

JUNKO MIYAWAKI
(Tokyo)

The Khoyid chief Amursana in the fall of the Dzungars:
The importance of the Oyirad family trees discovered in Kazan

The Dzungars, a people who had suddenly emerged in the theater of history and built their great nomadic empire in Central Asia in the second half of the seventeenth century, could not escape the fate of their predecessors, that of recurrent internal strife caused by quarrels over succession, and were destroyed by the Manchus, who took advantage of the situation in the middle of the following century. After the fall of the Dzungars in 1755, the Central Asian steppes were divided between the Manchu and Russian spheres of influence. The Dzungars were the last of the nomadic empires to rise and fall on the steppes.

No tribe named Dzungar is found in historical records earlier than the early seventeenth century. The name *Dzungar* (*Jüün Ghar*) means 'left hand' in Mongolian, and is applied to one of the nomadic groups making up the confederation of nomadic tribes generally called the *Oyirad*, or the *Kalmyk*, by their western neighbors. The Oyirad was a nomadic tribe first known in the thirteenth century in the days of the Mongol Empire. In the seventeenth century, the appellation the *Four Oyirad* (*Dörben Oyirad*) appears both in Mongol chronicles and in the parlance of the Oyirad themselves. This latter term means that the Oyirad of that time consisted of four member tribes within a confederation. The four tribes are variously identified in historical sources. We shall not delve into this question here since it has been treated in detail by Hidehiro Okada.¹ Anyway, it is clear that what is called the Dzungar Empire should be more properly understood as the Oyirad tribal confederation headed by the Dzungar tribe.

After having destroyed the Dzungars, the Manchu court counted the *Dörbö*d, the *Khoshuud*, the *Khoyid* and the *Choroos* as the Four Oyirad tribes. The Choroos were actually the Dzungars renamed. Actually, there were still other Oyirad tribes elsewhere. At that time the *Torghuud* tribe,

¹ Okada, Hidehiro, "Origins of the Dörben Oyirad": *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, Neue Folge, Band 7, Wiesbaden, 1987:181-211.

together with others, led a nomadic existence on the Volga. In 1771 the majority of those Torghuuds escaped Russian rule and returned to the Ili region now under Manchu control since the fall of the Dzungars. That winter it was so warm that the Volga failed to freeze over. Unable to cross the river, more than ten thousand Torghuud, Dörböd and Khoshuud families were left stranded on the right bank of the Volga. Their descendants now make up the population of the Kalmyk Republic in the Russian Federation.

It was under such circumstances that the Oyirad people came to live separately under Ch'ing and Russian rule, and their historical records, mostly genealogies, were also preserved on both sides. On the Ch'ing side, the sources were written mostly in Manchu and Chinese, while on the Russian side they were written either in Kalmyk using the todo alphabet or in Russian, from which German and English translations have been done. As far as the Khoyids were concerned, the direct descendants of the Oyirad royal house of the thirteenth century and the leading tribe of the Four Oyirad on whom Altan Khan and his Mongol army waged many wars in the sixteenth century, however, very little is said in historical sources on either side.

In this sense, the recent discovery of a Khoyid family tree in the Manuscript Division of the Kazan University is truly a great event. The family tree in question, N4881, is one of the three so-called Dzungar genealogies there. I had an opportunity to discuss these genealogies at the 38th PIAC Meeting in Kawasaki last year. The three family trees, N4881 (Khoyids), N4882 (Dzungars) and N4883 (Torghuuds), were published in facsimile form, accompanied by a Latinized transliteration of the personal names contained in them, in the *Proceedings of the 38th PIAC*.²

On the occasion of the 39th Meeting of the PIAC at Szeged, Hungary, I distributed only copies of the Khoyid family tree, N4881. In the original the names of the Khoyid princes are written in the 18th-century Russian alphabet, each inside a circle. I added Latinized transliterations to those names, with the marks * and # to indicate their occurrence in other sources from the East and West.

After presenting this paper, I received valuable feedback from my many friends in the audience. The comments offered by Professor András Róna-Tas of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences answered many difficult ques-

² Miyawaki, Junko, "Oyirad Family Trees Discovered in Kazan": *Proceedings of the 38th Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC)*, Kawasaki, Japan: August 7-12, 1995, Wiesbaden, 1996:259-272.

tions. He not only showed me how to properly Latinize the Russian alphabet in use in Kazan and other parts of Siberia in the 18th century, but also pointed out that the spellings of personal names in the family tree reflected the peculiarities of the local dialect of Russian spoken among the Tatars and suggested that at least two people must have taken part in preparing the family tree.

In the reproduction of the Khoyid family tree from the Kazan University appended to this article, the personal names are only numbered without transliteration, this being provided in a separate table. In that table the left column contains the author's initial attempts at Latinization, while the right column shows how they have been amended following Professor Róna-Tas's advice. As we see in the reproduction, each personal name is written with accents. Needless to say, no accents are indicated in Mongolian, todo-Oyirad or Manchu texts, genealogical or otherwise, as their alphabets do not contain such marks. Still, the personal names in all three Oyirad family trees from the Kazan University are written with accents. The author was unable to solve this puzzle.

Professor Róna-Tas explains it as follows: The original family trees must have been written in the todo alphabet. They were transliterated into Russian at Kazan, cooperatively by a person able to read the todo and another able to write the Russian alphabet. While one read the names of the princes aloud, the other listened to the sound and wrote down the names Russian-style adding the accents he heard.

This explanation handily solves another difficult problem. At the bottom of N4883 is the following note in Russian:

“In the Report of the confidential Adviser to Siberian Governor, Mr. Soimonov, sent on 27 June, 1758, it is said that the members of the clan indicated in this genealogy by the numbers 1, 2, and 3, now have left this region. Along with them the following members of other families have also left:

«Urankhai, Louzan Dzhap, and Norbo Cheren; current information about those who left later could not be provided by Noyon Dmitrii Norbo Danzhil and Zaisan Ulemzhi. That is why they have not been included in this genealogy. It is necessary to record them according to the words of the original family members who are aware of their genealogies».”

Contrary to what Siberian Governor Soimonov says about the absence of the names of all the five Oyirad men who had brought the family trees, Noyon Dmitrii Norbo Danjil must be the same person as K44: “Norbu

dandzhin, Dmitrii Yakovlev after baptism” in the Khoyid family tree. The Siberian governor must have been unable to read the family trees in his possession because they were still written in todo then.

Now let us find out why a Khoyid family tree had to be discovered in Kazan, the likes of which had not been preserved either among the Oyirad living under Manchu rule or among the Kalmyks on the Volga.

Quarrels over succession broke out in the last nomadic empire, Dzungar, upon the death of its ruler Galdantsering in 1745. Finally in 1752, Davachi, remotely related to the Dzungar ruling house, was raised to the tribal leadership with the aid of Amursana, the Khoyid chief. Still, internal strife continued in Dzungar, until Dörböd chiefs with their tribesmen of three thousand families revolted and went over to the Manchus in 1753. Even Amursana himself fell out with Davachi after the latter's succession and went over to the Manchus in 1754.³

The Manchu emperor Ch'ien-lung took advantage of this situation to make war on the Dzungars. A Mongol army and a Manchu army, each 25,000 strong, were mobilized. Amursana, who had planned the strategy for a conquest of Ili, was appointed Vice Commander of the Northern Route Army. The combined forces marched by two routes, a western and a northern.

As the invading armies advanced, more and more Dzungar defectors surrendered to them. Thus the Manchus met practically no resistance until they marched into Ili. Davachi fled into the Tarim Basin but was taken prisoner at Ush, to be sent to Peking. The Dzungar Empire was destroyed in a military operation lasting only one hundred days.

The Manchu emperor intended to divide the newly-conquered Oyirad tribesmen into four tribes after the Four Oyirad, the Dörböd, the Khoshuud, the Khoyid and the Choroos, to each of which a khan was to be appointed Mongol fashion. But Amursana, who was not satisfied merely to be khan of the Khoyid tribe, proclaimed himself *Khong Tayiji*, the overlord of all the Oyirad and declared independence from the Manchu emperor.

Khong Tayiji, or *Kontaisha* as Russians pronounced it, had been a title first bestowed on Baatur Khong Tayiji of the Dzungars in the 1630's by

³ P'ing-ting Chun-ko-erh Fang-lüeh.

Güüshi Khan of the Khoshuud as the former was his viceroy.⁴ Later, while the power of the Dzungar chiefs grew, Khong Tayiji came to mean supreme ruler of their empire; the title of khan proliferated among the Mongols now under Manchu rule, thus decreasing in prestige. Amursana's preference of the title Khong Tayiji over that of khan is thus historically explained.

Pursued by the Manchus, Amursana fled to Ablai Khan of the Kazakh Middle Horde. When he had left there, too, he fled to Siberia and sought protection from the Russians. In 1757 he appeared near the fortress of Semipalatinsk. When he had reached Lake Yamysh, he came down with smallpox. He continued as far as Tobolsk and died there at the age of 35. In 1756 the Manchus had demanded the Russian government hand his person over if he reached the latter. The Russians sent his body to Selenginsk for burial and invited Manchu officials to come and inspect it. The Manchus demanded the body be handed over but were refused by the Russians.⁵

Amursana's mother was Botoloq, daughter of Tsevangrabtan, the Dzungar ruler. First she had married Danjung, son of Lhazang Khan, the king of Tibet and great-grandson of Güüshi Khan of the Kokonor Khoshuud. In 1717 a Dzungar army invaded Lhasa and killed Lhazang Khan. Then Tsevangrabtan had Danjung, now living with his bride among the Dzungars, put to death. According to Manchu-Chinese historical sources compiled after the fall of the Dzungars, Botoloq was pregnant when her first husband was killed by her father, remarried Üjeng Khoshuuchi the Khoyid chief in that state, and gave birth to Amursana.⁶

Thus Amursana, the Khoyid chief who had played such a prominent role in the fall of the Dzungar Empire, was believed by the Oyirad people to have been not only the son of a daughter of Tsevangrabtan but also a descendant of Güüshi Khan the Khoshuud chief. His name was to be remembered for a

⁴ Miyawaki, Junko, "The Birth of the Khong Tayiji Viceroyalty in the Mongol-Oyirad World": *Altaica Berolinensia, The Concept of Sovereignty in the Altaic World*, Wiesbaden, 1993:149-155.

⁵ Morikawa, Tetsuo, "Amursana o meguru Ro-Shin kōshō shimatsu": *Kyūshū Daigaku Rekishigaku Chirigaku Nenpō*, No.7, 1983. Morikawa uses Zlatkin, I. Ia., "Russkie arkhivnye materialy ob amursane": *Filologiya i istoriya mongol'skikh narodokh pamiati akademika Borisa Iakovlevicha Vladimirtsova*, Moskva, 1958; Bantysheva-Kamenskii, Nikolai, *Diplomatičeskoe sobranie del mezhdru rossiiskim i kitaiskim gosudarstvami s 1619 po 1792 god*. Kazan, 1882.

⁶ *Ch'in-ting Hsi-yü T'ung-wen-chih*, chap.10, fol.31b; *Ch'in-ting Huang-yü Hsi-yü T'u-chih*, chap. 47, fols. 21-22.

long time.⁷ When revolution raged in Mongolia early in the twentieth century, Dambijantsan alias, Ja Lama, a Kalmyk bandit who wrought havoc in Western Mongolia and was believed immortal, claimed himself to be a descendant or reincarnation of Amursana.⁸

The name that reads "Amur sanan", numbered K54 which has been doubly circled by the writer, is our hero Amursana. His name, the names of his brothers, nephews, father, and grandfather as well as that of the progenitor of his lineage, ten in all, here circled in bold lines, are also found in the Manchu-Chinese historical source, *Hsi-yü T'ung-wen-chih*, which gives the names of five more Khoyid princes, Erke Taiji, his son, grandson and two great-grandsons, whose ancestry is not clear.⁹

Personal names preceded by an asterisk (*) represent the Khoyid chiefs who appear in Mongolian chronicles. *Sira Tuγūji* says: "The Qoyid were descended from Yabayān Mergen. To Inalči, the son of Qudaqa Beki of the Qoyid, Chinggis Khan gave his own daughter Čečei-ken. To Törölči, the elder brother of Inalči, he gave Qolui-qan, the daughter of Jöči."¹⁰ According to *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, in 1552 Altan made war on the Four (*dörben*) Oyirad, killed Mani Mingγatu the chief of the Eight Thousand (*naiman mingγan*) Qoyid, and captured all the latter's wives, children and subjects. Then in 1574, Buyan Bayatur Qong Tayiji, another Ordos chief, went on an expedition against the Four Oyirad, and captured the entire Eight Thousand Qoyid Myriarchy headed by Eselbei Kiy-a.¹¹

According to *Sira Tuγūji* and a different edition *Ĵalaγus-un qurim*, Vačirai mingγ-a-tu's son was Sutai mingγ-a-tu, whose son was Eselbei kiy-a,

⁷ For the Amursana legends surviving today in the old Oyirad homeland in Tuva, see Taube, Erika, "Überlieferungen zur Geschichte der Tuwiner im Altai": *Ethnohistorische Wege und Lehrjahre eines Philosophen, Festschrift für Lawrence Krader zum 75. Geburtstag*. Peter Lang, 1995:279-292.

⁸ An early report on Dambijantsan, the reincarnation of Amursana, was given by Pozdnev, who travelled around Mongolia in 1892-93. A. M. Pozdnev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*. 1892, ed. by John Kruger, Indiana University, p. 30-32. A Japanese study of the same figure is found in Ikoma, Masanori, "Jā Rama to Kobudo mondai": *Shirin*, Vol. 72, No. 3, 1989:123-161.

⁹ *Ch'in-ting Hsi-yü T'ung-wen-chih*, chap. 10, fol. 30a-33a.

¹⁰ Shastina, N. P., *Shara Tudzi. Mongol'skaya Letopis' XVII veka*. Moskva-Leningrad, 1957:101.

¹¹ Saγang Secen, *Erdeni-yin tobci* ('Precious Summary'), *A Mongolian Chronicle of 1662*. Canberra, 1990:138, 143.



whose son was Nom dalai, whose son was Sülten tayisi. The last named is said to have begotten Čoskin in the former edition and Ayuusi in the latter, and both genealogies end there.¹²

Khoyid genealogy in Western traditions is even more uncertain. Personal names preceded by a # sign represent those of the Khoyid chiefs in the Volga-Kalmyk tradition. Γabang šes rab only says: "The Xoyid were absorbed into the Xoton (Kashgarians) and the Žöün Γar."¹³ According to Pallas, the founder of the Choit line, Joboghon Mergen, lived three generations earlier than Chinggis Khan. Pallas further says that a celestial nymph, whom Joboghon Mergen had married, had illicit relations with Böh Chan in the absence of her husband, who was on a military expedition, and gave birth to a boy, Oolinda-budun Taidshi, who became the founder of the Zorros line.¹⁴

Bātur Ubaši Tümen says that Eselbei's son was Sayin kā, whose son was Sultan tayiši, and that Sayin kā was killed by his fellow Oyirads.¹⁵ There was a civil war among the Four Oyirad in the 1620's which weakened the Khoyid tribe. Article Three of the Mongol-Oyirad Code of 1640 states that those Barghus, Baatuds and Khoyids taken in by the Mongols between the years of Fire-Snake (1617) and Earth-Dragon (1628) shall belong to the Mongols; those taken in by the Oyirad shall belong to the Oyirad; all other survivors shall be returned to each without delay.¹⁶ This provision proves that the Barghu, Baatud and Khoyid tribes no longer had their own leaders at that time. When an Oyirad group headed by the Torghuud tribe migrated westward to the Volga in 1630, the Khoyids were not among them. This is one main reason Khoyid genealogy was not known in the west.

Only Bātur Ubaši Tümen refers to the names of three more Khoyid princes. According to him, upon the fall of the Dzungars in 1757, Dečid, a noyon of the Xoyid Yeke mingγan Anggi who was the son of Bata Noyon, a

¹² Shastina 101; Heissig, Walther, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen, Teil 1:16.-18. Jahrhundert*. Asiatische Forschungen, Band 5, Wiesbaden, 1959, Facsimilia 86-111.

¹³ Emči Γabang šes rab, *Dörbön oyirodiyın töüke*, Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, Tomus V, Fasc. 2-3, Ulanbator, 1967:78.

¹⁴ Pallas, P. S. *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften*. Erster Teil. St. Petersburg, 1776:31-33.

¹⁵ Xošuud noyon Bātur ubaši tümeni tuurbiqsan Dörbön oyiradiyin tüüke, 27, 35; Pozdneev, A., *Kalmytskaia Khrestomatiia*. Petrograd, 1915:24-43.

¹⁶ *Ikh Tsaz* (<Velikoe ulozhenie>). Moskva, 1981.

descendant of Yoboyon mergen of Xoyid, together with his wife Ölzöi orošixu, fled to Russia by way of Semipalatinsk and settled in Tyumen. When a son was born to them there, he was named Tümen Žiryalang after the city. Later they joined the Volga Torghuuds, gathered their subjects, having fled from the Dzungars, and lived under Donduqdaši Khan of the Torghuuds. Dečid died when his son was three years old. His mother, Ölzöi orošixu, accepted a proposal from Žamyang, a Khoshuud noyon, and remarried. At his mother's request, Tümen Žiryalang was legally adopted by his stepfather and thus became a Khoshuud noyon. The young noyon later served as a page to Empress Ekaterina II and was very much favored by her. After Ubaši Khan had fled with his Volga Torghuuds, he received a portion of those stayed behind.¹⁷ We shall not go into the story any further here.

Although the Khoyid tribe is regarded as having been absorbed by the Dzungars in western sources, the latter empire was not much more than a confederation of nomadic tribes as we have pointed out earlier. The Dörböd and Khoyid tribes revealed their existence only after the fall of the Dzungars. The former, who had gone over to the Manchus first, survives in western Mongolia even today as a big ethnic group. The Khoyids, in contrast, disappeared again due to Amursana's revolt against the Manchus, and their genealogy too was largely lost.

A study of Dzungar history, a very important field of Inner Asian history, is just not possible without taking Russian and other European connections into consideration, not to speak of numerous valuable sources surviving only in Europe. The family trees, discovered at Kazan University at this time, is only one example.

N4881: Genealogy of the Leaders of the Khoit Tribe in the Zengors

K1 * # Yabagan mergen	Yabagán mergén
K2 Erke khara	Erké Xayrá
K3 * Khutaga	Xuttagá
K4 Ele khongor	Éle xongór"
K5 *lchi	[Ina]lčí

¹⁷ *Xošuud noyon Bātur ubaši tümeni tuurbıqsan Dörbön oyiradiyin tüüke*, 40-42.

K6 * Tyoryolchi	Törölči
K7 * Sutai mingatai	Sutái mingatái
K8 Zangitai mingatai	Zangitái mingatái
K9 * # Eselbei sain ka	Eselbéi saín" ká
K10 Tsoroktoi	Tsoroktóy
K11 * Nom dalai	Nóm daláy
K12 * # Solton taishi	Soltón" taishí
K13 Taishi	Taishí
K14 Sumer	Sümér
K15 Au	Oyú
K16 Serin dzhap	Serín" dzháp"
K17 Dardzha	Dardzhá
K18 Darma dalai	Darmá daláy
K19mulimúti
K20 Erintsen	Erintsén
K21 Tsoirok	Tsoirók
K22 Shabarai	Shabaráy
K23 Sain belek	Sáin" belék
K24 Cherin buntsuk	Čerín" buntsúk
K25 Khoboldu	Xoboldú
K26 Bayar	Bayár"
K27 Khurimshi	Xurínshí
K28 Asarachi	Asaračí
K29 Tsebek dzhap	Tsebék" dzháp"
K30 Namdzhil	Namdzhíl
K31 Cherin dashi	Čerín" dashí
K32 Khokchi	Xopčí
K33 Khairan	Xairán
K34 Khaidak	Xaidák"
K35 Khairatu	Xairatú
K36 Khala kokul	Xalá kokúl
K37 Byoku taidzhi	Bökü taidzhí
K38 Au	Oyú
K39 Batur	Bátor
K40 Bimba	Bimbá
K41 Tsebek	Tsebék
K42 Ubushi	Ubushí

K43 Badma cherin	Badmá čerín”
K44 Norbu dandzhin	Norbú dandzhín
Dmitrii yakovlev after baptism	
K45 Daba zangbu	Davá zangbú
K46 Mergen temene	Mergén” temene
K47 Amuguulang	Amuguuláng
K48 Aldar khoshouchi	Aldár” xoshoučí
K49 Uzens khoshouchi	Uzén” xoshoučí
K50 Ch[akd]ur	Č[akd]úr
K51 Chimkur	Čimkúr
K52 Dzhantsan	Dzhantsán
K53 Ishi dandzhin	Ishí dandzhín
K54 Amur sanan	Amúr sanán”
K55 Baarang	Baaráng
K56 Sheareng	Shearéng
K57 Dashi cherin	Dashí čerín
K58 Nemeku	Nemekú
K59 Buntsuk	Buntsúk
K60 Getsul	Getsúl
K61 Shakshin	Shashín
K62 Khatan	Xatán”
K63 Medyachi	Med'ečí
K64 Uzen	Uzén
K65 Shaba	Shabá
K66 Boibu	Boibú
K67 Dzhatsan	Dzhatsán
K68 Dardzhap	Dardzháp”
K69 Donduk	Dondúk”
K70 Solom dardzha	Solóm dardzhá
K71 Mongol	Mongól
K72 Tsugan	Tsugán”
K73 Unen khashkha	Unén” Xashxá
K74 Odkhon	Odxón”
K75 Septen dashi	Septén” dashí
K76 Sheareng	Shearéng
K77 Sheareng	Shearéng”

N4881: Genealogy of the Owners of the Khoit Tribe in the Zengors

ᠰᠡᠷᠠᠴᠢᠰᠢᠨ ᠰᠢᠨᠢᠭᠤᠨ ᠬᠣᠢᠲᠤ ᠬᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠢ ᠰᠢᠶᠢᠬᠤᠭᠣᠰᠤ.

