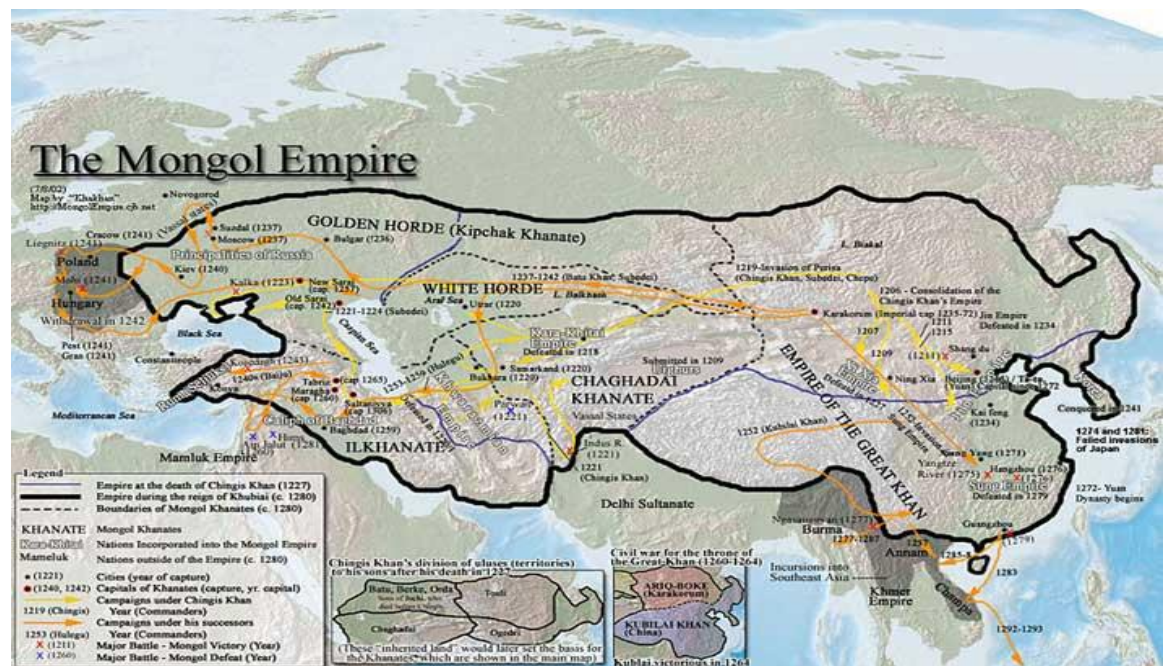
Many of these pastoral nomads classified themselves as Mongol, and this classification is by its very nature the essence of the term “clan,” in that all individuals of this group claimed a common ancestry from a single individual, in this case Genghis Khan. The next logical step is to understand that in Genghis Khan day, the entirety of his empire was under his control, and he initially had no intentions of splitting it. The decision that eventually caused the breakup of the Mongol empire centered around a repetitive conflict, which will be discussed in detail below, between the great Khan’s four sons of note, Jochi, Chagatai, Ogodei, and Tolui.

Upon the death of Genghis Khan, around the year 1227 according to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, his son Ogodei was to ascend to the Khanship. Yet to officially claim a new Khanship required a *khuriltai* which is defined by Jack Weatherford as “an official council or meeting, usually summoned to confirm elections or to make major decisions such as whether to go to war.”⁴⁴ Conducting a *khuriltai* was made extremely difficult by the thousands of miles that were intentionally put in place to separate the royal Mongol families. This meant that for two years, while the Mongols were attempting to meet for a *khuriltai*, Tolui, the youngest son of Genghis Khan, actually ruled and more importantly his sons had gained a thirst for the power that came along with the Khanship, Ogodei himself ruled from 1229 until his death in 1241. Upon his death his wife, Toegene, took the reigns while she awaited another *khuriltai*. This time it took much longer for the meeting to be organized, and a new khan was not elected until 1246, when

⁴⁴ Jack Weatherford, *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World*, Three Rivers Press, New York, 2004, 290.

Guyuk, son of Ogodei, claimed the Khanship. Guyuk maintained the Khanship for only a short period of time as he died two years later in 1248. At this point the Khanship became contested yet the Ogodeian line remained in power under Guyuk's wife, Oghul Ghaimish, until 1251. In that year the Tuluids became the bearers of Genghis Khan's banner when the son of Tolui, Möngke, ascended to the Khanship.

With the ascension of Möngke Khan in 1251, a new power struggle within the Mongol ranks began, and the Toluian line was at the center of this conflict. This was due to the fact that the Toluian line maintained control of the maternal homeland, while at the same time gaining territory in China that would eventually become the Yuan dynasty, while also conquering the Middle East which would lead to the Ilkhanate. This meant that the Toluian line had complete control of the trade route known as the Silk Road from modern Iraq all the way to China.



45

⁴⁵ https://laulima.hawaii.edu/access/content/user/millerg/ANTH_151/Anth151Unit3/MongolEmpire.html
accessed 04-07-2017 @ 8:36 A.M.

While Batu Khan is credited with the formation of the Golden Horde it is his predecessor, who was posthumously named Ulus Idi, who defined it.⁴⁶ Evidence of his significance can still be found in the middle of the huge grass fields of the Sary-Arka steppe near the Karagandy region of Kazakhstan. Here near the town of Zhezkazgan sits a centuries old red brick and blue domed mausoleum dedicated to a single occupant.⁴⁷ This often overlooked leader of the Mongols, story begins “in the early days of Chingiz-Khan, when the indications of world sovereignty were not yet apparent on the pages of [history].”⁴⁸ According to the work of Rashīd al-Dīn, Temüjin (as Genghis Khan was known before his ascension to the head of the Mongol people) and his wife, Börte Fujin, had conceived a child. Shortly after this the “Merkit people found an opportunity to raid [his] encampment...and carry off his wife.”⁴⁹ This was in all likelihood due to a similar spousal abduction that had been carried out by Temüjin’s father, which had later resulted in Temüjin’s birth.

It is as a result of this abduction of Börte Fujin that both the parentage and mythology of Ulus Idi begins. For Rashīd al-Dīn claims in his work *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, which is translated by John Andrew Boyle, that the Merkit “had been for the most part unfriendly and hostile to Ong-Khan, the ruler of the Kereit, [yet at this time] there was... a peace between them.”⁵⁰ As a result of this peace the Merkit “sent Börte Fujin to Ong-Khan... [who] treated her with honor and respect and bestowed upon her

⁴⁶ Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World; Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties; Volume III*, translated and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tavis and co. LTD, New York, 2012 , 171.

⁴⁷ <http://culturemap.kz/en/object/mavzoleiy-djuchi> accessed 02-14-2015 @ 6:24 A.M.

⁴⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, translated by John Andrew Boyle, Columbia University Press, New York, 1971, 97.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 97

⁵⁰ Ibid., 97.

the rank and status of a daughter-in law.⁵¹ Upon hearing of Börte's location Temüjin "sent an emir of the Jalayir [tribe] called Sebe... to Ong Khan to seek and fetch Börte Fujin."⁵² On the return trip to Temüjin's camp "a son was suddenly born to her, and for that reason he was called Jochi."⁵³ Sebe wanting to protect the newborn son of Temüjin "kneaded a little flour and, wrapping it round the child, took him in his lap so that he might not be harmed."⁵⁴ In a second Persian text written by Rashiduddin Fazlullah this tale is reiterated as he speaks of "Jochi [being] born while they were on the road back to Genghis Khan, and because the road was dangerous and there was no place to stop and make a cradle, Säbä kneaded a bit of flour dough, wrapped the child in it, and took him on his lap to protect him and keep his limbs from harm."⁵⁵ While this tale can neither be confirmed nor denied it is interesting to note that "Although Kazakhs almost exclusively eat meat and dairy, bread and salt are considered sacred, [and] able to draw guests from afar. Not eating or trying the bread shows disrespect."⁵⁶ This elevation of bread plays a cultural significance in Kazakhstan even to this day and it is considered a great honor to be given bread in a Kazakhstani gatherings. The reason behind the elevation that is given to bread is that wheat or flour is scarce in the pastoral nomadic communities and is therefore revered.

The wording of both of the passages and the placement of a child in dough is odd. Yet this is not the only mention of the placement of a child in something strange within the Mongolian chronicles. One of the earliest statements about a child being placed in a

⁵¹ Ibid., 97-98.

⁵² Ibid., 98.

⁵³ Ibid., 98.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 98.

⁵⁵ Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World; Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties; Volume III*, translated and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tavis and co. LTD, New York, 2012 , 104.

⁵⁶ Cope, 162.

strange item was made by Ogodei, the brother of Jochi. He said in reference to his descendants that he worries that there may not be one of them who;

even if wrapped in sedge
[they] would not be eaten by a cow,
and even if [they were] wrapped in fat
[they] would not be eaten by a dog.⁵⁷

This phrase comes from the *Secret History of the Mongols* §255 after Ogodei was selected by his father to become the next Khan. Its placement seems strange because Jochi had just been rebuked as the next Khan by his father because of an interaction that will be discussed below. Because of this placement and the wording of both Rashiduddin Fazlullah and Rashīd al-Dīn in their respective works, this statement could lead someone to believe that Ogodei was actually talking about his brother Jochi. As a result these statements could be implied as a further slight upon Jochi Khan and the question of his lineage.

Yet as Boyle notes the *Secret History of the Mongols* “gives an altogether different version... of the events.”⁵⁸ The *Secret History of the Mongols* agrees that Börte was abducted by “three Merkits... [who were identified as] Toqto’a of the Uduyt-Merkits, Dayir-usun of the Uwas-Merkits, and Qa’atai-darmala of the Qa’at-Merkits. These three Merkits, knowing that [the mother of Temüjin] Hö’elün had been abducted from [a Merkit named] Chiledü, had now come to take revenge.”⁵⁹ In response “Temüjin... went to To’oril, the Ong Qan of the Kereyits, who was staying in the Qara Forest beside the Tu’ula River... [and begged for his assistance stating that these] three

⁵⁷ Urgunge Onon, *The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan, translated, annotated, and with an introduction* Urgunge Onon, Routledge Curzon, London and New York, 2001, 247.

⁵⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, translated by John Andrew Boyle, Columbia University Press, New York, 1971, 98.

⁵⁹ Urgunge Onon, *The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan, translated, annotated, and with an introduction* Urgunge Onon, Routledge Curzon, London and New York, 2001, 82.

Merkits came and robbed [him] of [his] wife and of [[his] unborn] son.”⁶⁰ Upon the agreement of To’oril the two conducted a joint raiding of the Merkit camp, and in this romanticized version of the events “Temüjin moved among the people that were hurriedly escaping [the raid], calling, ‘Börte, Börte!’... [As Börte] heard the voice of... [her love, she]...came running towards him... and they fell into each-other’s arms.”⁶¹ In this version of the events there is no mention of the birth of Jochi.

For the modern historian this can create confusion because according to Urgunge Onon’s translation of the *Secret History of the Mongols* he clearly states with the use of the word *eme kō’ū* literally means wife-child. Onon claims that many linguists ignore the child portion of this wording because in other samplings of the Mongol language where compound words are used “the first element has meaning,”⁶² while the second is ignored. Yet Onon goes on to explain that this “compound lacks the ‘feel’ of other such compounds, which are usually alliterative. Moreover, the obvious explanation is that Temüjin is saying that Börte is pregnant.”⁶³ Onon also believes that “shortly after Börte’s rescue, she gives birth to a son, Jochi (1179–1225)”⁶⁴ In addition Onon states that while “Chinggis Qahan later passes over Jochi... and appear[s] not to favour him, he never denies [him] as [his]own son. Hence the implication that Börte was pregnant by Temüjin when captured and the use of the term *eme-kō’ū* for the pregnancy of Lady Börte.”⁶⁵ In stark contrast the translation of the *Secret History of the Mongols* by Igor de Rachewiltz,

⁶⁰ Ibid., 85.

⁶¹ *The Secret History of the Mongols; Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century Volume I*, Translated with a historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 40.

⁶² Urgunge Onon, *The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan, translated, annotated, and with an introduction* Urgunge Onon, Routledge Curzon, London and New York, 2001, 85.

⁶³ Ibid., 85.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 85.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 85.

which is more widely known, states that “the term used by Temüjin for ‘wife’ is *eme kö’ü*, lit. ‘wife-son’, a compound or binom... meaning simply ‘wife’, [is] still used with this meaning in Ordos dialect in Inner Mongolia.”⁶⁶ De Rachewiltz argues that the *kö’ü* portion of this compound has no meaning, yet he also expresses that other linguist namely “Dorjgotov and Erendo took this expression literally and translated [it as]... ‘my wife and son’, disregarding the fact that Temüjin had no children yet.”⁶⁷ However, De Rachewiltz may also have blinders on to the theory that Onon presents, namely that Börte was pregnant upon her abduction. Regardless of whichever translation is utilized, Boyle points out that “it is implied in a later passage [of the *Secret History of the Mongols*] that the Merkit Chilger Bökö was Jochi’s real father.”⁶⁸

This passage is one of the final interactions between Jochi and his brother Ča’adai (Chagatai) in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, yet it is this late conflict that not only defines the relationship between the brothers but also leads to an understanding of the struggles of the subsequent Golden Horde. In this portion of the text Genghis Khan asks Jochi for his advice on affairs of state, but before he can reply Chagatai interrupts saying “when you say , “Ĵöči, speak up!”, do you mean by that that you would appoint Ĵöči as your successor? How can we let ourselves be ruled by this bastard offspring of the Merkit?”⁶⁹ After this rude interruption Jochi attempts to defend himself by grabbing his brother and saying,

⁶⁶ Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz Volume Three, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Deweese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 26.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁶⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, translated by John Andrew Boyle, Columbia University Press, New York, 1971, 98.

⁶⁹ Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Deweese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 183.

I have never been told by my father the Qan [Khan] that I was different from my brothers. How can you discriminate against me? In what skill are you better than I? Only in your obstinacy you are, perhaps, better. If we shoot arrows at a long distance and I am outdone by you, I shall cut off my thumb and throw it away! If we wrestle and I am defeated by you, I shall not rise from the place where I have fallen! Let the order of my father the Qan decide which of us is better!⁷⁰

Boyle's work refers to this heated conversation as the "taunt" in his translations of Rashid al-Din. It is this belief that Jochi is not the child of Genghis Khan that is the center point of the conflict between he, his brothers and their descendants.

Yet while the brothers of Jochi question his lineage, Genghis Khan celebrated him as his eldest son. This is first shown in 1195 when, according to Rashiduddin Fazlullah, he asks Jagambu the brother of Ong Khan and his *anda* or blood brother "for one of [his] daughters... Begtutmish Fūjin... for his eldest son, Jochi"⁷¹ A similar scene is displayed in the *Secret History of the Mongols* when Genghis Khan requested the "younger sister of Semggüm, Ča' ur Beki, for his son Ĵoči... [stating], 'I shall give in exchange our daughter Qoĵin Beki to Semggüm's son Tusaqa.'⁷² Even though this marriage proposal is rejected it does show Genghis Khan attempting to insulate his eldest son and prove to those who may question his parentage that he is in fact of his loins.

It is this idea of parental insulation that is later put in play when in 1206 Genghis Khan orders one of his generals "Qunan, [who was] at the head of the Geniges... [to] be a commander of ten thousand under Ĵoči."⁷³ It was with this army that Jochi was sent against a group known as the *Hoy-in Irgen* or "forest people" in the subsequent year. This

⁷⁰ Ibid., 183.

⁷¹ Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World; Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties; Volume III*, translated and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tavis and co. LTD, New York, 2012, 124.

⁷² Igor de Rachewiltz *The secret History of the Mongols; Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century Volume I*, Translated with a historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 84.

⁷³ Ibid., 143.

invasion was something like an apprenticeship for Jochi and was his first foray into martial affairs. As the army moved forward they encountered “Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat [who] came to submit ahead of the Tümen Oyirat.”⁷⁴ As a result Quduqa Beki voluntarily “led Joči to the territory of the Tümen Oyirat and made them submit at the Šiqšit River.”⁷⁵ After this the *Secret History of the Mongols* lists several additional tribes of the forest that Jochi brought under his control with the assistance of Quduqa Beki. These tribes included the “Buriyat, Barqun, Ursut, Qabqanas, Qangqas and Tubas”⁷⁶ Under Jochi’s command the army continued to bloodlessly bring the various tribes of the forest under their wing as the “Kirgisut, [and] their leaders [not only] ... came to submit... [but] paid homage to Joči.”⁷⁷ Yet Jochi, being mindful of his position, demanded that these same leaders of the forest people should also “pay homage to Činggis Qa’an with”⁷⁸ the same gifts they had given to him.

It was because of the bloodless resolution of the conflict between the Forest people and the Mongols that “Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat... [was rewarded by Genghis Khan who said] ‘He came to submit before the others, leading the Tümen Oyirat.’ [The Great Khan then]... showed favour to [Quduqa Beki by], giving [his daughter] Čečeyigen to his son Inalči... [and] Joči’s daughter Qoluiqan to Törölči, elder brother of Inalči.”⁷⁹ More importantly Genghis Khan rewarded Jochi by stating; “You, eldest of my sons... have been lucky. Without wounding or causing suffering to man or gelding in the lands

⁷⁴ Ibid., 163-164.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 163-164.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 163-164.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 163-164.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 163-164.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 163-164.

where you went, you came back having subjugated the fortunate People of the Forest. I shall give this people to you.”⁸⁰

It was through this decree that Jochi may have become the ruler of the Oirat people. Yet to further understand the path of Jochi one must follow both he and the Oirat people. One clue to following Jochi can be found in the work of Urgunge Onon who points out in his book *The History and the Life of Chinggis Khan; The Secret History of the Mongols* that “three of these names (Inalchi, Qoluyiqan and Törölchi) are used as personal names, [yet] they all had other meanings.”⁸¹ Onon points out that Inalshi [or Inalči] was often translated as the title for ‘prince’ or ‘duke’ whereas Qoluyiqan [or Qoluiqan] was translated as ‘daughter of a tribal god’ or very well could be defined as ‘goddess’; and the word Törölchi [or Törölči] is also often translated as ‘prince; son of an emperor, [or] duke.’⁸² This means that in researching these three individuals that they may in fact have another name.⁸³

Almost ten years pass before any other mention can be found of Jochi Khan. According to the work of Rashiduddin Fazlullah in the year 1216 Jochi was still in an apprenticeship position, this time under General Sübädäi Bahadur. These Mongols had been charged with bringing the Merkits under their heel, and a point had arisen where the

⁸⁰ Ibid., 163-164.

⁸¹ Urgunge Onon, *The History and the life of Chinggis Khan; The Secret History of the Mongols*; Translated and annotated by Urgunge Onon, E.J. Brill, New York, 1990, 133.

⁸² Urgunge Onon, *The History and the life of Chinggis Khan; The Secret History of the Mongols*; Translated and annotated by Urgunge Onon, E.J. Brill, New York, 1990, 133

⁸³ When thinking of this it is important to remember that the people who wrote the *Secret History of the Mongols* had a train of thought that centered around the Mongol world. Simply put if you were not a Mongol then you did not matter.

Merkits had been “defeated... so thoroughly that no one remained except for one of the younger sons named Qultuqan Märkän... [who was known as an] expert archer.”⁸⁴

Many years before a similar scenario had befallen Genghis Khan when he was fighting the Tayyichi’ut at the Köyiten mountain range. While he was organizing his army and commanding them into position, a single “arrow [was fired from the mountain top]... and broke the nape of the neck”⁸⁵ of his horse. As a result the Great Khan fell from the now dead beast and was injured severely. After he healed from the injuries suffered in the battle a survivor named Jirqo’adai was brought before him and questioned as to whom had shot that arrow. Upon being confronted, Jirqo’adai admits that it was he that shot the arrow and begs for the mercy of the Khan, pledging that from this day forward he will use all of his skills in support of him. Here Genghis Khan famously says;

A man who has been an enemy, (when faced with) those he has killed, those he is an enemy towards, hides himself and retracts his words, (for) he is afraid. But, I say, with regard to all this (it is) the contrary (here); (faced with) those he has killed, those he is an enemy towards, he does not deny it. On the contrary, he admits it. (This) is a man to (have) as a companion. He was named Jirqo’adai, but because he is one who shot at the nape of the neck of my yellow armoured horse with the white mouth, he shall be named Jebe and (Chinggis Qahan) decreed that he should walk at his side.⁸⁶

In this same fashion Qultuqan Märkän was brought before Jochi and possibly in remembrance of the ascension of the great Mongol general Jebe he “sent a messenger to [his father] asking that his life be spared.”⁸⁷ Yet unlike Jebe this request was denied by

⁸⁴ Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World; Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties; Volume III*, translated and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tavis and co. LTD, New York, 2012, 160

⁸⁵ Urgunge Onon, *The History and the Life of Chinggis Khan; The Secret History of the Mongols*, translated and annotated by Urgunge Onon, E.J. Brill, New York, 1990, 62.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁸⁷ Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World; Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties; Volume III*, translated and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tavis and co. LTD, New York, 2012, 160.

Genghis Khan, as he had no love for the Merkit people who were responsible for the abduction of his first wife. As a result Jochi was left with no other option and reluctantly yet obediently put this sole survivor of the Merkit tribe to death. It should also be noted that Genghis Khan was sending his eldest son to wipe out a group that he was rumored to be a member of.

Another possible clue to the path of Jochi Khan may be found at the Khwarazmi Battle of Nishapur which occurred on April 7, 1221. For it is in this battle that according to Rashiduddin Fazlullah “Genghis Khan’s son-in-law Toqochar Kürägän who... [was believed to be] Qarachar Noyan’s younger brother [died].”⁸⁸ What Onon’s work points to, is that the Mongols do not value the names of the people that are subjugated to them and Kürägän is probably a Turkisized version of the Mongol word *güregen* which means son-in-law. This leads to the question, could this Toqochar in fact be the same Oirat called Törölchi that was married to Jochi’s daughter? And therefore could it be Jochi Khan’s “daughter [who] entered the city, and in retribution for the death of her husband... left no trace of anything that moved.”⁸⁹

Yet not long after this battle “the princes Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödä, were in the midst of taking [the] Khwarazm [city of Urgench].”⁹⁰ Upon their arrival “their troops encircled... [this city]. First they sent messengers into the city to invite the people to

⁸⁸ Khwandanir, *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World; Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties; Volume II*, translated and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tavis and co. LTD, New York, 2012, 22.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 23.

⁹⁰ Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World; Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties; Volume III*, translated and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tavis and co. LTD, New York, 2012, 180.

submit, and when the sending of messengers proved futile, they set about laying siege.”⁹¹ Yet the recurring conflict between Jochi and Chaghatai came to the forefront once again and “a quarrel broke out between... [them], and for five months the Mongols were unable to take Khwarazm. When this news reached Genghis Khan he issued a command that Ögödái lead the army and that Jochi, Chaghatai, the commanders and leaders should not disobey Ögödái’s orders.”⁹² It was not until 1223 that the city of Urgench of Khwarazm was finally conquered. On the conclusion of this conflict Genghis Khan gathered his sons together and at this meeting Chagatai once again began to insult Jochi saying ;

I do not wish to talk about Jochi’s strength, (nor) our intellectual skills.

(Game) killed by mouth

Cannot be loaded (onto a horse);

(Game) slaughtered by words

Cannot be skinned.

Jochi and I are the eldest of (your) sons. We wish to serve the Qahan (our) father in partnership. Let us split open the one (of us) who shirks, let us slash the heel of the one (of us) who lags behind.⁹³

It was at the conclusion of this interaction between Genghis Khan and Chagatai that the third son in the Chinggisid lineage Ögödei was selected as the inheritor of the Khanship. The rumor of Jochi’s lineage was the source of all disrespect that was given to him, his people and even his children, and evidence of this conflict was shown time and time again throughout the *Secret History of the Mongols*. This text shows a power struggle within the Chingisid court, and Genghis Khan feared that this conflict would eventually lead to open combat between the different branches of the Chingisid line. To

⁹¹ Khwandanir, *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World; Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties; Volume II*, translated and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tavis and co. LTD, New York, 2012 , 19.

⁹² Ibid., 19.

⁹³ Urgunge Onon, *The History and the life of Chinggis Khan: The Secret History of the Mongols*; Translated and annotated by Urgunge Onon, E.J. Brill, New York, 1990, 149-151.

avoid this inevitable conflict that was caused by the great tension between his sons Genghis Khan sought to separate them with as much distance as possible to prevent bloodshed. He therefore decreed; “Why should you (go) as far as acting in partnership? Mother Earth is wide and (her) rivers and waters are many... you shall rule over (separate) lands and I shall (thus) separate you.”⁹⁴ After this meeting and “the conquest of Khwarazm, Jochi Khan, because of the bitterness he harbored towards his brothers, had gone to the Qipchaq steppe,”⁹⁵ an area that had been assigned to him as a governorship. It is important to note, that at the time these areas were as far away from Mongolia proper as possible and these lands were given to Jochi so as to create as much distance between he and his brothers as could be done. This meant that Genghis Khan’s new intention for his empire would be to split it into four smaller Khanates for each of his sons. As Mongol tradition stated the youngest, Tolui, would inherit the maternal homeland and would be charged with his mother’s care. This meant that the position of the great Khan would fall to one of the three older brothers. Yet Chaghatai was considered a hothead and his “brother” Jochi’s lineage was questioned. This meant that by process of elimination Ogodei would be the next Khan, as was declared by his father.

Later Jochi was called back to battle by his father and thus “he too set out from his territory in obedience to a command from [Genghis Khan] to join the hunting circle.”⁹⁶ This hunting circle was to be known later as the Battle with Shidurgu and occurred between December 1224 and January 1225. At the conclusion of the Mongol victory Jochi was called to his father where he “knelt and was privileged to kiss his

⁹⁴ Ibid., 149-151.

⁹⁵ Khwandanir, *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World: Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties; Volume II*, translated and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tauris and co. LTD, New York, 2012, 25.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 25.

father's hand and present his tribute, among which were a hundred thousand horses, twenty thousand of which were solid white."⁹⁷ After paying tribute to his father and to prevent further altercations between his children "Jochi Khan was sent back to the Qipchaq steppe."⁹⁸ It should be noted that while Jochi was the governor of the Qipchaq Steppe he was also assigned that position within s "Khwarazm ..., the Alans, As, Rus, Bulgar, and their dependencies."⁹⁹ As the Mongol empire grew Jochi was being moved further and further away from Mongol proper and these lands were given to Jochi so as to create as much distance between he and his brothers as possible.

Yet this distance did not prevent the rumor from spreading and the specter of Jochi's lineage was always present, even after his death, and one of the most atrocious acts they may be attributed to this question, was ordered by his own brother, Ögödei, who ruled the Mongol empire from 1229 until his death in 1241. During his reign, Ögödei sent out "a decree [that] the daughters of... [the Oirat] tribe were to be affianced to a certain group of people. In fear they affianced most of their daughters to husbands within the tribe, and some they actually delivered up to them."¹⁰⁰ This did not set well with Ögödei Khan and quite possibly because these people had been promised to Jochi by his father, he ordered his men;

to gather all the girls of that tribe over seven years of age and to take back all who had been given that year to their husbands. Four thousand girls were assembled. He ordered those who were daughters of emirs to be separated from the rest and made a *yasa* that all who were present should have intercourse with them. Two of the girls expired. As for the rest, he drew them up in two rows. Those who were worthy

⁹⁷ Ibid., 25.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 25.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 42.

¹⁰⁰ Rashid al-Din, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, translated by John Andrew Boyle, Columbia University Press, New York, 1971, 94.

of the *ordo* he dispatched to the harem, some he gave to the cheetah-keepers and falconers, and some to the various attendants at Court; others again he sent to the brothel and the hostel for ambassadors. As for those that still remained, he ordered all present whether Mongol or Muslims, to carry them off whilst their brothers, husbands, and kinsmen looked on not daring to breathe.¹⁰¹

Both Genghis Khan and Jochi Khan died in the year 1227, yet the effects of the rumor of Jochi's parentage carried on well after both of their corpses were put in the ground. The important thing to remember is that Jochi Khan was loathed by his siblings, and this simple fact is probably the origin of why Batu Khan, the second son of Jochi, was disrespected by his cousins while the Mongols were on their European conquests. This conflict saw the likes of "Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge, and... many other princes [who were] campaigning in the rearguard of Sübe'etei-ba'atur"¹⁰² After the group had battled bravely and had conquered a huge part of the Kipchak steppe, a feast was called to celebrate their victory. During this celebration Batu Khan arose first to give a toast to their winning and raised his celebratory bowl. This caused his cousins "Büri and Güyük... [to not] take part in the feast and [instead] rode off."¹⁰³ Yet as the duo left the ceremony Büri questioned "Why did Batu drink first, in spite of being [our] equal? We should push with [our] heels and trample with [our] insteps old women with beards [timid like him] who become [our] equals."¹⁰⁴ Then Güyük added "Let us beat the breasts of those old women [like him] with thorny sticks."¹⁰⁵ Ögödei later admonished his son, Güyük, and requested that his nephew, Büri, also be admonished by his father, Chaghatai, for their very public actions. This did not mean that the brothers had accepted

¹⁰¹ Rashid al-Din, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, translated by John Andrew Boyle, Columbia University Press, New York, 1971, 94.

¹⁰² Urgunge Onon, *The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan, translated, annotated, and with an introduction* Urgunge Onon, Routledge Curzon, London and New York, 2001, 267.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 268.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 268.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 268.

Batu as an equal to his “cousins” it simply meant that the potential of Batu as a war leader was seen and that Ögödei did not want his child or others to question the acts of people who were militarily their superiors.

The confusion of lineage continued well after Ögödei’s when his second son Mongke became the great Khan. Unlike his brother Güyük, Mongke supported the rule of Batu and believed him to be of good military character. Yet Mongke’s view was not the view of many other Mongols, and this was in all likelihood a continuation of the disrespect that was shown to these people as a result of Jochi’s parentage being questioned and may have been at the heart of the later conflict between the Ilkhans and the Golden Horde. While the Ilkhans populated present day Iraq they had not accepted a state religion. However, the Golden Horde felt ostracized by their Mongol brethren, probably due to the recurring question of lineage, and as a result the Golden Horde became an Islamic state.

Conclusion

For a man that has so little written about him there is much mythology that surrounds both his birth and his death. It is believed that Jochi predeceased his father in 1227 by some three months. The tale of his death can loosely be pieced together by utilizing several pieces of information. First, the work Rashid al Din who claims that Jochi had grown extremely ill in the months before his death, and even though he was sick he still went out on hunts with his people and was seen astride a horse. Yet his father had demanded he come to his court on several occasions and all of his demands had been ignored. When Genghis Khan was told that Jochi was seen hunting he became furious and gathered up his tumen to dispense the ultimate penalty for his sons insolence. Yet it

is at this point where the mythology that surrounds Jochi Khan comes to the forefront once again. Because “According to popular legend... [he] was killed somewhere near Ulytau during the hunt, being torn to pieces by lame kulan who broke khan from horse and chewed off his right hand.”¹⁰⁶ This myth was later depicted by a Kazakhstani bard or *zhyrau* named Ketbyga to Genghis Khan.¹⁰⁷ This piece was called “*Aqsaq Kulan*,” or “*Lame Kulan*”¹⁰⁸ and it was performed in its entirety on an instrument known as a *qobyz*. This song related the mournful tale of how Jochi had met his demise and after it was played for Genghis Khan the instrument “was punished... by being filled with molten lead on the Khan’s orders for having relayed the unhappy news.”¹⁰⁹ The odd part of this tale comes from a simple translation of the original title of this piece, *Aqsaq Kulan*. Here a simple understanding of Turkic-Mongolic languages is needed. As has been previously implied the word *Aqsaq* means lame, and the word *Kulan* refers to what is known as an Asian wild-ass. This creature is native to Central Asia and during Genghis Kahn’s time it

¹⁰⁶ <http://kazakhstan.travel/en/attractions/attraction/666> accessed 02-09-2015 @ 8:15 A.M.

¹⁰⁷ Didar Kassymova, Zhanat Kundakbayeva, and Jstina Markus; *Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan*; Scarecrow Press; Lanham, Maryland, 2012
<https://books.google.com/books?id=BbRsMq03dh0C&pg=PA298&lpg=PA298&dq=ketbyga-zhyrau&source=bl&ots=MQnheHxAGJ&sig=E89OBVChqfR6TTArRx5RuXBg3VM&hl=en&sa=X&ei=uCHYVPDXJMzagwTXIIDACA&sqi=2&ved=0CB4Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=ketbyga-zhyrau&f=false>
 accessed 02-09-2015 @ 8:24 A.M.

¹⁰⁸ Didar Kassymova, Zhanat Kundakbayeva, and Jstina Markus; *Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan*; Scarecrow Press; Lanham, Maryland, 2012
<https://books.google.com/books?id=BbRsMq03dh0C&pg=PA298&lpg=PA298&dq=ketbyga-zhyrau&source=bl&ots=MQnheHxAGJ&sig=E89OBVChqfR6TTArRx5RuXBg3VM&hl=en&sa=X&ei=uCHYVPDXJMzagwTXIIDACA&sqi=2&ved=0CB4Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=ketbyga-zhyrau&f=false>
 accessed 02-09-2015 @ 8:24 A.M.

¹⁰⁹ Didar Kassymova, Zhanat Kundakbayeva, and Jstina Markus; *Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan*; Scarecrow Press; Lanham, Maryland, 2012
<https://books.google.com/books?id=BbRsMq03dh0C&pg=PA298&lpg=PA298&dq=ketbyga-zhyrau&source=bl&ots=MQnheHxAGJ&sig=E89OBVChqfR6TTArRx5RuXBg3VM&hl=en&sa=X&ei=uCHYVPDXJMzagwTXIIDACA&sqi=2&ved=0CB4Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=ketbyga-zhyrau&f=false>
 accessed 02-09-2015 @ 8:24 A.M.

was forbidden to hunt them. With these pieces put together the picture of Jochi Khan's believed death comes into view. Jochi Khan was probably on hunting expedition when he chanced upon a lame Kulan. As he approached for the "easy kill" he was somehow thrown from his horse. During the process Jochi's right hand was ripped from his body and he fell to the ground where either his horse or the Kulan repeatedly stomped his head. It is rumored that sometime in 1948 the Soviets conducted an excavation of his mausoleum and when they dug up the grave of the sole inhabitant, the skull was indeed crushed in and the right hand was missing.

Within the tale of Jochi's death there are also implications of his lineage. The first evidence that is presented is that Genghis Khan, unlike the majority of his children, believes that Jochi is his son. If the Great Khan did not believe this then he would not have reacted as he did to the *zhylrau* and the instrument probably would not have been punished. Further support of this belief, that Genghis Khan celebrated Jochi as his own child, is a simple question. Why was a mausoleum built for Jochi Khan and who built it? Unfortunately there is insufficient evidence to provide a definitive answer. Yet, the assumption could be made that the mausoleum was built by members of the Jochid line and that it was built to show honor to, probably the most diplomatic Mongol in the history of the Mongols.

CHAPTER III

A FOOTPRINT ON THE STEPPE: DEFINING THE HOY-IN IRGEN

Sometimes inspiration can come from an unexpected source. One such source is Anna Reid's work *The Shaman's Coat; A Native History of Siberia*, which is a decent introduction to the native people groups of Siberia. In this work Reid presents several terms that have historical significance to the Mongol scholar. Due to the fact that these terms are associated with the various named people groups within Central Asia. This familiarity begins on the second page of her book when she writes that the indigenous people of Siberia were "unaware that the world stretched beyond their own vast horizons, they called themselves simply 'sea-people', 'forest-people' or 'men'."¹¹⁰ The terminology of a "forest people" in particular would be of significance to a Mongol historian as this phrase is used in the *Secret History of the Mongols* and in fact can be tied directly to my very limited lexicon of Mongol based languages. This very same term "forest people" or *Hoy-in irgen* is a demonym, a name that a group of people from a certain region are called by another group, used to describe the tribes who resided within the general vicinity of Lake Baikal,¹¹¹ and these people groups were encountered by Jochi Khan in 1207 as chronicled in §239 of the *Secret History of the Mongols*. It is obvious that Reid does not know this when reading her book. For if she had been armed with the phrase; "Jochi made the Oyirat, Buriyat, Barqun, Ursut, Qabqanas[,] Qangqas and Tubas

¹¹⁰ Anna Reid, *The Shaman's Coat; A Native History of Siberia*, Walker and Company, New York, 2002, 2

¹¹¹ Hoi-yin is the Mongol equivalent of forest, whereas irgen means people. Mongols often referred to themselves as the *Ker'er-ün irgen* or steppe people.

[people] submit,”¹¹² along with the knowledge that this group was referred to as “the fortunate forest people,”¹¹³ by Genghis Khan at the conclusion of this same section of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, then she would have known that the Tuvans (Tubas above) and the Buriyat are in fact of this same demonym. In addition she mentions a group that she refers to as the “Dzungar Mongols.”¹¹⁴ Because Reid in all likelihood was not exposed to the mix of Mongol languages, she would not have known Dzungar and Junghar are the same word with a different spelling and Dzungaria is the traditional home of the “so-called Junghar (Jaguv Qhar ‘Left Hand’) Khanate [which] was established in the Ili region,” of the Altai Mountain range.¹¹⁵ In addition these same Dzungar Mongols have been known by many different names. While Reid refers to them as the Dzungar (Junghar) they are also referred to as Western Mongols or more commonly as Kalmucks, Kalmyks, or the many varieties of Oirat, which is a third group of people in the list of the *Hoi-yin Irgen* that Jochi Khan conquered all those years ago. Thus through the inspiration of Anna Reid this chapter will attempt to search for the footprint on the steppe that the Hoy-in irgen left behind.

While Reid’s work would be considered an introduction to these people groups Dr. Igor de Rachewiltz work *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, would be considered a more advanced expedition into the Hoy-in irgen. The first two tribes that he speaks of are “the Oyirat [who] are the historical Oirat ancestors of the Kalmucks, and the Buriyat the ancestors of the modern

¹¹² Urgunge Onon, *The Secret History of the Mongols: The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan*, Curzon Press, Richmond, Surrey, 2001, 222-223

¹¹³ Ibid., 223.

¹¹⁴ Anna Reid, *The Shaman’s Coat; A Native History of Siberia*, Walker and Company, New York, 2002, 67.

¹¹⁵ Ágnes Birtalan, *Oirat; The Mongolic Languages*, Routledge, London and New York, 2003, 210.

Buriats.”¹¹⁶ De Rachewiltz defines a third tribe as “the Barqun (the plural form Barqut... used by Rašīd al-Dīn)... [who can] be identified with the ancestors of the present-day Barguzin Buriat and the Bargu(t) of NW Manchuria”¹¹⁷ He continues by stating that “the Ursut (Rašīd al-Dīn’s Urāsūt) lived apparently next to the Kirghiz and the Qabqanas, whose territory was at the very source of the Yenisei”¹¹⁸ De Rachewiltz finally identifies “the Tubas... [as] the ancestors of the modern Tuba, the so-called Black Forest Tatars, of the Altai Republic.”¹¹⁹ According to de Rachewiltz six of the seven listed tribes of the Hoy-in Irgen have been identified with the only exception being the Qangqas.

To utilize this knowledge of the Hoy-in Irgen one must first understand their collective geographical origin. Which Rachewiltz also mentions in his philological commentary of the *Secret History of the Mongols*. He begins this explanation by stating that the “(hoy-in irgen) and other tribes... [inhabited] the region of the Irtysh, Angara and Yenisei (*kem*) rivers.”¹²⁰ When plotted on a map this shows that the Hoy-in irgen region, borders the northwest corner of modern Mongolia, just to the west of Lake Baikal.¹²¹ Rachewiltz goes into further detail of the Oirat tribe by stating that the Oirat’s “territory was the region along the Šišgid (Shishhid) Gol... just west of Lake Khubsugul (Xövsgöl Nuur) and flowing into Dod (Dood Nuur); however, it must have extended considerably

¹¹⁶ Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Dewese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 852.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 853.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 853.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 853.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 849.

¹²¹ *Kem* being the Mongolic Word for river.

to the south-west.”¹²² This would place this territory at the headwaters of the Yenisei River in northern Mongolia. In addition Rachewiltz states that when the Oirat leader “agreed to guide the Mongol army to the place where his former allies had in the meantime gathered... [he was escorting them to] the area of the Irtysh and Buktarma rivers about 700-800 km to the south-west [of the Oirat homeland].”¹²³ If this information is plotted on a map it shows the location to be in China today and is in all likelihood the area that would eventually become Dzungaria.

This information gives the researcher a good place to begin the search for the collective footprints of the Hoy-in irgen, and is very telling of pastoral nomadic societies. One of the key elements to their survival is water, which is known to be scarce in some of these regions. In fact it was so important to Genghis Khan that it is rumored that he had wrote in his *yasa*¹²⁴ that the act of urinating in water was a capital offense. Keep in mind that less than .4 % of Mongolia is arable land. What this means is that these people groups would have valued water over almost any other commodity. Since water was so prized to these people groups they often would gain their name from the body of water unto which they resided the closest to.

While Rachewiltz’s work is more advanced than Reid’s, there are still some glaring holes that are left in the discovery of the Hoy-in irgen. While some of the geographical location can be surmised, little more is presented. That is until a researcher looks at the *Secret History of the Mongols* from a literary aspect. Whoever the author of

¹²² Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Dewese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 849.

¹²³ Ibid., 849.

¹²⁴ Mongolic code of laws.

§239 of the *Secret History of the Mongols* was, they placed emphasis on two tribes in this section.

The first tribe of consequence was the previously mentioned Oyirats. This group was defined as having their tribal headquarters around the Shiqshit River. The Oyirats are of significance in the *Secret History of the Mongols* as they are mentioned in at least four different sections. §239 is probably the most important section to research on the Oirat tribe as this is the section that shows them gaining the favor of Genghis Khan through their submission. As a reward for their submission and guidance the tribe was rewarded with a couple of marriage pacts. The first marriage pact was the union of Genghis Khan's daughter "Čečeyigen to [Quduqa-beki's] son Inalči."¹²⁵ While the second marriage pact was the union of "Joči's daughter Qoluiqan to Törölči, elder brother of Inalči."¹²⁶ An interesting note is attached to these marriages in Urgunge Onon's translation of the *Secret History of the Mongols*. Here he mentions that "Inalchi was an Orkhon Turkish title for 'prince' or 'duke'...Qoluyiqan meant 'daughter of a tribal god'... and could be therefore perhaps mean 'goddess'; Törelchi is related to the Orkon Turkish *töre*, 'prince, son of an emperor, duke.'¹²⁷ Here Onon shows that all of these names had a Turkish origin.

Another tribe that left greater evidence of their existence was the Kirgisüts. According to Igor de Rachewiltz "the Tümen ('Ten Thousand') Kirgisut ... [leaders] names [were] Yedi Inal ('Seven' + the tribal chief's title *inal*), Aldi Er ('Six Men') and

¹²⁵ Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Deweese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 163-164.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 163-164.

¹²⁷ Urgunge Onon, *The Secret History of the Mongols; The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan*, translated, annotated and with an introduction by Urgunge Onon, Curzon, 2001, 223.

Örebeke Digin (‘Prince Örebeke’) are all Turkic.”¹²⁸ These names are further defined by Urgunge Onon as “Yed-inal derives from the Orkhon Turkish *yedi*, ‘lord, god’... and *inal*, ‘emperor, qan’...; Al-di’er, from the Orkhon Turkish *aldi’er*, ‘prince, duke’... and Örebeke-digin, from the Orkhon Turkish *orebeke*, ‘clan, kinship, social background’ and the Orkhon Turkish title *digin*, i.e., ‘clan chief.’”¹²⁹ Although these two historians disagree on the translations of some of these names they concur on the fact that these “names” are also of Turkic origin. This knowledge leads to further understanding of the Hoy-in irgen as the leaders of the two most prominent peoples that are associated with them in §239 are both named in a Turkish language.

Throughout the study of Mongol chronicles, a researcher will encounter many titles and honorifics which seem to be more important than the individual’s actual name. The most famous of these is Chinggis Khan. Keep in mind that the great Mongol ruler’s actual name was Temüjin, yet he will forever be known by his honorific. This same principle has been applied time and time again throughout the *Secret History of the Mongols* and even in other sources such as Rashid al-Din. It is also addressed in René Brousset’s work *The Empire of the Steppes; A History of Central Asia*. In this work Brousset states that “Shamans combined royal status with magical powers... [thus taking on the] of Bäki or Bāgi... [as was the case of the] chiefs of the Oirat and Märkit.”¹³⁰ These are some of the same people groups that are mentioned in §239 of the *Secret History of the Mongols*. A source that Brousset is obviously familiar with since he

¹²⁸ Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Dewese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 854.

¹²⁹ Urgunge Onon, *The Secret History of the Mongols; The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan*, translated, annotated and with an introduction by Urgunge Onon, Curzon, 2001, 222.

¹³⁰ René Brousset, *The Empire of the Steppes; A History of Central Asia*, translated from the French by Naomi Walford, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London, 1970, 195.

differentiates between two conflicting people groups, the forest people which like many other scholars Brousset refers to as the Hoy-in irgen and the steppe people with whom he calls the Ke'er-un irgen.¹³¹

With this information in hand a picture of the Hoy-in begins to emerge, and the focus is placed on seven groups who reside within the required area of the demonym. These people groups are the “Oyirad, Buriyad, Baryūn, Urdus, Qabqanas, Qangqas, and Tubas,”¹³² These seven tribes of the hoy-in irgen are further defined in Igor de Rachewiltz notes of his work *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*. The first two tribes that he speaks of are “the Oyirat [who] are the historical Oirat ancestors of the Kalmucks, and the Buriyat the ancestors of the modern Buriats.”¹³³

One common misconception is the belief that Central Asia was separated into bands of survival. To the far North was a band that represents the hunter-gathers, while in the middle was represented by a band of pastoral nomads, and to the south agrarian people lived in a sedentary manner. Evidence to the contrary of this can be seen in Peter B. Golden’s work *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples; Ethnogenesis and Stat-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*. Here Golden states that “the Hoy-in irgen... were more deeply involved in fur-trapping and hunting, although they, too engaged in animal husbandry. The activities of these “Forest

¹³¹ René Brousset, *The Empire of the Steppes; A History of Central Asia*, translated from the French by Naomi Walford, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London, 1970, 195.

¹³² Francis Woodman Cleaves, *The Secret History of the Mongols; For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with and Exegetical Commentary*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1982, 173.

¹³³ Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Dewese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 852.

Peoples” may well have represented the type of economic pursuits in which the Mongols were engaged before turning to pastoral nomadism.”¹³⁴ The researcher needs to keep in mind that there are no lines that separate “northern” hunter, gatherers from “central” pastoral nomads. Just as there is no line that separates the “central” pastoral nomads from the “southern” sedentary population. These people groups that are referred to as pastoral nomads would use any means necessary to survive. This means that often they would be hunter gatherers during the warmer months. Surviving off of what they could catch or collect, to include massive amounts of dairy products.¹³⁵ Only slaughtering their livestock in the colder months where game was scarce. This is the model that the Hoy-in irgen practiced as well as the Mongols. Another vital point to the continued existence of the pastoral nomadic people was raiding and warfare. These two acts would assist in maintaining the population in two different aspects. First raiding and warfare brings goods that these people would not have access to, into the overall society. These goods, in turn would assist in maintaining the homelands pastures and other resources. Second and more importantly, if a large contingent of the population is away, then they do not have a direct effect on the food supplies of their homeland. This means that the pasture animals and the hunted animals would not have to support these individuals that were away fighting. Keep in mind that the Mongols traveled very lightly and they generally got their foodstuffs from the general area that they were assaulting. In turn because the pastoral nomadic troops did not carry mass quantities of victuals they were allowed to fight at a higher rate of speed. A contemporary example of this type of warfare would be the Nazi Blitzkrieg. The Nazis, much like the Mongols, attacked with as much speed as

¹³⁴ Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples; Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992, 284.

¹³⁵ Keep in mind the pastoral nomads are not picky about which animal they receive their milk from.

possible and often times did not carry with them enough supplies to maintain their survival. It is this type of warfare in turn that is of extreme importance in understanding why the Mongols invaded the Hoy-in irgen in the first place. Even today the forested areas of southern Siberia are known as hunting grounds and these very same hunting grounds would have been appealing to the Mongols as a way to provide for their people. With a large contingent of the Mongol population away from Mongol proper fighting, the citizenry left behind would have been able to better provide for themselves, simply because there were fewer mouths to feed.

Rachewiltz' argument is compelling in that it describes the member tribes of the Hoy-in irgen in as much detail as possible. The first group that is often discussed when the Hoy-in irgen are mentioned are the Oirat. This group has probably had the most name changes of any group within the Hoy-in irgen. In many text they are named Oyirat or Oirat, however they were also known by the name Dzungar or Jangar, as well as the previously mentioned Kalmuck or Kalmyk. These many name changes add to the difficulty of researching this people group. The tribe initially went by the name of Oyirat, and Indjieva, one of the leading experts in the Oirat language describes the movements of the Oyirat in her dissertation, entitled *Oirat Tones and Break Indices (O-ToBI) Intonational Structure of the Oirat Language*. Within her dissertation she reports that “until the... [13th] century... [the Oirats] lived south and southwest of Lake Baikal. However, after Chinggis Khan's eldest son Jochi attacked the ‘Forest People’ (1206-7), they moved to the steppes of Altai region and adopted a fully nomadic way of life.”¹³⁶ She further defines the term Oirat as a name that “is used to cover several groups of

¹³⁶ Elena Indjieva, *Oirat Tones and Break Indices (O-ToBI) Intonational Structure of the Oirat Language*, a dissertation submitted to the graduate division of the University of Hawai'i, 2009, 7.

Western Mongols, who originally belonged to the tribal confederation of the Hoi-yin Irgen [or] ‘Forest People.’”¹³⁷ In addition Indjieva states that in the 15th century the Hoi-yin Irgen “expanded their territory from Altai to Hi (a region in present day China, at the border between China and Khazaxstan) where they established the so-called Jungharia.”¹³⁸ She continues by stating that this fifteenth century Oirat confederation consisted mainly of four tribes that she identifies as the “Torgud (Torguud), Hoshuut (Khoshut), Derbet (Dərbet), and Oel'd (Əəl'd).”¹³⁹

Indjieva’s research does not mention that this group is the one who initially submitted to Jochi Khan in 1207 and was rewarded with marriage pacts to the Mongol Royal family. At times they were allies to the Mongols and other times they were bitter enemies. After the rise of Jungharia the Oirats were known to have created their own nomadic empire that many historians consider to have been the last remnants of the former Mongol glory.

Geographically the remnants of Jungharia can be found in the Xinjiang province of China. Here such areas as the Dzungarian Gate, one of the few passes between China and Kazakhstan in the Altay Mountains, and Dzungarian Basin can be discovered. One of the final name changes of this people group happened in the 17th century when they fled Dzungaria for the steppes of the lower Volga River Valley. While the group maintained the name of Oirat, they were referred to by the Russians as Kalmyks, which is a Turkic word meaning those left behind.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 7.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 7.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 7.

Unlike the other member tribes of the Hoy-in irgen the Buriats are not a Turkish based people.¹⁴⁰ This is probably because they traditionally resided on the eastern shore of Lake Baikal “since the ninth and tenth centuries. The emergence of Buryat as a separate Mongol language, however, took place only later, and possibly due to a Tungusic substrate.”¹⁴¹ Because the Buriats had contact with the eastern fisher folk of Tungusic society it is easy to see how this language type may have entered their dialect, and “the assumption of Tungusic influence is supported by...archaeology, anthropology, ethnography, onomastics, folklore, and linguistics.”¹⁴² Modern “Buryat (*buryaad-xelen*) is a Northern Mongolic language.”¹⁴³ Adding further credence to the belief of Tungusic influence is that “small remnants of Tungusic (Ewenki) speakers survive up to the present day in some parts of Buryatia, notably in the Barguzin valley east of Lake Baikal.”¹⁴⁴

In a contemporary context “the Buryat are divided among three administrative units of the Russian Federation: (1) the Buryat Republic of Buryatia, east and south of Lake Baikal, (2) the Aga National District (*okrug*) of Chita Province (*oblast*), east of Buryatia, and (3) the Ust’-Orda National District of Irkutsk Province, west of Lake Baikal.”¹⁴⁵ These three groupings are further divided along linguistic and religious lines between “the Western (or Cis-Baikalian) Buryat and the Eastern (or Trans-Baikalian) Buryat.”¹⁴⁶ “This division [directly] correlates with... [the regional split that occurred between the two groups in] the eighteenth century, when the Eastern Buryat started to

¹⁴⁰ There are multiple spellings of the term Buryat (Buriat) and both are correct.

¹⁴¹ Elena Skribnik, *The Mongolic Languages; Chapter Five; Buryat*, Edited by Juha Janhunen, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York, 2003, 102

¹⁴² Ibid., 102.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 102.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 102.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 102.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 102.

convert from Shamanism to Buddhism, while the Western Buryat were Christianized.”¹⁴⁷

Upon the arrival of the Russians in the nineteenth century this split was intensified and “as a result, the effects of acculturation and linguistic Russification are more pronounced among the Western Buryat, while the Eastern Buryat have retained cultural and linguistic links with the rest of the Mongolic world.”¹⁴⁸

De Rachewiltz defines a third tribe as “the Barqun (the plural form Barqut... used by Rašīd al-Dīn)... [who can] be identified with the ancestors of the present-day Barguzin Buriat and the Bargu(t) of NW Manchuria”¹⁴⁹ This group lived in close proximity to the Buryats and are believed to be their northern neighbor. There is very little information written about this group and it is believed that they were eventually brought into the fold of the Buryat tribal confederation.

The Ursut is listed as a member tribe of the hoy-in irgen by Onon in his translation of § 239 of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, yet Cleaves in his work *The Secret History of the Mongols; For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with and Exegetical Commentary, further evidence of this group can be discovered*, refers to them as the Urdus. While both scholars list the confederation as the Hoy-in irgen. Onon lists the member tribes as the “Oyirat, Buriyad, Barqun, Ursut, Qabqanas[,] Qanqas, and Tubas.”¹⁵⁰ Whereas, Cleaves lists these tribes as the “Oyirad,

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 102.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 102.

¹⁴⁹ Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Dewese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 853.

¹⁵⁰ Urgunge Onon, *The Secret History of the Mongols: The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan*, Curzon Press, Richmond, 2001, 222.

Buriyad, Baryūn, Urdus, Qabqanas, Qangqas, and Tubas.”¹⁵¹ While there appears to be little difference between the two translations the naming of Urdus instead of Ursut is significant. In Dr. Igor de Rachewiltz notes he states that “the Ursut (Rašīd al-Dīn’s Urāsūt) lived apparently next to the... Qabqanas, whose territory was at the very source of the Yenisei”¹⁵² Cleaves believes that these Ursuts can be identified by the Chinese translation of Wu-ssu. This is also the first instance where a member group of the Hoy-irgen gained their tribal name from their geographical location unto which they lived, in this case a river. Cleaves believes that their ancestral home can be “found east of the Chi-li-chi-ssu (Girgis) and north of the Ch’ien (Kem) River.”¹⁵³ This place has significance to the Ursut people “because they say that it is the place whence their first ancestor came.”¹⁵⁴ Much like the Oirats this tribe no longer lives within the boundaries of their place of origin. Instead the people known as the “Ordos (more properly Urdus)... [reside] in the southernmost part of Inner Mongolia, south of the Yellow River and north of the Great Wall. Its territory borders on the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region in the south and Shaanxi province in the southeast.”¹⁵⁵

Another tribe that is defined by their geographical location is mentioned by de Rachewiltz when he claims that the “Qabqanas... territory was at the very source of the

¹⁵¹ Francis Woodman Cleaves, *The Secret History of the Mongols: For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with and Exegetical Commentary*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1982, 173.

¹⁵² Ibid., 853.

¹⁵³ Francis Woodman Cleaves, *Qabqanas-Qamqanas*; *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol. 19, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1956), pp. 390-406, Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1956, 401, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org.databases.wtamu.edu:2048/stable/2718507> accessed 10/18/2015 @ 10:02.

¹⁵⁴ Francis Woodman Cleaves, *Qabqanas-Qamqanas*; *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol. 19, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1956), pp. 390-406, Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1956, 401, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org.databases.wtamu.edu:2048/stable/2718507> accessed 10/18/2015 @ 10:02.

¹⁵⁵ Stefan Georg, *The Mongolic Languages; Chapter Nine, Ordos*, Edited by Juha Janunen, Routledge, Taylor, and Francis Group, London and New York, 2003, 193.

Yenisei.”¹⁵⁶ Their territory is further identified in Francis Woodman Cleaves’ article entitled *Qabqanas~Qamqanas* which states that the Qabqanas tribe, like many other Hoy-irgen tribes, also was named after their geographical location. Cleaves states that the traditional Chinese translation for Qamqana is Han-ho-na which “is like saying *pu-nang*... (“cloth bag”).”¹⁵⁷ In this article Cleaves goes on to say that this in reference to the location of their ancestral lands, which he believes to have a small mouth yet at the same time a vast interior. He identifies this place as “the source of the Ch’ien (Kem) River... east of the Wu-ssu (U[r]s). [In] their territory there [are] only two mountain passes whereby one may... enter [or exit]. The terrain... and forests... are very inaccessible.”¹⁵⁸ Cleaves concludes his work by simply stating that several texts prove that the Qabqanas “were a people of the forest, living at the source of the Kem River, with a primitive forest economy. Their proximity to peoples whose Turkish composition is not to be doubted suggests that they also were ethnically Turkish.”¹⁵⁹

De Rachewiltz finally identifies “the Tubas... [as] the ancestors of the modern Tuba, the so-called Black Forest Tatars, of the Altai Republic.”¹⁶⁰ “The Tuvinians... of Western Mongolia-Tannu Tuva... are the Tofalar/ Tubalar and the Tuba of the Altay

¹⁵⁶ Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Deweese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 852.

¹⁵⁷ Francis Woodman Cleaves, *Qabqanas-Qamqanas*; *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol. 19, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1956), pp. 390-406, Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1956, 401, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org.databases.wtamu.edu:2048/stable/2718507> accessed 10/18/2015 @ 10:02.

¹⁵⁸ Francis Woodman Cleaves, *Qabqanas-Qamqanas*; *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol. 19, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1956), pp. 390-406, Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1956, 401, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org.databases.wtamu.edu:2048/stable/2718507> accessed 10/18/2015 @ 10:02.

¹⁵⁹ Francis Woodman Cleaves, *Qabqanas-Qamqanas*; *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol. 19, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1956), pp. 390-406, Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1956, 406, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org.databases.wtamu.edu:2048/stable/2718507> accessed 10/18/2015 @ 10:02.

¹⁶⁰ Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Deweese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 853.

Turks.”¹⁶¹ It must be noted at this point that while the Tuba tribe and the Tuvan tribe are closely related, they have formed two different societies that are separated by the Altay Mountains. Both tribes derived their name from the same people group and they are believed “to be connected with the Tupo of Chinese sources, a T’ieh-lê tribe, living south of Lake Baikal. Their ethnogenesis, like others in the region, involves Samodian, Kettic and Mongol elements as well as Turkic. The latter, it has been suggested, included the Uyğurs, Čik, Az and Telengüt, among others.”¹⁶²

Since the Tuvans are the most written about group of the Hoy-in irgen, study of them is vital to understanding the group in general. It is also important to keep in mind that the entirety of the member tribes could be referred to as Southern Siberian. At the same time the language known as “South Siberian Turkic is a relatively young regional group of Turkic. It can be divided into four main branches: Altay Turkic, Yenisey Turkic, Sayan Turkic and Chulym Turkic. Though these languages exhibit numerous common traits, they differ considerably in detail.”¹⁶³ Within these four branches there are linguistical subdivisions and Tuvan is such a division of the Sayan Turkic language branch. Complicating understanding of this language group is the fact that many “were written in Latin alphabets during a short period in the 1920’s and 1930’s. Before the construction of the modern South Siberian literary languages, Mongolian was used for literary purposes in the area.”¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples; Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992, 414-415.

¹⁶² Ibid., 414-415.

¹⁶³ Claus Schönig, *The Turkic Languages ;South Siberian Turkic* , edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, 403.

¹⁶⁴ Claus Schönig, *The Turkic Languages ;South Siberian Turkic* , edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, 403.

Tuvan itself can be broken down into several dialects which has had an impact on Hoy-in irgen research. The Tuvan dialects which are “Tofan, the Soyot variety spoken in Buryatia... three varieties spoken in Mongolia: Altay Tuvan, Uyghur-Uryankhay and Dukhan, and the variety spoken in China: Jungar Tuvan.”¹⁶⁵ Here three member groups of the Hoy-in irgen are mentioned, and their root language seems to be a dialect of Tuvan.

The final Tuvan group mentioned in Bayarma Khabtagaeva’s work *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*, speaks a version of Tuvan in the Xinjiang- Uyghur Autonomous Region of China. “They live in the Jungar Altay region of the Altay prefecture... [and] number approximately 4,000.”¹⁶⁶ This same group that Khabtagaeva refers to as the “Jungar Tuvans are trilingual in Tuvan, Kazakh and Mongolian languages, as they intermixed with Mongols... Jungar Tuvan people do not enjoy national minority status and [are] designated as Mongols in official circles.”¹⁶⁷ To understand the group that Khabtagaeva is mentioning his own brief history of the Tuvans must be examined.

Khabtagaeva states that “after the downfall of the Chingisid Empire, Tuva played a role in the struggle of the Khalkha and Oirat Khanates. From the end of the 14th century to the 16th century, the Tuvan people were under Oirat supremacy.”¹⁶⁸ This means that for a time one member group of the Hoy-in irgen was in control of another. Under the Oirats “the Tuvan tribes experienced relative freedom until the second half of the 16th century, when they became part of the Khalkha Khanate of Altan Khan.”¹⁶⁹ This struggle between the Oirats and the Khalkha Khanate would continue for at least another one

¹⁶⁵ Bayarma Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2009, 14.

¹⁶⁶ Bayarma Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2009, 17.

¹⁶⁷ Bayarma Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2009, 17.

¹⁶⁸ Bayarma Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2009, 21.

¹⁶⁹ Bayarma Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2009, 21.

hundred years. Then “in the second half of the 17th century, [the Tuvans] again became subjects of the Oirats of the Dzhungar Khanate, founded in 1635.”¹⁷⁰ This was another in a long list of name changes for the Oirat people. “The long and uncompromising Khalkha-Oirat struggle caused particular hardship for the Tuvans, since they were in double dependence or their territory moved continually ‘from one hand to another’.”¹⁷¹

The confusion demonstrated both Khabtagaeva and Reid is that the “Jungar Tuvans” live in an area that was once the Dzungar Khanate or Dzungaria. However, this is not a subgroup that was under the control of the Oirats. The “Jungar Tuvans” are in fact the remnants of Dzungar Khanate and the names Jungar and Dzungar are different spellings of the same people group. According to de Rachewiltz six of the seven tribes of the Hoy-in irgen have been identified with the only exception being the Qangqas of which there is no documentation.

Research of the Hoy-in irgen often references a Turkic fringe group that is not associated with but comes up time and time again. This group is known as the Uyghurs and they are discussed at length in the compilation entitled *The Turkic Languages* which is edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató. As previously mentioned in Peter B. Golden work *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples; Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* the Uyghurs are believed to be one of the father civilizations of at least the Tuvans. In addition the land area that is now known as the Xinjiang province of China was at one time named East Turkistan or the Republic of Uighuristan. This area is important to the further investigation into the Oirat tribe as it was also their transplanted home named

¹⁷⁰ Bayarma Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2009, 21.

¹⁷¹ Bayarma Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2009, 21.

Dzungaria. Echoes of this can still be seen in the Xinjiang province as “the present-day Uyghurs are evidently of multi-ethnic, though assumedly of predominantly Turkic descent.”¹⁷² In addition research has shown that “the language varieties they use are typologically separate from old Uyghur.”¹⁷³ Within the Xinjiang province modern “Uyghur is the native language of almost all Chinese citizens that are classified as ethnic Uyghers.”¹⁷⁴ Yet it must also be mentioned that that the Chinese classify the majority of the population as Uyghur even though a number of these citizens have “different ethnic labels, especially those whose ancestors speak or spoke other Turkic languages that are less widely used in Xinjiang, for example Tatar, Uzbek and Ili Turki.”¹⁷⁵ This land mass has received the name of Uighuristan simply because the majority of the population is believed to be Uyghur. Because of this “Uyghur is also widely used as a second language namely as an inter-ethnic regional lingua franca, by a considerable number of non-Uyghur residents of Xinjiang, for example by Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Tatars, Oirat-Mongols, Dungans (Hui), Sarikolis, Wakhs, and Russians, and to a lesser extent by Han Chinese.”¹⁷⁶

Probably the oddest connection between the Hoy-in irgen and their Turkic cousins to the west was this Chaghatay language. Keep in mind that “Uyghur has been a literary

¹⁷² Reinhard F. Hahn, *The Turkic Languages; Uyghur*, edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, 379.

¹⁷³ Reinhard F. Hahn, *The Turkic Languages; Uyghur*, edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, 379.

¹⁷⁴ Reinhard F. Hahn, *The Turkic Languages; Uyghur*, edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, 379.

¹⁷⁵ Reinhard F. Hahn, *The Turkic Languages; Uyghur*, edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, 379.

¹⁷⁶ Reinhard F. Hahn, *The Turkic Languages; Uyghur*, edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, 379.

language for several centuries.”¹⁷⁷ In fact it is the belief of most Mongolic scholars that the original *Secret History of the Mongols* was in fact written in Uyghur. Yet oddly enough “the preferred pre-twentieth century literary language was Chaghatay, mostly forms of Chaghatay that had been influenced by regional dialects.”¹⁷⁸ Chaghatay is believed to be a bridge language between old Uyghur and new Uyghur, and “can be defined as a succession of stages of written Turkic in Central Asia. In many respects it is also a continuation of earlier stages, notable of Karakhanid Turkic, with Kwarezmian Turkic as a transitional stage.”¹⁷⁹ To understand the oddity of this language choice one has to first understand the history of some of the mentioned peoples. To begin with Chaghatay was the second son of Genghis Khan and he was involved in the assault upon the Khwarezm. This attack began as a result of emissaries being sent to the Khwarezm for trade by Genghis Khan. Upon their arrival the Khwarezm killed the entire embassy. Genghis Khan’s reaction to this was nothing short of genocide. He sent his Mongol hordes into the Khwarezm territory and had them kill every man, woman, child, and beast. Leaving nothing unburnt and no two bricks left standing together. It is said that the Mongols destroyed around eighty per cent of the Khwarizmi population. Therefore to have this people groups language as being part of the bases for the Chaghatay written language is a huge surprise. As Hendrik Boeschoten and Marc Vandamme say in their chapter of *The Turkic Languages; Chaghatay*; “Chaghatay sources are a hybrid collection of texts written in a vast territory in Islamic Eurasia by speakers of different

¹⁷⁷ Reinhard F. Hahn, *The Turkic Languages; Uyghur*, edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, 379.

¹⁷⁸ Reinhard F. Hahn, *The Turkic Languages; Uyghur*, edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, 379.

¹⁷⁹ Hendrik Boeschoten and Marc Vandamme, *The Turkic Languages; Chaghatay*, edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, 166.

varieties of Turkic, who from the late fifteenth century onwards more or less tried to focus on a specific model known as classical Chaghatay.”¹⁸⁰

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the term Hoy-in irgen and this research causes some interesting observations to come into light. First, while there are seven member tribes of the Hoy-in irgen these tribes are further separated linguistically. The tribes that had their origin to the east of Lake Baikal, namely the Buriyad and the Barqun, speak a mostly Mongol type of language, while the tribes to the west of Lake Baikal, namely the Tuvans, have more Turkic influence in their language. In addition both the Oirat and Ursut languages are classified as Mongol, yet there is a great deal of Turkic influence within their various dialects. Little can be determined about the Qabqanas, other than they too had some Turkic roots, simply because there is only one book that has been written about this people group. Even less can be researched about the Qangqas, as the only mention of them is in § 239 of the *Secret History of the Mongols*. At the same time these groups present good examples of the phenomena known as Mongolized Turks. The Mongol invasions had a great impact on the languages of all of these peoples. This research also brings into light the opposite cultural influence as it presents the idea of Turkisized Mongols and in fact it appears that the further west the Mongols got from Mongolia proper the more Turkish they became, so much so that even conquered civilizations survived linguistically through the Mongols themselves. Two examples of this can be

¹⁸⁰ Hendrik Boeschoten and Marc Vandamme, *The Turkic Languages; Chaghatay*, edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, 166.

seen in the adoption of the Khwarezm Turkic language by Chaghatay's descendants and the adoption of Kipchak Turkish by Jochi's line.

Another interesting observation about the Hoy-in irgen is that of the seven original member tribes only two still reside within their original territory. In addition only four of the original tribes can still be defined in a modern context. The four remaining tribes are the Tuvans, the Buriyat, the Oirat, and the Ursut. Both the Tuvans and the Buriyat reside in their original territory, whereas the Oirats and Ursut have moved to different locals. While the Ursut now reside in northern China the Oirats have been dispersed across central Asia. The two largest contingents of Oirat society can be found in the Xinjiang province of China and in the Russian nation state of Kalmykia. While the languages of the Tuvans, Buriyat, and Ursut are protected by the tribal geographical location, the Oirats have had no such luck. It is because of this lack of luck that Elena Indjieva believed that Oirat is one of the most endangered languages in the world. In the two locations where ethnic Oirats reside this language is not taught nor is it used widely. In Kalmykia the primary language of use is Russian whereas in the Xinjiang province of China the primary language is the modern form of Uyghur. The study of these various languages are vital to any further research into the member tribes of the Hoy-in irgen because, as with most pastoral nomadic tribes, they leave little to no archeological evidence of their existence. This means that the best way to trace their travels is from the cultural and linguistic footprints that they left on central Asia. By and large this research has shown that these peoples were of a Turkic origin prior to the arrival of the Mongols in 1207 and from that point they became more and more Mongolized. Yet as the members of the Hoy-in irgen, particularly the Oirats, traveled further and further to the

west they continued to revert back to their Turkish roots. At the same time the groups that stayed in close proximity to Mongolia proper maintained a Mongol type of language. The travels of the Hoy-in irgen have been identified through this research of linguistics, and their language is the lone footprint that they left on the steppe.

CHAPTER IV

AMONG THE HORDE: THE OIRAT FOUNDATION OF THE GOLDEN HORDE

It is a common belief that the people group known as the Oirats did not arrive in the lower Volga River Valley until after they came into power in the sixteenth century and then fled their homeland in the seventeenth century. Yet there is a possibility that this people group resided in this same area well before the afore mentioned migration. To understand the possibility of such an Oirat presence, one must first explain who the Oirats are. Information presented by Elena Indjieva, one of the leading experts in the Oirat language, in her dissertation, entitled *Oirat Tones and Break Indices (O-ToBI) Intonational Structure of the Oirat Language* remains a vital tool to the understanding of the Oirat language and thus the people themselves. Her dissertation reports that “until the... [13th] century... [the Oirats] lived south and southwest of Lake Baikal. However, after Chinggis Khan’s eldest son Jochi attacked the ‘Forest People’ (1206-7), they moved to the steppes of Altai region and adopted a fully nomadic way of life.”¹⁸¹ She further defines the term Oirat as a name that “is used to cover several groups of Western Mongols, who originally belonged to the tribal confederation of the Hoi-yin Irgen [or] ‘Forest People.’”¹⁸² In addition Indjieva states that in the 15th century the Hoi-yin Irgen “expanded their territory from Altai to Hi (a region in present day China, at the border

¹⁸¹ Elena Indjieva, *Oirat Tones and Break Indices (O-ToBI) Intonational Structure of the Oirat Language*, a dissertation submitted to the graduate division of the University of Hawai’i, 2009, 7.

¹⁸² Ibid., 7.

between China and Khazaxstan) where they established the so-called Jungharia.”¹⁸³ She continues by stating that this fifteenth century Oirat confederation consisted mainly of four tribes that she identifies as the “Torgud (Torguud), Hoshuut (Khoshut), Derbet (Dərbet), and Oel'd (Өөл'd).”¹⁸⁴ It is important to note that Indjieva admits that the majority of her historical knowledge of this people group comes from the work of Dr. Ágnes Birtalan and her work “Oirat” which is chapter ten of the Routledge publication entitled *The Mongolic Languages*.

To gain further understanding of the Oirat people information presented by Dr. Junko Miyawaki was reviewed. Much like Dr. Indjieva and Dr. Birtalan the historian Miyawaki has written extensively about the Oirat [Oyirad] people. However, much of her work focusses on the later Oirats of the fifteenth and sixteenth century and her knowledge of these people is based off of the work of Dr. Hidehiro Okada, a scholar whose primary focus is the study of China. She stipulates in her article *The Birth of the Oyirad Khanship* that “there was no Chinggisid on the male line among the Oyirad chiefs.”¹⁸⁵ This statement shows the reader that there is a connection between the Oirats and the Mongols. She further explains the Oirat lineage in the compilation *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, where she states that “the Oyirad... could only plausibly claim descent from a collateral line [therefore] they sought legitimacy elsewhere. [This attempt at legitimacy was started] in 1637... [and was] strengthened... [with] an alliance with the

¹⁸³ Ibid., 7.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 7.

¹⁸⁵ Junko Miyawaki, *The Birth of the Oyirad Khanship*; *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol. 41, No. 1, Harrasowitz Verlag, 1997, 38-75 Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41928088> accessed 08-13-2015 @ 6:40 A.M., 38-39.

fifth Dalai Lama of Tibet, who bestowed upon their ruler the title of "defender of the faith."¹⁸⁶

Both Junko Miyawaki and Elena Indjieva's collective philosophies would run hand in hand, were it not for a couple of glaring differences. To begin with Junko Miyawaki states that "In 1208 Khuukha Beki, king of the Oyirad... surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chinggis Khan. Throughout the thirteenth century thereafter, the Oyirad royal house was in matrimonial relation with the branches of the Chinggisid family."¹⁸⁷ Yet Elena Indjieva claims that the "Forest People"... moved to the steppes of Altai region and adopted a fully nomadic way of life,"¹⁸⁸ after being taken over by the Mongols. In addition, while Elena Indjieva claims that the four tribes of the Oirat confederation are the "Torgud (Torguud), Hoshuut (Khoshut), Derbet (Dørbet), and Oel'd (Øel'd)."¹⁸⁹ Junko Miyawaki believes this same confederation consists of the "four powerful tribes of northwestern Mongolia the old Oyirad, the Naiman, the Kereyid and the Barghud."¹⁹⁰

With all of this confusion how can anybody possible find an Oirat presence within the Golden Horde? To understand the origin of Oirat and Mongol relations one must know that any agreement between the two peoples begins with Jochi Khan. Elena Indjieva is correct when she writes that Jochi Khan was sent to attack and conquer the Oirat people. At the same time Junko Miyawaki is also correct when she states that the

¹⁸⁶ Thomas T. Allsen, A review of a work by Reuven Amitai-Preiss & David O. Morgan entitled *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, Published in the *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Summer, 1999), pp. 431-434, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. on behalf of International Society for Iranian Studies, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4311285> Accessed: 15-07-2015 12:44 UTC.

¹⁸⁷ Junko Miyawaki, *The Birth of the Oyirad Khanship*, 39.

¹⁸⁸ Elena Indjieva, *Oirat Tones and Break Indices (O-ToBI) Intonational Structure of the Oirat Language*, a dissertation submitted to the graduate division of the University of Hawai'i, 2009, 7.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 7.

¹⁹⁰ Junko Miyawaki, *The Birth of the Oyirad Khanship*, 40.

Oirat king submitted to the Mongols. Although neither Elena Indjieva nor Junko Miyawaki cites *The Secret History of the Mongols*, this is the source of their information in regards to the attack and submission of the Oirats to the Mongols. This oversight is because of the teachings of Dr. Hidehiro Okada who states in his work *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Pseudo-Historical Novel* that “the Secret History of the Mongols... [should not be taken] too seriously. The work is neither a factual account of what happened in the life of Chinggis Khan nor a kind of heroic epic.”¹⁹¹ Instead Hidehiro Okada believes that it is “a novel by an anonymous author who did not mind to invent interesting episodes and distort his materials for the sake of literary effect.”¹⁹² Yet it is important to remember that within the Mongol historian community this is a “radical proposal...[that] has met little favor.”¹⁹³ Frustratingly because of Hidehiro Okada’s work there are at least four generations of scholars who completely discount any historical significance to the *Secret History of the Mongols*. While these four generations of authors recognize the assault on the Oirat people by the Mongols they, as most academics do, overlook several important statements that are written along with the documentation of this attack.

First, the text states that around 1207 Jochi, the eldest son of Genghis Khan, conducted an extremely un-Mongol military campaign. Once he and his armies did rode north they were met by “Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat [who] had come to submit before (the rest of) the Tümen-Oyirat (ten thousand Oyirat). He came to Jochi and, guiding him, led

¹⁹¹ Hidehiro Okada, *The Secret History of the Mongols; a Pseudo-Historical Novel*, Ajia Afurika gengo bunka kenkyū 5, 1972, pp. 61-67, 1.

¹⁹² Ibid., 1.

¹⁹³ Christopher P. Atwood, *The Date of the ‘Secret History of the Mongols’ Reconsidered*; *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 37, Indiana University, 2007, 3.

him to his own Tümen-Oyirat, where he made them submit.”¹⁹⁴ As Genghis Khan mentions in this same section of *The Secret History of the Mongols* “You, eldest of my sons... without wounding or causing suffering to man or gelding in the lands where you went, you came back having subjugated the fortunate People of the Forest.”¹⁹⁵ Later this same conflict is mentioned in the text when Jochi’s brother Chagatai states “I do not wish to talk about Jochi’s strength, (nor) our intellectual skills.

(Game) killed by mouth
Cannot be loaded (onto a horse);
(Game) slaughtered by words
Cannot be skinned.”¹⁹⁶

When these three statements are placed in conjunction with each other, a picture can be presented. According to *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Jochi Khan conquered the Oirat people without significant loss of life from either his Mongol army or the Oirats themselves. This action is not approved of by his brother, Chagatai, or many other Mongols, because they feel that Jochi has not been tested in battle. The Mongols celebrate military victories and this conquering of the Oirats by Jochi can be considered more of a diplomatic victory, and in the Mongol mindset this is a sign of weakness.

The second part of this section of *The Secret History of the Mongols* that is often overlooked concerns how Quduqa-beki was treated after he willingly submitted to Jochi’s army. It was common practice in the Mongol world for marriage compacts to be conducted between rival people groups. Shortly after the submission of the Oirat people and within the same soliloquy by Genghis Khan, he states “Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat...

¹⁹⁴ Urgunge Onon, *The Secret History of the Mongols: The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan*, Curzon Press, Richmond, Surrey, 2001.

¹⁹⁵ Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Deweese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 163-164.

¹⁹⁶ Urgunge Onon, *The History and the life of Chinggis Khan; The Secret History of the Mongols*; Translated and annotated by Urgunge Onon, E.J. Brill, New York, 1990, 149-151.

came to submit before the others, leading the Tümen Oyirat.’ [Therefore, Genghis Khan]... showed favour to [him by], giving [his daughter] Čečeyigen to his son Inalči... [and] Ĵoči’s daughter Qoluiqan to Törölči, elder brother of Inalči.”¹⁹⁷ With these two marriages, begins the tradition of Oirat to Mongol wedding pacts that Dr. Junko Miyawaki mentions. Of particular note is the fact that both Inalči and his elder brother Törölči would now be classified as a *guregen* or *kuregen* (meaning son-in-law) in accordance with the *yasa*, or Mongol Code of Laws. This meant that each man would be required to go to war alongside their respective father-in-law. In essence, from this point forward any time that Jochi Khan was involved in a campaign, Törölči would be required to go with him. In addition, since Törölči was an Oirat prince he would not go on these campaigns without a significant Oirat presence.

Yet the most telling statement that is made within this section of *The Secret History of the Mongols* is the last thing that Genghis Khan mentions. After he praised Jochi for his ability to bloodlessly bring the Oirat people into the Mongol fold, Genghis Khan simply stated “I shall give this people to you.”¹⁹⁸ This meant that not only was Törölči required to attend Jochi but the entirety of the Oirat people and all of the underlying tribes would now be considered to be under his rule. In essence from the submission of the Oirat people in 1207 to the death of Jochi Khan in 1225 (or 1227 depending on who you ask) the Oirat people were under the direct supervision of Jochi.

Traces of the connection between Jochi Khan and the Oirats can be found in the Oirat oral epic tradition. As Dr. Chao Gejin points out his article *The Oirat Epic Cycle of Jangar* “*The Secret History of the Mongols*... is filled with epic motifs and characteristics

¹⁹⁷ Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 163-164.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 164.

even though it is a history of Chinggis Khan and his “golden family.”¹⁹⁹ In addition Chao Gejin states that, “through the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century [the Oirats created] large epic songs, known as *byling*.”²⁰⁰ Chao Gejin believes that these Oirat epic songs disappeared sometime in the thirteenth century and did not return until the “fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, the period during which the Oirat people moved to the Tian Shan Mountains, took shape as the “four allies of Oirat” (Torgud, Dörbed, and other tribes), and eventually appeared on the banks of the Volga in 1630.”²⁰¹ As the previously mentioned authors have stated a large contingent of Oirats settled in what is now the Xinjiang province of northwest China and parts of western Mongolia, a place that they referred to as Dzungaria. In an article written by Dr. Karl Reichl entitled “Formulaic Diction in Kazakh Epic Poetry” he simply states that “oral poetry in general is still flourishing among the Kazakhs, both of the Soviet Union and of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region in China.”²⁰² It is important to remember that both the Kazakhs and the Oirats were under the rule of Jochi Khan in the early thirteenth century. Among the pastoral nomads these cultural lines were blurred or just did not exist, and this part of the world, even to this day, is a huge melting pot of cultures. Some of the more recognizable people groups living in the area formerly known as Dzungaria are; Russians, Kazakhs, Mongols, and Chinese.

While many academics believe that the Oirats did not arrive on the lower Volga River Valley until the seventeenth century. There are further clues within their own

¹⁹⁹ Chao Gejin, *The Oirat Epic Cycle of Jangar; Chinese Oral Traditions; Oral Tradition Journal Volume 16, number 2*, Center for the Studies of Oral Tradition, Columbia, MO (University of Missouri), 2001, 402.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 402.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 402-403.

²⁰² Karl Reichl, *Formulaic Diction in Kazakh Epic Poetry, Oral Tradition Journal Volume 4, Number 3*, Center for the Studies of Oral Tradition, Columbia, MO (University of Missouri), 1989, 362.

research that point to the possibility of a different conclusion. For example Indjieva clearly states that the Oirat people move from the Lake Baikal area to the Altai Mountains. Yet what she overlooks is that during the thirteenth century, that area also came under the control of the Mongols and was a part of Jochi Khan Governorship. In fact Jochi Khan was known to reside, died, and is buried in the area between the Irtysh River and the Aral Sea. Keep in mind that the head waters of the Irtysh River are in the Altai Mountains. There is also evidence to the contrary of the belief that the Oirats could not have possibly have traveled as far as the Volga River. In Dr. Reuven Amitai-Preiss work *Mongols and Mamluks; The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281* he states that “a contingent of Oirat Mongols” fought at the second battle of Homs(October 29, 1281).²⁰³ Keep in mind that the city of Homs is located to the southwest of the lower Volga River valley in Syria. The presence of the Oirats within the Ilkhanate was also noted in Thomas T. Allsen’s work *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*. Where he points out that an Ilkhanate leader by the name of “Gazan converted to Islam in mid-June 1291... and ascended the throne in November 1295.”²⁰⁴ Allsen goes on to state that “Three years after his adoption of Islam, Ghazan executed Nawruz, the Oyirad Mongol instrumental in his own conversion, for unauthorized communication with Muslim States.”²⁰⁵

At the beginning of the intellectual journey I wrote the simple phrase ‘the answer lies in Kazakhstan’ in my notes and within this final chapter of this work I have come to realize that this simple statement is extremely profound. Kazakhstan lies at the heart of Central Asia and it is vital to know that this area, as has previously been mentioned in

²⁰³ Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks; The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, 1995, 195.

²⁰⁴ Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, 2001, 31.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 33.

this work, is extremely culturally diverse. Unfortunately, this diversity can cause difficulties in communication and lead to multiple pronunciations and spellings of the same terms. To alleviate the confusion that results from this phenomenon, a series of linguistical formulas can be utilized. The first of these linguistical formulas is $Dz = Z = J$.

This formula was used in researching a work entitled, *The Mongol Art of War* by Timothy May. Here May presents a translation of the term *je'ün ghar* which means left flank, yet in other works the left wing of the Mongol army is referred to as *Djungar*.²⁰⁶ Alternatively the work of V. V. Barthold entitled *Four Studies of the History of Central Asia* states that the term “*Semirechyé* is the Russian translation of the local Turkish term *Jiti-su* “the seven rivers,” and *grosso modo* covers the basins of the two great lakes, Issik-kul and Balkhash.”²⁰⁷ Both of these translations can be identified with a simple understanding that $Dz = Z = J$, and it is a simple process of deductive reasoning that *je'ün ghar* and *Djungar* are actually the same word, meaning left flank or wing. In addition it can be observed that the term *Jiti-su* and the term *Zhetysu* are also referencing the same people group or area which the Russians refer to as *Semirechye* (the seven rivers).

Another work that gains verification with the use of $Dz = Z = J$ George Qingzhi Zhao's dissertation, *Marriage as Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty* he discusses the marriage practices of the Mongols and goes into detail of the wedding agreement between Genghis Khan and the Oirat tribe that occurred in 1207. In this work George Qingzhi Zhao utilizes many sources that are familiar including *Rashid Al-Din, The Successors of Genghis Khan* which was translated by John Andrew Boyle, as well as Francis Woodman Cleaves translation

²⁰⁶ Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War; Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System*, Westholme Publishing, Yardley, 2007, 32.

²⁰⁷ V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia; Volume I*, translated from Russian by V. and T. Minorsky, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1962, XIII.

of the *Secret History of the Mongols*. Yet one of the more interesting aspects to his research comes from his study of the *Yuanshi*, which he defines as the official dynastic history of the Yuan Empire compiled by Song Lian.²⁰⁸ However within his research he has discovered a discrepancy between the *Secret History of the Mongols* and the other sources and he argues that this discrepancy is his belief that Inalchi instead of Törölchi married “Batu’s... sister Qului-aikaji.”²⁰⁹ He goes on to state that “she bore a son named Auldu, who had two sons named Niktai and Aqu-Temiir, [and] they were in the ulus of Qunji (the great grandson of Batu), commanding an army of four thousand for Zhalayir.”²¹⁰ This argument between whether Inalachi or Törölchi was the Oirat prince that married Batu’s sister springs from these three sources. The first source the *Secret History of the Mongols* clearly states that “Checheyigen was married to Inalchi, the second son of Khudugha Beki”²¹¹ Yet, George Qingzhi Zhao points out that in another source written by Rashid Al-din there are “two places... [that] records that Princess Checheyigen was married to 'Torolchi.’”²¹² George Qingzhi Zhao goes on to point out that this information is later verified in the “*Yuanshi*-‘Table of Princesses.’”²¹³ At the same time it is important to remember that it is irrelevant which brother married Holuiqan, because of the mere fact that they were considered part of Batu’s ulus or house meant that they were in all likelihood part of the so called Golden Horde or Kipchak Khanate. In addition George Qingzhi Zhao’s work provides three Oirat princes names and a conflict that can all be further investigated to determine their contributions to the Golden Horde.

²⁰⁸ George Qingzhi Zhao, *Marriage as a Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty*, A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of East Asian Studies University of Toronto, 2001, 24.

²⁰⁹ George Qingzhi Zhao, *Marriage as a Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty*, A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of East Asian Studies University of Toronto, 2001, 138.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 138.

²¹¹ Ibid., 136.

²¹² Ibid., 137.

²¹³ Ibid., 137.

This quote from George Qingzhi Zhao's work, presents other information about the Oirat royal line. Inalchi and Holuiqan had a son named Auldu. In addition, this son had two sons of his own that he named Niktai and Aqu-Temiir, and that both of them were in the house of "Qunji (the great grandson of Batu)... [and they commanded] an army of four thousand for Zhalayir."²¹⁴ Working in reverse order a researcher could discover that Zhalayir is in fact a Kazak tribal name. In Beksultan Nurzhekeyev's work *Chingiz Khan; Son and Warrior of Kazakh Steppes*, he makes a compelling argument that Genghis Khan is actually descended from this Zhalayir tribe. However, the focus of this work is not intended to either confirm or deny his claim. Yet his work does provide the information that the Zhalayir was in fact a tribal name and that they primarily resided in the "territory of Zhetyssu... Jetisu (Semirechye)... [which is] in the Almaty oblast... [and] means seven rivers."²¹⁵ This tribe is still in existence and is part of the Kazakh Greatest clan or "Greater Zhüz... [which is] comprised of the Sary Usin, Kangli, Dulat, Alban, Suan, Zhalayir, and other tribes. They live, primarily, in southern Kazakhstan."²¹⁶ Geographically this is significant because this group lives in south eastern Kazakhstan in an area that borders both Kyrgyzstan and China. In addition the Kazakhstani government states that the "Almaty oblast is a famous part of Kazakhstan, which has previously been called Zhetysu – the Land of seven rivers."²¹⁷ This area, previously known as Zhetysu, has an eastern border of the Jungar Alatau mountain range. In addition it "stretches from Lake Balkhash in the north and west to the Alakol Lakes in the north-east."²¹⁸ The area of

²¹⁴ George Qingzhi Zhao, *Marriage as a Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty*, A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of East Asian Studies University of Toronto, 2001, 138.

²¹⁵ Beksultan Nurzhekeyev, *Chingiz Khan; Son and Warrior of Kazakh Steppes*, Xlibris Publishing, 2015, 13-36.

²¹⁶ Ronald Wixman, *The Peoples of the USSR; An Ethnographic Handbook*, M.E. Sharpe, Inc., Armonk, N.Y., 1984, 99.

²¹⁷ <https://primeminister.kz/enpage/article-85> accessed 12/18/2016 @ 6:54.

²¹⁸ http://www.discovery-kazakhstan.com/archive/2008/10_9.php accessed 12/18/2016 @ 6:50.

the Alakol Lakes are particularly interesting because these lakes are the northern gateway to a pass that is known as the Dzungarian Gate. This pass has a long history and has been used countless times for invasion since it is the only pass through the previously mentioned Jungar Alatau mountain range. In addition, if the $Dz = Z = J$ formula is used then linguistically Dzungar and Jungar are actually different spellings of the same people group. At the same time this same area is mentioned by Elena Indjjeva and is in fact the area that the Oirats migrated to during the 15th century. This in essence places both Niktai and Aqu-Temiir in a region that at least borders the area that will be called Dzungaria, the adopted home of the Oirat tribe.

George Qingzhi Zhao adds further credence to the belief that the Oirats were part of the Golden Horde with his discussion of Quchu Khatun. He first identifies her as a daughter of the Oirat prince Törölchi. George Qingzhi Zhao then states that she was married to one of Batu Khan's sons name Toqoqan. This marriage in turn led to the births of Tode-Mongke and Mongke- TImiir both of which “were the Khans of Qipchaq, [that] ruled consecutively from 1266 to 1290.”²¹⁹ While Törölchi is listed as Quchu Khatun's father this does not mean that Checheyigen was her mother, because males in the Turko-Mongol pastoral nomadic tradition typically have multiple wives. This information means that Quchu Khatun was the paternal grandmother of the Golden Horde Khan that George Qingzhi Zhao previously named as Qunji. These two separate entries by Zhao shows that there is both a paternal and a maternal Oirat line within the Golden Horde.

Regrettably this work has presented information that destroys part of the viewpoint of both Elena Indjjeva and Junko Miyawaki. Indjjeva wrote that “[the Oirats] lived south and southwest of Lake Baikal. However, after Chinggis Khan's eldest son

²¹⁹ George Qingzhi Zhao, *Marriage as a Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty*, A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of East Asian Studies University of Toronto, 2001, 151.

Jochi attacked the 'Forest People' (1206-7), they moved to the steppes of Altai region and adopted a fully nomadic way of life."²²⁰ In addition Junko Miyawaki states that "In 1208 Khuukha Beki, king of the Oyirad... surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chinggis Khan. Throughout the thirteenth century thereafter, the Oyirad royal house was in matrimonial relation with the branches of the Chinggisid family."²²¹ Yet there is linguistic proof that the Oirats did not flee from the Mongols as stated by Elena Indjieva, and this same information also proves that Junko Miyawaki is incorrect in her belief that the Oirats only had matrimonial relations with the Mongols. The linguistical proof lies in the term Dzungar which the Oirats begin calling themselves and call their territory in will what will be named the Jungar Alatau mountain range. Timothy May points out in his work *The Mongol Art of War* that a translation of the term *je'ün ghar* or *Djungar* means left flank.²²² As previously stated one the linguistic formulas that I have used is the Dz = Z = J. What this means is that by the Oirats having the mountain range of the Jungar Alatau Mountains, and a pass, the Dzungarian Gate named after them, the Oirats are admitting that they were within the fold of the Mongol military machine in the thirteenth century. The Oirats did not flee as presented by Elena Indjieva and were not only in a matrimonial relationship with the Mongols, as presented by Junko Miyawaki. Instead the Oirats were an integral part of the Mongol army known as the *je'ün ghar*.

According to Timothy May, in 1206 the Mongol general Muqali was put in charge of this group known as the *je'ün ghar*.²²³ This means that "in 1208 [when]

²²⁰ Elena Indjieva, *Oirat Tones and Break Indices (O-ToBI) Intonational Structure of the Oirat Language*, a dissertation submitted to the graduate division of the University of Hawai'i, 2009, 7.

²²¹ Junko Miyawaki, *The Birth of the Oyirad Khanship*, 39

²²² Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War; Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System*, Westholme Publishing, Yardley, 2007, 32.

²²³ Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War; Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System*, Westholme Publishing, Yardley, 2007, 96.

Khuukha Beki, king of the Oyirad... surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chinggis Khan,”²²⁴ that the vast majority of the Oirat army would have been placed under Muqali’s leadership. In 1219 this was still the case when the Dzungar were sent against the Jin. While at the same time “the bulk of the Mongol army [was sent] to fight the Khwarazmian Empire.”²²⁵ Yet this does not mean that all of the Oirats were placed under Muqali’s direction. Because in 1209, not long after the Oirat induction into the Mongol fold, the Mongol Generals Jebe “and Sübedei pursued the Naiman and Merkit who fled Mongolia to the Irtysh River, and then again to the Chu River. Jebe was also responsible for hunting down Güchülüg, a Naiman prince who became the leader of the Kara-Khitai.”²²⁶ In addition the Mongol prince Jochi, the recently named leader of the Oirats, was within this group sent to annihilate the fleeing Merkit, a group that he was rumored to be a member of.

Here another term for the Golden Horde comes into play as well as a second linguistic formula. It is important to remember that the term Golden Horde is based off of a Russian point of view. This group referred to themselves as the *Kipchak Khanate*. Linguistically it also helps if the formula K = Q is utilized because at times this group is referred to as the *Qipchak Qanate* which is just a different spelling of the same terms. The term Kipchak actually refers to a group of nomadic Turkic people that were eventually brought into the fold of the Jochid Ulus. The work of C.E. Bosworth entitled *The New Islamic Dynasties* presents the information that “An invasion of Semirechye in 1218 gave Chingiz a common frontier with the territories of the Islamic Khwārazm

²²⁴ Junko Miyawaki, *The Birth of the Oyirad Khanship*, 39.

²²⁵ May, *The Mongol Art of War*, Westholme Publishing, Yardley, 2007, 96.

²²⁶ Ibid., 93.

Shāhs.”²²⁷ Semirechye or Zhetysu is the home of the Zhalayir who were later attached to the Oirat princes Niktai and Aqu-Temiir. As previously mentioned, the Mongol invasion of this area was led by the great Mongol general Jebe and attached to his army was none other than Jochi Khan himself. While Jebe was tasked with bringing the Kara-Khitans under foot, Jochi was given a separate task. As mentioned in chapter two Jochi had been charged with bringing the Merkits under the Mongol heel. The chase of this group began while Jochi was under the tutelage of General Sübädäi Bahadur and culminated in the territory of the Kipchak Turks. The Kipchaks had allied with the Merkits and were protecting them. This put the Kipchak Turks into direct conflict with the Mongols. The protection of the Merkits by the Kipchaks did not last however, and Jochi was able to destroy the group that he was rumored to be a member of.

These events have profound effect on the belief that the Oirats had a presence within the Golden Horde. First, Jochi had been assigned rulership over the Oirats and had a *güregen* or son-in-law that was from that tribe. Some time later Jochi was sent after the Merkits and his *güregen* as well as any Oirat attendees would have been required to travel with Jochi. Together they in all likelihood traveled through what would become known as the Dzungarian Gate on the way to Zhetysu where they came into contact with the Zhalayir who would be brought into their fold. After this Jochi continued his pursuit of the Merkits until he came into contact with the Kipchaks. With the Merkits destroyed Jochi then took up residence in the Kipchak Steppe. Amongst his encampment would have been both the Oirat contention as well as members of the Zhalayir tribe. As it is rumored that somewhere around eighty percent of the Golden Horde was not Mongol,

²²⁷ Clifford E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties; A Chronological and Genealogical Manual*, Columbia Press, New York, 1996, 109.

this encampment is in all likelihood the origin of the Golden Horde, which would be expanded further with the assimilation of the Kipchak Turks.

Conclusion

This work began with a discussion of methodology utilized by Dr. Donald Ostrowski of Harvard University in his article *City Names of the Western Steppe at the Time of the Mongol Invasions*. In this instance he utilized several versions of the same section of the *Secret History of the Mongols* to arrive at a greater understanding of the text. Within his research he discovered the so-called Chinese gloss which was applied to the text due to the fact that there are no surviving copies of the original Uyghur text. Utilizing the methodology of Ostrowski which I applied to § 239 of the *Secret History of the Mongols* I was able to trace the origins of a group known as the Hoy-in Irgen or forest people. While there were many member groups of the Hoy-in Irgen this section focused on the group known as the Oirats, who would become vital to the eventual formation of the Golden Horde. According to the *Secret History of the Mongols* this group was led by Quduqa Beki and he surrendered to Jochi Khan prior to any blood being spilt in the conquering of his territory. For his actions Quduqa Beki was rewarded with a couple of marital pacts between his people and the Mongol Royal family. In turn the Oirats were promised to Jochi by his father Chingiz Khan. This single act is the absolute beginning of the group that will become known as the Golden Horde. Before this Jochi was completely under the tutelage of a Mongol general and was utilizing that Mongol general's army for any type of martial affairs. Yet with his father's proclamation, he now had at his disposal a relatively large force that he could utilize to follow his fathers bidding.

In chapter two an investigation into the reason that Jochi Khan was given this opportunity was discussed. This chapter brought to the forefront a belief that many scholars still carry today, that Jochi Khan was the bastard child of a Merkit. The uncertainty of his parentage came about because his mother, Borte, was abducted by the Merkit and upon her return to the Mongols she was with child. However some doubt is placed on this order of events in the works of both Rashīd al Dīn and Rashiduddin Fazlullah. Both authors state a similar story that simply states that while the Merkit “had been for the most part unfriendly and hostile to Ong-Khan, the ruler of the Kereit, [yet at this time] there was... a peace between them.”²²⁸ As a result of this peace the Merkit “sent Börte Fujin to Ong-Khan... [who] treated her with honor and respect and bestowed upon her the rank and status of a daughter-in law.”²²⁹ Upon hearing of Börte’s location Temüjin “sent an emir of the Jalayir [tribe] called Sebe... to Ong Khan to seek and fetch Börte Fujin.”²³⁰ On the return trip to Temüjin’s camp “a son was suddenly born to her, and for that reason he was called Jochi.”²³¹ Sebe wanting to protect the newborn son of Temüjin “kneaded a little flour and, wrapping it round the child, took him in his lap so that he might not be harmed.”²³² With the application of the D = Z = J linguistical formula, it can be observed that the emir was of the Jalayir tribe, which utilizing the formula could be changed to the more familiar Zhalayir. Throughout this work a common theme has come to the forefront. The Mongols utilized the capabilities of conquered people to assist them in their domination of the known world. This is the case when

²²⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, translated by John Andrew Boyle, Columbia University Press, New York, 1971, 97.

²²⁹ Ibid., 97-98.

²³⁰ Ibid., 98.

²³¹ Ibid., 98.

²³² Ibid., 98.

talking about the Uyghurs and is also the case when talking about other groups such as the Oirats, the Zhalayir, and the Kipchaks. This same methodology can be applied to both Rashīd al Dīn and Rashiduddin Fazlullah. It is important to remember that both of these author's works were written many years after these events occurred and at the insistence of the Ilkhanate. However, the Ilkhanate and the Golden Horde were bitter rivals and were at war with each other, when these works were written. This creates the question, why would the Khans of the Ilkhanate allow not one but two sources to be written that legitimized Jochi Khan and his descendants?

Chapter three focused upon a deeper understanding of the group known as the Hoy-in irgen. The “forest people” or *Hoy-in irgen* is a demonym, a name that a group of people from a certain region are called by another group, used to describe the tribes who resided within the general vicinity of Lake Baikal,²³³ and these people groups were encountered by Jochi Khan in 1207 as chronicled in §239 of the *Secret History of the Mongols*. The chapter goes on to establish the differences between the various tribal groups within the Hoy-in irgen, and introduces the reader to the various spellings of identical terms that is predominant in the Central Eurasian Steppe. It is also in this chapter where an investigation into the linguistical characteristics of the Hoy-in irgen and Mongol relationship is put into perspective. Within the work of Urgunge Onon he points out that many of the names listed in §239 of the *Secret History of the Mongols* are honorifics that have been given to individuals. Here I also point out that these honorifics were in all likelihood more important to Mongol society than an individual's actual name. Onon points out the use of certain Turkish terms such as “Inalchi [which] was an Orkhon

²³³ Hoi-yin is the Mongol equivalent of forest, whereas irgen means people. Mongols often referred to themselves as the *Ker'er-ün irgen* or steppe people.

Turkish title for ‘prince’ or ‘duke’...[whereas] Qoluyiqan meant ‘daughter of a tribal god’... and could be therefore perhaps mean ‘goddess’; Törelchi is related to the Orkon Turkish *töre*, ‘prince, son of an emperor, duke.’²³⁴ Here Onon shows that all of these names, or more likely honorifics, had a Turkish origin.

As a result of the research conducted it can be stated that Jochi khan became a leader of at least part of the Oirat tribe as a result of the actions displayed in §239 of the *Secret History of the Mongols*. In addition his family was married into the Oirat tribe through both his sister and daughter. This marital relationship would expand until the point that the Oirats would be the maternal bearers of the Golden Horde’s banner. The final portion of this chapter displays that these marital bonds would have been extremely important to the early founding of the Golden Horde and may in fact be the actual origin. The Oirats along with the assimilated Kipchaks and Zhalayir in all likelihood made up the vast majority of Batu Khan’s army and would eventually be known as the Kipchak Khanate or Golden Horde. It is with a great deal of certainty that the Oirats were a part of the Golden Horde and therefore their presence within the lower Volga River valley prior to the seventeenth century has been established.

²³⁴ Urgunge Onon, *The Secret History of the Mongols; The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan*, translated, annotated and with an introduction by Urgunge Onon, Curzon, 2001, 223.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Articles:

Allsen, Thomas T., A review of a work by Reuven Amitai-Preiss & David O. Morgan entitled *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, Published in the *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Summer, 1999), pp. 431-434, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. on behalf of International Society for Iranian Studies, Stable URL:
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4311285> Accessed: 15-07-2015 12:44 UTC

This is a review of the compilation *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*. Within this article Allsen points out the work of Junko Miyawaki, who is one of the few Oiyrat historians. Junko Miyawaki claims and Allsen reiterates that the Oiyrats did not have a legitimate line of descent from the Chinggisid line and therefore have to seek legitimacy elsewhere.

Atwood, Christopher P., *The Date of the 'Secret History of the Mongols' Reconsidered*; *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 37, Indiana University, 2007, 3

This article argues that the *Secret History of the Mongols* has more value than other scholars believe.

Gejin, Chao, *The Oirat Epic Cycle of Jangar; Chinese Oral Traditions; Oral Tradition Journal Volume 16, number 2*, Center for the Studies of Oral Tradition, Columbia, MO (University of Missouri), 2001

This work was used to determine the value of the epic poems in the Dzungarian era.

Kaplonski, Christopher and Sheath, David edited, *The History of Mongolia*, Global oriental, 2010, ebook, 510 URL
<http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.databases.wtamu.edu:2048/eds/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzUwMzk2NI9fQU41?sid=3a113cac-8177-4fa5-af54-7fa559907f3c@sessionmgr4002&vid=1&hid=4213&format=EB> accessed 02-15-2014 @ 9:46 A.M.

This work is a compilation of writing from various authors laying out the origins of the Mongols people before during and after the rise and rule of Genghis Khan. In this work the editors express the importance of Genghis Khan, even today, to the people of Mongolia and how his influence has had long lasting effects.

Maksimov, Konstantin N., *Kalmykia in Russia's Past and Present: National Policies and Administrative System*, Central European University Press, Budapest and New

York, 2008, URL

<http://web.a.ebscohost.com.databases.wtamu.edu:2048/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/ZTAwMHhuYV9fMjE0OTA5X19BTg2?sid=0c83aada-7e93-43ad-921f-1c80b0356308@sessionmgr4004&vid=3&format=EB&rid=1> accessed 02-15-2014 @ 9:53 A.M.

This work further separates the later Oirats by tribal groups, particularly the Derbet and the Torgout. These two groups are known to have migrated from Dzungaria in the late 1500's and eventually settled in the land area that came to be known as Kalmykia.

Miyawaki, Junko, *The Birth of the Oyirad Khanship; Central Asiatic Journal Vol. 41, No. 1*, Harrasowitz Verlag, 1997, 38-75 Stable URL:
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41928088> accessed 08-13-2015 @ 6:40 A.M.

In this work Miyawaki describes the early founding of the Oirat Khanate, Dzungaria. It is important to note the majority of my research focuses on a time period prior to this distinction, and that I fundamentally disagree with some of Miyawaki's statements.

Ostrowski, Donald, *City Names of the Western Steppe at the Time of the Mongol Invasion*, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1998
Content downloaded from JSTOR 66.171.209.32 on Thu, 2 Oct 2014 11:21:49 AM

In this work Dr. Ostrowski utilizes a methodology where an transliterated edition of a section of the Secret history of the Mongols is presented and then two different translations of that same section, in this case §274, is used to argue what the names and possible location of the cities the Mongols first conquered upon their invasion of Europe.

Okada, Hidehiro, *The Secret History of the Mongols; a Pseudo-Historical Novel*, Ajia Afurika gengo bunka kenkyū 5, 1972, pp. 61-67, 1

This work by Hidehiro claims that the *Secret History of the Mongols* is actually a fictional work and claims that he has proof to his claim. Yet, I argue that while some of the dates and facts within the *Secret History of the Mongols* are inaccurate, this does not mean that the text has no value, as Okada claims. In addition there are other text that corroborate many of the contested areas, namely the works of Rashid al Din and Rashiduddin Fazlullah.

Reichl, Karl, *Formulaic Diction in Kazakh Epic Poetry, Oral Tradition Journal Volume 4, Number 3*, Center for the Studies of Oral Tradition, Columbia, MO (University of Missouri), 1989, 362

In this work Reichl points out how the use of oral tradition in Kazakhstan is also practiced within the Xinjiang province of China. This mixture of cultures is significant because of the location within the area known as the Dzungaria.

<http://kazakhstan.travel/en/attractions/attraction/666> accessed 02-09-2015 @ 8:15 A.M.

This article gives a detailed description of the believe method of Jochi Khan's death. While this tale has not been verified it does add to the legend of Jochi Khan.

<https://primeminister.kz/enpage/article-85> accessed 12/18/2016 @ 6:54

This article focuses on the Zhetysu or Semirechye, which is known as the land of Seven Rivers. It is utilized to help define a territory that the future Golden Horde traveled to on their way to the Kipchak Steppe.

http://www.discovery-kazakhstan.com/archive/2008/10_9.php accessed 12/18/2016 @ 6:50

This article also focused on the Zhetysu and further defined the territory that was included in this Kazakhstan province.

Dissertations and Thesis:

Indjieva, Elena, *Oirat Tones and Break Indices (O-ToBI): Intonational Structure of the Oirat Language*, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 2009, 3367907

Dr. Indjieva received her PhD from the University of Hawaii in 2009 and did her dissertation on the Oirat (Kalmyk) language and conducted extensive research into the dying language by traveling to both Kalmykia, where the language is quickly dying away, and Xinjiang province of China where the language is spoken the most in the world. Unfortunately Dr. Indjieva passed away while mountaineering at Riobamba Ecuador on August 13, 2012.

Zhao, George Qingzhi, *Marriage as a Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty*, A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of East Asian Studies University of Toronto, 2001

Dr. Zhao received his PhD from the University of Toronto in 2001 and did his dissertation on the marriage practices of the Mongols. Of particular note was his work on the Oirat marriage practices with the Mongol Royal family and how these marriages impacted the Golden Horde

Primary sources:

Cleaves, Francis Woodman, *The Secret History of the Mongols; For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with and Exegetical Commentary*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1982

This was one of the earliest translations of the *Secret History of the Mongols* and contains vital information that can not be acquired elsewhere. The largest deficit with this or any other translation of the *Secret History of the Mongols* is the simple fact that no original text exist and for the work to be translated it must be done through Chinese characters. Thus creating the so called Chinese gloss.

Dawson, Christopher, edited by, *Mission to Asia; Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, Harper Torchbooks, London and New York, 1955

This work includes translations of *The History of the Mongols* by John of Plano Carpini; two Bulls of Pope Innocent IV addressed to the emperor of the Tartars; the narrative of Brother Benedict the Pole; Guyuk Khan's letter to Pope Innocent IV; *The Journey of William of Rubruck*; the letters of John of Monte Corvino; the letter of brother Peregrine, Bishop of Zaytun; and the letter of Andrew of Perugia.

Dughlat, Mirza Haydar, *Classical Writing of Medieval Islamic World: Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties: Vol. I; A History of the Khans of Moghulistan (Books 1 and 2)*, Translated and Annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tauris, London and New York, 2012

This is the first in a compilation of translations by Dr. Wheeler M. Thackston that details Mongol rule in Persia. In this work Thackston is translating the work of Haydar Mirza Dughlat. While this work has the least amount of information about Jochi Khan and the Golden Horde it may prove to be useful in future research.

Fazlullah, Rashiduddin, *Classical Writing of Medieval Islamic World: Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties: Vol. III; Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles (Tome 1)*, Translated and Annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tauris, London and New York, 2012

This work is the third and final book in a compilation of translations by Dr. Wheeler M. Thackston. This work focuses on a translation of Rashiduddin Fazlullah which includes many details about the Mongols including alternative narrative as to the origin of Jochi Khan.

Khwandamir, *Classical Writing of Medieval Islamic World: Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties: Vol. II; Habibu's Siyar: The History of the Mongols and Genghis Khan (Tome 3)*, Translated and Annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, I.B. Tauris, London and New York, 2012

This is the second book in a compilation of translations by Dr. Wheeler M. Thackston. Much like the translation of Rashiduddin Fazlullah this work includes details about the Mongols in general, however this translation is not as in depth

about Jochi Khan and his children as the work by Rashidduddin Fazlullah's work is.

Komroff, Manuel, edited by, *Contemporaries of Marco Polo; Consisting of the Travel Records to the Eastern Parts of the World of William of Rubruck [1253-1255]; The Journey of John of Pian de Carpini [1245-1247]; The Journal of Friar Oderic [1318-1330] and The Oriental Travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela [1160-1173]*, Liveright Publishing Corp., New York, 1928

The most recent edition of the combined translations of William of Rubruck, John of Pian de Carpini, Friar Oderic and Rabbi Benjamin Tudela.

Onon, Urgunge, *The History and the Life of Chinggis Khan*, translated and annotated by Urgunge Onon, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1990

This work is an English translation of the secret history of the Mongols. It should be noted that no original copies of the secret history exist written in the original Uyghur. All surviving copies are in fact written in Chinese and the Chinese are known for their poetic voice in their written works. Due to this tendency The Secret History of Mongols has taken on a problem known as the "Chinese Gloss" whereas original words and wording have been changed to allow for a more poetic flow. In Urgunge Onon's work this is compounded by the fact that he translated the Chinese edition of the secret history to Mongolian before translating it to English.

Onon, Urgunge, *The Secret History of the Mongols: The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan*, Curzon Press, Richmond, Surrey, 2001

This work is an updated version of the previous work written by Urgunge Onon. I have not seen a significant difference between the two and the titles are almost identical.

Rachewiltz, Igor de, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Deweese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004

This is a second translation of the Secret History of the Mongols. Unlike Urgunge Onon's work this work includes translation notes and a breakdown of every section of the secret history. Rachewiltz goes to great pains to discuss the importance of certain sections and what is implied in the original work.

Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, translated by John Andrew Boyle, Columbia University Press, New York, 1971

This work presents the most detail about Jochi Khan and his children however it is an unfinished work and unfortunately the chapter which would be the most beneficial to my research is the one that is incomplete.

Secondary Sources:

Allsen, Thomas T., *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, Cambridge Press, New York, 2001

This work tells of the connection between Persia and China prior to and during the Mongol invasions of both areas. Within this work Allsen speaks of the political and economic relations that developed after the invasions of the Mongols and of the varied intermediaries who traveled back and forth between the two areas on a route that came to be known as the Silk Road.

Amitai-Preiss, Reuven, *Mongols and Mamluks; The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, Cambridge Press, New York, 1995

This work deals primarily with the conflict between the Mamluks and the Ilkhans. However it presents a little known fact the Golden Horde was not only at war with the Ilkhanate but was allied to the Mamluks and assisted in the greatest defeat that the Mongol military machine ever felt.

Atwood, Christopher. *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, New York, 2004

This is a general encyclopedia of all things Mongolian and as such presents an opportunity to gain general knowledge about the Mongols. In addition the author Dr. Christopher P. Atwood is one of the leading scholars in Mongolian history and his research is extensive in this work.

Barthold, V.V., *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia; Volume I*, translated from Russian by V. and T. Minorsky, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1962, XIII

This work describes the territory known by the Russians as *Semirechye* "Seven Rivers" Within his work he further defines the area as including both the Issik-kul lake and Lake Balkhash.

Bartlett, W.B., *The Mongols: From Genghis Khan to Tamerlane*, Amberley Publishing, Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2010

This work discusses the Mongol invasion of Europe in greater detail than almost any other text reviewed up to this time. The major problem with the book is that Bartlett's source work is that lacking and often times he only utilizes two sources for his writing. (Most of the time Carpini)

Beckwith, Christopher, *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2009

In this work Dr. Beckwith speaks of the importance of linguistics as a tool to understand pastoral nomads. He points out fact that pastoral nomadic people were illiterate and did not create anything of note. Because of this it is difficult to trace their steps through archeology. Beckwith therefore presents a methodology that allows an individual to trace a people group by following their language. In

this manner the use of linguistics can assist in creating a type of map to where a particular pastoral nomadic society may have resided.

Birtalan, Ágnes, *Oirat; The Mongolic Languages*, Routledge, London and New York, 2003

In this work Birtalan claims that the Jungar was first formed in the Altai Mountains. She admits that the term Jungar gains its origins from the Mongol word for left hand. Yet the Jungar was formed well before the Oirats ever entered this mountain range.

Boeschoten, Hendrik and Vandamme, Marc, *The Turkic Languages; Chaghatay*, edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998

Boeschoten's work focuses on Turkish linguistics and the effect that Mongolic language had on it. At the center of his study is research based on old Uyghur that was combined with the Mongolic language utilized by Chagatai and his decedents. This language was then combined with other dialects and eventually formed what is known as New Uyghur today.

Bosworth, Clifford E., *The New Islamic Dynasties; A Chronological and Genealogical Manual*, Columbia Press, New York, 1996

Bosworth work is a retelling of various Islamic Dynasties. Within his work he studies the Khwarazm dynasty and states that when the Mongols conquered the *Semirechye* it gave them a common border with the Khwarazm and this led to eventual conflict.

Brousset, René, *The Empire of the Steppes; A History of Central Asia*, translated from the French by Naomi Walford, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London, 1970

In this work Brousset talks extensively about the common use of titles in Mongolic society. In addition he goes into further detail on the Hoy-in irgen and the member groups.

Cleaves, Francis Woodman, *Qabqanas-Qamqanas; Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies Vol. 19, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1956), pp. 390-406*, Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1956, 401, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/databases/WTAMU.EDU:2048/stable/2718507> accessed 10/18/2015 @ 10:02 Reid, Anna, *The Shaman's Coat; A Native History of Siberia*, Walker and Company, New York, 2002

Cleaves dedicated this article and the subsequent book (of which there is only one copy, in Paris) to one of the member tribes of the Hoy-in irgen (forest people), in this case the Qabqanas. This is the only work of its type and within the article Cleaves mentions another primary source in regards to the Mongols.

Cope, Tim, *On the Trail of Genghis Khan; An Epic Journey Through the Land of the Nomads*, Bloomsbury Press, New York, 2013

This work is not extremely valuable historically but is a virtual linguistic and cultural gold mine. Cope retells his journey on horseback from Mongolia to Hungary and along the way tells how cultural practices from the days of Genghis Khan are still in existence even today. This work also sheds light on the fact that this land area is home to many different languages and sometimes the people who speak certain words do not know the origin of them.

De Madariaga, Isabel, *Ivan the Terrible: First Tsar of Russia*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2005

This work displays the conflicts of Ivan the Terrible with at least two of the three Khanates that formed after the fall of the Golden Horde in 1502 (the Khanates of Crimea, Kazan, and Astrakhan). These Khanates are of particular interest to the study of the Kalmyk (Oirat) people simply because Crimea and Astrakhan bordered the land area that would become Kalmykia in present time. Also of note is the location of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates along the Volga river.

Georg, Stefan, *The Mongolic Languages; Chapter Nine, Ordos*, Edited by Juha Janunen, Routledge, Taylor, and Francis Group, London and New York, 2003

In this work Georg talks about the Ordos, which another member tribe of the Hoy-in irgen. In this work he states that this group still exists and is currently located in the Shaanxi Province of China.

Golden, Peter B., *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples; Ethnogenesis and Stat-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992

Golden's work focuses on Turkish peoples, of particular note to this research is section over the Tuva Turks. The Tuvans are interesting because they are listed as a member of the Hoy-in irgen group but on known to speak a strictly Turkish dialect.

Halperin, Charles J., *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1985

Dr. Halperin's work is one of the few books that is written about the Golden Horde. Although he interjects some political beliefs into this work it is vital to understand the Golden Horde and is equally important to discover where he researched his work.

Hahn, Reinhard F., *The Turkic Languages; Uyghur*, edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csátó, Routledge, London and New York, 1998

Hahn's work focuses on the transformation of the Uyghur language. He also points out that Uyghur is the primary language of individuals living in the Xinjiang province. This fact is interesting because this area was and is still partially known as the Dzungaria.

Kassymova, Didar; Kundakbayeva, Zhanat; and Markus, Jstina; *Historical Dictionary of Kazakhstan*; Scarecrow Press; Lanham, Maryland, 2012
<https://books.google.com/books?id=BbRsMq03dh0C&pg=PA298&lpg=PA298&dq=ketyga-zhyrau&source=bl&ots=MQnheHxAGJ&sig=E89OBVChqfR6TTArRx5RuXBg3VM&hl=en&sa=X&ei=ucHYVPDXJMzagwTX1IDACA&sqi=2&ved=0CB4Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=ketyga-zhyrau&f=false> accessed 02-09-2015 @ 8:24 A.M.

This historical dictionary was utilized to further define the oral tradition within Kazakhstan. In particular the oral tradition that occurred because of the death of Jochi Khan.

Kennedy, Hugh, *Mongols, Huns and Vikings*, Cassel and Co., London, 2002

This work includes a summary of nomadic peoples and includes many maps that are of particular value. These maps show the Mongol invasions of both Persia and Europe and displays both the routes taken and the years unto which these actions occurred.

Khabtagaeva, Bayarma, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2009

This linguistical work is vital to understanding the correlation between Mongolic based languages and Turkic based languages. Within this work can be seen the interweaving of the two base languages to the point that the distinction between the two is difficult to ascertain.

Khodarkovsky, Michael, *Where Two Worlds Met: The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600-1771*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1992

Although I fundamentally disagree with parts of this work it does still have value. Of important note is the interaction between the Russian and Mongolic peoples. The Mongolic peoples would refer to things by one name and the Russians would often refer to it by another thus causing confusion to the later scholar. Dr. Khodarkovsky points this out in his work in the reference to the Oirats. The Russians referred to them as Kalmyks, a believed Turkish term, instead of the term that the people referred to themselves (that being Oirat).

May, Timothy *The Mongol Art of War; Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System*, Westholme Publishing, Yardley, 2007

While Dr. May's work focuses primarily with the Mongol art of war he also presents information on the various translations of the term Dzungar and his work is the foundation for the linguistical formula of $DZ = Z = J$.

Nurzhekeyev, Beksultan, *Chingiz Khan; Son and Warrior of Kazakh Steppes*, Xlibris Publishing, 2015

This work expands on the information regarding the various tribes of Kazakhstan. Primary among the tribes mentioned is the Zhelayir, who became a part of the Golden Horde as a result of the invasion of the area that would become Kazakhstan.

Ostrowski, Donald, *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-cultural influences on the steppe frontier, 1304-1589*, Cambridge University Press, 1998

In this work Dr. Ostrowski points out the influence that the Mongols had on the Russians that they had conquered. The Mongols were did not have direct rule over Russia but instead allowed them to have an autonomous state while at the same time paying taxes to the Mongols. The belief of the Mongols to allow a people to worship as they chose also allowed the Eastern Orthodox Religion to be expressed and grow, which would eventually lead to the expulsion of the Mongols.

Rachewiltz, Igor de, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1971

In this work de Rachewiltz writes of the many papal envoys that were sent to interact with the Mongols, most of which first encountered Batu Khan in their travels. While this work is severely lacking in citation it is written very well and most of the stories portrayed gain validity in the Mongol circle because of the author, who is one of a handful of experts in the Mongolic languages. Among this work is quite possible one of my all-time favorite quotes from Möngke Khan who simply stated; “We Mongols believe that there is but one God, by Whom we live and by Whom we die, and towards Him we have an upright heart... But just as God gave different fingers to the hand so has He given different ways to men.”²³⁵

Schönig, Claus, *The Turkic Languages ;South Siberian Turkic* , edited by Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató, Routledge, London and New York, 1998

This work focuses on the Southern Siberian Dialects. He presents four different sub-categories of this language. This information is valuable because it shows that a large portion of the group that is known as the Hoy-in irgen in fact speak a version of this Turkic dialect.

Skribnik, Elena, *The Mongolic Languages; Chapter Five; Buryat*, Edited by Juha Janhunen, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York, 2003

This is a selected chapter from the compilation *The Mongolic Languages*. Here Skribnik brings to light contemporary concepts that involve the Buriat tribe, which is a member group of the larger Hoy-in irgen.

Smith, Douglas, *Love and Conquest: The personal Correspondence of Catherine the Great and Prince Grigory Potemkin*, Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb, 2004

²³⁵Igor de Rachewiltz, , *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1971., 136

This work is the translation of letters between Catherine the Great and Prince Grigory Potemkin. This work is important because it discusses the overthrow of the Crimean Khanate and at the same time puts into view the use of some of the previous Khanates, in particular the Kazan Khanate, as a source for cavalry.

Sunderland, Willard, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 2004

This work deal primarily with the Kalmyk migrations into the lower Volga river valley and deals more with these late nomadic peoples interactions with the ruling Russians that allowed them to immigrate here.

Weatherford, Jack, *The Secret History of the Mongol Queens: How the Daughters of Genghis Khan Rescued his Empire*, Crown Publishers (a division of Random House Inc.), New York, 2010

Dr. Weatherford is considered an expert on Mongolian history by the Republic of Mongolia (where he now lives). In this work he displays the importance of the female's to the Mongols. One important statement that is made is that when the men are away warring these women were in fact ruling the territories that had been left behind.

Weatherford, Jack, *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World*, Three Rivers Press (a division of Random House), New York, 2004

This work by Dr. Weatherford is probably the most complete depiction of the Mongols. Of particular note is the fact the Weatherford cites very well and does not get all of his information from a single source. By doing this he avoids the slant that is often placed on the Mongols by either European or Asiatic authors.

Wixman, Ronald, *The Peoples of the USSR; An Ethnographic Handbook*, M.E. Sharpe, Inc., Armonk, N.Y., 1984,

This work is a detailed description of the various peoples who inhabited the former USSR. The work is utilized to identify tribes that exist in the southern reaches of Kazakhstan.

APPENDIX



236

This picture depicts the mausoleum that is dedicated to Jochi Khan in Kazakhstan.

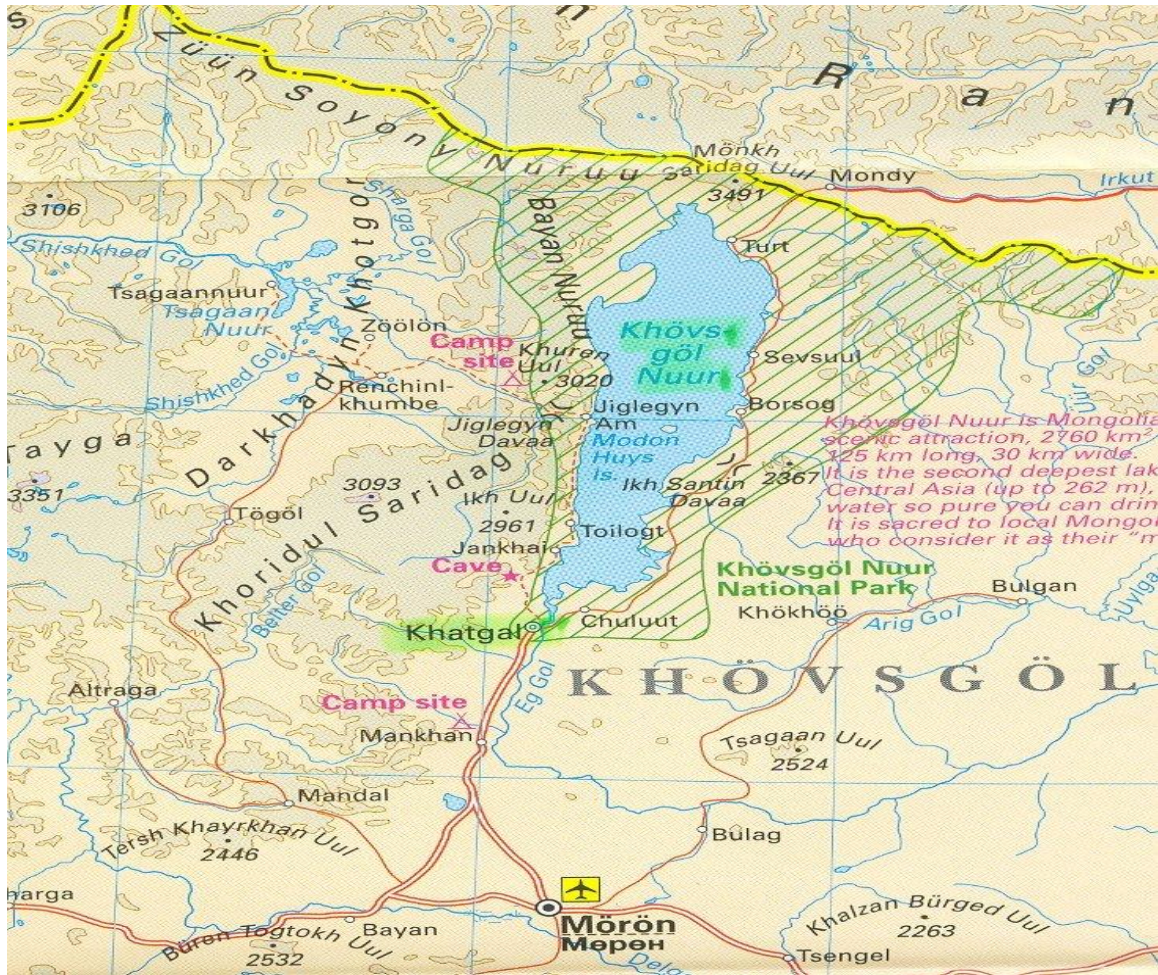


237

This is a picture of the kulan or Asian ass which mythology states was responsible for the death of Jochi Khan. It was forbidden for the kulan to be hunted and Jochi Khan died doing just that.

²³⁶ Culture Map: Monuments: The mausoleum of Jochi, <http://culturemap.kz/en/object/mavzoleiy-djuchi> accessed 04/13/2017 @ 3:51 P.M.

²³⁷ Horsetalk: Kulan to Repopulate the Central Steppe of Kazakhstan, <http://www.horsetalk.co.nz/2017/02/07/wild-asses-repopulate-central-steppe-kazakhstan/#axzz4dsfHNR2u> accessed 04/13/2017 @ 3:50 P.M.



238

This is a map of the territory that the Oirat tribe originally lived in. As the text states the Oirat's "territory was the region along the Šišgid (Shishhid) Gol... just west of Lake Khubsugul (Xövsgöl Nuur) and flowing into Dod (Dood Nuur); however, it must have extended considerably to the south-west."²³⁹ On this map Šišgid (Shishhid) Gol is spelled Shishkhed Gol, Dod (Dood Nuur) is referenced as Tsagaan Nuur, and Khubsugul (Xövsgöl Nuur) is spelled Khövsgöl Nuur. This map depicts the northern most province of Mongolia named Khövsgöl. It should be noted that on the northern border of this province is Buriatia and that Lake Biakal, which is just to the northeast, is often referred to as the sister lake of Khövsgöl Nuur.

²³⁸ Boojum Expeditions: Uncommon Adventures Since 1984: Travel Information and Services for Khovsgol Mongolia including Khovsgol National Park and Darhat Valley: Home of the Darhat Mongols and the Dukha (reindeer people): <http://www.hovsgol.org/newmap.jpg> accessed 04/13/2017 @ 3:53 P.m.

²³⁹ Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols; A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated with historical and philological commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz, edited by Nicola di Cosmo, Devin Deweese and Caroline Humphrey, Brill Inner Asian Library, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 849.



240

This map depicts the area that was the Dzungaria. It also displays the variations of this name. The map Dzungaria spelled as Jungaria, as in Jungaria Gobi or Dzungaria desert. In addition the map shows Junggar Pendi or Dzungarian Basin. Finally there is the Zongar Alatau which is otherwise known as the Dzungarian Gate.

²⁴⁰ 'Xinjiang Autonomous Region China', last updated 6 Dec 2016, Web, <http://www.chinasage.info/maps/xinjiang.htm>, accessed 04/13/2017 @ 4:12 P.M.

