

TURKIC GENEALOGICAL TRADITIONS: NEW INSIGHTS ON THE ORIGINS OF CHINGGIS-QAN

Moldir Oskenbay, Talas Omarbekov, Gulnara Habizhanova and Iskakova Galiya

This paper examines the genealogical traditions associated with Chinggis-qan (r. 1206-1227), and his regime, and the impact of these traditions on subsequent political rule in Central Asia that relied on dynastic principles. By combining established traditional sources with new genealogical research in historical and living Turkic and Kazakh traditions, this paper argues that the frequent and significant changes to identity and tribal groupings during the 12th and 13th centuries created new memberships that only later became enduring structures with established identities. Therefore, revisions to the accepted lineage of Chinggis-qan may be necessary. On the steppe during this period, elite views of ethnicity did not match with who precisely were their followers; rather, group memberships reflected the diverse and changing dynamics of that time. This reality also contributed later to Kazakh cultural emergence, as well as to subsequent regional developments, through a legacy of common rulers and political administrations.

Keywords: Turkic tribes; Central Asia; ethnic groups; Chinggis-qan; Jalayir; Mongol, Genealogies.

INTRODUCTION

... *At that time, there were no Mongols or Kazakhs, only kin and tribes*

(Kazybek bek Tauassaruly. 18th century)

Examining genealogical evidence based on oral traditions, authors hitherto not utilized, new translations of primary sources into English, and regional traditions, this paper provides analysis regarding the frequent and significant changes to identities and tribal groupings in Central Asia during the 12th and 13th centuries. These changes created new group memberships that only later became enduring structures with established identities. As part of these changes, Chinggis-qan came to rely on newly-created tribal groups with a common military-administrative structure, and common economic interests, in order to extend his power and control, rather than on ethnic groups. This development likely reflected continuing practices in Central Asia of power competition, and competition between those speaking Turkic languages and Tungus-Manchzhur. These groups mixed and later formed the Mongol state, officially founded by Chinggis-qan and designated after the name

¹ Postgraduate at the Department of History of Kazakhstan, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan 050040, *E-mail: moldirmail@gmail.com*

² Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor at Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

³ Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor at Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

⁴ PhD at Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

of his ancestor, “Mongol.” After establishing this empire, a continued historical connection between titles of legitimacy and genealogical descendants evolved, alongside the presence of groupings considered Mongol, Turk, Tungus, and others, as they claimed established identities. This situation contributed to new cultural emergence, particularly for the Kazakh, with implications for regional developments and of continued relevance today.

Three themes shape this paper regarding the reign of Chinggis-qan and subsequent developments under his descendants. First, as a member of the “Mongol” clan that used Turks to rule Mongolia and beyond, Chinggis-qan employed regular traditions and processes in order to rule over a diverse mix of other groups. Second, Chinggis-qan employed a traditional method of kinship and an inheritance system that relied on historical persons recognized for centuries as “Mongol,” Tatar, Oghuz, and Karakhan in his military, in his organizational activities, and as spiritual and ideological sources for the integration of different ethnic groups and tribal unions. Later this system was consolidated and used to create new possibilities for the Great Khan’s descendants who continued to hold power using it, and enabled integration of different tribes speaking different languages that later developed into modern countries. Third, revelations about Bodonchar Munkhag may indicate possible challenges regarding Chinggis-qan genealogy, particularly as it is seen in contemporary Kazakh society. To examine these ideas, this paper will examine challenges to existing scholarship and then introduce new information and sources. Then it will analyze the relevance of this information and sources regarding Chinggis-qan’s lineage, regarding social organization in Central Asia, and draw broader conclusions.

CHALLENGES IN SOURCES AND CONCEPTS

This paper builds upon a foundation of previous scholarship by addressing challenges in sourcing and unclear concepts. First, the limited source material is problematic, especially regarding the Mongols’ rise in the 12th century. The seminal *Secret History of the Mongols* was extensively rewritten and edited in later Yuan times. This process included much reinterpretation focusing on the Mongols, often in terms of how later national ideologies perceived and portrayed them. This reinterpretation shaped their history. While a useful foundation, the reinterpretations included in *Secret History of the Mongols* require it to be regarded with some skepticism. By contrast, Rashid al-Din’s Persian-language text “Compendium of Chronicles” delivers a valuable collection of individual profiles from early 14th century Mongol Iran, but, this source is undermined by relying on Chinese sources that are problematic in their interpretations of the traditional genealogies maintained by Central Asian peoples.

A second challenge is conceptual, topics and ideas are often vague and imprecise. For example, the *Secret History* presents lineages, clans and larger units,

what may be taken as tribes or at least tribal confederations, but fails to specify what exactly was meant by the terms it employs, what they entailed, and how they differed in various contexts, seen across various groups of people. For the early Mongols, what was the difference between an *uruq*, usually taken as a lineage, or an *oboq*, the next kinship level up, a clan? When the *Secret History* (*SH*) characterizes the *oboq* of the early Mongolian steppe of its time as if they were ethnic groupings, what precisely does it entail? Thus, challenges related to concepts of anthropology regarding the early Mongol period remain significant, requiring additional genealogical resources for new information and to clarify concepts.

WHAT DO GENEALOGICAL PRIMARY SOURCES TELL US?

The accepted narrative of Chinggis-qan genealogy fails to consider evidence from living oral tradition, or from works of several major authors indicating possible omissions. In his time the view was advanced that Chinggis-qan was a representative of the Jalayir tribal grouping, in early times clearly more than a single *oboq*.¹ The primary oral source cited by Kazbek bek Tauasaruly² in his *Tup tuqiyannan ozime shein* argues that Chinggis-qan was from the Jalayir, and his son was Jochi was from the Merkit. Jochi told his father: “Your root is from Jalayir, My root is from the area Abaqty. We both have the same root” This statement had reached Tauasaruly as oral tradition passed down over the generations through one of the heroes mentioned by the Kazakh elder Bogenbay [Tauassaruly 2008]. According to this tradition Chinggis responded to Jochi as following: “...Chinggis giggled, stroked his yellow beard and left without saying anything...” According to this passage, Chinggis-qan did not say anything against his connection with the Jalayir [Tauassaruly 2008].

Another problem for the *Secret History* is that Chinggis-qan is not the father of Jochi, but of a Merkit man named Beren (in Mongolian written sources the Merkit wrestler Chilger). If we trace the origins of the Jalayir, they lead back to a person named Mongol, then one Turik. In Rashid al-Din’s *Oghuz-Nama* [Rashid ad Din 1987:7], the tenth ancestor of the Jalayir, descended from Nukiz, was a man named Mongol, and he was descended from a man Turik, after five branchings. At the same time, the legendary Oghuz Khan is made the grandson of Mongol. According to the *Rashid al-Din Chronicle*, Turk or Turik derived from Yafes and he was from Noah. Leaving aside the legend, there is no other primary source documenting such a descent line for Turik as found in Rashid al-Din. In any case, the 15 descendants of Turik (including Mongol) were real people or were regarded as real people. People who never existed were never included in such genealogical annals. Even if the order of names changes in other sources too, the individual names almost certainly remain correct.

Mahmud al-Kashgari in his *Compendium of the languages of the Turks* noted: “... Turk is a name of the son of Noah, just as Man (*al-insan*) is the name of

Adam, peace to be upon him, in the following verse (Q.76): ‘Has there come on Man an expanse of time...?’ In this passage a general name is used for an individual; and in the following verse: (Q.95:4-6): ‘We indeed created Man in the fairest stature then We restored him the lowest of the low – Save those who believe, and do righteous deeds...’ Man is a collective noun, since there is no one who can be excluded from this singular. In the same way ‘Turk’ is the name of the son of Noah, in the singular; but when it refers to his sons it is a collective – like the word ‘human’, it is used for singular or plural [Al-Kashgari, Mahmud 1985].”

What then can say about “Mongol,” a personal name that became a collective tribal name? Here we want to emphasize texts of Rashid al-din, Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur, Mahò mud al-Kashgari, and Kurbanghali Khalid, written by real people and remaining in human memory for centuries. With the exception of the 14th century Chronicle of Rashid-al-Din, the other three authors wrote long before Chinggis-qan and reflected information that had spread orally among Turkic and Tungus-manchzhur-speaking people. Such texts thus have significant contributions to offer as we research the origins of Chinggis-qan.

IS THERE ANY CONNECTIONS BETWEEN *TORE*, “PROPER GOVERNMENT” AND THE ANCIENT JALAYIR?

After Chinggis-qan established his empire, there was a continued historical connection between the title “*tore*” attached to the descendants of the Great Khan, with the “*torelekun*” referred to in early sources. There is reason to assume that the origin of the *Torelekun* confederation was a *Tore* (Turi) clan, a member of the ten *Zhat*, the ten ruling kin of the *Jalayir*. In the ancient traditions associated with the *Jalayir*, a ninth branch of this group deriving from the *Merke* was called “*Tor*”. In the chronicles by Rashid al-Din, one of the eleven clans of the *Jalayir* was known as *Tore* (in Kazakh *Tore*). Such similarities in different primary sources are not accidental. The *Torelekun* confederation brought mutually-interested, Turkic-speaking and Tungus-Manchzhur-speaking groups closer. And we should not forget the fact that in 1206 among the 95 leaders of the new tribal groupings who proclaimed Chinggis-qan Ruler of all Mongols were representatives of Tungus-Manchzhur, but Turkic-speaking tribes were a majority of them. Z.Qinayat [2010:212-213] provides a list of 88 names with the tribal groupings that they belonged to. We have tried below (Table 1) to divide the list into Turkic-speaking and Mongol-speaking tribes. Some of entries are shown as unknown.

Historical references to the ancient *Jalayir* connect their origins to the kinship group called *Darliken* (*Torelekun*) [Urgunge Onon 2001:111]. But is this *Darliken* the name of a person, or name of a larger descent group, or perhaps even of a tribal association (Mongol *irgen*)?

Bembeev, who has been studying Mongol-Kalmyk's history has written:

The process of unification of tribes and peoples of Central Asia, which is characteristic of the era of Genghis Khan, led to ethnic mixing and the formation of new formations, of which the most obvious was the formation of section "Darlekin". ... The name "Darlekin" in Mongolian would sound like "Torolekun", which means "relatives, family". According to Rashid al-Din, all 20 divisions of the formation "Darlekin-torolekun": "Jalayir, Sunnit, Tatar, Merkit, Kurlaut, Tulas, Bulagachin, Keremuchin, Urasut, Tatamikh, Targut (Torgout), Oyrat, Barg(k)-ut, K(kh)ori, Telengut, Uryanka, Kurkh(g)-an, Sukhat..." (Only 18 out of twenty, 2 were missed or by Rashid al-Din, or census takers) were related. While communicating they understood each other without any problems [Bembeev 2006].

From this data we can see that kinship groupings such as the Tolengit, Torus, Kurkin, Kumsauyt, found in the Jalayir confederation in the 12th century, had also existed among the Darlekin-Torelekun. Language was not a barrier for these groups, and ancient historical references to the Jalayir tell us that the Mongol and Turkic Oghuz had the same roots. According to V.Sh.Bembeev, Oghuz tribes were the main core of the Darlekin-Torelekun union. Subsequently alien Tungus-Manchzhur tribes joined, extending the ethnic communities, and turning the Jalayir into a military and administrative, social and economic alliance.

From the beginning, Chinggis-qan relied not on ethnic groups, but on compact tribal units with a common military-administrative structure and with common economic interests, providing close paths for transition. He could use such units to extend his power to still larger groups of nomads. Therefore, he was supported not only by a Darlekin-Torelekun confederation, but also by representatives of other tribes providing him with the opportunity to rule the Mongols. The latter were known in the historical literature as *Nirun*. At the time that Chinggis-qan was first emerging on the historical stage, these *Nirun*, supported by Qidans, Tungus-Manchzhur-speaking peoples, and ethnic Mongol kinship groups and tribes, were becoming more influential, having in hand military power. Because those called Jalayir were neighbors on the left wing of these *Nirun* tribes, clans of the "Darlekin" or "Torelekun" confederations also supported the ruling dynasty.

MONGOL IS NOT THE NAME OF A PEOPLE, BUT OF A PERSON

The new sources used here indicate that "Mongol" originated as a personal name that eventually changed into a group label. This suggests a possible misinterpretation by those who view "Mongol" only as a group name, while also indicating the evolutionary nature of identities in Central Asia throughout this time period. It would be incorrect to consider all "Mongols" as descendants of Tungus-Manchzhur tribes. Stanley Lane-Poole, based upon Sir Henry Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, stated that the name Mongol was not known outside Mongolia until the tenth century, and probably came to be applied to a whole group of clans only when the chief of a particular clan bearing that name acquired an ascendancy over the rest of the confederacy, and gave to the greater the name of the lesser. If not the founder

TABLE 1.1: LIST OF 88 (95) LEADERS CHINGGIS-QAN APPOINTED AS THE COMMANDERS OF THE THOUSANDS AND THEIR AFFILIATIONS³

<i>Turkic-speaking tribes</i>		<i>Mongol-speaking tribes</i>		<i>unknown</i>
1) 3. Muqali (Jalayir)	1) 1. Father Monglik (Khongkhotan)	27) 34. Guchugur (Besud)	1) 19. Qorqosun (unknown)	
2) 5. Ilugei (Somit)	2) 2. Bo'orchu (Arulad)	28) 35. Bala (Oronatay Uhanar)	2) 38. Bujir (unknown)	
3) 10. Tuge (Jalayir)	3) 4. Qorchi (Bagarin)	29) 36. Dayir (Khongkhotan)	3) 39. Monggu'ur (unknown)	
4) 16. Shigi-quutuqu (Tatar)	4) 6. Jurchedei (Uruq)	30) 41. Bogen (Urgutay)	4) 40. Dolo'adai (unknown)	
5) 17. Gochu (Merkit)	5) 7. Qunan (Geniges)	31) 42. Qudus (Barlas)	5) 43. Maral (unknown)	
6) 20. Husun (Kereit)	6) 8. Qubilai (Barlas)	32) 47. Jebe (Besud)	6) 48. Udutai (unknown)	
7) 37. Muge (Kongirat)	7) 9. Jelme (Uriankhai)	33) 51. Sube'etei (Uryanhay)	7) 53. Qurchaquis (unknown)	
8) 44. Jebeke (Jalayir)	8) 11. Degei (Besud)	34) 52. Mongko-qalja (Manggyt)	8) 59. Qonggiran (unknown)	
9) 45. Yuruqan (Jalayir)	9) 12. Tolon (Khongkhotan)	35) 54. Geugi (Qiyat)	9) 64. Moroqa (unknown)	
10) 46. Koko (Tatar)	10) 13. Onggur (Qiyat)	36) 55. Badaï (Oronar)	10) 65. Dori-buqa (unknown)	
11) 49. Bala-cherbi (Jalayir)	11) 14. Chulgetei (Suldes)	37) 56. Kishiliq (Oronar)	11) 66. Iduqadai (unknown)	
12) 50. Kete (Kereit)	12) 15. Boroquul (Unjin)	38) 57. Ketei (Urgut)	12) 68. Da'wun (unknown)	
13) 60. Toqontemur (Uisun)	13) 18. Kokochu (Besud)	39) 58. Cha'urqai (Uryanhhan)	13) 69. Tamachi (unknown)	
14) 67. Shiraqul (Kereit)	14) 21. Quylidar (Manggyt)	40) 61. Megetu (Sumid)	14) 70. Qa'uran (unknown)	
15) 74. Tobuqa (Kereit)	15) 22. Shiluqai (Jegureit)	41) 62. Megetu (Qiyat)	15) 71. Alchi (unknown)	
16) 75. Ajinai (Kongirat)	16) 23. Jetei (Manggyt)	42) 63. Qada'an (Tathan)	16) 73. Tungquidai (unknown)	
17) 79. Olar-guregen (Kongirat)	17) 24. Taqai (Suldes)	43) 72. Tobsaqa (Dorben)	17) 76. Tuyideger (unknown)	
18) 81. Buqa-guregen (Jalayir)	18) 25. Chaqa'an-qo'a (Nukis)	44) 77. Seche'ur (Gortos)	18) 78. Jeder (unknown)	
19) 83. Ashigguregen (Kongirat)	19) 26. Alaq (Nutsigen Bagarin)	45) 80. Kingiyadai (Olhunoud)		
20) 85. Chiguguregen (Kongirat)	20) 27. Sorqan-shira (Suldes)	46) 82. Quri (Taichuud)		
21) 86. Alchi-guregen (Kongirat)	21) 28. Buluqan (Barlas)	47) 84. Qadai-guregen (Oirat)		
22) 88. Ala-qush-digit-quri-guregen (Onggut)	22) 29. Qarachar (Barlas)	48) 87. Butu-guregen (Ikires)		
	23) 30. Koko-chos (Bagarin)			
	24) 31. Suyiketu (Khongkhotan)			
	25) 32. Naya'a (Nutsigen Bagarin)			
	26) 33. Jungshoi (Noyakin)			

of the supremacy of his clan, Yesugei was a notable maintainer of the Mongol, and it was probably the one who first asserted the independence of the Mongols from Chinese rule [Lane-Poole 2013:201-202].

The person named Mongol is connected with a Turk or Kazakh called Alynsha (Alasha), a historical person mentioned in the histories. In the chronicles of Rashid al-Din, Alynsha (Aynsha in Kurbanghali Khalid's text [Kurbanghali 1992:55]) was the fourth descendant of Turk. Alynsha had two sons – Mongol and Tatar – associated with their Mongol and Tatar families since later their offspring called themselves Mongols or Tatars. Kurbanghali Khalid: "... At the time of Alynsha khan it was forbidden to say 'I belong to a certain tribe' and the khan issued a decree to his people to say: 'I am from the khan's kinship.' In this way the khan tried to avoid conflict between people gathered from different origins and different tribal groupings. After some time, his people slowly forgot their roots, and ethnicity, and remembered only the khan's name." [Kurbanghali 1992:221-222] People who had been identified as *Saharian* or *Shaharian* after the time of Oghuz khan were changed into "Mongols" or "Uighurs." Kurbanghali Khalid also says that during the time of Oghuz, who was born from Mongol's 18th offspring, Karakhan, people were divided into three groups: "Mongol," "Uighur," and "Tatar," and during the time of the eighth descendant of Oghuz khan, Zhelkhan (Elkhan), Mongol and Tatar divided into two khanates, and Zhelkhan ruled only Mongols [Kurbanghali 1992:223]. Mongols respected Zhelkhan (Elkhan) and the respect increased over time. Later, his descendants, united with Jalayir living among Persians, created a country and named it after Zhelkhan (Elkhan) – Elkhanate, according to this tradition. Hence, Mongol was the name of a person. And then it became a name of country. Hence, Mongol was described as a historical person, and since he was a descendant of Turk, a Turkic ancestor, there were many among the Turkic-speaking peoples who could trace themselves back to him. As Rashid al-din's history states: "There are tribes, now called Mongol, but whose names were essentially not Mongol, even if they have been given Mongolian names in the epoch (of the Mongols). Each branch of these branches has produced many branches, and all have their own names [Rashid al-Din 1858:7]."

Only a few Mongol kinship groups were named Nirun (now in the sense 'aristocrat'), and they lacked unity even if they had power. These groups forgot the term "Turkic" after the Eleventh century, and this ethnonym was replaced by individual kinship and tribal names such as Uighur, Kyrgyz, Jalayir, Naiman, Kerei, Merkit, White Tatar, Konyrat, and Qiyan. On the Mongol steppe there were many isolated Turkic tribes which were the core of Chinggis-qan's military and led his army. When Chinggis-qan moved west into Central Asia, his army was heavily Turkicized, mixing with indigenous Argyn, Naiman, Kerei and Uisun tribes: "...Chingis had Mongols under his rule and their number was about four and a half thousand. Beside them, he had thirty-two-thousand Tatars. Tatars were also

Turkic-speaking people. Chinggis's army of a half million spoke in Turkic..." [Tauassaruly 2008:815].

So two fundamental questions arise: why did Chinggis-qan, whose army was based in Turkic-speaking tribes, who spoke in Turkic himself, use the term "Mongol," and why did he associate himself to the "Mongols?" And why did groups once Turkic-speaking become Mongols themselves? To answer these questions we must consider how long before the time of Chinggis-qan, during the empire of the Manchzhur-speaking Kidan, *Nirun* from this Tungus-Manchzhur group who belonged to Mongol groups slowly turned themselves into the ruling power of the north and northeastern part of the Gobi desert. At the same time, Turkic-speaking tribes under *Nirun* influence also proudly associated themselves to the "Mongol" lineage. Clear evidence of transformation of ethnonyms of Turkic-speaking tribes involved is the name of ten kinship groupings which gave rise to the ancient Jalayir confederation. Most of them had names with Mongolian plural endings [Rashid al-Din 1858].

A comprehensive and fully accurate conclusion regarding Chinggis-qan's origins remains unattainable due to problems associated with sophisticated ethno-social views, and with the traditional religious beliefs of the time. Chinggis-qan was a man of his era, and in Central Asia during the tenth and eleventh centuries, as Tungus-Manchzhur-speaking peoples took over the power of Turkic-speaking people, and *vice versa*, then becoming "Mongol," the state founded by Chinggis-qan did not choose the name Turkic but took instead that of his ancestor, Mongol. But this interpretation only gives rise to still another question: Why do Kazakh chronicles refer Chinggis-qan, founder of Mongol empire, to the Jalayir, also called Merke? Determining first who were the Jalayir begins to answer this question.

MERKE, JALAYIR AND CHINGGIS-QAN'S ORIGIN

Primary sources tell that the Jalayir had been called Merke. Also mentioned is that Jalayir and Merkit were for centuries located neighboring the Kereit. Since Kereit, Merke and Merkit were relatives, this fact provides a background to the dialog between Jochi and his father referred to above. Now we have to try to answer other question: Who belonged to the Merke? What is the connection between the Jalayir and Chinggis-qan's origin?

There is no ethnonym Merke as such in our primary sources. But from what the secondary genealogical sources tell us regarding the location of the Merke tribe, the later groups Kereit, Merkit and Jalayir derived from the Merke. Chinese chronicles mention a Murket group that lived in the neighboring area and this might be the Merke. According to the "Chinese Dictionary of the Twenty-six standard histories": "The Murket [鞞革曷 Mogege] were an ancient country. ... They lived ... far from the capital... to the north-east, six thousand *li*. On the east their land borders on the sea, on the west on the Turks, in the North they bordered with

the Shygay (Shibey), and their Southern part borders on Korea [cited in *Qytai jylnamalaryndagy qazaq tarihyning derekteri* ("Information on Kazakh history in Chinese Travel Accounts") 2006].

According to Kazakh chronicles [Tauassaruly], the Manaq (Mongolian - *manaach*) were an offshoot of the Merke. They were connected with the Shygay (Shiwei), neighbors to the north of the Merke *ulus*. Among the origin groups of the Jalayir, there was a Manaq group, deriving from the Shumanaq, Syrmanaq and Birmanaq. This shows that the Jalayir were close to local Manchu-speakers, *i.e.*, to the ancient Mongols. Later when Jalayir moved to the West along with Chinggis-qan, they still kept their Mongol names. Hence chronicles of 14th-15th centuries derive Jalayir Manaqs from the Shumanaq, Syrmanaq and Birmanaq, although after the 16th century the chronicles show changes. Whereas in the ancient chronicles Andas is made a grandson to Manak, he is later derived from Shumanak [Omarbekov *et al.* 2006]. This confused scholars who differentiated Jalayir from Mongols.

Thus, around the tenth or eleventh centuries, as we have mentioned before, division of the Merke into Kereit, Merkit and Jalayir later led to the collapse of the Merke as a separate group. But this still did not help the Jalayir to be perceived separately from the Merke. In Kazakh folk chronicles, the tribal name Merkit continued to be named alongside that of the Jalayir until the eighteenth century. Hence in a Kazakh chronicle [Tauassaruly 2008], Chinggis-qan, who derived himself from the Merke, is considered as Jalayir. In fact he himself never belonged to the Jalayir. Even though the Jalayir were a large group, most of them formed a dependent group (in slavery) of the Mongols (Shiwei) from the time of Chinggis-qan's ancestor Khabul khan. At that time it was impossible for a khan to come from a dependent (slavery) tribe.

Now let us return to the question of how the Jalayir were related to Chinggis-qan's ancestors. The ethnonym Jalayir, as a part of the Merke, appears in the written sources of tenth century. Before this the Jalayir were never mentioned among the tribal confederations. Nevertheless the history of Jalayir extends back much farther than that.

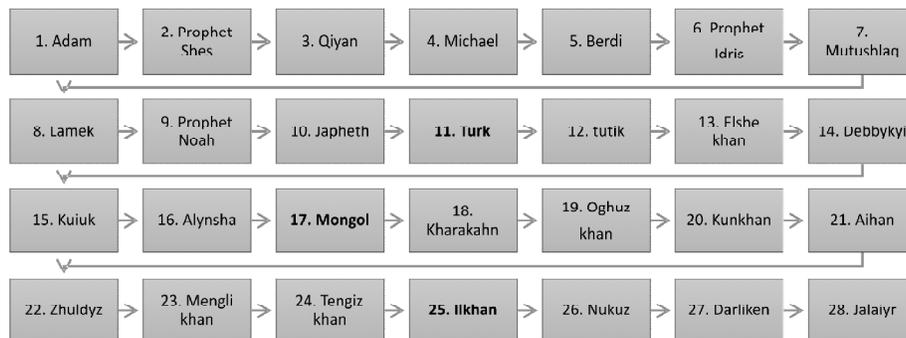
Jalayir were a part of the Oghuz confederation when its larger part evacuated to the East. Later, in the tenth to eleventh centuries, when the Khidan (Qara Khitai) empire was established, they divided into two: one part moved to the West of the Kereit region (Khangai Mountains). The other part, which suffered from Khidan repression, moved to the North-East of Lake Baikal.

According to the well-known expert on the Mongolian history, Z. Qinayat, the Zhat, the Turkic-speaking leading kinship group of the Jalayir had a very good relationship with the Qiyat Borjigin of the Mongol, their close connection resulting in their being called Mongols [Qinayat 2001:156]. From that time on, the Jalayir were called Mongols. Other Jalayir which had divided off from the Merke now

were made to be dependent on the Mongol, and from the end of 11th century they got a new name, “manak”, which in Tungus-Manchzhur means “guard, protect [Bazytkhan 1984:297].” In the 11th century, when Khidans established the “Khamag Mongol Ulus,” Patrimony of all the Mongols,” its left wing was Jalayir. At that time nomads divided into “white bones” (*Nirun*), who were in the ruling position, and dependent on them were “black bones” (Mongol-Darlekin).

WERE THE JALAYIR AND KONGIRAT RELATED TRIBES?

Tracing lineages as chronicled by Rashid al-din reveals links between the Jalayir and the Kongirat, suggesting a closer relationship than previously assessed. Rashid al-din provides a chronicle of the Darlekin-Torlekun groups where we can see Jalayirs and Mongols as well. According to him, from Adam to Prophet Noah there were seven sons. From the Prophet Noah came Japheth, from Japheth – **Turk**, from Turk – Tutik, from Tutik – Elshe khan, from Elshe khan – Debbykai, from Debbykyi – Kuiuk, from Kuiuk – Alynsha, from Alynsha – **Mongol**, from Mongol – Kharakhan, from Kharakhan – Oghuz khan, from Oghuz khan – Kunkhan, from Kunkhan Aikan, from Aikan – Zhuldyz, from Zhuldyz – Mengli khan, from Mengli khan – Tengiz khan, from Tengiz khan **Ilkhan**, from Elkhan – Khiyan. From here Jalayir and Mongol divides in two path: now Jalayir derives not from Elkhan, but from his younger brother Nukuz, *i.e.* Nukuz, then Darliken (Torlekun), then Jalayir [Rashid al-Din 1987:7].



Here we can see how the Mongol and Jalayir lineages became closer after Khabul khan, who ruled the Mongols. Chinggis-qan’s dynasty named Qiyat derived themselves from Elkhan’s grandson Qiyān, and the Jalayir derived themselves from Elkhan’s younger brother Nukuz. It should also be noted that it was not the Qiyat who came from Ergenekon via Nukiz, but the Qiyān who was the Jalayir ancestor, and he was not of Mongol ancestry, but Kongirat. This confusion might have caused legends to arise about Ergenekon. Some of them by mistake show Qiyat as son of a Qiyān. Moreover, Abu al-Ghazi in his “Genealogy of the Turks”

writes 'Qiyat,' the plural form of 'Qiyān,' adding more layers to the problem [Abulgazi 1996:435]. We must assume that misstatement of the historical truth involved misinterpretation of the legend about their origins in order to make closer Turkic-speaking groups derive from Elkhan's son Qiyān, and Elkahn's younger brother's son Nukiz's son, along with neighboring Manchur-speaking tribes. In the *Secret History* some information about Ergenekon is omitted. This is the reason why the Qiyat are not originated from Ergenekon, but from the Kongirat's Qiyān tribe. Thus, this mistake in their genealogies shows that the Jalayir and Kongirat had the same roots as the Mongols. Later, according to this tradition, when the Mongols conquered Iraq-Persian lands, together with Jalayirs, they are said to have given the new unit the name of their ancestor Ilkahn, and named the land 'Ilkahnate'. This new name satisfied Mongol rulers who could tie their forefather to Ilkhan.

Some chroniclers derive the Kongirats from the Qiyat tribe. They explain it in the following terms: "When Qiyat Zhorlyq-mergen hero's son Kongirat grew up, he ruled the country. Later his name Kongirat was given to the country. They lived on the river bank Kulasar in Mongol lands." We can see that chronicles confused Qiyān with Qiyat.

HOW WAS CHINGGIS-QAN RELATED TO THE TATARS?

Tracing developments of Tatar history as early as the sixth century reveals new links between Tatars and Chinggis-qan. The Kiyān were first conquered by the Syanbi, then by the Telek and Turks. In the sixth century the Qiyāns were enemies to the Tuigyn who were considered the heirs of the Syanbi confederation. At that time the head of the Kiyān was a person named Kiyān-son and he killed the head of the Tuigyn tribe with his dagger. But the Kiyān then were still dependent on the Teleks, then the Turks, and Tatars. According to L.L.Voktorova's table the Kongirats (Ungirat) were considered as grouped with the Mongols. Tatars, Taidjuits, Jalayirs and Uryanhais derived from the Shibey (Dada, Thirty Tatars) Uloheu [Viktorova 1980:5]. Here Uloheu means the Olqunu'ut branched from the Qidan. Their ancestors were under the Tatars in the ninth-tenth centuries. The Olqunu'ut, *i.e.* Kongirats separated from the Tatars when the Qidan came to power.

Rashid al-Din wrote that the Kungirat lived near the Chinese border walls close to the White Tatr or Ongguds [Rashid-al-Din 1858]. The Kongirats lived on the south-eastern border of the Yesun Tatars. The Tatar (Dada) ethnonym is also known from the seventh century Orkhon monuments. They are mentioned there as "Thirty Tatars" and "Nine Tatars". According to Thomson, the ethnonym Tatar referred only to Mongol-speaking tribes. N. Aristov said in his *Notes on the ethnic structure of the Turkic tribes and peoples and information on their number*: "Judging by the names of their *beks*, and their face, and that Rashid al-din attributes the Tatars to a special Mongol group, and the fact that they lived neighboring to Tukic

tribes, it is likely that the Tatars were Turkic [Aristov 1897:21]. But here we should rather focus on just those Tatars who lived on Kerulen area, *i.e.* the Black Shibey Tatars. The *Hudud al-'alam* mentions that the Tatars are a race of the Toghuzoghuz confederation [Minorsky 1970: 94]. Gardizimentions the Tatar as one of the Kimak tribes located near the Irtysh River [Bartold 1968]. These facts suggest that some groups of the Tatar, at least, including the White Tatars, were Turkic-speaking.

Ancestors of the Kongirats participated in different ethno-political unions and suffered from various vicissitudes over time. Their ultimate prototypes were the Xiongnu/Huns. After being attacked by the Syanbi coming from the East, the remaining Xiongnu/Huns became their dependents. Then the ancestors of the Kongirats came under Tele confederation, then under the Sirenda confederation, and then they had to obey the Uighur khanate. When the Kirgiz defeated the Uighur in 840, the Kongirats entered the White Tatar confederation. Later the territory they inhabited was invaded by their Eastern neighbors, the Qidan, who created the Liao dynasty.

These changes might have affected the Tatar tribes. Turkic groups appeared in numbers, creating new tribal unions such as the Kereyt, Onqut, Olqunu'ut and the Kongirats. The Kongirats did not support Chinggis-qan at once. The separation of the Kongirats from the Olqunu'ut within the White Tatar confederation was connected with the creation of a Mongol country by Chinggis-qan, making the Kongirats closer to him. The reason why Chinggis-qan tried to draw the Kongirats closer is known from *The Secret History*. Here is what the *SH* tells us: Chinggis-qan's mother Ho'elun and wife Borte, both were from the Kongirat. When Chinggis-qan's father Yisugei married Ho'elun, and when his son Temujin became engaged to Kongirat Dei-sechen's daughter Borte, the Kongirats were still named Olqunu'ut. To be exact, the place where the Kongirats lived at that time were still called the Olqunu'ut region [Urgunge Onon 2001:58].

Regarding how the Kongirats joined with the Mongols, the *Secret History* gives following information: "Knowing that Terge, Emel, and other members of the Onggirat tribe were camped at the mouth the Qalqa on Lake Buyur, Chinggis Qahan sent Jurchedei and his Uru'ut soldiers to visit [them]. 'From early days,' he said, 'the Onggirat people [have relied] on the complexions of their sisters' daughters, on the color of their daughters' [cheeks]. If this is [true], they will submit [to us]. If they say that they are against us, we will fight them.' He sent Jurchedei on his way, and the [Onggirats] submitted to him. [Because] they had submitted, Chinggis Qahan did not touch their belongings [Urgunge Onon 2001:151]."

Nevertheless, from our sources we see that some of the Kongirat kins were constantly fighting against Chinggis-qan, likely this was due to enmity between the Mongols tribes going back many years, *i.e.*, that between the Black Tatars and Kongirats. That is why in 1201 some groups gathered at the place where the Kenti River joins with the Ergone River, and proclaimed Temujin's rival Jamuqa

as a Khan. They decided to fight against Temujin and the Kereit Ong-Qan. Among the leaders involved were the Naiman Buyuruq-qan, the Merkit Toqtabek's son Quty, and the Kongirat Terge Emel Alqui. However, one of the leaders of Qorlas reported their plan to Temujin before it could be carried out. Jamuqa defeated by Temujin at Edikurgan, escaped, and the Alqui Kongirats obeyed Temujin. Then in 1202 Temujin attacked the Tatars. The main part of the Kongirats still did not recognize Temujin. When Temujin fought against the Naiman in 1204, the Kongirats supported the Naiman and again were oppose to Temujin. However, Temujin took power and since that time the Kongirats did not separate from Chinggis-qan. In 1206, at the time of Temujin's second election as *qan* along the Kerulen River, among the 95 tribal representatives was the Kongirat Alshy. This was also the time when the Olqunu'uts finished changing their names into Kongirat.

LINEAGE OF CHINGGIS-QAN

Taken together, this new information suggests that revisions for the tribal lineage of Chinggis-qan may be warranted. Chinggis-qan's genealogy starts from Borte Chino [Urgunge Onon 2001:58]. According to the genealogical sources, Borte Chino came from far oceans and mountains to Mongol lands. Well known Mongol researcher Zardyhan Qinayat says that Chinggis was Borte Chino's 22nd descendant. However, from the Borte Chino till Dobu Mergen, his 12th descendant, the Qiyat clan lacks, in theory, any relationship to Chingis Khan. This is because the 11th forefather of Chinggis-qan, Bodonchar⁴, "son" of Dobu Mergen, was engendered from a ray of light. But Z.Qinayat, referring to his sources, says that his father was Maliq of the Bayauds [Qinayat 2010: 66, 69, 72].

Rashid al-din and R.G.Kuzeev assign the Bayaud to the Mongols. Dordji Banzarov, referring to Saishal, says that this tribe named "Bayagut" was 13th on the proto-Mongol tribes list [Rashid al-din 1858:78, 150; Kuzeev 1974:328; Banzarov 1955:179]. In this case we should not confuse the Bayagut with the Oghuz-Turkmen Bayat tribe found in Mahmud al-Qashqari's dictionary [Al-Qashqari 1985: 274]. However, we also should keep in mind this: it is possible that Bayaut might be Mongolized and were one part of the Oghuz Bayat separated in the east from the main group, because the ethnonyms Bayat and Bayaut are both given with the Mongolian plural ending, "t". N.Ya. Bichurin and L.N.Gumilev counted 15 Turkic-speaking tribes of the Baegu-Baiyrqu, and Baisi (1. Yuange (Uyghur), 2. Seyanto, 3. Kibi, 4. Dubo (Tubalars), 5. Guligan (Kurykan, Yakuts ancestors), 6. Dolange (Telengits), 7. Bugu, 8. Baegu-Baiyrqu, 9. Tunlo-tongra, 10. Khun', 11. Sygye, 12. Husye, 13. Higye, 14. Adye (Ediz), 15. Baisi) but we do not see the Bayaut in this. If we trace Chinggis-qan's ancestor from the Baegu tribes, he would belong not only to the Mongolized Jalayir, but also to Tungus-Manchjur-speaking peoples [Bichurin 1950: 301, Gumilev 2003: 46].

As we have mentioned above, the origins of Chinggis-qan have remained ambiguous down to the present. There were many confusions between the Qiyat Borjigin and Qiyat tribes which started with Rashid al-din, and are repeated in Adulghazi's "Turk chronicles". Indeed, the name Qiyat only appeared from the six sons of Dobun Mergen's sixth offspring, Qabyl khan. And Qabyl khan is Chinggis-qan's father Yesugei's grandfather. On account of this, from Yesugei time, the Qiyats started being called Qiyat Borjigin. However, as time passed, all these groups including Darlekin (Torleken) kin, divided into other smaller kins. Because of the changeover time, nowadays Mongolians cannot say that they are from "Chinggis-qan's Qiyat Borjigin kin," Kazakhs also cannot say that they are came from Darlekin. Because among the 40 tribes constituting the Kazakhs there is no such kin as Darlekin.

Now let us talk about how Kazakhs trace Chinggis-qan's genealogy. According to Kazybek bek Tauassaruly, Chinggis-qan is the 26th offspring of Merke (*i.e.* Jalayir). This genealogy shows Jalayir's son, Manaq, from Manaq Oraqty, from Oraqty Andas and so on [Tauassaruly]. What is interesting is that you can find these names from the genealogies of Kazakh Jalayir today. However, their organization has changed. Not only one Manaq, but three (Shumanaq, Syrmanaq and Birmanaq) have spread. The above-mentioned Andas is not from Oraq, but is Shymanaq's son Mangytay's third generation. Oraqty is not from Manaq, but from a great-grandson of Turlyqoja from the Shumanaq. From this genealogy we can see that two individuals had the name Oraqty. The second Oraqty was a well-known Jalayir hero and lived late in the Kazakh Khanate period [Tauassaruly: 66].

The first Oraqty from Manaq was the 23rd forefather of Chinggis-qan and lived in the first part of sixth century. Despite this tradition, none of the figures mentioned exist in the *Secret History*. Nevertheless, it does name Bodonchar and Bogde. The first is 11th forefather mentioned in the *Secret History* and the second is the 15th forefather from Kazybek bek Tauassaruly's genealogy. These two figures are similar and the periods when they lived are also close. Both names contain "bogde", *i.e.*, "boten" which in Turkic means "outsider."

Professor Paul D. Buell in his dissertation "*Tribe, Qan and Ulus in early Mongol China: Some prolegomena to Yuan history*", described the terms *oboq* and *uruq* as follows:

"In the absence of any well-defined social organization above the level of the *ayil*[camp] a crucial role was played by complex segmentary lineage systems known as *oboq*. An *oboq*, in contradistinction to an *uruq*, composed of the lateral and collateral descendants of a real, well-known person, was comprised of the lateral and collateral descendants of a more distant (maximal) ancestor [Buell 1977:122-123; Buell and Kolbas 2016:43]."

Z. Qinayat in his monograph noted that "bodonchar" in Mongol is "born again boy," suggesting that Bodonchar or Bogde was "born again" in our genealogy. Here, the Mongol and the Kazakh genealogies come together [Qinayat 2010:66].

These two genealogies become close also when we trace Chinggis-qan's father's Yesugei's ancestors. For example, in Mongol genealogy, Yesugei's father is Bardambatyr, and in the Kazakh genealogy he is Bayan or Bayanbatyr. In the Mongol genealogy Bardambatyr's father is Khabulkahn and his father is Dombanay sheshen (See Tables 2.1 and 2.2). In the Kazakh genealogies they are slightly different: Bayan's father is Din, his father is Tumagul, his father is Turymtai sheshen. Here we have to note as the word "Din" was not in use in the Mongol language, it was omitted from the genealogy. But Khabulkahn is Tumagul, and Dombanay sheshen is Turymtai sheshen. In our opinion, this mysterious ancestral history allowed Chinggis-qan to trace his roots from a Mongol whose line had already died out long before. In contrast, nevertheless, among Turkic-speaking peoples he remained a "Jalayir orphan." "Why?" The following might provide an answer: "...Temujin's father Yesugei died early, and his mother Ho'elun married a well-known *bi*, the Kongirat Mengeke. Ten sons from Mengleke and Ho'elun always rejected Temujin and thus Temujin escaped to the Jalair.⁵ That is why Chingis Khan, and other Tore have the symbol of the comb (ᠨ,ᠮ)... [Tauassaruly]." In general, the Jalaiyr, who first were slaves then kin, were close to Chinggis-qan. However, all of them did not support Chinggis-qan. When Chinggis-qan and his friend fought for the throne, most of the Jalayir supported not Chinggis-qan but Jamuqa. This is a clear illustration of the fact that Chinggis-qan was not from the Jalayir.

CONCLUSIONS

This new information and my subsequent analysis indicate three conclusions regarding the development of Central Asian identities, the lineage of Chinggis-qan, and regional social organization with implications for today:

1. When Chinggis-qan came to power, the Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia did not make up one Turkic nation, and still were seeking for a way of unification. Those who related themselves to Turkic dynasties were living as distinct, small, ethnic and confederation alliances (Uighur, Kyrgyz, Tatar, Jalayir, Naiman, Kereyt, Kimek, Kipchak, Oghuz, Karluk, Konyrat, Merkit, Tatar, *etc.*). And those who belonged to "the indigenous Mongol" dynasty (Belhutun, Bukunut, Durben, Uryanhay, Osbahut, Elzhyhen, Haronut, Ykyret, Uhuzhyn, Suldus, Yldurken, Bayahut, Kunkulyhut, *etc.*), and those who were considered as "Ridge Mongols" (Bordjigin, Taichigut, Basut, Khonkhotan, Noegye, Barlus, Adarkhin, Batagat, Orogut, Shijigut, Tokhorgut, Bagarin, Zyedyeryen, Saljigut, *etc.*) were not unified, which means that Mongolia's people were still not a nation. That is why their neighbors in China called them "Mengu-Shibey," which was the original name for black Tatars (Shibey Tatars). Separated from the later nomadic tribes, small tribal groups and heroes who did not obey their leaders followed first Qabulkhan then his son Bartan Baghatur (In Kazakh chronicles – Bayan Baghatur), and then his

TABLE 2.1: ANCESTORS OF CHINGGIS-QAN

<i>Rashid al-Din</i> [<i>Ohguz Nama</i>] <i>memleketi</i>	<i>Kurbanghali Khalid</i> [<i>Tauarith Hamsa</i>]	<i>Abulqazi Bakhadur</i> [<i>Genealogy of the Turks</i>]	<i>Tauasaruly Qazbek bek</i> [<i>Tup-tuqiyannan ozime sheyin</i>]	<i>Zardykhan Qinayat</i> [<i>Chinggyshhan jame Qazaq</i>]
1. Yafes	1. Yafes	1. Burte Chino	1. Merke	1. Borte Chino
2. Turik	2. Turik	2. Timach	2. Manaq	2. Batashykhan
3. Tutik	3. Elshi xan	3. Kychi-Merkan	3. Oraqy	3. Tamashy
4. Elshe khan	4. Dibba Qoqan khan	4. Kuchym-Buryl	4. Andas	4. Horichar mergen
5. Debbiqay	5. Kik xan	5. Buke-Bendu khan	5. Or	5. Uuzhim Buryl
6. Kuyik	6. Alynsha (Alasha) khan	6. Sam-Saguij	6. Ontur	6. Salihachu
7. Alinsha (Alasha)	7. Mongol khan Tatar (agayndy)	7. Kalmag khan	7. Barfk	7. Ike nuden
8. Mongol	8. Buqa (Tatar uly) khan	8. Timur-Taş khan	8. Uzyq	8. Sam Soshy
9. Qarakhan	9. Elshi khan	9. Mengli-Hodzha khan	9. Tor	9. Qarshy
10. Ogizkhan	10. Arsaly (Aqsary) khan	10. Yulduz khan	10. Kok	10. Borzhigiday mergen
11. Kunkhan	11. Ardaq khan			11. Torgoizhin bay
12. Aykhan	12. Baydun khan			12. Dobu mergen
13. Zhuldyz	13. Suyinshi			
14. Menlikhan	14. Qarakhan (18 descendant of Mongol khan)			
15. Teniz khan	15. Oguz khan			
16. Elkhan	16. Kun khan			
	17. Ay khan (relatives)			
	18. Juldiz khan (relatives)			
	19. Menli khan			
	20. Aukhan			
	21. Tamiz khan			
	22. Juldyz khan			
	23. Zhel (Yei) khan			

TABLE 2.2: CHRONICLE OF CHINGGIS-QAN

<i>Kurbanghali Kha'idid</i> [<i>Tauarikh Hamisa</i>]	<i>Abulgazi Bokhadur</i> [<i>Genealogy of the Turks</i>]	<i>TauasarulyQazbek bek</i> [<i>Tup-tuqiyaman ozime sheyin</i>]	<i>Qimayat Zardykhan</i> [<i>Chingyshan jame Qazaq</i> <i>menteketi</i>]
1. Tau khan	1. Budanzhar	1. Bogde	1. Bodanshar (Boten, Bogde)
2. Kul khan	2. Buka khan	2. Qara	
3. Muqan khan	3. Dutummen khan	3. Buriq	2. Havag batyr
4. Tusiq khan	4. Qaidu khan	4. Ker	3. Menen Tuzhen
5. Qutlugukhan	5. Baisangur khan	5. Qunmir	4. HachiHuleg
6. Ilan khan	6. Tumene khan	6. Buri	5. Haidukhan
7. Abdul khan	7. Habul khan	7. Shamshi	6. Baysinhor
8. Dmuan khan	8. Biurtan khan	8. Tilewderdi	7. Dombanay sheshen
9. Quzhuman khan	9. Yesugeybahadur	9. Qashau	8. Habul khan
10. Qozhaq khan	10. Temujin	10. Dosan	9. Bardam batyr
11. Qiyat khan		11. Turimtay sheshen	10. Yesugey batyr
12. Manii khan		12. Tumagul	11. Temujin
13. Duyun Bayan khan		13. Din	
14. Bayanday khan		14. Bayan batir	
15. Tashtemir khan		15. Yesugey	
16. Qabul khan		16. Temujin	
17. Tumne khan			
18. Dauyl khan			
19. Duyun-Bayan Sani			
20. Bodenatay			
21. Baysunqar			
22. Zhasubay (Yesugei)			
23. Temujin			

grandson Yesugei Baghatur, then his great-grandson Temujin (Chinggis-qan), despite their origin, language, and religion, valuing them only for courage and loyalty. Therefore Chinggis-qan who adhered to the traditions of his forefathers, did not place himself in a certain tribe or nation, and lived, neither here nor there, between half-Turkic-speaking and half-Mongol-speaking peoples. Chinggis-qan belonged to the Mongol clan, but used Turks to rule theregion.

2. The tenth ancestor of Chinggis-qan, Bodonchar Munkhag, was born out of wedlock, (on the authority of Kazakh oral chronicles his 15th ancestor is Bogde) from an unknown father, Chinggis-qan's kinship group, the Khiyad-Borjigin, starts from Bodonchar whose origin is ambiguous, meaning neglect of the Great Khan's parents and tribal issues.

That is why until today all the *zhuzes*, "hordes," in Kazakh society, except the *Tore*⁶ cannot include Chinggis-qan in their tribal chronicles. Also none of the Kazakh tribes use Chinggis-qan's name as a motto while attacking the enemy because of his doubtful origin.

3. Chinggis-qan in his military and organizational activities, as a spiritual and ideological source for the integration of different ethnic groups and tribal unions, was guided by the kinship and inheritance system of historical persons recognized for centuries as Mongol, Tatar, Oghuz, and Karakhan. The system as described in the Chronicles, which had become a mechanism of control at the time of Chinggis-qan consolidated together people who spoke different languages and created new possibilities for the Great Khan's descendants that continued to hold power and to dominate the region. Based on the Chronicled system, the rise of the first centralized Mongol nomadic empire was possible not because of Chinggis-qan's reliable tribal union, but due to the active encourage of the nomadic dynasties in power, especially those who descended from Mongol, a person and not a nation. This system became an indispensable tool for the integration of different tribes speaking different languages.

All this will not lower the fame of Chinggis-qan. A central aspect of his legacy are the legendary stories about him and these make the Great Khan even greater. One such story claims that Chinggis-qan's ancestor Bodanchar was conceived by Heaven (*Tengri*) [Urgunge Onon: 58], meaning that Chinggis-qan himself is a descendant of Heaven, *i.e. KokeTengri*, "Sky-blue Heaven." The formation of such view about Chinggis-qan among nomads does not allow us to refer him to a specific nation. More broadly, Chinggis-qan's foundation of the Mongol empire resulted in the formation of successor countries during the reigns of his descendants. Yet these successive developments rested upon the foundation laid before, as discussed throughout this paper. Therefore the impact of these Turkic genealogical traditions continue to reverberate today.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to the following persons for their valuable suggestions and commenting on earlier drafts of this paper: Professor Paul David Buell and Brett Potter Van Ess. The persons mentioned, however, are in no way responsible for any errors in this paper.

Notes

1. *Oboq* is a patrilineal descent group from a maximal ancestor, who could be fictive. Compare *uruq*, a descent group from a real, known, and relatively recent ancestor. In the case of the *altan uruq*, “imperial or golden *uruq*,” this was Chinggis-qan himself. The origins of Chinggis-qan’s *oboq*, the Borjigin, are traced in the *Secret History of the Mongols* back to Bodoncar, born after his father’s death from a divine light appearing like a golden dog. Bodoncar, in turn, has origins traceable back to “Gray Wolf and Beautiful Doe”, the ultimate ancestors of all the Mongols. By contrast, an *uruq* was a patrilineal descent group from a well-known, real common ancestor; and *uruq* were connected with each other through *oboq*. See Buell Paul D.(2003:5).*Historical dictionary of the Mongol World Empire*. The Scarecrow Press, Inc. Lanham, Maryland, and Oxford. See also Buell Paul D.and Judith Kolbas. (2016). The Ethos of State and Society in the Early Mongol Empire: Chinggis Khan to Güyük. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (26):43-64.
2. Kazybek bek Tauassaruly (1692-1776, Almaty region, Kazakh khanate) was a hero, traveler and chronicler from Great zhuz Shapyrashty, Asyl kin, who led the army of Great horde against the Dzungars in 1727-29. He studied religion in Bukhara and two years taught children in his village when he was ten years old. For the sake of knowledge he went to Samarkand, Sham, Baghdad, Istanbul and Rome where he gained knowledge from famous scholars as Hafiz Zade. He freely read Arabic and learned works of al-Farabi, Mahmud Qahsigari’s “Diuanı lugat at turik”, Koja Akhmet yassauı’s “Diuanı hikmet” and etc.
3. The first numeration (1) shows the number of tribes belong to Turkic or Mongol or unknown speaking groups. The second numbering (3.) is the order among 88 tribes as Chinggis Khan made his appointments.
4. Bodonchar – Founder of the Borjigin *oboq*, or maximal lineage, of Chinggis-qan. He was born after his father’s death due to his mother’s pregnancy from a ray of light (or ray of light in the form of a dog) that penetrated her tent and her womb. See Paul D. Buell (2003:123).
5. *Bi* – an Islamic judge or orator. See Paul D. Buell. *Kazakh-English dictionary*. Forthcomg.
6. *Tore* – aristocratic privileged class in the traditional Kazakh society, the descendants of Genghis Khan, and therefore are not included in tribal structure of the Kazakh zhuzes (tribal-kinship). See Vostrov V.V., Mukanov M.S. (1968).

References

- Abulgazi Bakhadur. (1996). *Rodoslovnoyedrevotyurkovlokinof. Istoriya pervyh chetyreh hanov Chingisova. Lane-Poole StanleyMusulmanskie dinastii*. [Genealogy of the Turks]. Moscow: T.B.
- Al-Kashgari, Mahmud. (1985). *Compendium of the Turkic dialects (Diwan lugat at-Turk)*, Part I. Edited and translated by Robert Dankoff. Harvard University Office of the University Publisher.

- Aristov, N.A. (1897). *Zametki ob etnicheskom sostave tyurkskikh plemen i narodnostey i svedeniya ob ikh chislennosti* [Notes on the ethnic structure of the Turkic tribes and peoples and information on their number]. St. Petersburg: tip. S.N. Hudekova.
- Banzarov, D. (1955). *Sobraniye sochineniy* [Collected Works]. Moscow: RAN. Sib. otd-nie. Buryat. in-t obshestv. nauk.
- Bartold, V.V. (1968). *Sochineniya* [The Complete Works], Moscow: Izdatelstvo vostochnoi literatury.
- Bazykhan, B. (1984). *Mongol-kazakh tol'* [Mongolian-Kazakh dictionary]. Olgii: bnmau-yn shinjlekh ukhaany akadyemi khel zokhiolyn khureelen.
- Bembeyev, V.Sh. (2006). *Oiraty v imperii Chingiskhana //Voprosy istorii* [Oirats in the empire of Genghis Khan// Questions of History]. (5):158.
- Bichurin N.Ya. (1950). *Sobraniye svedeniy o narodakh, obitavshikh v Sredney Azii v drevniye vremena* [Collection of information about peoples that inhabited in Central Asia in ancient times]. V. 1. Ì.-L.: Akademiya nauk SSSR.
- Berezin, N. I. (1858). Ed. and transl. *Sbornik letopisey. Istoriya mongolov, sochineniye Rashid ad-Dina* [Collection of annals. History of the Mongols, the composition of Rashid al-Din]. Per. s pers. N.I.Berezina SPb: Trudy vost. otd. imperatorsk. Arkheologich. obshch.
- Buell, Paul D. (1977). *Tribe, Qan and Ulus in early Mongol China: Some prolegomena to Yuan history, doctoral dissertation*, University of Washington.
- . (2003). *Historical dictionary of the Mongol World Empire*. The Scarecrow Press, Inc. Lanham, Maryland, and Oxford.
- Buell, Paul D. and Judith K. (2016). *The Ethos of State and Society in the Early Mongol Empire: Chinggis-qan to Guyuk*. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (26): 43-64.
- Gumilev, L.N. (2003). *Drevniye Tyurki. Istoriya obrazovaniya i rastsveta Velikogo tyurkskogo kaganata (VI-VIII vv. n.e.)* [The ancient Turks. The history of the formation and flourishing of the Great Turkic Khanate (VI-VIII centuries AD)], St. Petersburg: Kristal.
- Kuzeev, R.G. (1974). *Proiskhozhdeniye bashkirskogo naroda. Etnicheskiy sostav. Istoriya rasseleniya* [The origin of the Bashkir people. Ethnic composition. History of settlement]. Moscow: Nauka.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley. (2013). *The Mohammedan Dynasties: Chronological and Genealogical Tables With Historical Introductions*. London: Forgotten Books.
- Minorsky, V. (1970). *Hudud al-»Alam; The regions of the world; a Persian geography, 372 A.H. 982 A.D.* London: Luzac.
- Omarbekov, T.O. et al. (2007). *Qazaq ru-taypalarynyng tarihy: Jalayir* [History of Kazakh kin and tribes: Jalayir] 8 tom. Almaty: Alash tarihi-zertteu ortalygy.
- Qinayat, Z. (2010). *Shinggis han jane qazaq memleketi* [Genghis Khan and the Kazakh State.] 2 vols. Almaty: Tarih tagylymy.
- . (2001). *Mongol usturtin meken etken songy turki taypalary: IX-XIgg*, [Last Turkic tribes that inhabited Mongolian lands: IX XI centuries], Astana: El Orda.
- Kurbanghali, Kh. (1992). *Tauarih hamsa* [Five histories]. Almaty: Qazaqstan.
- Qytai jylnamalaryndagy qazaq tarihyngyng derekteri. (b.z. 275-840 jylgary) (2006). [Chinese chronicle sources on History of Kazakhstan (years A.D. 275-A.D. 840)]. Almaty: Oner.

- Rashid ad Din. (1987). *Oguz-Nama*. Ed. And trans. R.M. Shukyurova. Perevod s persidskogo, predisloviye, komentarii, primechaniya i ukazateli R.M. Shukyurovoy. Baku: Elm.
- Tauassaruly, Sh.K. (2008) *Tup tuqiyannan ozime shein [From my Original roots until myself]*. Almaty: Zhalyln.
- Urgunge, O. (2001). Trans. *The secret history of the Mongols: The life and times of Chinggis-qan*. Translated, annotated, and with an introduction by Urgunge Onon. London: RoutledgeCurzon Press.
- Viktorova, L.L. (1980). *Mongoly. Proiskhozhdenie naroda i istoki kul'tury [The Mongols. The origin of the people and culture]*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Vostrov V.V., Mukanov M.S.(1968). *Rodoplemennoy sostav i rasseleniye kazakhov: (konets XIX – nachalo XX) [Tribal structure and resettlement of Kazakhs (end of XIX - early XX centuries)]*. Alma-Ata: Nauka Kazakh SSR.