

# Studies in the Career of Chinggis Qan

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## ABSTRACT

At the turn of twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a Mongol chief, Temüjin, best-known by his title Chinggis Qan, began his expansion and created a vast empire in north and central Asia. The conquest was completed in three stages: first the unification of Mongolia, second the submission of neighbouring nations, third an expedition to Central Asia. The history of his military conquests has been extensively studied by modern researchers, while the non-military factors which also contribute to his success have been given less attention. The background of Temüjin's success lacks clarity too, because of confusion in the available accounts.

This thesis focus on two topics in the career of Temüjin. The first three chapters in part one analyze the relationship between Temüjin's family and Toyoril, the ruler of the Turkic Kereit tribe, who was a crucial figure in Temüjin's rise to power. The essential reconstruction of the early history of the Kereit ruling family in this part presents also the background of Temüjin's triumph. Part Two studies Temüjin's strategy of expansion via his relationship with the other Turkic tribes, his Mongol kinsmen and the powerful Jurchen regime in the south. This examination consists of three chapters and it reveals that Temüjin did not accomplish his career solely by the sword.

Since these aspects have not been sufficiently investigated because of the confusion of the primary sources, a serious attempt has been made to clarify the situation. Three major sources have been carefully studied in their original languages, respectively *Monggol-un niryucha tobchiyan* in Mongolian, *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh* in Persian and *Shēng-wu ch'ing-chēng-lu* in Chinese. Through a careful comparison of all the relevant details, the career of Temüjin can be re-interpreted from a new perspective.

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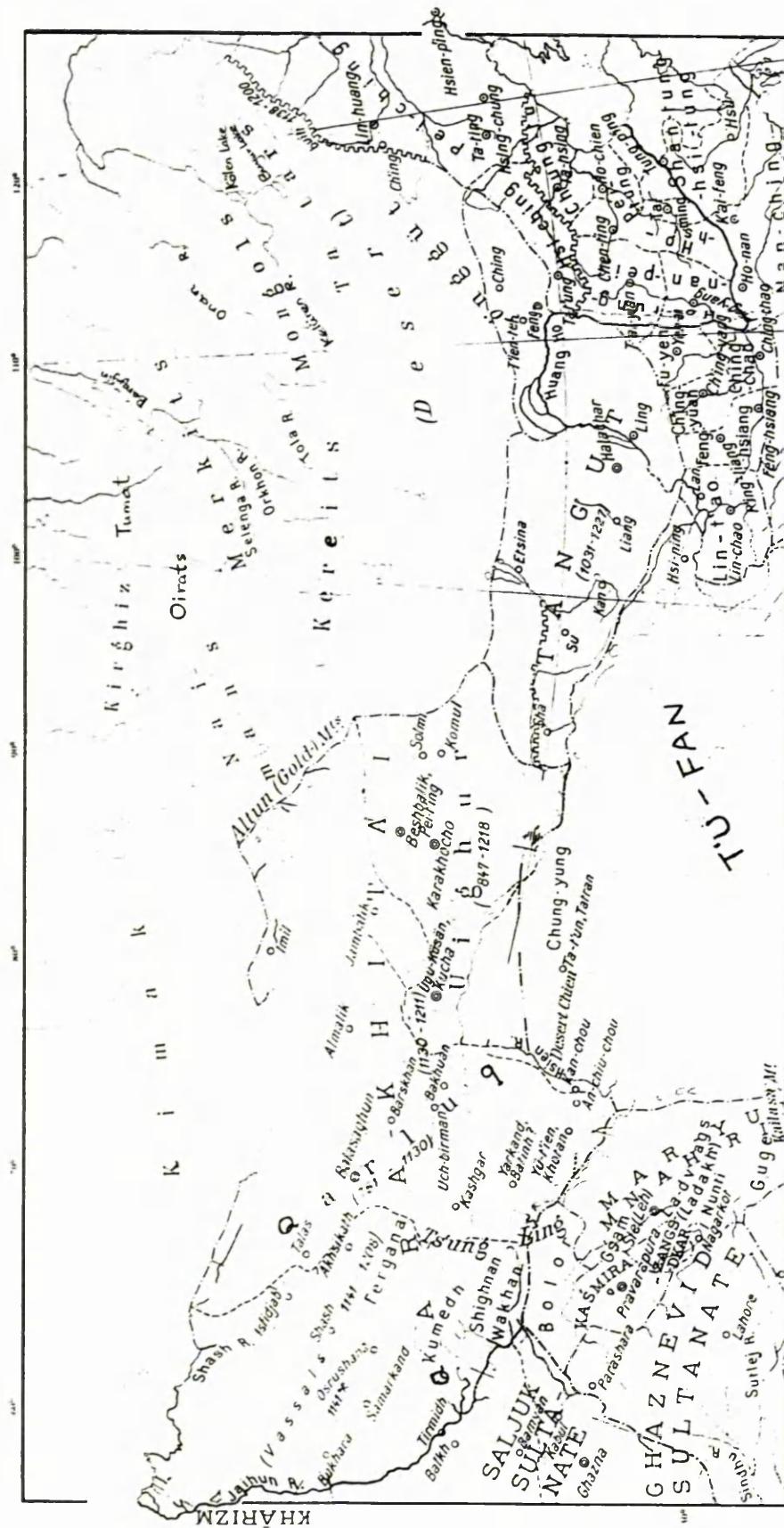
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### List of Abbreviations

Chin.	Chinese (language)
CCL	<i>Shêng-wu ch'ing-chêng lu</i>
CS	<i>Chin shih</i>
JT	<i>Jâmi‘ al-tawârîkh</i>
Mong.	Mongolian (language)
Pers.	Persian (language)
PFEH	<i>Papers on the Far Eastern History</i>
SH	<i>Secret History of the Mongols</i>
TCKC	<i>Ta-chin-kuo chih</i>
YS	<i>Yüan shih</i>

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## Steppe belt during the second half of the twelfth century

(based on the map in Albert Herrmann, *An Historical Atlas of China*, pp.38- 39.)

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis studies two important aspects of the career of Chinggis-Qan, or in his given name, Temüjin.

Academic researches in recent decades concerning the history of the Mongol empire, or the world affected by the Mongols in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, can be roughly classified into four categories. The majority of the researches focus on "regional history", such as the local histories of China, Persia and Russia (or just Rus) which were under Mongol rule. Some other researches adopt a biographical approach, and focus on eminent personalities in the royal family or individuals in the service of the Mongol court.<sup>1</sup> A third approach looks into the interaction of miscellaneous cultures under Mongol rule. This type of research, like "East meets West", is more challenging because it requires the researchers to have a comprehensive knowledge of the tradition of at least two cultures, either the life styles of steppe or sedentary, or the heritage of the nations which were under attack.<sup>2</sup> The last category is the never-ending textual criticism and comparisons which focus on obscure terms or copying errors in the sources.<sup>3</sup> This is the basic task of making the sources "meaningful" and conveniently "available" to

<sup>1</sup> This variety of research can be represented by the recent publication of *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period*, ed. by Igor de Rachewiltz, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioning only Chinese-related studies, there are Morris Rossabi's study of the Muslims and Herbert Franke's study of Tibetans in Mongol China (in *China under Mongol Rule*), Petech's study of Tibetan relations with Sung China and with the Mongols, Thomas Allsen's study of the Uighurs and Mongol China, and Igor de Rachewiltz's study of the Turks who were in China under Mongol rule (in *China among Equals*).

<sup>3</sup> Such as the works on *Yüan shih* by Louis Hambis (chapters CVII and CVIII) and Waltraut Abramowski (chapters II and III), on *Shêng-wu ch'ing-chêng-lu* by Paul Pelliot, on *Mêng-Ta pei-lu* and *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* by Erich Haenisch and others, N C Munkuev for the former, volume two of *Jâmi' al-tawârikh* and *Târîkh-i Jahân-Gushâ* by John Andrew Boyle, the whole translation of *Jâmi' al-tawârikh* by Khetagurov and Smirnova, and many individual articles by Francis Cleaves, Nicholas Poppe, John Boyle, Gerhard Dorefer and et cetera, also plenty of works by Mongolian, Chinese, and Japanese researchers.

researchers or readers, especially since the sources of this study are written in several very different languages.

Researchers also study "the" Mongol history, that is the development of the Mongol tribe, from these four approaches. Mongolian history has been compiled, dozens of biographies of Chinggis-Qan in different languages have been published, Mongolian society and culture during this period can be easily examined,<sup>4</sup> and attempts have been made to explain the Mongolian terms (or the Turkic element in them) which appear in the sources.<sup>5</sup>

As for the history of the founder of the Mongol empire, Temüjin, best-known by his title Chinggis-Qan, this is the most attractive topic during this period because of the importance of his career as well as the abundance of written records about his life. Temüjin began his expansion in central Mongolia, and created a vast empire in north and central Asia. The conquest was completed in three stages: first the unification of Mongolia, second the submission of neighbouring nations, third an expedition to Central Asia. The history of his military conquests has been extensively studied, however, the non-military factors which also contributed to his success have been given less attention. The background of Temüjin's success lacks clarity too, because of confusion in the available accounts.

The following studies look into the early career of Temüjin in these two less examined fields: the background, and the non-military conquests.

<sup>4</sup> This category can be represented by Jagchid-Sechin and Paul Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1979.

<sup>5</sup> This category can be represented by Erdentei and others. *Mēng-ku-pi-shih tz'ū-huei hsüan shih* (Annotation of selected terms in *Monggol-un niyucha tobchiyan*), Hohhot: Nei-mēng-ku jēn-min ch'u-pan-shé, 1980, and the indispensable volumes of *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neopersischen* by G Doerfer, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1963 and 1965. Gerard Clauson's *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972) also contributed to the researches under this category.

The three chapters of Part One of this thesis look into the background of Temüjin's early career from another perspective, the Kereits'. The Kereit tribe has been interestingly identified in European imagination as the legendary "Kingdom of Prester John", the Christian kingdom in the remote east which rivalled with Muslim world. Western scholars are more or less affected by this, and the studies of this tribe have been directed to its religious aspect, not its history.<sup>6</sup> From a Mongolian point of view, the Kereit ruler Toyoril appeared as "harbouring a stinking liver" towards their national hero Temüjin. This moral judgement which is represented in the *Secret History of the Mongols (SH)* in some way distracted researchers who relied upon this source heavily for an objective observation of the relationship between Toyoril and Temüjin. As for Chinese scholars, the problems in Chinese sources regarding the Mongol regime attracted most of their effort. Other than being influenced by *SH*'s implication, which is immediately available in Chinese, the tribal identity confusions in Chinese sources directed investigations towards the ethnic identification of some eminent Kereits in the service of the Yüan court. This investigation appears not to help much in reconstructing early Kereit history when it was a steppe tribe.

To researchers who are interested in the history of Temüjin, the relationship between Toyoril and Temüjin is the most appealing section in Kereit history. Accordingly, the other parts which are "irrelevant" to Temüjin's career tend to be neglected. Traditionally, a study of the Temüjin-Toyoril relationship from the perspective of Mongol history begins with a review of the *anda* friendship between Toyoril and Temüjin's father in the earlier generation, which was established as a result of Yesügei's military assistance to Toyoril in his struggle for the Kereit throne. Then the study

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<sup>6</sup> Such as D M Dunlop, "The Karaits of Eastern Asia", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943-46): 276-289, Igor de Rachewiltz, *Prester John and Europe's Discovery of East Asia*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972. The latter article is accompanied by a comprehensive list of essential studies on this topic (pp.18-25). L N Gumilev's interesting study (in short, *poiski vymyshennogo tsarstva*, 1970) has been translated by R E F Smith into English as *Searches for an Imaginary Kingdom: The Legend of the Kingdom of Prester John*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

skips several decades and jumps to the youth of Temüjin, relating that young Temüjin formed a personal relationship with Toyoril, as seen in the *SH*, in an attempt to renew the old friendship, in order to get support for his own power building. The narrative continues with various acts of mutual assistance between Temüjin-Mongol and Toyoril-Kereit, and ends with the final collapse of the latter, when Toyoril turned hostile to Temüjin. From the Kereit point of view, this relationship was a minor part of Kereit history.

Since Kereit history is not fully supplied by the sources, which were written for the purpose of illustrating the history of Temüjin, the majority of the accounts relating to Kereit history in these sources *are* those of this relationship. However, is it possible to study the triumph of Temüjin more satisfactorily, not by putting together all the direct relevant accounts to show its course, but by a panorama of the background of his triumph, that is the situation on the Mongolian steppe?

This is the main purpose of the discussions in Part One. Through a reconstruction of Kereit history, a huge steppe tribe in central Mongolia, its domestic affairs and foreign contacts, it should be possible to reflect a larger view of the situation in twelfth and early thirteenth century Mongolia. Also when we observe Mongol matters from a Kereit perspective, biases presumably lessen because first, there is no problem of cultural difference, therefore, the Mongols are not necessarily to be over-sympathized with from "the steppe perspective", and second, the Kereit tribe was an equal to the Mongol tribe on the steppe, there is no need to emphasize the concept of "equals" between the Mongols and their surrounding powers ---- apparently, the Mongol tribe *could not* be treated as an equal to the superpower Jurchen China at this time but to the Kereit tribe, it could.

In this way, an examination of the development of the Mongols as observed by the Kereits would give a more objective evaluation of the situation: no matter whether it is positive or negative, at least, as it *was*.

Scarcity and the fragmentation of accounts may be a problem in restoring a comprehensive picture of twelfth century Mongolia; nevertheless, because the Toyoril regime was the most significant partner to Temüjin in developing his career and their relationship is recorded in the sources, it is possible to reconstruct at least the relationship and at most the power structure and intertribal relationship in central Mongolia by an investigation of these scattered and "irrelevant" Kereit accounts.

After Part One, which studies the Kereits' relationship with their surrounding tribes, especially the Mongols, Part Two of this thesis carries on to examine Temüjin's relationship with his surrounding tribes/clans, from the Mongols' point of view.

Three types of important connections which contributed to Temüjin's steppe expansion are discussed in Part Two: Chapter Four discusses one aspect of the social framework on the steppe during that time, the genealogical connections; Chapter Five discusses the other aspect of the social framework on the steppe during that time, the in-laws' relationship; Chapter Six relates the interactions between the steppe tribes in Mongolia and Jurchen China, the superpower to the south of them, in the hope of revealing the power structure and intertribal relationship of twelfth century Mongolia. In these relationships, Temüjin used his intelligence, not his fist, to create a favourable situation for his expansion. Although some of these ploys failed, most of them worked. These studies reveal that it was this network of relationships which contributed most to Temüjin's rapid expansion on the steppe belt, where the inhabitants had a mutual understanding of Temüjin's social custom and tradition.

As for the sources used in this thesis, as mentioned above, the four categories of Mongol studies reflect the fact that the limitations of the sources are the main obstacles in this field of study. Researchers may have noticed the importance of the above proposed two studies, but such topics have been left inadequately investigated because of the confusion of the primary sources. The

three major sources which are crucial for the study of this period are *Mongqol-un niucha tobcha'an* (\**Monggol-un niyucha tobchiyan*, the *SH*) in Mongolian, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* (*JT*) in Persian and *Shēng-wu ch'ing-chēng-lu* (*CCL*) in Chinese. *Monggol-un niyucha tobchiyan*, anonymous, is written in story-telling style, which has been divided into twelve chapters/volumes. The first ten chapters cover early Mongol history, the legend and the life of Temüjin up to the completion of the conquest of the steppe tribes. The eleventh and twelfth chapters relate the Mongol conquests of Jurchen China, the Tangut nation and Transoxiana during the reigns of Temüjin and Ögetei. According to §278 of the source, it was completed in the Year of Rat, which could be 1228 (during Tolui's regency after the death of Temüjin) or 1240 (one year before Ögetei's death) or 1252 (one year after Möngke's accession). The dating is still in dispute among scholars. The source exists in Chinese transcription, not in Mongolian script, with Chinese glosses and an abridged Chinese translation. It has been restored by modern scholars into Mongolian script or, more commonly available, in a romanized form. *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* may be regarded as an official history, written by Rashīd al-Dīn ibn 'Imād al-Dawla Abu al-Khair (1247-1318), joint chief minister of the Il-khanate during the reigns of Ghazan Khan and Öljeitü, which consists of a collection of "histories". Volumes one and two which concern Mongol history in eastern and northern Asia are consulted in this thesis, including volume one part one, which recounts the history of the steppe tribes in Mongolia and its surrounding area, part two, which records the history of Temüjin and his ancestors, and volume two, which records the history of Temüjin's successors up to Toq-Temür. According to the author, this section was based on an important but now lost Mongolian chronicle, the *Altan Debter* ("Golden Book"). This source supplies an incomparable detailed account which is indispensable to the study of early Mongol history, therefore, it is a primary source even though late in its existing form. *Shēng-wu ch'ing-chēng-lu* is an outline-style source, presented in Chinese, anonymous. Probably a translation from a now lost Mongolian source, it covers Mongol history from the birth of Temüjin (1162) to the death of Ögetei (1241). It was presumably translated during the reign

of Qubilai (1260-1294). Although it contains many copying errors, the narratives are less corrupted than the re-drafted annals of Temüjin in the Chinese official dynastic history, *Yüan shih*. On the basis of comparison with *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh*, Pelliot and Hambis argued that its material may also come from the *Altan Debter*.

Nevertheless, each of the sources has its limitations in terms of scope and point of view. Clarification is essential to find out which account, not which source, is reliable, by comparing the texts in their original languages. Thanks to the efforts of previous researchers who have attempted to translate or/and annotate these sources, the results of which are presented in French, German, Russian or Chinese ---- even Persian, many confusions have been pointed out and possible suggestions have been made. However, because of my limited knowledge of these languages, unfortunately many of them are inaccessible to me. I hope that this shortcoming can be compensated for by my careful and critical reading of the three primary sources, in their original languages.

The editions of sources used in this thesis are explained as follows. For *Monggol-un niyucha tobchiyan*, the standard edition of Ssü-pu-ts’ung-k’an is used. The collated edition by Erdentei and Uyun-Dalai which was published in 1980 in Hohhot is also consulted, as well as the translations and annotation by Igor de Rachewiltz in *Papers in the Far Eastern History* 4:115-163, 5:149-175, 10:55-82. 13:41-75. 16:27-65. 18:43-80, 21:17-57, 23:111-146, 26:39-84, 30:81-160, 31:21-93, additions and corrections 33:129-137, 1971-1986. The passages of the *SH* are quoted by their paragraph numbers, not page numbers, as I believe that this is more convenient in both writing and reading. As for *CCL*, the collated edition by Wang Kuo-Wei in his *Mēng-Ku shih-liao ssü-chung* (1926) is used. Pelliot and Hambis’s study: *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan: Cheng-wou ts’in-tcheng lou* (1951) is useful for reference but unfortunately they finished only one third of the whole text, halting at Temüjin’s defeat of the Tatars at Dalan-Nemürges in winter 1200/01.

Regarding *JT*, the collated and annotated edition by Muḥammad Rawshan and Mustafā Mūsawī (Tehran: Alburz Press, 1952) is the best reference available to me. The Persian text which is published together with I N Berezin's Russian translation of *Sbornik letopisei* (1858-1888) is also consulted. An English translation and annotation of volume one part one regarding the tribes can be found in D G M Muller's PhD dissertation (1957, University of London), and volume two regarding Temüjin's successors can be found in J A Boyle's *The Successors of Genghis Khan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

Because of the linguistic variety of the primary sources and the fact that this thesis must be written in English, I have worked hard to find the most suitable transliterating/transcribing method which would avoid any risk of confusion between the languages. Persian and Arabic texts are transliterated according to the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, except for changing /dʒ/ to /j/, /k/ to /q/. A table of this transliteration is supplied in Appendix I.

Regarding Chinese characters, they are romanized in modern Mandarin pronunciation. As for the transcription system, I must discard the fashionable Pinyin system which uses /x/ for the palatal fricative voiceless *hs(i)-*, /q/ for the palatal affricate voiceless aspirated *ch'(i)-* and /c/ for the blade-alveolar affricate voiceless aspirated *ts-* or *tz-*, because /x/ is commonly used to transliterate Mongolian /γ/ and /q/; and the Pinyin /q/ clashes with the uvular plosive Persian /q/ in letters where their pronunciations are like chalk and cheese. The /c/ for *ts-* or *tz-* causes problems rather than making the sound clear, as when /c/ is pronounced *see* or *k-* in English. Since the traditional Wade-Giles system is generally adopted in scholarly researches and is generated by English scholars, it fits better into an English thesis. The system is slightly modified in order to avoid some confusion, such as replacing *i-* with *yi-*, to avoid confusion with the Persian transliterating letter /i/. The Chinese transcription table for this thesis is supplied in Appendix II.

Mongolian transliteration is another problem, since the terms must be quoted in their twelfth century forms in order to match their counterparts in Persian and Chinese sources. It is well known that the Mongols began to have their language written down very late, and during the period covered in this thesis, its orthography was inconsistent. The other difficulty in transcribing these Mongol terms is that in its written form, Mongolian /t/ and /d/, /γ/ and /q/ and /k/ and /g/ (in masculine or feminine<sup>7</sup>), /o/ and /u/, /ö/ and /ü/ share the same letters, also the initial form of /j/ and /y/ and the medial form of /ch/ and /j/, were not distinguished before the seventeenth century, not to mention the fact that the diacritical marks on /n/, /q/ group, /sh/ are rarely used during this period.<sup>8</sup> This problem cannot be solved by comparison with modern written or spoken Mongolian because owing to the elapse of the intervocalic consonant /γ/ and the assimilation of vowels, spoken Mongolian changed through the centuries, and this affected its written form.

In order to establish a consistency from the inconsistency, for the words which appeared in the *SH*, I follow the transcription provided by the revised edition of *SH* text by Igor de Rachewiltz (based on a previous romanization which was restored by Paul Pelliot<sup>9</sup>), except for certain proper names with -reyit ending, which I would incline to consider -yi- as a long vowel /i/ therefore "Kereit" and "Je'üreit", not "Kereyt" and "Je'üreyit". I have also inserted the elapsed /γ/ where De Rachewiltz use /'/ in masculine words, to minimise the appearance of /'/ which appeared in Chinese romanization as

<sup>7</sup> According to the opinion of Harnod Hakanchulu, who is a Mongolian scholar both in ethnic and in academic fields, there is no strict regulation that /γ/ and /q/ sounds must be written in masculine letters and /k/ and /g/ sounds must be in feminine letters. Therefore, the Mongol qan after Ögetei can be Güyük, not necessarily Güyug, the one after him can be Möngke, not necessarily Möngge. This information is obtained from an oral discussion with him at the Mongol-Tibetan Cultural Association, Taipei, April 1995.

<sup>8</sup> Nicholas Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian* (1964), pp.1-26. For γ elapse and vocalic assimilation, for instance, "γ" in the word "mountain" (\*ayula) elapsed to make \*aula, then from \*aula to üla of modern Mongolian: two vowels contracted into a long vowel. The other is the assimilation of vowels, the best example is Ögödei < Ögedei, an assimilation of the first two vowels.

<sup>9</sup> Igor de Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*, p.2.

"stress" and Persian transliteration representing "E".<sup>10</sup> The elapsed initial /h/ for certain names has been restored so as to be compatible with its counterparts in other transliterations, therefore, "Hambaqai" not "Ambaqai", "Hö'elün" not "Ülün".

When there are variations in spelling, a "sample" will be picked out and applied throughout this thesis. The same rule applies to words which did not exist in the *SH* and which are inconsistent in Chinese or Persian transcriptions: I have selected or created "samples" for them, with variations quoted in footnotes. It must be emphasised that these "sample" transliterations do not imply any suggestion regarding the medieval phonetic value or spelling of those words,<sup>11</sup> they are used in this thesis merely for consistency in the narration. The corresponding Mongolian letters for the transliterations are listed in Appendix III.

As for those terms whose identification is not certain, they are quoted as they were presented in the language of that source, such as Pi-li-kê-po-wa or 'YLMH khatun. Generally accepted terms such as Khitai (pl. or adj. Khitan), Uighur, Mongol, Jurchen will be applied throughout. Khān, qāān, qahan, qayan will be rendered as *qan* for consistency. As for the Mongolian letters which were transcribed into Persian by the velar uvular scrape /kh/, they will be restored to /q/. The /kh/s in Persian or Arabic words remain the same.

When English grammar clashes with the word formation of foreign terms, I follow mostly the English form, although this may appear strange: such as, to add the plural suffix -s to certain plural foreign terms like Taichiyut or Mongol, except for "Chinos". If I were not to adopt some "English

<sup>10</sup> Γ is transliterated as /h/ when it is the first letter of the word. I did not replace the // in feminine words with /γ/ because these feminine words should not be confused with Persian terms.

<sup>11</sup> The modern restored Mongolian edition of the *SH* has an appendix of the possible medieval phonetic values of the related Chinese characters. Bayar, *Monggol-un niyucha tobchiyan*, Hohhot: Nei-mēng-ku jēn-min ch'u-pan-shē, 1980/81.

elements" in writing and used terms like "Taichiyut" in every case, the descriptions and arguments would be very confusing. Therefore, when "Taichiyut" appears without -s ending, it acts as an independent noun for the tribe or an adjective "of Taichiyut" as in "the Taichiyut residence", while when the term appears with -s ending, it designates "the Taichiyut people". In other words, "the Mongols", but "Mongol empire". I have tried to avoid the other forms of adjectives, such as "Mongolian kinsmen" or "Betekitei qan". The meaning is clearer when we adhere to the stem, that is, "the Mongol kinsmen" and "the qan of Betekin". I hope these explanations have clarified the designations used.

To provide cross-references to scholarly views of aspects which have been discussed in this thesis will enrich its content. However, this has been reduced to a minimum in the body of the thesis because the style of citation in the thesis must be reasonably adjusted in order to maintain a degree of readability in what are complex arguments and discussions. The previous academic work on the life of Temüjin by Ratchnevsky, which "attempts to approach historical truth by undertaking a critical comparison of the original sources"<sup>12</sup> has received a comment regarding "the detailed, yet often contradictory, nature of these sources [which] dictates a somewhat slow style, as the author shifts through the evidence, reaching conclusions ---- often tentative ones ---- before continuing on", which reflects the difficulty of presenting the results of this kind of research in a conventional approach. Therefore, the essential information to facilitate a degree of cross-referencing between the present thesis and Ratchnevsky's book is related in Appendix IV.

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<sup>12</sup> Ratchnevsky, English translation p.xiii.

## Part One

The History of the Kereit Tribe

and

Its Impact on Mongol History

## Chapter One

### Early Kereit History up to the Defeat of Gür-Qan

*JT*, *CCL* and the *SH* all trace Kereit history back to Toyoril's struggle for the Kereit throne after the death of his father Qurjaqus-Buiruq-Qan, since this event is essential in explaining the formation of the sworn-brother relationship between Toyoril and Yesügei. Beyond this, some fragmentary accounts about earlier Kereit history can be found in *JT*, which supplies much information in explaining why Toyoril had to struggle for his throne, also a nearly ignored early friendship between the Kereit Sariq-Qan and the Mongols, although the account is very unexplicit.

There are three significant figures, who are directly related to Temüjin's early life, are of intangible personality ---- Toyoril, also called by his Jurchen-Turkic title Ong-Qan, Jaya-Gambu, the younger brother of Toyoril, and Jamuqa, Temüjin's *anda* and also his opponent. Toyoril was always portrayed as evil-hearted ---- probably a judgement by the source recorders rather than the truth in order to justify Temüjin's destruction of him. His earliest action in the sources was to usurp the throne by killing two of his brothers. If we are going to accept this direct portrait without considering the possibility of another explanation which is based on an investigation of Kereit history, the story ends here. In fact, a reconstructed scene from the accounts in *JT* reveals that Toyoril's qanship struggle was probably not motivated by his wicked ambition but resulted from an astounding political entanglement in the Kereit realm. The story went back to his youth, to a battle with the Tatars.

Because of a marriage connection created during this battle against the Tatars, Toyoril did not succeed to the Kereit throne easily. The Betekin influence in Kereit politics placed an obstacle in his pathway to qanship. Toyoril had exercised a great effort to remove his Betekin-related half-

brothers, but this success was condemned by his uncle which brought on him an unexpected attack. His exile in this period, which can be regarded as his first dethronement although he does not appear to have ascended the throne, provided him with an opportunity to be associated to the Merkit leader Toqtoya and a Mongol leader, Yesügei. The intertribal connection of the Kereit regime will be discussed in section I.

As for the internal power struggle over the Kereit leadership, section II compares the conflicts between the heir and his brothers. The discussion starts with an examination of the attitude of the younger brothers of Toyoril towards their elder brother, then goes on to the method which Toyoril used to make these rival brothers leave him. The places these brothers went afterwards illuminate Toyoril's intertribal relationship with the other steppe rulers, and finally, the discussion returns to a similarity in the personality of Toyoril and Temüjin, which suggests that a mutual understanding, or, sympathy, existed between the two rulers.

Section III discusses the situation on the Mongolian steppe during Yesügei's expedition against the Kereit Gür-Qan. Since it is closer to the time of Temüjin, this section is more attractive to researchers who are interested in the history of Temüjin, and his immediate ancestors. Yesügei's assistance to Toyoril will be discussed and the relationship between Qabul-Mongol and Taichiyut-Mongol will be analyzed in this section. The end of the section is a bold attempt at dating some incidents in early Kereit or Mongol history, which may not be precisely reliable, but at least, it gives an idea of what might have been happening in Mongolia during this period.

## I. The battles with the Tatars and between the Kereits

The earliest comprehensible story from Kereit history in *JT* can be traced back to Sariq-Qan.

Sariq-Qan was a Kereit leader, who lived as the same time of Qurjaqus but his relation with Marqus or Qurjaqus is not recorded. The Kereit tribe was strong at that time, and Sariq-Qan is said to have had an army of four hundred thousand.<sup>1</sup> *JT* pp.90-92 recounts that two leaders of the Alchi-Tatar attacked Sariq-Qan, Sariq-Qan captured and killed one of them, but subsequently he was defeated by the other in a raid on the Orqan river. Sariq-Qan then took refuge with the Betekin tribe.<sup>2</sup> The Betekin ruler married his own daughter Töre-Qaimish to Qurjaqus, who was the son of Marqus-Qan, the brother of Gür-Qan<sup>3</sup> and father of Toyoril, who later became the Kereit Qurjaqus-Buiruq-Qan. After this, a Betekin prince called Qajir/Qadir-Qan helped Sariq-Qan to fight against the Tatar and recovered the Kereit *ulus*. In this campaign, they rescued and set free Toyoril and his mother, who were previously captured by the Tatars.

A reader who is familiar with Mongol history will instantly associate this event with two other similar contributions by the Mongols to Toyoril-Kereit. Betekin's assistance to the Kereits in recovering the Kereit *ulus* from the Tatars is as significant as Yesügei's assistance to the Kereit Toyoril in recovering the Kereit *ulus* from his uncle Gür-Qan, and Temüjin's assistance to Toyoril, again, in recovering the Kereit *ulus* from Naiman. Since the sources treat the latter two instances of assistance with high respect, Betekin's assistance in this occasion must also have been much appreciated by the Kereits.

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<sup>1</sup> *JT* p.91, chihil tūmān lashkar. When we compare this with the strength of the Tatars, this amount must be exaggerated. The whole Tatar tribe consisted of seventy thousand households. Sariq-Qan could not have been defeated if he possessed a troop of four hundred thousand ---- and these Kereit soldiers were all killed by the Tatars except for forty people, according to *JT*.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the Betekin ruler: BYTĀKTĀY 'WTĀKW QWRCHY BWYRWQ KHĀN shall be read as "Betekitei (Betekin's) Ötegū Qorchi Buiruq Qan". The first gives his tribal identity, not a part of his honourable title. About the tribe of Betekin, no description can be found in the sources. Even this tribal name is a reconstruction based on the above grammatical analysis of the term Betekitei. All relevant accounts of its history, which are solely found in *JT*, have been put in order and mentioned in this section.

<sup>3</sup> *JT* p.117.

Like the firm friendship established between Toyoril and Yesügei, or Toyoril and Temüjin after their assistance, this similar incident also started a good friendship between the Betekin and the Kereit, especially when a marriage linkage was formed between the ruling families of these two tribes.

The problem started from here: the Betekin appeared to enjoy too many privileges in Kereit politics, which affected Toyoril's claim to the Kereit throne.

### The background of Toyoril's first struggle of the Kereit leadership

There are several ways to make the subsequent Kereit history clear. To fix the exact dating of the regime of Sariq-Qan and this campaign is less possible, but the dating is not needed in explaining the reason for Toyoril's struggle for his throne, which appears more significant in the rise to power of Toyoril.

First of all, we have to confirm that Toyoril had a right to the throne, and to single out to what extent the Betekin people exercised an influence in Kereit politics.

A knowledge of the age of Qurjaqus's children and their matrilineal progeniture is sufficient to account for the root of the political entanglements. First, there is evidence that Toyoril was the oldest son of Qurjaqus, and probably the legitimate heir to the throne. From the above description of the Tatar invasion, two facts can be extracted: (1) JT supplies the name of Toyoril's mother as 'YLMH/TLMH khatun. Toyoril was not born to the Betekin princess Töre-Qaimish. (2) When his father Qurjaqus married Töre-Qaimish, Toyoril had already been captured by the Tatars, together with his mother. Therefore, Toyoril must have been much older than the children born to this Betekin princess.

The account of *SH* §152 recounts that when Toyoril was thirteen years old, he was carried off by the Tatar Ajai-Qan (unidentified) with his mother. The Qan made him look after the camels. Finally, Toyoril escaped and returned. Despite the difference in details, this incident may have been a variation of his capture by the Tatars in *JT*. If these two accounts are possibly related to each other, this capture might have happened during the time when the Kereit *ulus* was taken over by the Alchi-Tatars after they put Sariq-Qan to flight, when Toyoril was thirteen years old. If this assumption is correct, his father Qurjaqus might have married the Betekin princess when Toyoril was around thirteen. Then, Toyoril must have been at least thirteen years older than the children born of the Betekin princess.

Furthermore, Toyoril was mentioned in *SH* §177 as the "eldest of forty sons" of his father. When we compare this seniority to Qurjaqus' separation of the yurts of his brother Gür-Qan and his son Toyoril, from the yurts belonged to Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür<sup>4</sup> (for details see below), it is not difficult to see that Toyoril had a certain right to the Kereit *ulus*, or the throne, although the sources do not say whether his mother was the senior khatun or not. It would be reasonable to assume that Toyoril had a legitimate right to the Kereit throne, also the eldest status among his brothers.

As for the other children, *JT* p.117 relates that Qurjaqus had several sons including Toyoril, Erke-Qara, Tai-Temür-Taishi, Buqa-Temür, Ilqa-Senggüm.<sup>5</sup> According to *JT* p.361, Qurjaqus had several sons including Toyoril, Erke-Qara and Jaya-Gambu (Kereidei). According to the *SH*, Qurjaqus had forty sons. Although the accounts vary, we can see that Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür among their brothers attracted special attention from their father qan in that Qurjaqus had separated their yurts from Toyoril

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<sup>4</sup> *JT* p.87. Buqa-Temür (YWLĀ-MĀGHWS/BWLĀMĀGHWS, reconstructed as BWQĀ-TĀMWR by comparing Pu-hua-t'eh-mu-ērh in *CCL* p.48a), Tai-Temür-Taishi (BĀYTYMWR/TĀTYMWR TĀYSHY, *CCL* p.48a T'ai-t'eh-mu-ērh-t'ai-shih).

<sup>5</sup> Ilqa-Senggüm appears in *JT* as Toyoril's brother and in the *SH* he was his son. *JT* also mentions a Senggüm who was a son of Toyoril.

and Gür-Qan's yurts. These two children were born to the Betekin princess Töre-Qaimish.<sup>6</sup>

The special treatment which these children received reflects the importance of the Betekin relationship in Kereit politics. Unfortunately, this high regard was not granted with goodwill, but owing to the situation. In fact, Qurjaqus disliked his Betekin kin, and this dislike is revealed in two incidents. First, Qurjaqus apparently did not enjoy very much the companionship of his Betekin wife Töre-Qaimish; he sent someone to murder her, then he killed the murderer after it was done. Later, before his death, he separated the yurts which were assigned to his blood brother and eldest son from the yurts which were assigned to these Betekin seed brothers, and said: "If they are together, they will not have harmony, after my death, from night to dawn and from dawn to night, they will not be passing the Kereit *ulus*".<sup>7</sup>

This secret murder and separation, and the negative comments, show that Qurjaqus did not enjoy a close Kereit-Betekin relationship at all. According to *JT* p.130, the Betekin realm at that time exceeded that of the later Ong-Qan and the Naiman Tayang-Qan; their strength was also demonstrated in the campaign against the Tatars. Apparently, the tribe was out of Qurjaqus' control. The situation can appropriately be compared with the later conflict between Temüjin and Toyoril: since Toyoril disliked Temüjin, he tried to get rid of him; however, he tried his best not to do this openly,<sup>8</sup> because Temüjin had previously offered him great assistance in recovering the Kereit *ulus*. The secret attempt of Qurjaqus to rid himself of his Betekin wife is more or less the same as his son's evil attempts against Temüjin (see Chapter Three section II), probably these two father and son were thinking and acting in the same way.

<sup>6</sup> *JT* p.92. Töre-Qaimish had four more children but their names are unknown.

<sup>7</sup> *JT* p.116, ülüs-i kirāt-rā ... nagudhārand.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter Three section III.

If the Betekin kin had indeed exercised an excessive influence in Kereit politics, even though Qurjaqus could handle it when he was alive, the qanship succession after Qurjaqus would be a real crisis in the Kereit *ulus*.

Unfortunately, as revealed in the sources, the circumstances of the Kereit leadership immediately after the death of Qurjaqus were that the Betekin-related people did have control of the *ulus*.

This situation is not stated plainly in the sources. It is restored from two subsequent accounts. *JT* pp.117-118 mentions that when Qurjaqus died, the brothers from the Betekin line filled their father's place while Toyoril was somewhere at the frontier. The other account, also in *JT*, supplies a more accurate description in a speech of Toyoril, of the shift of real power. In *JT* p.116, after the death of Qurjaqus, Toyoril said to Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür: "when our father was alive, we shot arrows on the condition that we did not miss.<sup>9</sup> Now, why should the *ulus* leadership be allowed to go to Elchitei?"

"Why should the *ulus* leadership be allowed to go to Elchitei?" means neither Tai-Temür-Taishi nor Toyoril were in power, it was Elchitei who was in charge of Kereit affairs. Who was this Elchitei?

This Elchitei can be most probably identified with the Elchitei in *JT* p.91, who was a man in love with Toyoril's mother when the Betekin saved Toyoril and this khatun from the Tatars, and he had been given to them forever.<sup>10</sup> The background of this Elchitei is not clearly stated in *JT*, nor in other sources, but he was most probably a Betekin.

<sup>9</sup> The words "shot" and "did" are in the present tense in the Persian text, however, according to English grammar, I have to translate them into the past tense.

<sup>10</sup> *JT* p.92, chūn mardī fattān būd, ū-rā bi-īshān "chūnggāī" dād. Russian translation annotated "chūnggāī" with the variation of *mūnkkāī*, then the sentence reads as "he was given to them forever".

If we consider the subsequent practice of khatun regents after the death of Ögetei and Güyük, 'YLMH khatun may have been acting as regent after her husband's death. It is also possible to assume that this Elchitei was acting as 'YLMH's husband after her husband's death, if we compare this to the relationship of "Father" Mönglik and Temüjin's mother Hö'elün. In this way, the Kereit rulership had been strangely transferred to the Betekin Elchitei, not to the younger generation.

As seen from the above discussion, the political situation of the Kereit *ulus* immediately after Qurjaqus's death may have been a regency. For some unknown reason, Qurjaqus planned to pass the Kereit rulership to his wife, the mother of Toyoril, probably because he foresaw that Toyoril and the Betekin-related brothers would be in conflict all the time, and this was bad for the future of the Kereit *ulus*. Therefore, Qurjaqus separated the yurts of the Betekin-line children from the yurts of Gür-Qan and Toyoril, the original Kereits, before his death, to prevent internal dispute by a counter balance in the yurts.

However, no matter what the background of Elchitei was, apparently Toyoril was not happy with his usurpation of "his" throne, nor with the Betekin brothers. According to the above quotation of Toyoril's speech, apparently, Toyoril was attempting to drive a wedge between the Betekin Elchitei and the Betekin brothers, and to attract the brothers to his side. Toyoril then successfully lured the brothers into leaving their place<sup>11</sup> to come to him.

After this, when Toyoril found an opportunity, he assailed or assaulted them. The brothers came to the Merkit Toqtoya. Toqtoya preferred not to provoke Toyoril, therefore, he decided to hand them back. Toyoril then had them done away with (*nīst gardānīd*).<sup>12</sup> CCL p.48a recounts that after

<sup>11</sup> Pers. *mawqa'*, place, must be the yurts their father assigned to them.

<sup>12</sup> JT p.116.

Toyoril killed the brothers, he pretended that he had no knowledge of where they were. If this account is reliable, Toyoril must have had done away with them secretly, as his father had done to the Betekin princess.

The history of Toyoril's first struggle for the qanship up to the secret murder of Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür then can be summarized as follows. After assisting the Kereits to recover their *ulus* from the Alchi-Tatars, the powerful Betekins had a prominent influence in the Kereit ruling family although the Kereit rulers might not have liked this. When Qurjaqus-Qan died, the Kereit throne was passed to his khatun 'YLMH, probably because of the young age of his children, or other political considerations. However, Elchitei, probably a Betekin, was in fact in charge of the affairs of Kereit *ulus* because of his intimate relationship with 'YLMH khatun. The children of Qurjaqus, although they were at odds with each other, were all unhappy with this takeover. Since Toyoril was the most clearly rightful heir and he was at least thirteen years older than these brothers, he made use of this chance to destroy his younger opponents from the Betekin line by a trick.

### **Toyoril-Toqtoya relationship**

Since the above discussion has mentioned several steppe tribes, it would be desirable to continue with an analysis of the intertribal situation on the steppe here. The significance of Toyoril's struggles with his rival brothers will be discussed in section II.

The above battles and marriage illuminate the general situation of the region surrounding the Kereit territory at this time. The Tatar tribe was strong, and strong enough to attack the Kereit tribe. They defeated the Kereits, and this crisis made the Kereit leader create an in-laws' relationship with the ruling family of the Betekin tribe. With the military assistance of the Betekin people, the Kereits recovered their *ulus* from the Tatars, but at the same time, the Kereits were determined to live under Betekin influence afterwards.

After the death of Qurjaqus-Qan, Toyoril, the candidate of the successor, tried to get rid of the Betekin group. Those Betekin-related princes went to the Merkit tribe because of oppression. However, the Merkit leader did not give them his protection: this marked their end. In other words, the decision of the Merkit leader had indirectly helped Toyoril in this struggle for succession and resulted in his rivals perishing.

The Merkits appeared three times crucially in relation to Toyoril's struggle for his throne. The first time, their leader Toqtoya's refusal to accept Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür partly contributed to Toyoril's success in destroying these rival candidates. The second time, Toyoril fled into the territory of the Merkits when his uncle turned against him. Toqtoya protected him from being destroyed, in other words, this provided him with one more chance to regain his throne. The third time was quite late in 1197/98, when Toyoril was preparing for his restoration against the mighty Naiman, and the Merkit wealth had been transformed into Toyoril's resources. This "contribution" will be discussed in the first section of Chapter Three. After all, the Merkits had saved Toyoril or helped him to survive three times when he was under threat, although the last time was not of their own will.

In spite of this assistance at crucial moments, the sources do not supply a clear picture of the relationship between Toyoril and Toqtoya. The ambiguous background makes the great assistance of Toqtoya peculiar, especially on the third occasion where Toyoril was apparently hostile to Toqtoya. Therefore, it is necessary to make the relationship more clear.

The issue can be examined from several perspectives. Toqtoya seemed to be a peace loving person. None of the accounts of him show him behaving ambitiously or aggressively, except to avenge his father's death, who was killed by the Taichiyut Qadayan-Taishi.<sup>13</sup> His gentlemanly manner is clearly demonstrated in his preparation for the revenge. Toqtoya did not raid or fall upon the Mongols unexpectedly as Temüjin or Toyoril always did, he declared war openly by sending a messenger to Qadayan-Taishi to ask for a date and

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<sup>13</sup> JT p.256.

the location of the battlefield. Qadayan-Taishi then summoned a *quriltai*, which is recorded in detail in *JT*.<sup>14</sup> After his messenger returned from the Mongols, Toqtoya set off for war.<sup>15</sup> On a later occasion, Toqtoya raided Temüjin. However, this was not a plundering attack, as what Temüjin had done to him afterwards was, but another act of revenge: an unexpected capture for an unexpected capture in order to take revenge for the abduction of Hö'elün. It carried out with a just claim.

Other than his politeness and sense of justice as reflected in his acts of revenge, Toqtoya seemed to be lacking interest in the domestic affairs of the other tribes. His earlier response to the Kereit fugitive Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür shows that he tried to avoid conflicts with the other tribes, on the other hand, so as not to bring his own tribe into trouble. The Merkits might have been fierce and warlike, as mentioned in *YS*,<sup>16</sup> or as Toqtoya's father was,<sup>17</sup> but not Toqtoya. The Toqtoya-Merkit was always a victim of plundering and looting by other warlike tribes such as Toyoril-Kereit and Temüjin-Mongol.

Besides the personality of Toqtoya, an in-laws' relationship also assisted in creating a friendly relationship between Toqtoya and Toyoril when the latter sought refuge from the former. This marriage of Toyoril's daughter and Toqtoya was mentioned by Temüjin when he reprimanded Toyoril in 1203. Temüjin recounted that Toyoril gave his daughter to Toqtoya before Yesügei helped him to expel the Kereit Gür-Qan. According to this account in *SH* §177, this marriage must have taken place during the time of Mongol Qutula-Qan because Yesügei's expedition against Gür-Qan was carried out in the reign of Qutula.

<sup>14</sup> *JT* pp.256-258.

<sup>15</sup> *JT* p.259.

<sup>16</sup> *YS* 134 *chuan* 21 the biography of Kökö, p.3250.

<sup>17</sup> *JT* pp.255-256, Toqtoya's father turned down Qadayan-Taishi's invitation to become allies. His arrogant reply infuriated Qadayan-Taishi so the latter decided to go to war.

When we are considering that this marriage may have established a good relationship between Toqtoya and Toyoril, another account in the same source, which can be dated in the youth of Temüjin, seems to be denying their friendship. *SH* §§104-113 relate that Toyoril had assisted Temüjin to attack the Merkits in order to rescue Temüjin's wife, Börte.

*JT* and the *SH* have conflicting accounts about the rescue of Börte. Since the story in *SH* is less contradictory to the otherwise friendly attitude of Toyoril towards Temüjin, researchers would easily incline to believe in the accuracy of this account. However, with the knowledge of a former *quada* (Mong. in-laws) relationship between Toqtoya and Toyoril which is mentioned in the *SH*, *JT*'s version becomes less fabulous.

According to *JT* pp.299-300, when the Merkits captured Börte, because "at that time the Merkits and Ong-Qan were at peace", they sent the pregnant Börte to Toyoril. Toyoril treated her with honour and respect ---- he did not "take" her as his emirs suggested. Later Temüjin sent Saba to Toyoril and carried Börte back to his place, and Jochi was born on the way.

This account makes us to think about two questions. One is, were Merkit and Toyoril "at peace" during the Börte incident? The other is, if they were at peace "at that time", were they not at peace before or/and after this incident?

A story in *SH* §152 confirms that the Kereit and the Merkit had not been living in harmony *before* this in-laws' relationship: when Toyoril was seven years old, he was once carried off by the Merkits and made to pound grain in the Buyura Steppe by the Selengge river; his father saved him by a raid. This hostility is further justified by the attitude of the Betekin-related Kereit princes. The brothers could have turned to the Merkits for help because of their nearby location, but probably their decision also took Toyoril's earlier dissension with the Merkits into account. Later when the Kereit princes Erke-Qara and Jaya-Gambu dissented with the Kereit ruler, they reacted in the same

way by fleeing to the historical enemy of the Kereit ruler: the Naiman qan. However, as time passed, Toyoril grew up and the Merkit leadership shifted to a younger generation.<sup>18</sup> The marriage was apparently proceeded with regardless of the former dissension.

After the marriage, however, there does not seem to have been a long peace between the Kereits and the Merkits. Skipping the debatable incident of Börte which might have taken place around 1179, Toyoril attacked Toqtoya, his son-in-law, plundering and looting the Merkit people, killing Toqtoya's children, paying no attention to their *quda* relationship. This would not have happened, or should not have happened, if the marriage was arranged out of true affection.

If the marriage was not arranged out of affection but appeared to the Merkits to be a ceasefire agreement to end the old enmity between Toyoril and the Merkits, or if, to Toyoril, it served another purpose, we should reconsider the nature of this marriage. In *SH*'s reprimand, Temüjin commented that Toyoril gave his daughter to Toqtoya "to seek prestige".<sup>19</sup> This might be true, if we compare this marriage to the marriage between Jaya-Gambu's daughter and the Tangyut ruler. Jaya-Gambu did this when he was looking for another protector after his former protector Temüjin had been defeated.<sup>20</sup> As for Toyoril, he was in a similar isolated situation when he went to the Merkit leader. Both marriages appear like fugitives' offering to the protector in exchange for personal security.

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<sup>18</sup> This might have taken place during the time of the Taichiyut Qadayan-Taishi, if the father of Toqtoya was killed by Qadayan. The lifetime of Qadayan-Taishi was similar to that of Qutula, because both of them were mentioned by Hamaqaï, and before Yesügei's expedition against the Kereit Gür-Qan, because Qadayan died shortly before the expedition. In this way, Qadayan might have just passed his adolescence in 1130s. and probably was "murdered" in 1160s. Discussion see section III of this chapter.

<sup>19</sup> *SH* §177.

<sup>20</sup> Detailed discussion see Chapter Two section II and III.

Although the Merkits might consider this marriage as the beginning of long-lasting peace between the Merkit and Kereit tribes, especially since their leader Toqtoya had a peace loving character, Toyoril might not have forgotten the captivity in his childhood, and have considered this marriage humiliating. In this way, Toyoril might not have arranged this marriage with goodwill, but for immediate benefits<sup>21</sup> from the *unwanted* son-in-law. Therefore, when he was no longer in need of this relationship, he ignored the affection and obligations involved in being an in-law, and attacked his son-in-law without mercy.

The paragraphs below turns back to the abduction of Börte. From the above discussion, it is certain that there was a short-term peace between Toqtoya and Toyoril, and it was not the result of respecting the neighbours, but based on a close affection linkage of marriage between the ruling families. Therefore, it was possible for Toqtoya to send the pregnant Börte to his father-in-law as a present, as recorded in *JT*. Since no further evidence can either confirm or deny either story, I do not attempt to establish which story we should believe in. However, the above analysis of the Toqtoya-Toyoril relationship from 1160s to the end of the century has provided a more solid ground for believing in the accuracy of the *JT* story.

If it is possible that the *JT* story might have a certain accuracy, then, when Börte had been sent to Toyoril by his son-in-law, what did Toyoril think of this offer? In the *JT* story, Toyoril did not turn down this friendly present, and he did not take her, either. When his emirs asked him: "Why do not you take her?", Toyoril replied that he was considering his *anda* relationship with Yesügei, and in that relationship, Börte could be considered as his daughter-in-law.

The wonder of his emirs: "Why do not you take her?" gave the general opinion of what Toyoril should do with Börte: Börte was booty of Toqtoya,

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<sup>21</sup> See discussion in Chapter Five section II.

and his father-in-law Toyoril got a share. Toyoril's decision not to take advantage on this matter shall be examined in a political way rather than from the viewpoint of his affection for Yesügei. In this dilemma, if we consider the political situation of Toyoril as the Kereit ruler, declining the friendly giving of a share of their booty would have offended his powerful but *unwanted* in-law, while on the other hand, he also could not risk ruining his friendship with the Mongols by enjoying this share of booty.

Toyoril's position in this incident, in the *JT* version, reflects the essence of intertribal politics in twelfth century Mongolia. The "relationships" on the steppe were based on a variety of connections, for instance, *āqā wa īnī* tribes/clans within one's own genealogy, in-laws (*quda*) relationship with the tribes outside one's own genealogy, individual bondage such as *anda* or *nöker*, plus a subordinate relation, such as tribesmen to their clan leader, servants (*boγul*) to their lord. Since there was no fixed constitution or complicated bureaucracy in a nomad world, these relationships actually provided the organising framework of this world. The so-called intertribal politics on the steppe were in essence a wise way of maintaining peace and balance in these relationships, not by oppression or occasional military victories, although "might" is everything behind politics. The significance of some of these relationships will be discussed in Part Two of this thesis, in which Temüjin's wisdom in maintaining these for his own use are analyzed, as well as some aspects of his unwise handling of these relationships which caused his career disadvantages.

In the Börte incident, for Toyoril in such a position, a *quda* affection is clashed with an *anda* affection. Toyoril had made a clever resolution and avoided the conflict: he accepted the present, but he did not touch her; later when Temüjin asked for her, he allowed Temüjin to carry Börte back. A happy ending for both sides. When a similar dilemma came to Temüjin, namely a conflict between discipline and seniority, Temüjin acted in an uncompromising and straightforward fashion to the disobedient *āqā wa īnī*

(kinsmen) ---- this resulted in a leadership crisis which nearly brought him to his end. This crisis will be discussed in Chapter Three section III from the perspective of the Kereits, and in Chapter Four section II (iii) from the perspective of Temüjin. Compared to Toyoril's handling of the Börte incidents, Temüjin was less clever than Toyoril, we may say, in the art of politics.

## II. "Stinking livers" towards brothers

According to the sources, Toyoril had many conflicts with his brothers: first with Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür, later with Erke-Qara; last with Jaya-Gambu. He is described as "having a miserable nature"<sup>22</sup> in general, and he had committed a long list of crimes against his brothers and supporters. The *SH* starts counting his crime from the killing of his two half-brothers, and then he intended to kill his other brother Erke-Qara (§151). As to his loyal pseudo-son Temüjin, Toyoril did not give him a share of his loot from the Merkits (§157), and he left Temüjin alone to face the Naiman general Kökse'ü-Sabraq at the battlefield of Baidaraq-Belchir (§159). Because Toyoril "harboured a stinking liver" towards Temüjin (?), his younger brother Jaya-Gambu and nobles joined and plotted against him (§152). After Jaya-Gambu left him, Toyoril still allowed his son to conspire against Temüjin (§167), and finally turned hostile against Temüjin without considering all his services to him.

Toyoril is portrayed as wicked throughout the sources, in particular in relation to his attitude towards Temüjin. Jamuqa is also portrayed as wicked in the sources, but the description of "a wicked Jamuqa" may have simply been a defamation rather than truth if we consider Jamuqa's competitor role in Temüjin's success.<sup>23</sup> Is it possible that Toyoril was also abused by the

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<sup>22</sup> *SH* §152.

<sup>23</sup> This is going to be discussed in Chapter Three section II and Chapter Four section II (ii) and (iii).

authors because he eventually turned against Temüjin? Or, did he really harbour a stinking liver towards his brothers and pseudo-son?

Toyoril's attitude towards his rival brothers and Temüjin, or vice versa, is the main theme of the discussion in this section. The study of his "miserable nature" starts from his relationship with his brothers.

### **Who was plotting against whom?**

Making a close examination of the occasions when Toyoril's three conflicts with his brothers occurred, it is surprising to see that these conflicts all resulted from or caused a challenge to Toyoril's claim to the Kereit leadership. The first occasion of his conflict with the Betekin-related half-brothers was in the regency period immediately following the death of their father qan. The second conflict, which involved Erke-Qara, resulted in a Naiman invasion and Toyoril's dethronement. On the third occasion, Jaya-Gambu plotted with Kereit nobles *in* the Kereit camp just a few months after Toyoril recovered the Kereit *ulus* from the Naiman.<sup>24</sup> All these incidents happened coincidentally at the crucial period *when* Toyoril had a chance to secure the throne but before he could consolidate his rule. Did Toyoril really "harbour a stinking liver" to all these potential opponents to his claim for the Kereit throne, or, vice versa?

Toyoril's "disagreement" with his brothers, conversely, also reveals the hostility of several parties in the Kereit *ulus* towards Toyoril. First, the Betekin Elchitei and the Betekin-related brothers Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür were in a favourable position after the death of Qurjaqus, and this was a severe threat, or at least a great obstacle, to Toyoril if he had the most just claim to the Kereit throne, and when he wished to preserve this claim. Second, in the conflict with Erke-Qara, *JT* p.564 supplies the background of

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<sup>24</sup> *JT* dates this conspiracy in the winter of Monkey Year (1200/01), that is the very winter after Toyoril defeated the Naiman and regained his throne.

their disagreement: "because [they] disputed over the nation and *ulus*, he (Toyoril) killed most of [his] brothers and uncles." It seems that Toyoril had just settled another power struggle among the Kereit princes. Third, Jaya-Gambu conspired in 1200/01 because "he (Toyoril) killed all the *āqā wa īnī* [and he came] to such a state that 'he'<sup>25</sup> went to the region of Qara-Khitai". This description confirmed Toyoril's earlier struggle with those Kereit princes, in which "he killed all the *āqā wa īnī*", before Erke-Qara fled to Naiman.

This knowledge of the background of Toyoril's conflicts with his brothers and his attempts to do away with these brothers, except for Jaya-Gambu, shows that Toyoril's actions were "responses" to a threat to his claim to the Kereit leadership. These rivals, on the first occasion the Betekin sect in the Kereit ruling family and on the second occasion the anti-Toyoril kinsmen, even appealed for foreign help to achieve their goals. Although the Merkits did not help the Betekin group, the Naimans dethroned Toyoril upon the request of Erke-Qara. Upon this pressure, Toyoril reacted in the same way as in the case of his rival brothers; he appealed for assistance from Yesügei and later Temüjin to expel his uncle and later the Naimans. These conflicts actually reflect a cold-blooded struggle for power among the Kereit princes.

Why did this situation arise? The constitution of the Kereit rulership may provide the best explanation. According to *JT*, the huge Kereit tribe, including all its divisions, was subjected to single leadership of the descendants of the "Kereit" branch, which means the ruling family of the Kereit tribe must

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<sup>25</sup> The Persian verb in this sentence clause bears a plural suffix "they", as the subject of the clause of "entered the region of Qara-Khitai". I am doubtful on this subject. No other evidence confirms that the *āqā wa īnī* who Toyoril had "killed" had gone to Qara-Khitai. I assume this is a mistake, and the correct usage here should be "he entered the region of Qara-Khitai" when this singular "he" is Toyoril. This assumption fits, first, the real situation that because after Toyoril had killed his *āqā wa īnī*, Erke-Qara fled and the Naiman put him to flight, that, "he entered the region of Qara-Khitai". Second, the same plot in *CCL* p.33a reads: "My brother has no settled heart. [He] slaughtered [and] exterminated brothers [and he] has been attached to [Qara-]Khitai." The character *ch'ang* here shall be read as "has [once] been", not "often".

have come from the "Kereit" branch.<sup>26</sup> This single leadership of the huge tribe must have been the dream of many Kereit princes, and the position of leadership must have been very tempting when the person on the throne had not consolidated his power. As related by the *SH*, Qurjaqus had forty sons and Toyoril was the eldest, this would mean thirty-nine competitors to Toyoril, not to mention Qurjaqus's brothers or other nobles. Toyoril must have been living in an atmosphere of conspiracies and plots aimed at him, throughout his life, no wonder he is described as melancholy in all the sources and appeared overanxious on every possible occasion which might have threatened his leadership.<sup>27</sup>

The political situation of the Kereit *ulus* during the life time of Toyoril can be compared with the leadership anarchy of the Taichiyut-Mongol. The Taichiyuts which consist of several sub-clans ---- therefore it is mentioned in Persian sources as "the Taichiyut tribes/clans" ---- had no general leader after the death of Hambaqai-Qan. As revealed in the sources, many Taichiyut princes were interested in this exalted position, and nobody agreed to the other's succession. Therefore, the position of the general leadership of the Taichiyut tribes/clans had been left vacant since the 1130s, until they were defeated and annexed by Temüjin in the 1200s. This comparison shows that the Kereit situation was not unique, and the details of the Taichiyut leadership struggle will be related in section III of this chapter, also in Chapter Four section II.

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<sup>26</sup> *JT* p.114 records that originally "Kereit" was a general name for many branches from a same ancestor. Afterwards, each of the branch had their own title (*laqab*) so that the name Kereit became strictly used to refer to the branch which was "the ruler among them" ("pādishāhī dar īshān"). The other branches had become the subordinates (*banda*) to that ruling brother branch, "no ruler among them" ("az īshān pādishāh nabūda"). The titles of other Kereit branches were Jirgin, Tongqayit, Saqayit, Tübegeyit and Albāt.

<sup>27</sup> His distrust of his loyal partner Temüjin is the best example, and this will be discussed in Chapter Three section II.

### The "indirect" measures to drive the brothers away

An outsider might not have had a chance to know so many hidden stories within the Kereit ruling family, in which not only Toyoril was plotting against his brothers, but his brothers did the same trick to Toyoril. Therefore, an outsider might have judged Toyoril's harsh measures against his brothers from a moral point of view. After Toyoril had been put to flight by his uncle Gür-Qan, he went to Yesügei with a hundred men requesting assistance to recover his realm. When Yesügei consulted the opinion of the famous Qutula-Qan of the Mongols in this matter, Qutula commented:

A friendship with him is not advisable because we know him well. It is worthier to be *anda* with Gür-Qan, while he is a man of gentle good nature. This man [Toyoril] killed his own brothers and with their blood, he stained the rays of the standard. Meanwhile the mountain ox was hit by an arrow and a wild ass remained with a load cart<sup>28</sup> on the neck, for this reason he had come to us [seeking] for protection.<sup>29</sup>

This comment is apparently negative.

Toyoril's uncle Gür-Qan did not make a favourable comment on him, either. An account suggests that the Kereit Gür-Qan thought this way when

<sup>28</sup> JT p.117 "gür kharī 'GHRWQ dar gardan andākhta mīmānad". The term 'GHRWQ' should be understood as "load" (cargo) here, rather than "base camp" which is suggested by some translators. "Ayuruq" in Mongolian is a base camp where family members stayed in. The usage appears in SH §136, also throughout Chinese records as Ao-lu. The meaning of this term as "base camp" is used in certain JT accounts, such as in JT p.206, where the envoy of Ong-Qan was sent to Jochi-Qasar who was staying in the 'GHRWQ'. However, this meaning cannot be fitted in this sentence: "casting the *base camp* upon the neck of an wild ass", no matter how idiomatic the sentence is. JT p.210 uses 'GHRWQ' as "load" in Jebe's famous seizure of the city of Tungking. The story relates that instead of laying a siege, the Mongol troops pulled away from the city gate. When the Tungking people thought the attack was suspended, Jebe "abandoned 'GHRWQ-hā ('GHRWQs)", rode back at full speed and stormed the city. CCL p.77a records the detail of this tactic as "[he] ordered every soldier took with a spare horse". The base camp would never be allowed to travel with a troop --- so that "loads" is the appropriate interpretation here.

<sup>29</sup> JT p.117. There may be different translations for the meaning of "niza-i 'alam" and the last idiom, I translated them according to my personal understanding.

he decided to set out against Toyoril: Toyoril killed his brothers shortly after his father's death, so "how shall the *ulus* be preserved?"<sup>30</sup>

Qutula-Qan is a legendary figure who had been elected to lead both Qabul-Mongol and Taichiyut-Mongol to avenge the death of Hambaqai-Qan.<sup>31</sup> A judgement from such a tribal leader could have certain weight in fairness and justice. The "gentle and good" Gür-Qan, as evaluated by Qutula, held a similar attitude to Toyoril's behaviour as Qutula-Qan. Their similar negative comments on this matter revealed the justice of their social conduct, which may also be the social conduct among the steppe people at this time, that killing brothers, or half-brothers, certainly was unacceptable, and this behaviour should be condemned and punished.

Perhaps under such a consideration of avoiding being condemned by general public, other than pretending he had no idea about the location of his Betekin-related half-brothers after the secret murder, Toyoril may have forced the rival brothers to depart in an indirect way. This tactic can be observed in relation to the departure of the Betekin-related brothers and later, Jaya-Gambu.<sup>32</sup>

In *JT* p.116, after Toyoril had lured the brothers into leaving their yurts to come to him, he *tākhtan kard* the brothers. I am not sure if the verb should be read as "assailed" or "assaulted" because no other evidence suggests what the real situation was. The next sentence recounts that after Toyoril *tākhtan kard* the brothers, they went to Toqtoya. Again, there is no evidence to show that the brothers fled to Toqtoya after a defeat. How Toyoril got them out of his sight remains obscure.

<sup>30</sup> *JT* p.117.

<sup>31</sup> *SH* §§57-58. For more discussion on his leadership over the Mongols, see section III.

<sup>32</sup> There are no sources available for the departure of Erke-Qara.

A later situation, that of Toyoril's reprimand of Jaya-Gambu, gives a clue to the interpretation of the meaning of *tākhtan kardan*. In the winter of 1200/01, Jaya-Gambu, who was also a brother to Toyoril, plotted against Toyoril. The plot was aborted, and Jaya-Gambu finally left Toyoril and went to the Naimans. The reason of plotting, according to *SH* §152, was: "forgetting how his son Temüjin has treated him, he (Toyoril) harbours a stinking liver. How shall we deal with him?"<sup>33</sup> and according to *JT* p.374, Jaya-Gambu said to Altun-Ashuq, El-Qotor, El-Qongqor and Qul-Bari<sup>34</sup> that "this our elder brother is melancholy natured, not a single place was restful. Out of a bad nature, he killed all the *āqā wa īnī* [and he came] to such a state that 'he' went to the region of Qara-Khitai. With this nature and manner, he did not put the *ulus* in order. ("ūlūs-rā nagudhārd ki bi-yāsāyad") How shall we deal with him?"

*SH*'s version of the reason for their treachery implies that these Kereit nobles/generals rebelled against Toyoril on behalf of Temüjin, because Toyoril did not preserve good intentions towards Temüjin. This seems peculiar, unless these Kereit rebels had more affection to Temüjin rather than to their own leader, or own brother. In this way, the dialogue in *JT* appears more convincing because it focuses on a distrust of Toyoril's leadership especially in relation to Toyoril's unpredictable manner towards his kinsmen.

No matter what the motivation was, the plot was not carried out because one of the conspirators, Altun-Ashuq, passed their discussion to Toyoril. Toyoril's reaction to "another" threat to his leadership is remarkable. He captured El-Qotor and El-Qongqor, and said to El-Qotor<sup>35</sup> in front of the other nobles/generals: "What had we said when we travelled to the region of

<sup>33</sup> Translation by Igor de Rachewiltz, *PFEH* 13 (1976) p.46.

<sup>34</sup> *CCL* p.32b records exactly the same four persons.

<sup>35</sup> In *SH* §152, Toyoril reprimanded all the conspirators. However, *CCL* p.33b and *JT* p.375 record only one and the same person Toyoril had spoken to.

Tangyut!" He reprimanded him: "What am I to think of the like of you!" Then he spat on him.<sup>36</sup>

Toyoril's reaction is full of implications, and these implications can only be uncovered with a knowledge of the identity of these conspirators. Among the four conspirators, first, Altun-Ashuq had withdrawn from the plot, therefore, it does not matter what his identity was. Second, Jaya-Gambu was Toyoril's brother. Third, El-Qotor was born to a woman who escaped with Sariq-Qan after the defeat of Alchi-Tatar and he was possibly a son of Sariq-Qan although this is not stated plainly in the sources.<sup>37</sup> What is certain is that El-Qotor could not have been Toyoril's blood brother because he was not born to 'YLMH khatun. However, it is obvious that El-Qotor was a close kinsman to Toyoril. As for El-Qongqor and Qul-Bari, their background is not clear.

Why did Toyoril reprimand El-Qotor in public but not the leader of the conspirators Jaya-Gambu? Would this decision have been made in order to "save the face" of his brother, by not making known his evil intention against his brother qan? El-Qotor was a kinsman of the royal family, but not Toyoril's brother. Probably because of the closeness in kinship, he had been "chosen" by Toyoril as a scapegoat to be condemned, and to show Jaya-Gambu an example.

After this open humiliation of a minor conspirator, designed to intimidate the head conspirator who was also his own brother, Toyoril reprimanded Jaya-Gambu several times indirectly, saying "you always harbour a stinking liver"<sup>38</sup> ---- curiously enough, in the *SH*, these words were used by Jaya-Gambu to describe the heart of Toyoril. These reprimands justified

<sup>36</sup> Same record of Toyoril's reprimand in *JT* p.375, *CCL* p.33b and *SH* §152.

<sup>37</sup> *JT* p.91, the woman called TĀRBĀY-QĀYĀN. She encouraged Sariq-Qan after the defeat. She had a son called 'YL-QWTWY. This 'YL-QWTWY can be identified with El-Qotor when the last /y/ is a copying corruption from /t/. A woman who escaped and was staying with a fleeing qan must have had a special relationship to the qan; she might have been a khatun or a concubine to Sariq-Qan.

<sup>38</sup> *CCL* p.33b.

Toyoril's anger towards Jaya-Gambu because of the conspiracy. If Toyoril did try to avoid a public condemnation of Jaya-Gambu as assumed above, this reprimand of "stinking liver" would have been administered privately. The reprimand made Jaya-Gambu feel "insecure"<sup>39</sup> then, later at an unspecified time, Jaya-Gambu left the Kereit country and went to Naiman Tayang-Qan with El-Qotor, El-Qongqor, Narin-Toyoril and Alin-Taishi.<sup>40</sup>

Apparently, on this occasion, Toyoril made Jaya-Gambu leave without using force. Compared with the earlier case of Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür, are there not many similarities? If there are, shall we understand the verb *tākhtan kardan* as "assailed"? Furthermore, Temüjin's open punishment of his kinsmen for their disobedience, which will be related in Chapter Four section II (iii), caused an unexpected reaction of treachery which nearly brought Temüjin's leadership to an end. Do these two examples prove that it was the steppe custom that humiliating one's kinsmen was inappropriate, at least in public? In response to these humiliations, in public or in private, the humiliated kinsmen left the dominion and turned to foreign powers for help/protection, at the same time, treachery was planned.

### **Toyoril's location during the conflicts**

An examination of Toyoril's location during his conflicts with his brothers can put the history of his regime and its relationship to the surrounding tribes/nations in a nutshell.

When the losers in the qanship struggles were forced to leave the Kereit territory, they looked for a strong protector. The patrons they sought reveal the current location and situation of Toyoril.

<sup>39</sup> CCL p.34a.

<sup>40</sup> SH §152 mentions that Alin-Taishi was among the conspirators. JT p.375 recounts that the people went away with Jaya-Gambu as NĀRYN-TGHRYL wa ALYN-TĀYSHY (Narin-Toyoril and Alin-Taishi). CCL p.34a mentions El-Qotor, El-Qongqor, Na-lien-t'uo-lien-t'ai-shih (Narin-Toyoril-Taishi) and etc. Alin-Taishi certainly appeared later in Naiman Tayang-Qan's camp.

In this first conflict, before Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür went to Toqtoya, they had been lured to Toyoril's presence. When they decided to leave, they must have departed from Toyoril's residence, and have gone to a nearby tribe which was strong enough to counter Toyoril. This course of action explains that Toyoril must have resided somewhere next to the Merkits during this period. According to *JT*, Toyoril was supposed to be at the "frontier" of the Kereit realm at this time. The Merkit tribe was located to the northeast of the Kereit tribe, therefore, it is reasonable to say that Toyoril was at the northeastern frontier of the Kereit at this time, probably on the frontier which separated the two tribes.

His presence on the frontier next to Merkit territory at this time is confirmed by the later attack of his uncle Gür-Qan. In *SH* §177, when Gür-Qan marched against him from the Kereit heartland, Toyoril was forced to flee to Qarayun gorge, where he gave his daughter Hujayur to Toqtoya to be his wife. Qarayun gorge was located on the Selengge river which was a Merkit residence. The gorge is described as being resided in by the Merkits in a later account of the events of 1204/05.<sup>41</sup> So, Toyoril must have stayed at the northeast border of the Kereit *ulus* at least from the death of Qurjaqus until he expelled Gür-Qan.

After Toyoril obtained assistance from Yesügei, they expelled Gür-Qan in the direction of Qashin (Tangyut), and Toyoril must have returned to the heartland of Kereit *ulus* from the northeast. The reconstructed route of this expedition (see section III) makes it clear that Toyoril came out from the Qarayun gorge to the northeast of the Kereit territory, then he passed through the heartland of his country to reach the southwest border which adjoined the Tangyut nation. This is the first appearance of the Tangyuts which is associated with Kereit or Mongol history. Gür-Qan disappeared in the Tangyut territory and never returned; it seems that the Tangyuts were not interested in getting involved in this power struggle.

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<sup>41</sup> *CCL* p.70b.

The flight of Erke-Qara took place during the period when Toyoril had regained the throne and was staying in the Kereit heartland. Supposing that Erke-Qara had to flee to a strong ruler nearby, Tangyut would not be a good choice because Gür-Qan did not return after he went there. The Merkit tribe in the northeast could not be counted on, since Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür were handed back to Toyoril. The in-laws' relationship between Toqtoya and Toyoril made Erke-Qara no chance at all. To the east, Yesügei and his descendants were friendly towards Toyoril at this time. Having no alternative, Erke-Qara had to turn to the long-standing enemy of the Kereits, or we could better say, of the Kereit rulers, for help. The subsequent development shows that his choice of Naiman was correct, and the Naiman qan had Toyoril dethroned.

When it came to Jaya-Gambu's conspiracy in 1200/01, Toyoril had just recovered his country from the Naiman. There were not many choices for Jaya-Gambu to adopt, when he was feeling "insecure". The Naiman Buiruq-Qan had recently been defeated by Toyoril, his strength could not be counted on. The Merkits were no longer a friend to Toyoril after his attack in 1198 which caused severe damage, both to the tribe and their relationship, they remained very weak and unable to challenge Toyoril. To the east, Toyoril and Temüjin had just reconfirmed their relationship in the Red Hills Promise (see Chapter Three section II). Their association was recently strengthened. To the south, Jaya-Gambu had not obtained any sufficient protection from the Tangyut and Jayut regions during his last exile, therefore, he would not expect any from them this time. In such a situation, Jaya-Gambu could only go further west to the Naiman Tayang-Qan, who was the only power left on the steppe who could be expected to be strong enough to counter Toyoril or/and Temüjin.

### Murderous brothers

As for the relationship between Kereit and Mongol history, or Toyoril and Temüjin, one comparison can be made here, of their attitude towards their half-brothers who challenged their authority.

The moral judgement of the Mongol Qutula-Qan and the Kereit Gür-Qan upon Toyoril's secret murder of his half-brother during this period, provides a clue to understanding the real situation regarding Temüjin's murder of his half-brother Bekter. When Temüjin killed Bekter, Hö'elün was enraged by this offence and severely rebuked Temüjin and Qasar, her own children,<sup>42</sup> for killing their half-brother.<sup>43</sup> Her reaction agrees with the negative criticism by Qutula and Gür-Qan, of Toyoril's killing of *his* half-brothers.

This account in the *SH* is followed immediately by the sudden arrival of some Taichiyuts: they came over to capture Temüjin.

Paul Ratchnevsky has suggested that there might "perhaps" be a relationship between Bekter's murder and Temüjin's captivity. However, he did not go further in examining the possible connection, although he did enquire into this indirectly.<sup>44</sup>

The *SH* supplied an idiomatic sentence which may explain the Taichiyut's motivation for this capture:

*qoluqat qoγojijuγu, shiliüget shberijü'ü*

literally means "the chicks have shed [their down], the lambs have grown up".<sup>45</sup> The surface meaning of this sentence is not difficult to understand ---- the young had attained a certain age. Curiously, the Chinese gloss does not gloss these words literally as it usually does. The sentence is glossed, as translated by Francis Cleaves, as "the wicked have molted, the drivellers are

<sup>42</sup> *SH* §60.

<sup>43</sup> *SH* §77.

<sup>44</sup> Paul Ratchnevsky, *Činggis-Khan, sein Leben und Wirken*, English translation by T Haining, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy*, p.24 and p.25.

<sup>45</sup> Translation by Igor de Rachewiltz, *PFEH* 4 (1971) p.138. I added brackets to the phrase "their down" because the words are not in the Mongolian text. On the other hand, Urgunge Onon suggested that the word *qoluqat* = *qoragat* that is "lambs" so he read the first sentence as "the lambs are shedding their fleeces". Onon, p.23.

grown up".<sup>46</sup> The meaning is negative. Was this gloss simply an imaginative interpretation from the annotator, or, did it just honestly represent what Tarqutai-Kiriltuq was really thinking, and judged, when he ordered Temüjin's capture?

*JT* implies throughout its narration of Temüjin's history that the Taichiyuts were jealous of Temüjin's potential of becoming a great leader. However, the assumption that "the Taichiyut intended to capture Temüjin in order to prevent him from getting strong" cannot be sufficiently supported by the sources. First, there was no long lasting enmity between the two clans. Second, both clans were descended from Qaidu, Taichiyut-Mongol and Qabul-Mongol were the closest brother clans in the Nirün genealogy.<sup>47</sup> Third, they appeared to be in accord at least since the time of Qutula-Qan; even after the death of Yesügei, Temüjin's family was living peacefully with the Taichiyuts until his mother insulted the elders of the Taichiyuts.

Fourth, the detailed account of this incident in the *SH* supplies more doubts than simply justifying a belief in the jealous nature of the Taichiyut:

- (1) The Taichiyut did not come as a well-equipped invading force ---- there were only Tarqutai-Kiriltuq and/or his bodyguards (Mong. *kebte'ül*).
- (2) It is very clear that they came for Temüjin alone: "send your elder brother Temüjin. We don't need you others!"
- (3) In the subsequent description of the escape of Temüjin, they chased after and encircled him. If these Taichiyuts really intended to exterminate Temüjin's power, the simplest way was to kill him by setting fire to the hill or shooting him, but they did not.
- (4) When the Taichiyuts caught Temüjin, they put a cangue on his neck and had him showed around the camps. This might be explained as an

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<sup>46</sup> Francis Cleaves, p.25.

<sup>47</sup> Genealogical connection, see Chapter Four.

exhibition of their gains, while it could also be interpreted as education to the public of what a shame it was to be a criminal.

- (5) Temüjin finally escaped when the Taichiyut were having a feast, where he was guarded by a weak young man. If Temüjin was so dangerous as to be a threat to the future of the Taichiyut tribe, he should have been kept under a strict watch.

Fifth, although *CCL* p.2b relates that Temüjin-Mongol got into trouble with Taichiyut-Mongol from the time of Tarqutai-Kiriltuq and Quril-Bayatur, the sons of Adal-Qan, it is surprising to see that in the *SH*, Tarqutai-Kiriltuq of the Taichiyuts was acting as a guardian to young Temüjin. Tarqutai took care of Temüjin when he was small and being abandoned in a deserted camp, he instructed Temüjin as if training a two or three years' old new colt. When he was caught and was being sent to Temüjin, he plainly spoke that "had I wished to make him die, would I not have been able to make him die [when he was young]?"<sup>48</sup>

All these pieces of evidence deny that the Taichiyuts must have had a destructive motivation for this capture.

Regarding Gür-Qan's attack of Toyoril, *JT* and *CCL* also suggest that his motivation was ambition for the Kereit throne<sup>49</sup> ---- and this is possible since the Kereit *ulus* was traditionally under a single rulership, but the consequence of his attack against Toyoril proved that Gür-Qan did not have a destructive intention. If Gür-Qan's campaign was motivated by an ambition to seize the throne, he should have killed this legitimate heir upon his victory,

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<sup>48</sup> *SH* §149, translation by Igor de Rachewiltz, *PFEH* 13 (1976) p.42.

<sup>49</sup> *CCL* p.48a, Temüjin's message to Toyoril: "previously your uncle Gür-Qan had spoken to you: '[you] did not hand over the throne of my elder brother Qurjaqus-Buiruq-Qan to me, [you] seized it yourself.'" *JT* p.387 in the same message, Temüjin recalled that the Gür-Qan said to Toyoril: "you did not give me the place (*jā*) of my elder brother Buiruq-Qan, and my two brothers Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür, you done away both two!" I am doubtful of the accuracy of this message because Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür were not Gür-Qan's brothers.

as Toyoril had done away with his half-brothers, or have pursued him in order to exterminate him. He did not. In this way, the attack may be understood as a punitive attack, like the later Battle of Thirteen Güre'en which put Temüjin to flight. The purpose of this attack was simply to teach this evil-doing legitimate young heir a lesson.

Can this also have been the purpose of Taichiyut's capture of Temüjin? Tarqutai also had a comment on young Temüjin, like Qutula and Gür-Qan's comments on young Toyoril. Tarqutai-Kiriltuq mentioned that he looked after Temüjin like "breaking in" a colt, this description is more or less equivalent to Qutula-Qan's description of the punished Toyoril: the setback of a reckless mountain ox, or the restraint of a wild ass. These steppe usages are all making it clear that the elder kinsmen wished to discipline these young heirs and to prevent them from wrong doing ---- in this case, killing their half-brothers.

During the lifetime of Toyoril and Temüjin, four killing-brother sins can be found in the sources. First, Toyoril killed Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür. Although he did this secretly, his uncle acknowledged it and attacked him as a punishment. Second, Temüjin killed Bekter. His mother Hö'elün was terribly angry about this, and probably the elders of their closest clan Taichiyut also learnt about this so that they came as kinsmen guardians to inflict punishment for this wrong-doing. Third, if the usage is correct, the younger brother (Mong. *de'iü*) Taichar was killed by Temüjin's people, this killing resulting in another punitive attack of a tribal alliance consisting of thirty thousand men. Fourth, Temüjin killed Sacha-Beki and Taichu, the leaders of the closest elder brother branch to Temüjin's branch in the genealogy, which is deliberately concealed in the sources. Temüjin's later seizure of Qasar was stopped in time by their mother,<sup>50</sup> or, the four sins might have become five.

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<sup>50</sup> SH §244.

It is difficult to give an evaluation of the murderous mind of Toyoril and Temüjin. An outsider, in theory, can give a more objective comment on these matters. However, to the person who was involved in the power struggles, it must have seemed that he acted spontaneously to defend his own interest, or to secure his own survival. Ratchnevsky has suggested that "the motive for Bekhter's murder was undoubtedly more fundamental than the mere theft of a fish. Temuchin's acceptance as head of the family was at stake."<sup>51</sup> Comparing this with Temüjin's thundering seizure of his blood brother Qasar after he had been recognised as the steppe Chinggis-Qan ---- just because he heard of a slander from Teb-Tenggeri ----, we cannot blame Toyoril for his suspicious nature towards his kinsmen, and his anxiety when he heard about Temüjin's alliance with the Naimans. They were both the eldest among their brothers and the heir to an exalted position, they reacted in the same manner and speed when they felt their leadership was under threat. It can hardly be denied that Temüjin and Toyoril did have some "similarities" to Toyoril when they were young, although Toyoril appears clever in concealing his intention while Temüjin just spoke and acted straightforwardly. This resemblance in personality probably laid a solid ground for the later compact relationship between Toyoril and Temüjin.

### III. Expedition to Expel the Kereit Gür-Qan

Regardless of the advice of Qutula-Qan, Yesügei decided to help Toyoril to expel Gür-Qan. Yesügei "took with him Qunan<sup>52</sup> and Baqaji from the Taichiyut", he attacked Gür-Qan at Qurban-Telesüt and sent him into exile with twenty or thirty men towards Qashin (Tangγut).<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Ratchnevsky, *ibid.* English translation, p.24.

<sup>52</sup> Udur-Qunan in *JT* p.387.

<sup>53</sup> *SH* §177, cf. §150.



The process of the assistance is given in more detail in *CCL* and *JT*, which record that the two Taichiyuts came out with Toyoril from Qarayun gorge, then they crossed over the plain/valley of Qara-Buqa (mountain?),<sup>54</sup> crossed over \*Abja-Buqa(ge'ü) mountain, passed through Tületen-Tülgüt and Jensüten-Tülgüt (\*Tületen and \*Jensüten),<sup>55</sup> crossed over the top of the Gorge,<sup>56</sup> and arrived in Güse'ür-Nayur. It was a hard year for the Kereit, therefore Yesügei was able to "exhaust" the nation. When Gür-Qan heard about this, he hid at Qurban-Telesüt, where Yesügei pursued him and forced him to flee into the land of Qashin.

The reconstructed route of this expedition reveals how Yesügei strived<sup>57</sup> for this campaign. The assistance which Yesügei had offered to Toyoril was a long march across central Mongolia, starting from the Qarayun gorge on the Selengge river, which was on the northeastern frontier of the Kereit realm, passing through the hilly ground to the heartland of Kereit

<sup>54</sup> The geographical feature of this place is *sahrā*'(usually "plain") in *JT* p.387 or a "valley" in *CCL* p.48b. The verb used in *CCL* is "passed over" and in *JT* "gudhashta" ("passed"). Compared with the following sentence in *CCL*, Qara-Buqa and \*Abja-Buqa (this place is missing in *JT*) were probably the names of two mountains, and their valleys. The narrative style of this paragraph appears to be in parallel pairs in its original Mongolian form, in which "Qara-Buqa" pairing "\*Abja-Buqa", "Tületen-Tülgüt[t]" pairing "Jensüten-Tülgüt[t]".

<sup>55</sup> The place names read T'u-leh-t'an-t'u-ling-ku Chan-su-t'an-chan-ling-ku in *CCL* pp.48b-49a. These two names are not replicated, as some annotators suggest. These two place names can be identified with the location of Toyoril's Right Wing troops: TWLSWTĀN JĀSWTĀN, or a variation, TWLWTĀN JĀLWTĀN. (*JT* p.112) Apparently they are two different but related place names. They are restored in this paragraph as \*Tületen and \*Jensüten, following the account of *CCL*.

T'u-ling-ku and Chan-ling-ku in *CCL* are both presumably to be *tülgüt[t]*. *JT* p.388 reads: "bi-mawda'-i QWLĀTĀN-TWLĀNKWTY gudhar karda", "passed by the place of \*Tületen-Tülgüt[t]-r" (variations TWLĀTĀN-TWLĀNKWY/TWLĀBĀN-TWLĀNKWQY/\*WLĀTĀN-W-DWLĀ\*KWTY). The Chan-ling-ku in *CCL* could possibly be a copy error which assimilated with the first phoneme of the previous noun T'u-ling-ku. Regarding the transcription in *JT*, the *-t* ending of *tülgüt[t]* shows that the term is a Mongolian noun in the plural. The last /r/ was not a Persian suffix for "one" or to change the noun into adjective; it is a Mongolian case marker which is attached to the end of the noun, and it was misread by Rashīd al-Dīn as a part of the place name.

<sup>56</sup> *JT* p.388, "sar-i BĀLĀ-yi QABCHĀL gudhashta", "crossed over the height (lit. tall) of the Qabchal (lit. gorge)". The "Ch'üeh-ch'ün Ai" (Ch'üeh-ch'ün gorge) in *CCL* p.48b is probably the name of that gorge.

<sup>57</sup> *JT* p.387 describes "bi-chirik bar nishast".

nation, and then he pursued Gür-Qan southwestward into the territory of Tangyut. No wonder Toyoril owed Yesügei-Mongol a great debt.

This campaign provided an important hint of the strength of the Mongols at this time. Yesügei must have possessed a similar strength to the Gür-Qan's so that he could put him to flight. So, how strong were the Mongols, when Yesügei was probably not the single Mongol leader at that time? Mongol history before Temüjin is vague. This incident in Kereit history may help in making certain situations clearer.

### **The myth of a single leadership over the Qabul-Mongol and the Taichiyut-Mongol**

Toyoril recovered his throne from his uncle Gür-Qan with assistance from the Mongols. The assistance came from Yesügei, and some Taichiyuts who were represented by Qunan and Baqaji.

*SH* §57 relates that in the old days, "all the (Qabul-)Mongols and the Taichiyuts gathered in the Qorqonaq valley by the Onan and made Qutula their qan". If we accept that the Qabul-Mongols and the Taichiyuts had elected Qutula-Qan as their *joint* leader, the Taichiyut presence in a campaign conducted by Qutula-Qan is not surprising. However, apparently Qutula-Qan did not take part in this attack against Gür-Qan. He even advised Yesügei not to fight Gür-Qan for the condemned Toyoril. If the attack was conducted by Yesügei alone, since he could not be the Mongol qan when Qutula was the qan, and, if we admit that the Qabul-Mongol and the Taichiyut-Mongol were under the *single* leadership of Qutula, then, how could Yesügei obtain Taichiyut's assistance while he was acting against Qutula's opinion?

If we do not follow this assumption of a *single* leadership, the image that these two branches had been united before Temüjin's era should be reconsidered.

First, it seems that the Taichiyuts did not have a generally recognised leader after the death of Hambaqai-Qan and before the death of Qadayan-Taishi. *JT* p.266 relates that after *a period* following the death of Hambaqai-Qan, his relatives and children and the emirs of the Taichiyut gathered together to elect a new ruler (*pādishāh*). They were at that meeting for *quite a while*, and *had not* agreed on anyone. Qadayan-Taishi came down to the plain of KWY-Keher, went to the neighbouring Kereit Gür-Qan, and met Gür-Qan at KWKĀBĀS QWQĀNĀS.<sup>58</sup> They stayed there for ten days. When it was time to return, Gür-Qan's *boγorchis* (Mong. cook) brought forward a bottle of *tarasun* (Mong. wine). Qadayan-Taishi and his *nökers* all drank the wine. His *nökers* threw up afterwards, which probably resulted from over-drinking or over-eating during those days, but Qadayan-Taishi did not. Qadayan-Taishi felt ill afterwards, and since "nothing occurred to the *nökers*", he became suspicious that there was lethal poison in the wine. He became sick and died in the spring. When the autumn came, the Taichiyuts gathered again to discuss the election.

This narration confirms that the Taichiyuts had no general leader after the death of Hambaqai-Qan and before the death of Qadayan-Taishi. Gatherings for election had been summoned several times, but no agreement was reached. However, since Hambaqai had mentioned Qadayan-Taishi when demanding revenge,<sup>59</sup> Qadayan-Taishi was apparently acting as a leading elder among his nine brothers and his kinsmen after the death of Hambaqai-Qan.

Qadayan-Taishi's commanding position in these crises was revealed in their warfare with the Merkits. When the Merkit Toqtoya sent a messenger to the Taichiyuts demanding a war, Qadayan-Taishi spoke to his Taichiyut kinsmen: "It is known to all that my father Hambaqai-Qayan had left appointing me to be your leader (*bar sar-i shumā*) and had made [me] the ruler (*hākim*). It is necessary that when I become the chief and [when] I set off to

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<sup>58</sup> KWKĀBĀS QWQĀNĀS probably are two versions of the same place name.

<sup>59</sup> *SH* §53.

that quarter, you should not stay behind and you should not disobey. If you disobey, it is clear that when I, Qadayan-Taishi, am seriously harmed, the entire Taichiyut tribe is harmed."<sup>60</sup> This preparation for the battle shows that although the Taichiyuts had not come to an agreement over the successor to Hambaqai, Qadayan had had a voice in important affairs of his tribe, especially when a serious threat was ahead.

On the other hand, Qutula seems have been granted a similar commanding position on another special occasion. *JT* p.263 relates that when the news of Hambaqai's death reached the Mongols, Qadayan-Taishi and Tödö'en and Yesügei-Bayatur together with the tribes and *ulus* of miscellaneous Mongols held a meeting to discuss retribution and retaliation for his blood. Qutula-Qan had been appointed to be "a qan" (*khānī*), as a result. They gave him all the troops and set out in the direction of Khitai.

The event of the election of Qutula-Qan was significant therefore it is reported in detail both in *JT* and the *SH*, but the appointment was apparently made for a special reason: to march against the powerful Jurchen. This sounds more likely to be a position of military commander-in-chief, leading the tribes and *ulus* of "miscellaneous Mongols" in this campaign.

Qutula and Qadayan-Taishi did both participate in the Mongol campaign to exact revenge for Hambaqai.<sup>61</sup> However, the authority which Qutula could exercise over the Taichiyuts may have been limited to this special military campaign. Other than on this occasion, no source maintains that Qutula had had political or jurisdictional authority which extended outside the Qabul-Mongol. Qutula was capable of being a good military leader, his ability is reported in *JT* to the effect that the sons of Qabul-Qan were all *bayaturs*,

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<sup>60</sup> *JT* p.259.

<sup>61</sup> *SH* §58. The *SH* recounts that they fought the Tatars while *JT* says they marched to Khitai.

but Qutula-Qan was braver and stronger than his brothers.<sup>62</sup> Therefore, *JT*'s statement that "among the six sons of Qabul-Qan, Qutula-Qan became the ruler (*pādishāh*)"<sup>63</sup> should be understood as meaning that Qutula had become the leader of Qabul-Mongol, not all the Mongols.

In this way, the avenging campaign of the Mongols under the leadership of Qutula against the Jurchen may be compared with the battle between the Taichiyut-Mongol and the Merkits. In the former campaign, the tribes and *ulus* of miscellaneous Mongols made Qutula the leader of "whole Mongol" to fight the Jurchen; in the latter campaign, Qadayan asked the miscellaneous branches of Taichiyut to unite under his single leadership to defend the "entire clan" from the Merkits.

Summing up the above discussion of the elections and the crises, we may come to the conclusion that Qadayan-Taishi enjoyed an prominent position in the tribal affairs of the Taichiyuts, although he had not been recognised formally in the tribe meeting as the successor of Hambaqai-Qan. On the other hand, Qutula seemed have no voice in the tribal affairs of Taichiyuts, although he was formally recognised as a leader in the campaign to take revenge for the death of the late ruler of Taichiyuts. This analysis confirms that the Qabul-Mongol and the Taichiyut-Mongol were not under a single leadership at the time of Qutula, except for certain mutual-agreed joint-force movements.

Since the analysis has confirmed that the Qabul-Mongol and the Taichiyut-Mongol were not *governed* under a single leadership, we may go back to examine the Taichiyut participation in the expedition against the Kereit Gür-Qan. Since Qutula had no right, or no intention, to summon the Taichiyuts to assist Yesügei in this expedition, another explanation has to be supplied.

<sup>62</sup> *JT* pp.260-261. The sentence is followed by many exaggerated descriptions of his impressive heroic behaviour.

<sup>63</sup> *JT* p.260.

If we take the puzzling death of Qadayan-Taishi into account, a possible, and it seems the only possible explanation which can be extracted is: some Taichiyut joined Yesügei's expedition to attack the Kereit Gür-Qan to take revenge for Qadayan-Taishi. The death of an important elder and a great warrior was a loss to the entire Taichiyut tribe although he might not be their general ruler. It is reasonable to assume that some of the Taichiyut believed that the death of Qadayan-Taishi might have involved the Kereit Gür-Qan, when Qadayan himself believed that he was poisoned by Gür-Qan's *boγorchis*. These *āqā wa īnī* then joined Yesügei to exact revenge, no matter what Yesügei's motivation was.

If this assumption of Taichiyut's motivation is sensible, this attack further justifies the view not only that Qutula-Qan had no authority over the politics of Taichiyut, but that Yesügei had none either. If Yesügei did not have any authority over the Taichiyuts, then, later when the Taichiyuts abandoned Temüjin's family because Hö'elün offended their elders, they ought not to suffer from unnecessary blame and accusations which were levelled at them by the authors of the available sources.

#### **Ages and dates examined**

A reconstruction of early Kereit history up to the defeat of the Kereit Gür-Qan also helps in solving some dating problems in Mongol history. This part of the discussion concentrates on reconstructing the age of some Mongol and Kereit key persons, and on possible dating of certain incidents between the 1130s and the 1160s. The analysis starts with the dating of two murders.

The Tatar, Mongol and Kereit tribes were great tribes on the steppe, and their interaction was frequent throughout medieval history. The earliest narration of a Jurchen-Tatar relation which is related in the history of the Mongols dated back to the murder of Hambaqai-Qan, and a Jurchen-Tatar connection could be found in the murder of the Kereit Qurjaqus-Qan.

Unfortunately, no exact dating of these incidents is given in the records of steppe society.

An inference based on counting the age of Temüjin and Toyoril and their ancestors by comparing the detailed genealogical data recorded in *SH* and *JT*, would help in revealing the possible period of the murders.

First, the birth year of Temüjin and the Mongol rulers. The problem of the birth year of Temüjin must be solved first. Various suggestions of the birth year of Temüjin have been listed and discussed by Paul Pelliot in his renowned annotation of Marco Polo's *The Travels*.<sup>64</sup> The death year of Temüjin was no doubt the year of 1227, "Year of Pig". However, as for his birth year, Rashīd-al-Dīn records that it was a Pig year, namely 1155. *YS*, the official history of the Mongol Yüan dynasty records that Temüjin died when he was sixty-six. and *CCL* relates that Temüjin was forty-two in 1203 (*k'uei-hai*, a Pig year), and sixty-five in 1226 (*ping-hsü*, a Dog year).<sup>65</sup> Temüjin appears to be one year younger in *CCL* than in *YS* because of the different way of counting ages in these two sources. Although *YS* and *CCL* are both presented in Chinese script, *YS* is written by Han Chinese so that the age of Temüjin was counted in the Chinese way, in which a child is one year old when he is born, while *CCL* is merely a translation from an unknown source, probably a Mongolian one. The age of Temüjin was counted in the original of *CCL* from the time when he was born. Therefore, both sources imply that Temüjin was born in 1162, a Horse Year. The following age inference will be based on the birth year supplied by these Chinese accounts.

According to the age of fecundity and the example of Temüjin's marriage, the interval of a generation on the Mongolian steppe in the twelfth century can be assumed roughly as fifteen years. If Temüjin was born in

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<sup>64</sup> For the existing suggestions on the birth year of Temüjin, see *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol I, pp.281-288.

<sup>65</sup> *CCL* p.65b and p.97b.

1162, since he was the eldest son of Yesügei, Yesügei must have been born no later than 1147. Yesügei was the third son of Bartan-Bayatur, therefore Bartan must have been born at least by 1130. Bartan was the second son of Qabul-Qan, Qutula the fourth son and Tödö'en-Otchigin the seventh son,<sup>66</sup> therefore, Qabul must have been born at least by 1114. According to *JT*'s account of Hamaqai's capture, Hamaqai went to the Tatars with Tödö'en-Otchigin.<sup>67</sup> As a companion, Tödö'en cannot not have been too young during this visit and when Hamaqai was captured. Supposing Tödö'en was fifteen at the time of the capture, the year of Hamaqai's visit would be no later than 1136. From this age inference based on Mongol genealogy, Hamaqai's capture must have happened no later than 1136 and possibly in the first half of 1130s. This date coincides with the founding period of the Chin regime and the beginning of a friendly attitude on the part of the Tatars towards the Jurchen.

A Chinese account shows that the Tatars and the Jurchen regime began to have a good relationship at least from 1132. In this account, a general of the former Liao regime (Khitai) called Yeh-Lü Yü-Tu fled from Jurchen rule on the pretext of hunting. He went into the country of Hsia (Tangyut), the Hsia people asked him how many soldiers he had brought, he replied that he had a bodyguard of two or three hundred. Because of this, the Hsia people did not accept him. He then went to the Ta-Tan (Tatars). The Tatars had received a secret order before his arrival, so that the leader pretended to welcome him and provided food in a tent, but sent soldiers to encircle him secretly at the same time. "The Tatars are good at shooting. [As he] had not got any armour, Yu-Tu went out to defend [himself]. Unable to counter [the arrows], both the father and sons were killed."<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Follows the genealogy in the *SH*. *JT* has a different version of their kinship relations.

<sup>67</sup> Detail quoted in Chapter Six.

<sup>68</sup> Hung Hao, *Sung-mo chi-wén*, p.2ab. Yeh-Lü Yü-Tu was called Yü-tu-ku in this account, and his name appeared in the Annals of CS also his biography in CS as Yeh-Lü Yü-Tu. The story is recorded in the most detail in *Sung-mo chi-wén*. Yeh-Lü Yü-Tu fled in the ninth month of the tenth T'ien-Huei year (1132), and he and his children were killed by a tribal leader called T'u-ku-ssü in the eleventh month of the same year, that should be at the

This evidence suggests that the Tatars were acting on behalf of the Jurchen interest against a fugitive from the Jurchen regime in 1132. Going back to an earlier record, the Tatars had presented sheep in front of the headquarters of a Jurchen commander in 1127.<sup>69</sup> This could be a gesture of paying homage and this event took place five years earlier than their execution of the Yeh-Lü fugitive. These accounts reveal that the Tatars submitted to the Chin regime soon after the Jurchens had consolidated their power in northern China in 1125. This dating of their relationship is useful in fixing the dating of the captures and murders of the Kereit Marqus-Qan and the Mongol Hambaqai-Qan.

Second, the birth year of Toyoril and the Kereit rulers. As for Kereit chronology, it is not systematically recorded in the sources, hence the following reconstruction is based on the genealogy revealed in historical events. First, the birth year of Toyoril. A possible birth year of Toyoril can be restored from the age of his daughter. Toyoril had given a daughter to the Merkit Toqtoya when he was forced to flee by his uncle Gür-Qan. Toyoril must have been at least sixteen at the time since he had a daughter to be betrothed. The possible birth year of this daughter could be restored from the age of her son Chilayun: when Toyoril attacked the Merkits in 1198, he brought the son born of his daughter and the people belonging to him to submission. Supposing that this Chilayun was at least fifteen (possessing people of his own) when he submitted to his maternal grandfather, he must have been born no later than 1183. If this was so, his mother, Toyoril's daughter, must have been born at least by 1168. Consequently, Toyoril must have been born no later than 1153.

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turn of 1132-33. See *CS* 3 *chi* 3 p.64 and 133 *chuan* 71 his biography.

<sup>69</sup> The event is recorded in *Chien-Yen t'ung-wén-lu* by Fu Fang(/P'ang), which is quoted and thereupon preserved in *San-ch'ao pei-méng huei-pien* vol 110. It relates that on the fifth day of the seventh month of the first Chien-Yen year (1127), Fu was acting as the envoy of Sung regime to visit the Chin regime. The Jurchen commander received Fu in his audience room, in front of the envoys from Ta-Tan (Tatar) and Hei-Shuei nations. The tribal envoys were allowed to sit on felt as the Jurchen officials, but Fu seemed to have knelt when replying to questions. Yeh-Lü Yü-Tu was among the Jurchen officials that day. (p.3b)

The birth year of Toyoril can also be restored from the age of his grandson. Temüjin had proposed to marry his eldest daughter Qojin-Beki to the son of Senggüm (the grandson of Toyoril). Supposing that Qojin-Beki was born soon after Temüjin's marriage,<sup>70</sup> the birth year of Qojin-Beki would be 1178. Yestügei had arranged a bride for Temüjin who was one year older than Temüjin, therefore, assuming that the age of Toyoril's grandson was similar to Qojin-Beki's, he must have been born around 1178 if he was the eldest. In this way, Senggüm must have been born by 1163, and Toyoril must have been born no later than 1148 whether Senggüm was his first child or not.

Toyoril was killed in 1203 and he must have been over fifty-five at that time if he was born no later than 1148. This age of death fits Tayang-Naiman's description of Toyoril as an "old" qan when he was killed.<sup>71</sup>

In the light of this evidence, let us assume that Toyoril was born no later than 1148. According to this assumption, since Toyoril was the eldest son of his father qan Qurjaqus, Qurjaqus must have been born by 1133; Qurjaqus's father Marqus must have been born no later than 1118. Marqus could not have been captured and executed before Qurjaqus was born, therefore, the possible dating of his murder should be placed after 1133.

The capture of Marqus could not have happened too late, either. Marqus is not seen in the accounts of Alchi-Tatar's invasion during the Kereit Sariq-Qan period. According to *JT*, the young Toyoril was left behind with his mother while his father Qurjaqus fled with Sariq-Qan to Betekin during this invasion. If Toyoril was born around 1148, according to the above evidence and inferences, the disappearance (more or less, death) of Marqus should be dated between the 1130s and the 1140s. This period also fits into the supposed friendly period of Jurchen-Tatar relations, moreover, it coincides with the possible period of the capture of Hambaqaqai.

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<sup>70</sup> Qojin was the eldest among Temüjin's children, *JT* p.164.

<sup>71</sup> *SH* §189.

Chinese researcher Fêng Ch'êng-Chün pointed out that a tribal leader called Mo-ku-ssü in a Chinese account was probably the Kereit Marqus.<sup>72</sup> This Mo-ku-ssü was captured by a Khitai general, and was delivered to and executed by the Khitai Liao court in 1100. If Mo-ku-ssü was Marqus, Toyoril could have been born much earlier, but not so early as the 1100s, or he would have been over a hundred years old when he was killed.<sup>73</sup> Since Temüjin died at sixty-six, if we allow that the death of Toyoril was at a similar age, Toyoril would have been born between the 1130s and the 1140s.

Third, the dating of the murders and other incidents. Could the captures of Hamaqai and Marqus have happened near to each other in timing? There is evidence to show that the murderers of both qans could have been from the same group of Tatars. The Tatars who Hamaqai had visited were called Ayiriyut-Buiruyut Tatar in *JT* and *SH* §53. *SH* supplies that these Tatars lived between Buyur-Nayur and Kölen-Nayur. As for the incident relating to the Kereit Marqus-Buiruq-Qan, *JT* p.115 mentions that the head of Tatar "rulers" at the time was called Nayur-Buiruq-Qan, yurted at Buyur-Nayur. The accounts at least confirm that a group of Tatars at Buyur-Nayur was active at the time of Mongol Hamaqai-Qan and Kereit Marqus-Qan, and these qans were seized by these Tatars.

In summary, the possible dating of the incidents relating to Marqus and Hamaqai in the 1130s and 1140s justifies a close dating for these two incidents. Taking with account the fact that the Tatars were in a subservient relationship to the Jurchen at least since the 1130s, as well as the possibility

<sup>72</sup> Fêng, "Liao Chin pei-pien pu-tsü k'ao", pp. 191-192, in his *Hsi-yü nan-hai shih ti k'ao-chêng lun-chu huei-chi*.

<sup>73</sup> But if Marqus was executed by the Khitai ruler, Toyoril's later flight to Qara-Khitai, the direct descendant of the Khitai ruling family in China, and seeking for protection would appear illogical. This situation is different from Temüjin's acceptance of the Jurchen title/position when Hamaqai was executed by the Jurchen. Hamaqai was the leader of the Taichiyut-Mongol, not a direct ancestor of the descendants of Qabul-Mongol, and Temüjin had been disconnected from the Taichiyuts for at least fifteen years before he accepted this title. The Kereit tribe was under a single leadership, and Marqus, Sariq, Qurjaqus, Toyoril are supposed to have come from the same line of the ruling family.

that the same Tatar group carried out the capture, the murders could be most plausibly be dated in the 1130s.

Apart from fixing the dating of the murders, the inference about ages also helps to place the early events in Mongol and Kereit history in a more convincing chronological sequence. In Kereit history, the death of Qurjaqus serves as the key date for Toyoril's murdering of his half-brothers and Gür-Qan's confrontation with Toyoril. Toyoril could not have been too small when he was plotting against his half-brothers, also, as related above, he gave his daughter to the Merkit ruler in marriage when his uncle sought revenge for his murdering of the half-brothers. On the other hand, Qurjaqus married the Betekin princess when Toyoril was thirteen. The children born to this princess must have been at least in their teens when Toyoril plotted against them. Therefore, Qurjaqus probably died during Toyoril's late twenties and no earlier than the early 1160s, and the punitive attack and the offering of marriage must have taken place in the 1160s.

So, the reign of the Kereit Qurjaqus-Qan can be estimated. Qurjaqus could not have ascended to the throne before the death of Marqus, therefore, he would probably have become the ruler of the Kereits in the late 1130s to 1140s, and have reigned until the 1160s. Although the gap cannot be narrowed down any further, it shows that the Kereit enjoyed some two decades of peace during this period: their Betekin in-laws were strong enough to protect the Kereit *ulus* from further Tatar invasions. Also because of the Betekin influence, the Kereit *ulus* fell into chaos again with qanship struggles, after the death of Qurjaqus.

The situation of Sariq-Qan remains unclear. It seems that he disagreed with the Betekin ruler later because he refused to hand over some Mongols. He seems to have wandered around Dalan-Dabas in Mongolia in poverty. (driven into exile?) According to his obscure suggestions to the Mongols, he was in such a situation that he was "distanced" by the Betekin in-laws or Qurjaqus, who had an in-law relationship with the Betekins, probably he was

also unhappy with the Betekin Elchitei who took Toyoril's mother 'YLMH khatun, and he warned the Mongols not to go into mountainous areas.<sup>74</sup> This legendary person is interesting and can be studied as a separate topic.

In the light of these datings in Kereit history, certain events in Mongol history can also be fixed in chronology. Toyoril sought assistance from Yesügei to expel his uncle Gür-Qan in the 1160s, therefore, the expedition against Gür-Qan could have happened in the 1160s. If this was so, the death of Qadayan-Taishi, which must have happened before Gür-Qan had been put to flight, must have taken place in this period. Since Hamaqai died in the 1130s and Qadayan died in the 1160s, this makes clear that the anarchy of the Taichiyut leadership must have lasted for at least two decades. As for the Qabul-Mongol, Yesügei was apparently strong in the 1160s. His strength was not only demonstrated in his expedition to expel the Kereit Gür-Qan, swearing *anda* with the new Kereit ruler when he was not the Mongol ruler ---- he fought the Tatars as well: Temüjin was born in 1162 when Yesügei returned from a victorious battle with the Tatars. These events reveal a strong Qabul-Mongol in the 1130s to 1160s.

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The above reconstruction of Kereit history and their relation to Mongol history sketches a clearer picture of the history of Mongolia in the mid-twelfth century. As for the Tatar tribe at Buyur-Nayur, after the establishment of the Jurchen regime in China, the Tatars submitted to them and had a good relationship with them from at least late 1120s. In addition to their customary steppe warfare, the Tatars also acted as an agent for the Jurchen to supervise the movement of steppe tribes. As a result of their behaviour, the Tatars had executed a Khitan fugitive, also captured and handed over the Mongol Hamaqai-Qan and the Kereit Marqus-Qan to their overlord in the south. These seizures of tribal leaders caused chaos in the leadership or social life of

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<sup>74</sup> JT pp.92-93.

the Mongols and the Kereits, and the fighting between the Tatars and these tribes never stopped.

Regarding the general situation in central Mongolia, the Qabul-Mongols were strong and powerful in the 1160s during the time of Qutula-Qan when the Kereit tribe fell into chaos because of a struggle in the rulership, while the Taichiyut-Mongols were also in a leadership anarchy because of the lack of a generally recognised tribal leader. Princes were struggling with each other, and they never completed the election of a new qan before they were annexed by Temüjin.<sup>75</sup>

As for the future Chinggis-Qan, Temüjin was born at the peak of Qabul-Mongol's supremacy. His father had a sworn-brother friendship with the Kereit ruler and military strength to fight the Tatars. Temüjin inevitably enjoyed a glorious and honourable childhood because of the glory of his father, until another Tatar attempt which resulted in the murder of Yesügei, and the separation of the Taichiyuts which resulted from his mother's offensive behaviour.

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<sup>75</sup> Details of their disagreement, see Chapter Four section II (iii).

## Chapter Two

### The Second Dethronement of Toyoril

According to available evidence, Toyoril had been driven into exile twice: first by his uncle Gür-Qan, later by the Naiman force which backed Toyoril's rival younger brother Erke-Qara. The study in Chapter One of the first interruption of Toyoril's rulership over the Kereit *ulus* uncovered not only a passage of dramatic Kereit history, but also some significant aspects of unexplicit Mongol history since Qutula and Yesügei were related. In this chapter, another attempt is made to investigate the history of the other severe interruption of Toyoril's qanship, which was crucially related to the establishment of Toyoril-Temüjin mutual-assistance, in order to unveil the obscure situation in Mongolia after 1160s and before 1196. This period might be regarded as the period of preparation for Temüjin's triumph, although recent researchers did not focus on this topic sufficiently because of the confusion in the relevant written accounts.

The failure to provide a comprehensive study of the history of these three decades is essentially a result of the lack of exact dating of the principal events. The earliest explicit dating supplied in *CCL* is *jen-hsü*, which should be 1202, in which year Temüjin attacked the Alchi-Tatars and Chaqayan-Tatars.<sup>1</sup> In the *SH*, the earliest dating *takiya-jil* (the Year of Hen) is 1201, when Jamuqa was being elected Gür-Qan.<sup>2</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn wrote clearly that the early history of Temüjin before *bārs yīl* (the Year of Tiger, 1194, *yīl* = *jil*) could not be reckoned year by year,<sup>3</sup> and the first explicit dating he supplied in the "History of Chīnggīz-Khān" is the spring of *lūi yīl*, the Year

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<sup>1</sup> *CCL* p.38a.

<sup>2</sup> *SH* §141.

<sup>3</sup> *JT* p.325.

of Dragon (1196) in which Toyoril returned from his western exile.<sup>4</sup> Although many stories of Temüjin's life before 1196 can be found in the sources, they could not be dated. In this way, the early development of Temüjin's career could not be traced.

With the help of a reconstruction of Kereit history of this period, it is possible to arrange those events in order. Even when the analysis below could not provide an exact dating for each important incident, a narrowed down possible dating has been worked out. Combined with a separate discussion on Temüjin's early life in Chapter Four, which is based on the Mongol perspective, a general picture of the situation of Mongolia up to 1196, before Temüjin reached his thirties, can be revealed.

The following examination weaves in a tortuous way because of the complexity of accounts and argument but it will stick to three principles: (1) to find out the most acceptable account among the contradictory ones; (2) to work out the significance of certain incidents which would be useful in understanding the situation of the Mongolian steppe and the Mongols' encounters with peripheral nations; (3) to establish an acceptable sequence of these crucial events through comparison, which helps to reconstruct Kereit and Mongol history during this period.

## I. Preliminary work

Before beginning an overall discussion of the Kereit-Temüjin relationship during Toyoril's second dethronement, a preliminary fact and a rough dating should be verified: who was in which incident, and when did the dethronement take place?

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<sup>4</sup> *JT* p.363. Rashīd al-Dīn supplied the same dating in the Brief Chronicle at the end of the "History of Chīnggīz-Khān", but the 1195 events in the Brief Chronicle present a dating problem. See discussion below. *JT* p.572.

### Who was in which incident

The story of Toyoril's first dethronement has been reconstructed in Chapter One: Gür-Qan made Toyoril flee because of his murder of his half-brothers Tai-Temür-Taishi and Buqa-Temür, then Yesügei helped Toyoril to expel the Gür-Qan despite the opposite advice from Qutula-Qan. According to the dating examination in the last section of Chapter One, this incident must have happened during the reign of the Mongol Qutula-Qan and in the lifetime of Yesügei.

Subsequently, while the exact and relative timing is also obscure, Toyoril's younger brother, Erke-Qara, went to the Naimans. Then the Naimans marched against Toyoril and made him flee. This is the second dethronement of Toyoril. All the relevant accounts of this incident record that it was Temüjin who helped Toyoril to fight the Naimans and restored his rulership, except for two accounts in *JT*.

*JT* p.118 says that Yesügei helped Toyoril to expel Erke-Qara and Temüjin helped Toyoril to expel the Gür-Qan. The other account on p.119 says that because Yesügei expelled the Gür-Qan, Toyoril and he became *anda*; another time *he*<sup>5</sup> recovered the country from Erke-Qara and gave it to him. Then, who was the Mongol assistant in recovering the Kereit *ulus* for Toyoril from the Naimans?

These seems no doubt that the above two paragraphs were mistaken, according to extensive supporting evidence in *CCL* and *SH*, also another account in *JT* which related that at the time when the Naimans attacked Toyoril and made him flee, Yesügei was dead. *JT* pp.362-363 explains the whole situation from a Kereit perspective. It relates that when the Naiman Inanch-Qan (/Inalch) attacked Toyoril to make him flee, "Yīsūgāī-Bahādur was dead at that time". Then, Toyoril passed through three *wilāyats* to take

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<sup>5</sup> Subject is not specified. Verbs are in past tense, singular.

shelter under the ruler of Turkistan, the Kara-Khitai Gür-Qan. That *wilāyat* as well as the Uighur and Tangyut towns had fallen into disorder at that time, he became rebellious and left. His career reached the lowest ebb, he had come to a situation in which he had to survive with only five goats and two or three camels. When he heard about the rise to power of Temüjin, he decided to come to him. He finally arrived in Güse'ür-Nayur in the spring of a Dragon Year (1196), and sent two *nökers* to Temüjin to report that he was coming.

From this account, we can tell that the second dethronement and the following restoration of Toyoril were absolutely unconnected to any assistance from Yesügei, but solely from Temüjin. This contradiction of different accounts in the same source reminds researchers that the comparative reliability of a source should not transcend the importance of a close study of every passage on an individual basis, especially in the study of Mongol history at the turn of the thirteenth century.

#### **Possible period of the dethronement**

To focus the following discussion better, the possible period of Toyoril's second dethronement needs to be narrowed down. In the following discussion, the period has been set roughly between 1181/82 to 1196.

The second dethronement of Toyoril and his exile in the west no doubt took place in the time of Temüjin according to the confirmation of the initial discussion. The date of the end of his exile is given by the sources definitely as 1196, therefore, the task left is to calculate a possible starting date of his dethronement. A close look into a series of events of the early life of Temüjin may help to further narrow down the possible period of this dethronement.

*JT* and *CCL* do not have many accounts regarding the early life of Temüjin. Moreover, even in some of the recorded passages such as the desertion by the Taichiyuts or Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, no exact date or his age is given. Therefore, in the study of Temüjin's life before his thirties, we

must rely mainly upon the *SH*, which supplies many accounts of Temüjin's private life behind or beside his heroic public image. These personal stories are specially valuable when they are related to his age, by which means we may set up a sequence of those accounts.

First, according to the above mentioned *JT* account, the second interruption of Toyoril's regime must have occurred after the death of Yesügei. Putting the *YS* age of Temüjin and the *SH* story of the death of Yesügei together, according to which Temüjin was born in 1162 and his father died when he was nine or shortly afterwards, Yesügei must have been murdered in around 1171/72.

Then, Toyoril appeared for the first time in the *SH*, in which account, he received a present from Temüjin, and agreed to gather his scattered people for him.<sup>6</sup> Temüjin's submissive gesture to Toyoril and Toyoril's promise to Temüjin showed that Toyoril enjoyed considerable power and noble status at that time ---- the most likely position would be the ruler of the Kereit *ulus*. Since the present, a black sable coat, was a dowry from the Qonggirats on Temüjin's marriage when he was fifteen years old, Toyoril must have been living a stable and steady life at least up to 1177/78.

The second Toyoril-Temüjin encounter came when Temüjin's wife, Börte, was abducted by the Merkits. Two different stories can be found in the sources, the one in *SH* §104 tells us that Temüjin appealed to Toyoril for his military help to rescue Börte, while in *JT* Toyoril was in an ambiguous position in that the Merkits had sent Börte to him as a present (see Chapter One). No matter which account is nearer to the truth, at least both of them show that Toyoril was involved in this incident, and he was in power at this time. The abduction of Börte must have happened at least two or three years after Börte married Temüjin, since Börte's eldest son Jochi was born on her way back home after this incident and before Jochi, Börte had given birth to

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<sup>6</sup> *SH* §96.

a girl.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, by calculating the possible date of the Börte incident, Toyoril must still have been enjoying a high status in around 1179/80.

Subsequently, after a successful attack against the Merkits, Temüjin stayed together with Jamuqa for one and a half years, then Temüjin decided to separate from him. With the support of his followers, Temüjin became their qan (the Qan of Qabul-Mongol, see Chapter Four). Temüjin informed Toyoril about his ascendancy, and Toyoril was happy to hear that.<sup>8</sup> Supposing the election took place immediately after Temüjin's separation from Jamuqa and Temüjin informed Toyoril at once, this appearance of Toyoril should not be dated earlier than 1181/82. In this account, Toyoril seemed in a normal condition, with no sign of interruption to his regime.

Toyoril is not seen in the sources afterwards until his return from the west except for a mistaken account which alleged that Toyoril had joined with Temüjin in the latter's attack against the Tatar Megüjin-Se'ültü. (see the duration of his exile below) In that case, what had happened to the Kereit *ulus*, or Toyoril's regime, between 1181/82 and 1196?

## II. The Kereit relationship with Temüjin during the dethronement and the exile

This section continues the examination of Kereit-Temüjin relations during Toyoril's second dethronement and exile, which is helpful in establishing a more precise possible period for this incident, also in revealing the unexplicit history of Temüjin's early life in which the turning points of his strength-building had taken place.

The purpose of this section is to arrange some undated Kereit-Temüjin events in order. A definite suggestion for the dating of certain crucial

<sup>7</sup> JT p.164. Qojin-Beki was the elder sister of Jochi.

<sup>8</sup> SH §§118-126, special notice in §118 (one and a half years) and §126 (Toyoril).

incidents will be made in section III where some "foreign" evidence will be compared with the Kereit-Temüjin story restored in this section. The restoration is basically a series of assumptions made to link up several incidents in spite of the scarcity of evidence. The incidents to be related in this section are four: the second dethronement of Toyoril, the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, Jaya-Gambu's journey to the regions of Tangyut and Jayut (JĀW'QWT), and the significance of Temüjin's obtaining the Jayut-Quri title from the Jurchen commander. These assumptions are intended to link up the events and the three suggestions are, first, Toyoril had been dethroned before Temüjin was under attack in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en; second, the odyssey of Jaya-Gambu showed his attempt to find a strong protector for his personal security; third, Jaya-Gambu and Toyoril terminated their odyssey or exile and came to Temüjin at last because the power and status of Temüjin was recently confirmed by the Jurchen super power.

The discussion falls into two parts. The first part discusses all aspects in the first phase of the course of this Kereit chaos, concentrates on its connection with a Mongol battle: the battle of Thirteen Güre'en, also how the consequences of the battle affected the temporary severance of the Kereit-Temüjin relationship. The second part discusses all aspects related to the second phase of the interruption, mainly a change in Temüjin's situation which concluded the exile of the Kereit royalty.

(i) Connections between Toyoril's second dethronement and the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en

The Battle of Thirteen Güre'en was a punitive attack against Temüjin by a league of Mongol tribes<sup>9</sup> because one of Temüjin's subjects had killed Jamuqa's tribesman Taichar. As a result, Temüjin was put to flight, and such

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<sup>9</sup> For detailed discussion of the significance of this battle in Temüjin's career as the second punitive attack he suffered because of his wrong doing, see Chapter Four. The league was made up of the tribes/clans of Taichiyut, Ikires, Uruyat, Noyakin, Barulas, Bayarin, and Jamuqa. These were all Mongols. CCL pp.5a-6a.

a disgraceful experience was deliberately concealed, or even put in reverse, in most of the relevant accounts.

This battle seemed to be simply a conflict between some Mongols and Temüjin, a totally internal affair of the Mongol tribe ---- and irrelevant to the Kereits. It is true that no evidence suggests that there was any relation between the nature, cause and result of the battle and the dethronement of Toyoril. However, some "participants" in Temüjin's camp during this purely Mongol conflict hinted that an untold turmoil might have happened in the Kereit *ulus* before the battle was fought; moreover, the consequences of this battle also included a series of "journeys" of an important Kereit prince, Jaya-Gambu.

The argument starts with a confirmation of dating that the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en cannot have been fought before 1181/82 by a study of the life of Temüjin. Then follows the main argument that Toyoril's dethronement could be related with the battle in a chronological sense, by discussing an event which "did not happen" and the curious appearance of the Tümen-Tübegeyits, a branch of the Kereit tribe, and a Kereidei, presumably the same person as Jaya-Gambu, in Temüjin's camp in this battle. To support this argument, two sub-examinations have been made, to justify this appearance of Jaya-Gambu by an examination of the motivation of his odyssey, and to conclude that Toyoril's regime was surely overthrown before the battle by an analysis of his strength and the dispersion of the Kereit people.

First, a sequence question. In *JT* and *CCL*, the description of this battle follows after Temüjin's family was deserted by the Taichiyuts. The *SH* puts the description of this battle later after Temüjin separated from Jamuqa and became the leader of Qabul-Mongol; unfortunately, there is no indication of the length of the interval.

When was this battle fought? From the evidence of multi-clan composition and the thirty thousand manpower strength of both camps, this

battle cannot have been fought in Temüjin's early teens immediately after the desertion of the Taichiyuts since his family and he himself were so weak and isolated. On the other hand, the sequence of the stories supplied by the *SH* seems more reasonable: Temüjin's break-up with Jamuqa and being elected as the Qabul-Mongol Qan justified the termination of the Jamuqa-Temüjin friendship and a multi-clan composition of Temüjin's supporters which fought for Temüjin in this battle. If we follow *SH*'s accounts of these events, the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en cannot have been fought before 1181/82.

A detailed discussion of the significance of this dating in Temüjin's career, that is that the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en was fought after Temüjin was twenty years old, can be found in Chapter Four. The reason I relate this analysis of Temüjin-Mongol here is a coincidence of dating from Kereit history: 1181/82 is also the last available date suggesting the existence of the Toyoril-Kereit regime. Can there have been any connection partially relating Toyoril's dethronement to Temüjin's Battle of Thirteen Güre'en? If there was any, another sequence question must be asked: which event happened earlier?

The examination starts by looking into an event which did not happen. Taking all Toyoril's appearances from 1177/78 to 1181/82 into consideration, Toyoril and Temüjin were on friendly terms for several years ---- Temüjin acted as a subordinate, and Toyoril was in a caring position in this relationship. Then, a doubt arose: it is curious to see that Temüjin did not ask Toyoril for military assistance or negotiation or whatever in this battle, and not even a single piece of evidence suggests that Temüjin had ever thought about sending a messenger to Toyoril about this battle.

One may argue that this was warfare among the Mongols, in which Toyoril could not intercede, or, that the unexpected attack did not allow Temüjin to inform Toyoril in time, or, that Temüjin really had not thought of turning to Toyoril. However, there is still one among all these possibilities which should not be eliminated: Toyoril himself might have been in serious trouble as well ---- he was not able to offer any help to Temüjin.

The fact that some Kereits appeared in Temüjin's defensive troop is an additional hint. Some Kereit tribesmen including the younger brother of Toyoril, Jaya-Gambu, were fighting for Temüjin in this Mongol warfare.

First, the Kereit tribesmen. Some tribesmen of the Tümen-Tübegeyit, which is a branch of the Kereit people, were probably under Temüjin's command in this battle. In *CCL* p.8b, a wing of Temüjin's troop was made up of

San-ha-ch'u-lai (Sem-Qachula)'s son Pēn-t'a-ch'u-pa-tu  
(Bültechü-Bayatur), *t'u-pu-kē-yi-tun* (?) Mu-hu-ērh-hao-lan  
(Muqur-Quran) in charge of A-ērh-ta-chin (\*Ardagin, = Adargin  
= (H)adargin) ...

Bültechü-bayatur was the son of Sem-Qachula who was related to Qabul-Qan, and Muqur-Quran was the clan leader of the Hadargin, a Mongol tribe.<sup>10</sup> The incomprehensible term "*t'u-pu-kē-yi-tun*" can only be identified when we compare this account with the third wing in *JT* p.329, which reads:

Bültechü-Bayatur from the offsprings of Sem-Qachula<sup>11</sup> [who was] the elder brother of Qabul-Qan, (?) who are a branch of the Kereit [tribe], with the tribe of Hadarkin that their leader was Muqur-Quran ...

There must be a phrase or a clause missing where I placed a question mark because the offspring of Sem-Qachula would not be "a branch of the Kereit [tribe]". Furthermore, to mention there was "a branch of the Kereit [tribe]" in Temüjin's troop sounds so astonishing that researchers will at first doubt the accuracy of this record. However, if we read the incomprehensible "*t'u-pu-kē-yi-tun*" in *CCL* as "*t'u-pu-kē-yit(-un)*" (\*Tübügeyit-ün, = Tübegeyit-ün), which in Mongolian grammar means "Tübegeyit's", the two confusions can

<sup>10</sup> *JT* p.201.

<sup>11</sup> The script in *JT* p.329 is SM-SCHWLH, *SH* §48 Sem-Sechüle. However, comparison with its variations SM-QĀJWLY/SM-QĀJYWN/(?)M-TĀHW(?)Y/SMM-QĀJWLY/SM-QĀJW(?)Y/(?)M-QĀHWLY and *CCL* San-ha-ch'u-lai, suggests that the first consonant of the second part of his name is more likely to be /q/. The feminine form of /q/ (ᠴ) in Mongolian script is possible to be misread as /s/ (ᠰ) especially in handwriting.

compensate each other and the missing clause then can be reconstructed as "[somebody] of the Tübegeyit". In this way, the sentence is made intelligible, i.e. that the third wing was made up of Bültechü-Bayatur, somebody (name missing) of the Tübegeyits where the Tübegeyit was a branch of the Kereits, and some Hadargin under Muqur-Quran.

How did it come about that the people from a Kereit branch, or at least part of them, was in attendance to and under the command of Temüjin?

### The "Kereidei"

Another unidentified person in the seventh wing of Temüjin's troop in this battle is Kereidei (KRĀYDĀY), who is only mentioned in *JT*, not in *CCL* and the *SH*. It is perilous to identify this person with Jaya-Gambu on the grounds that Jaya-Gambu was formerly called Kereidei and the other Kereideis mentioned in *JT* can all be identified with Jaya-Gambu. However, it is also too arbitrary to deny his presence in Temüjin's camp because Kereidei is not mentioned in the relevant accounts in *CCL* and the *SH*.

A few words regarding the usage in the sources shall be mentioned before continuing the discussion. It is a general feature that many of the key persons have been referred throughout the sources in their later honourable titles rather than their proper name, such as Temüjin was Chinggis-Qan no matter how young he was, and Toyoril Ong-Qan receives the same treatment. Apparently, their names in the accounts of the events before they received the title had been amended subsequently by the narrator: they were replaced with their later titles.

In the case of Jaya-Gambu, I would like to point out that although the Kereidei in the battle of Thirteen Güre'en might be Jaya-Gambu or might not be him, we cannot not deny the possibility that he was him, since the account of the participants in Temüjin's camp in *CCL* and *JT* was in confusion. The above reconstruction of the Kereit elements in Temüjin's camp already showed

how severe the confusion was. The narrator might not be absolutely sure of the identity of this Kereidei ---- and there are many more unidentified proper names in this account ---- so that he left this name "unreplaced". If this was the way, the account is extremely valuable in confirming that the battle was fought before Jaya-Gambu went to the Tangyut nation; however, no one can be sure of that. Therefore, I take another approach to confirm his presence in Temüjin's camp by a suggestion on the motivation of his travelling whereas the argument will be much stronger than putting all one's faith in a feeble equation: "this Kereidei must be Jaya-Gambu because he was formerly called Kereidei".

Come back to the discussion. Jaya-Gambu is another mysterious eminent figure in the sources besides Jamuqa. Not only because his father-in-law relationship to Temüjin's offspring made him impossible to be ignore, his relation to the Tangyut nation is also mysterious as is the reversal of his attitude to his elder brother Toyoril, which has been related in Chapter One. One of the puzzles to be examined here is a series of his travels outside the Kereit *ulus* before the end of 1196.

Was the Kereidei in this battle Jaya-Gambu? I assume that he was, by a study of the motivation of a series of travel of Jaya-Gambu.

In the sources, Jaya-Gambu seemed to have been travelling outside the Kereit territory in a certain period. He had appeared in Temüjin's camp, the Tangyut nation and the Jayut region. The former was in Mongolia but definitely not in the Kereit territory, and the latter two were outside Mongolia. If these travels are to be studied, a fundamental question comes first: why did not Jaya-Gambu stay in the Kereit *ulus*?

No clear solution to this doubt could be found in the sources. A reconstruction of the sequence of the places he visited might reveal the reason. A possible reconstruction is: Jaya-Gambu had first appeared in Temüjin's camp, if this Kereidei was him, then he came to the Tangyut nation where he

obtained his Tangyut title "Jaya-Gambu". Afterwards, he went on to the Jayut region which was the northern borderland of Jurchen China, and at last, he returned to Mongolia in 1196 and joined Temüjin again.

This event sequence is reconstructed with the following inferences.

First, for the sequence of his stay in Temüjin's camp and the Tangyut nation:

- (1) Jaya-Gambu is not supposed to have obtained his Tangyut title before he had arrived in the Tangyut nation;
- (2) His Tangyut title could not have become his "well-known name" before he obtained it, and the previous account of his life must have been recorded in his original name Kereidei;
- (3) If Jaya-Gambu was still well-known as Kereidei during the time of Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, the battle must have happened before he went to the Tangyut nation.

Second, for the sequence of his appearance in the Jayut region and then return to Mongolia, all sources state "Temüjin made Jaya-Gambu come to him from the Jayut region". Third, for the sequence of Jaya-Gambu's going to the Tangyut nation and the Jayut region:

- (1) Temüjin fetched Jaya-Gambu back directly from the Jayut region, so that there was no opportunity for Jaya-Gambu to go to the Tangyut nation between his stay in the Jayut region and return to Mongolia.
- (2) The change of the objective situation in the Tangyut nation, which will be discussed in section III of this chapter, gives good support to the assumption that Jaya-Gambu had to leave the Tangyut territory. He could not come back to Mongolia owing to the unfavourable situation for him there, the only alternative was going into the neighbouring territory of the Tangyuts, that is the Jayut region on the Jurchen borderland.<sup>12</sup>

The sequence of these travels could be better explained by looking into their motivation. The study starts with the best recorded journey among them: the life of Jaya-Gambu in the Tangyut nation.

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<sup>12</sup> The coverage of *jayut* as a region, see Chapter Six.

Regarding his life in the Tangyut nation, three relevant passages are found in *JT*. The first in p.962 records that when Kereidei moved into the Tangyut nation, he found a position (*murtabat*) there and the Tangyut rulers gave him the title "Jaya-Gambu" which meant "great and grand emir of state (*mamlakat*)". The second in p.117 tells us that when the Tangyut people got (*bi girifand*) him and found that he was a strong man (*mardī jald*) with capability (*kifāyat*), they rendered "Jaya-Gambu" as his name, which meant "regional (*walāyat*) great emir". The third is in p.361: the Tangyut tribe had captured Kereidei in his childhood days. For a time he stayed in their presence, he became magnificent and reputable. Because of his sagacity and efficiency, the Tangyuts awarded him the title Jaya-Gambu. The meaning of *jaya* is "region" (*walāyat*) and of *gambu* "great emir" (*amīr-i mu'azzam*), so "great emir of region". The first passage is more acceptable when we read it with Jaya-Gambu's *quda* (in-laws) relationship with the Tangyut ruling family. Jaya-Gambu had given one of his daughters to the Tangyut ruler --- possibly at this time.

What made Jaya-Gambu make the Tangyut ruler such an offer? This recalls a similar offer which was made by his elder brother a long time previously: Toyoril had offered his daughter to the Merkit Toqtoya when he was expelled by his uncle the Kereit Gür-Qan. As discussed in Chapter One, the reason of this offer was probably an exchange of the Merkit's favour, or, protection. Did Jaya-Gambu give this similar offer for a similar reason? As a common understanding, the father-in-law of the Tangyut ruler would surely hold high respect in the nation ("grand emir of the state") and have secure enough protection against threats.

Was there any possibility that Jaya-Gambu was under threat at this time? If so, since he had a good relationship with his elder brother, Toyoril the Kereit ruler, why did not he turn to him for status and protection? Did he disagree with his elder brother, or, was his elder brother not able to provide such assistance to him, in this period?

Jaya-Gambu was always in accord with his elder brother Toyoril,<sup>13</sup> and at least until the confrontation with the Naiman Kökse'ül-Sabraq in 1199/1200, we can still see him in accord with his elder brother.<sup>14</sup> What made him lose the protection of his elder brother and compelled him to seek it elsewhere outside the Kereit territory? One and the most convincing explanation is that Toyoril had lost his authority and power over the Kereit territory. Only when Toyoril was not in power, did his loyal supporter, Jaya-Gambu, have to flee.

On the same ground, Jaya-Gambu's appearance in Temüjin's camp might also have been a result of the dethronement of Toyoril. The Temüjin-Mongol and the Toyoril-Kereit had no historical enmity to each other, and probably partially because of the friendship between Toyoril and Yesügei's family, the successor of Yesügei would be valued as a potential protector for a Kereit prince-in-exile ---- especially when Temüjin, this young qan of the Qabul-Mongol, possessed the support of thirty thousand people, a considerable power in central Mongolia.

However, things did not turn out as expected. When Temüjin's strength was put to the test, he was defeated in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en although this was merely a punitive attack. Kereidei (Jaya-Gambu) was exposed to danger again. Apparently he had separated from his elder brother very early in the turmoil; when Toyoril fled to the far west, Kereidei was still in central Mongolia. His situation was more dangerous than his brother's because his location made him the nearest target for the usurpers of the Kereit *ulus*. He needed to seek another strong protector after the current protector had been defeated, even if he could not find one in Mongolia. The way to the west was blocked by the Naimans, however, the nearby Tangyut nation to the south appeared to be a good choice.

<sup>13</sup> JT p.118.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. Also in the detailed account of Kökse'ül-Sabraq's plundering, Jaya-Gambu was moving with Senggüm to join Toyoril but they were plundered half way. JT p.368.

It seems that the Kereits had no enmity towards the Tangyut people, nor any connection or friendship. What Kereidei had done was to *create* an association by offering his youngest daughter to the Tangyut ruling family.<sup>15</sup> By this *quda* relationship, he was supposedly safe again.

Unfortunately, the situation in the Tangyut nation changed soon afterwards. Jaya-Gambu left the nation. Since the situation in Mongolia had not changed, he had no intention of returning but continued his odyssey into the Jayut region. This journey will be discussed in detail along with the dating of this event in section III. He stayed in the region of Jayut until Temüjin fetched him back to Mongolia where Temüjin was no longer a loser in battles but a victor over the Tatars.

Jaya-Gambu's attempts to acquire protection from non-Kereit powers suggest that there must have been a great problem in the Kereit *ulus* and for the Kereit regime which formerly favoured Jaya-Gambu, during this period. If the beginning of Jaya-Gambu's odyssey could be traced back to his appearance in Temüjin's camp in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en under his original name "Kereidei", the change of the former favoured situation of Jaya-Gambu must have happened before the battle.<sup>16</sup>

### **The composition of Toyoril's "Kereit" regime**

It was not only the odyssey of a Kereit prince which showed that the Kereit ruling family was in trouble, the scattered Kereit people also suggested chaos in their rulership. Since the Kereit branches were traditionally under a

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<sup>15</sup> JT p.118 and p.361. This daughter was probably the most beautiful among her sisters. On p.118, she was married to the son of the Tangyut ruler, and in p.361, she was given to the Tangyut ruler.

<sup>16</sup> I cannot provide any evidence for the above assumption of Kereidei's life after Toyoril's dethronement, nor if the life mentioned here was what happened "after" Toyoril's dethronement. The above assumption is completely based on inference. I understand how unreliable that is: however this will also be an opportunity to discover a possible way to reconstruct the events.

single rulership, there must have been something happening to the stability of the rulership.

Who had been affected by the dethronement? Curiously, only the Tübegeyits and the Dongqayits were mentioned as "scattered". How about the other Kereits? According to *JT*, the Kereit tribe consisted of the following branches: Kereit (the ruling branch), Jirgin, Dongqayit, Saqayit, \*Tübegeyit and \*Albat.<sup>17</sup> Only Jirgin, Tümen-Tübegen and Olon-Dongqayit appear in the *SH*,<sup>18</sup> while *CCL* relates the same.<sup>19</sup> Where were the other Kereit tribesmen in this dethronement? The following study of the Kereit people who were affected by the dethronement clarifies the composition of Toyoril's "Kereit" regime at this time, and this clarification explains Toyoril's easy defeat by the Naimans, because some Kereit branches were in fact not under his command during that period.

First, according to the accounts in *JT*, the Saqayit branch had apparently separated itself from the Kereit single rulership and appeared as an independent Turkic tribe during or possibly before the reign of Toyoril. Saqayit is described in *JT*'s description of the Kereit tribe as "they are also a tribe", and a "Saqayit" tribe is mentioned in *JT*'s chapters of Turkic tribes. *JT* p.109 tells that these Turkic Saqayits had fought for Temüjin against the Taichiyuts. Comparing this description with the participants of the Battle of Thirteen Gürе'en recorded in *CCL* p.10a, a Saqayit tribe is found in Temüjin's troop. Moreover, *SH* §122 records that some Saqayit tribesmen had joined

<sup>17</sup> *JT* pp.113-115. Kereit (KRĀYT), Jirgin (CHRQYN), Dongqayit (TWNGQĀYT), Saqayit (SĀQYĀT), \*Tübegeyit (TWBĀWWT, Tubauut < Tübe'üt < Tübe'e'it, = Tübegen in the *SH*, with an alternative form of plural ending) and \*Albat ('LBĀT).

<sup>18</sup> In the *SH*, they read as Tümen-Tübegen (> Tübe'en in §187), Olon-Dongqayi(-t/d) and Jirgin.

<sup>19</sup> In *CCL*, Jirgin appeared as Chu-li-chin in p.46b, Tümen-Tübegeyit appeared as T'u-man-t'u-po-yi (\*Tümen-Tübüyi < Tümen-Tübü'üyi[t] < Tümen-Tübegeyit) in p.21b, also the mysterious phrase T'u-pu-kē-yi-t(un) (\*Tübügeyid = Tübegeyit) in p.8b. Dongqayit appeared as Tung-ai (\*Dong'a[yit]) in both p.21b and p.46b.

with Temüjin at Ayil-Qaraqana shortly after he separated from Jamuqa. This event can be dated earlier than the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en.

From the picture revealed by these accounts from different sources, this Turkic Saqayit tribe may possibly have developed from the Kereit branch of Saqayit, which was also Turkic in nature. Besides, it was free from the Kereit regime from an early period, at least since their joining with Temüjin at Ayil-Qaraqana showed their autonomy against Toyoril's Kereit sovereignty. In addition, The Saqayits were not mentioned in the later events such as the "reunion" of the scattered Kereits, or the 1203 battle at Qalaqaljit-Elet. These absences show also its independence from Toyoril's authority.

There is no sufficient evidence to support a further examination of the history of the \*Albat branch. As for the rest of the branches, there are plenty of records about the Tübegeyits, the Dongqayits and the Jirgins in all three sources, and most of these records suggest that they were under the command of Toyoril for a certain period. The accounts relate that in the spring of 1203, the Jirgins, Tübegeyits and Dongqayits were arrayed and set out against Temüjin in the battlefield of Qalaqaljit-Elet. They were led by their tribesmen but under the general command of Toyoril.<sup>20</sup> Later in the autumn of the same year, Toyoril was defeated by Temüjin and his people were divided up among the Mongols. This human booty mentioned in *SH* §§185-187 were exactly the Kereits who belonged to these three branches. These two pieces of evidence show that at least in the year 1203, these three branches made up the core of Toyoril's force; their branch identities remained distinct while Toyoril acted as their superior leader.

What then was their role during the period of Toyoril's dethronement and exile, which was at least seven years earlier than their final defeat? Surprisingly, it seems that the Jirgin branch cannot be identified as "Toyoril's men" in an earlier period. First of all, similar to the Saqayits, the Jirgin branch

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<sup>20</sup> *SH* §§170-171.

is not mentioned in the reunion of the scattered Kereit people. Both *CCL* and *SH* relate that when Jaya-Gambu finally returned to Mongolia and settled down in Temüjin's camp, the "scattered" Tübegeyits and Dongqayits got together again.<sup>21</sup> Curiously, the Jirgin people are not mentioned in this gathering.

When the ruler was put to flight, his people scattered. Were the Jirgins scattered like the other two branches during the dethronement? Why did not they join the reunion? The courage of the Jirgin people was highly regarded even by Toyoril,<sup>22</sup> these champion warriors would play a significant role in Toyoril's restoration campaign ---- if they were available to Toyoril.

A revision of the accounts about the Jirgins reveals that their absence in the accounts of dethronement, reunion and restoration was probably simply because they were not Toyoril's subjects at that time. This hypothesis may be supported by a study of the residents at Qarayun-Jidun.

Qasar was looted by some Kereits at Qarayun-Jidun in 1203. *CCL* p.61a tells that when Qasar lived separately at Ha-la-wēn-chih-tun hill (Qarayun-Jidun), his wife was captured by Ong-Qan and he escaped with his younger son to meet Temüjin at Baljuna. *SH* §183 tells of the same event in a different way: Qasar abandoned his wife and children at the place of Ong-Qan and decided to come to Temüjin, he "climbed the ridges of Qarayun-Jidun" but he could not find his brother. *JT* supplies a third version of the story: Qasar was separated from Temüjin and at the place of Qarayun-Jidun, his wife and children were looted by [the force of] Ong-Qan. He escaped alone and was in a desperate situation. Then he caught up with Temüjin at Baljuna. Despite the difference in details, the key place name mentioned in the

<sup>21</sup> *CCL* p.21b tells us that "meanwhile, T'u-man-t'u-po-yi (Tümen-Tübegeyit) [and] Tungai (Dongqayit) these tribes, which are the defeated and scattered people, also come to submit." *SH* §150 relates that Jaya-Gambu "made the Tümen-Tübegen and the Olon-Dongqayit, two scattered tribes of the Kereyt, also come and submit to Chinggis-qahan." (trans. by Igor de Rachewiltz, *PFEH* 13 (1976) p.44). It is not certain if Jaya-Gambu gathered them around himself, or they came to Temüjin's camp to reunion with Jaya-Gambu.

<sup>22</sup> *SH* §170.

three sources was the same. This incident shows that Toyoril was able to exercise a certain influence in the region of Qarayun-Jidun in 1203.

However, this place is not in the list of Toyoril's summer and winter campsites.<sup>23</sup> If Qarayun-Jidun was not within Toyoril's personal dominion, then what had contributed to this extension of his power? An account suggests that Qarayun-Jidun was a Kereit-related site where it was inhabited by the Kereit branch of Jirgin. *JT* p.113 records that the leader of the Jirgin tribe at the time of Ong-Qan was called Güyük-Bahadur, who was in charge of a *gäre'en* of one *tümen*. His yurt was located at Qarayun-Jidun and CHYGR-CHLGHR. Supposing that Qarayun-Jidun was traditionally the residence of the Jirgins, or at least the ten thousand Jirgins under Güyük-Bahadur, the above evidence of the extension of Toyoril's power shows that there must have been a relationship established between the Jirgins and Toyoril around or before 1203. As a matter of fact, the Jirgins had fought for Toyoril shortly before their looting of Qasar, and the victim of this looting was the younger brother of the enemy in the previous battle at Qalaqaljit-Elet.

When this branch came under Toyoril's command is unknown. Although it is clear that the Jirgins were serving under Toyoril's banner in 1203, their relationship before 1203 is obscure.

Looking back to the dethronement, which definitely occurred before 1203, would a huge force of ten thousand brave Kereits have seemed difficult to contest or to conquer or to force into dispersion even for the mighty Naiman? There is no single piece of evidence to support (or deny, of course) the notion that the Naimans had confronted the Jirgin when they attempted to dethrone Toyoril. Therefore, there might be a possibility that the Jirgins had not scattered after Toyoril's dethronement nor had they been collected for the preparation of Toyoril's restoration simply because they were not a part of Toyoril's "Kereit" regime before and during this dethronement. Chronologically, the first appearance of the Jirgin people was on a very late

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<sup>23</sup> *JT* p.112.

occasion: the battle at Qalaqaljit-Elet in early 1203. They might have entered Toyoril's service quite recently.

If this suggestion is reasonable, the above analysis of the composition of Toyoril's "Kereit" regime shows that Toyoril did not have authority over every Kereit branch before his second dethronement, although in theory it should have been so. The branches which were actually under his power were the branches of Tübegeyit and Dongqayit, not the autonomous Saqayit, nor the valorous Jirgin. In this way, the collapse of Toyoril's regime at a single touch by the Naiman force is no longer an astonishing event if the authority of this so called "Kereit regime" was limited beyond its two great branches. On the other hand, the strength of the Naiman force can also be evaluated more accurately as a result of this clarification. A less exaggerated estimation of the strength of the Naimans provides a reasonable explanation for their rapid defeat by the Temüjin-Toyoril joint force in 1199.

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Summing up, as for the Kereit relationship with Temüjin during the dethronement and exile, the connection between Toyoril's dethronement and the Mongol Battle of Thirteen Güre'en has been established. During the first phase of this interruption of Toyoril's regime, Toyoril, the ruler of part of the Kereits, was overthrown by the Naiman force before the Mongol battle was fought. The ruler fled to the west, while some Kereit refugees, including the prince Jaya-Gambu, took shelter under Temüjin and fought for him in the Mongol battle. Unfortunately, Temüjin lost the battle. A defeated power could no longer provide sufficient protection to the Kereits against the Naimans, therefore, the Kereit prince fled into the Tangut nation.

The second phase of Toyoril's dethronement and exile is also associated with the history of the Mongols. Temüjin has been regarded as a hope of Toyoril's restoration during this period, and the change of attitude and situation will be related in the following discussion.

## (ii) Temüjin as a hope for restoration

Mutual assistance between Toyoril and Temüjin was a crucial development for both Kereit and Mongol history at the end of twelfth century. Under a friendly agreement, Toyoril obtained assistance from Temüjin to set out against the Naimans to recover his *ulus* and his throne, while Temüjin gained a strong alliance with Toyoril which guaranteed a friendly attitude and support to his west when he launched a series of attacks in eastern Mongolia, which strengthened him as a great Mongol power. Traced back to the beginning of a good relationship between these two important tribe leaders, the foundation was laid in an earlier period.

The first occasion for Toyoril, Jaya-Gambu and Temüjin to live under one roof, which marks a close relationship among them, was when Toyoril and Jaya-Gambu arrived as exiles in Temüjin's camp. The two helpless Kereit princes were actually looked after by Temüjin afterwards. According to the sources, after resting under Temüjin's protection for three years, Toyoril was able to launch his restoration campaign against the powerful Naiman. A revival of his strength could not have happened without Temüjin's assistance, and the circumstances contributing to their alliance are worth careful examination.

Before their settlement in Temüjin's camp, the situation of these two Kereit princes is not clear. According to *JT*, Toyoril travelled westward after his dethronement. He passed through the Uighur and Tangyut territories to reach Qara-Khitai. Before a year had passed, he left the place and wandered about until he heard of the strength of Temüjin. On hearing this news, he decided to return to Mongolia. On the other hand, the Kereit prince Jaya-Gambu remained in Mongolia after his elder brother had been dethroned, until his protector seemed no longer strong enough to guarantee his safety. He then left Mongolia and went into the Tangyut nation, where he established an in-

laws relationship with the current Tangyut ruler, hence he secured respect and protection from that regime.

It is curious to see their later coming to Temüjin, when Jaya-Gambu's leaving showed that Temüjin offered no advantage to him at all after Temüjin lost the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en. It is clear that a change of attitude towards Temüjin took place subsequently. In this way, the incident which caused this change could be taken as the turning point of the Temüjin-Toyoril relationship, and the foundation of a later good relationship between these two powers.

The following investigation of the background of the significant Toyoril-Temüjin union will first reveal the nature of the Toyoril-Temüjin alliance via an examination of Toyoril's intention and calculation in his decision to come to Temüjin, and second, single out the possible watershed, an event in the career of Temüjin, which enhanced Toyoril's and even Jaya-Gambu's decision making.

### A great expectation

If Toyoril and Jaya-Gambu had not returned to Mongolia, to remain part of Kereit history, Toyoril would have faded out from the political stage in the same way as his uncle Gür-Qan who never returned from exile. As for the history of Temüjin, the course of his rise to power would have been very different since most of his early victorious campaigns were fought in co-operation with the Kereit force. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the situation which was favourable to their return as a part of Kereit studies, as well as noting its relevance to Temüjin-Mongol's where the situation could be associated with the first military triumph of Temüjin.

There are different accounts of Temüjin's reception of Toyoril among the sources. In *CCL* pp.23b-24b, when Toyoril arrived in Güse'ür-Nayur, Temüjin heard about the news and, "thinking of his *anda* relationship with Yesügei", Temüjin sent two companions to bring Toyoril in. Moreover,

Temüjin welcomed him in person from the Kelüren, kept him in the camp, and levied shares to sustain him. *SH* §151 has a same description as the *CCL*'s. In general, the *SH* and *CCL* accounts describe the reception as kindly benevolence on the part of Temüjin while *JT* records that it was Toyoril who resolved to come to Temüjin, and when Toyoril arrived in Güse'ür-Nayur, he sent his two companions "down the Kelüren" to inform Temüjin about his coming, then Temüjin welcomed him in person.<sup>24</sup>

Was it Toyoril's intention to come to Temüjin, or he had just being picked up at the lakeshore by his saviour? When we take the recent condition of Toyoril into account, *JT*'s version seems more appealing. A formal ruler of a huge tribe in central Mongolia would have the ability to avoid inappropriate action which might lead to a threat to his life ---- to travel into a region close to his enemy, such as Güse'ür-Nayur, would not be considered a wise decision unless he did this on purpose. Güse'ür-Nayur is listed as one of Toyoril's (personal) summer camps.<sup>25</sup> Although its previous status is not clearly stated in the sources, it seems that the place was part of the Kereit territory, or along the border of the Kereit territory before Toyoril secured his throne from his uncle Gür-Qan.<sup>26</sup> An ex-ruler would be aware of the danger of going close to his former realm while his enemy was not far away.

Assuming that Toyoril did not re-enter Mongolia unintentionally, he must have made his calculation. In the same *JT* account related above, Toyoril's career reached its lowest ebb during the exile. Subsequently, he decided to come to Temüjin when he heard about "the fame of outburst glory and the strength" of Temüjin, and he also counted on his sworn brotherhood with Yesügei.

<sup>24</sup> *JT* pp.362-363.

<sup>25</sup> *JT* p.112, a *khāsa* (private domain) of Ong-Qan.

<sup>26</sup> *JT* p.388, Temüjin recalled that in Yesügei's expedition against Kereit Gür-Qan, the Yesügei force "went to a place called Güüsäñ'ür-Näñ'ür and [Yesügei] looked for your uncle Gür-khan there (*āñjā*). Gür-khan was at a site called Qurbān-Talasūt. [Gür-Qan] had been caused to run and had been put to flight from there (*az āñjā*)."

If we follow this explanation of his motivation, it suggests that Toyoril began to consider the advantage of having a supportive relationship with Temüjin. As analyzed in Chapter One section I, Toyoril did not seem to be acting ardently on behalf of Temüjin in the incident of Börte as told in the *SH*. He did have a connection with Temüjin at that time, however, the connection did not seem to be a firmly tied one.

The *JT* account suggests two bases for Toyoril's description to bring about this closer relationship: his friendship with the father of Temüjin, and the "glory and strength" of this potential partner. Did the "friendship" or Temüjin's "glory and strength" or both of them help Toyoril to make the decision?

"Thinking of Toyoril's *anda* relationship with Yesügei" is also mentioned in the relevant accounts in *CCL* and the *SH*, however, it is mentioned as Temüjin's concern. Would an old sworn brotherhood between two individuals have weighed more than the present strength of a potential partner in Toyoril's calculation, or in Temüjin's affection?

From a practical point of view, the *anda* relationship between Toyoril and Yesügei might guarantee Toyoril a friendly eye from Temüjin, but an affectionate linkage of the last generation might not be strong enough to encourage Temüjin to protect this "wanted ex-ruler" against his neighbouring big power, the Naiman, unless he himself was strong enough to counter them, and he was interested in fighting them.

Second, Toyoril was in exile. His exile was basically a journey between great western powers. A strong desire of seeking protection (security) and support (restoration) might be the unspoken intention, since the travels of Jaya-Gambu revealed a similar theme, as well as the travels of his ancestor Sariq-Qan into the Betekin land.

Third, an examination of the performance of the verification ceremony for establishing every non-natural but serious personal bondage in Mongol society, as well as the duties and rights involved in such a relationship, reveals that the *anda* relationship between Toyoril and Yesügei does not seem to have contributed very much in consolidating a firm friendship between Toyoril and Temüjin, as *CCL* and the *SH* emphasise, or, overstate.

The examination starts with the verification of the Toyoril-Temüjin relationship in the post-exile period. In *CCL* and *JT*, Toyoril and Temüjin verify their "father-and-son" relationship after Toyoril returns from the west. This shows that although an *anda* relationship existed between Yesügei and Toyoril, their personal bondage or relevant pseudo-kinship did not automatically extend to the next generation, say, Temüjin, or Senggüm. *SH* §164 records the verification of the Toyoril-Temüjin pseudo father-and-son relationship after Temüjin rescued Toyoril's people from the Naiman general Kökse'ü-Sabraq. Although this is a chronological mistake,<sup>27</sup> the record still reveals that a formal verification of the relationship is necessary --- before this, the bond between Yesügei and Toyoril could only make Temüjin "count" Toyoril as his pseudo-father. It shows that every non-natural personal bond needed to be formally verified through a public declaration.

Moreover, a formal verification of a pseudo kinship connection between a Turkic tribe leader and a Mongol tribe leader had a great significance in steppe politics. It should not be underestimated by confusing it with an affectionate *andaship*, such as the one between young Temüjin and young Jamuqa. A formal personal bondage between two mature tribe leaders *usually* served a purpose. As the declaration of these linkages was formal and made public, exactly what beneficence could both parties share in such a relation? From the above discussion, we can see that Toyoril declared a formal *anda* relation with Yesügei only after Yesügei's great expedition which restored Toyoril to the Kereit throne. What contribution, then, had Temüjin made to

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<sup>27</sup> Events mentioned in *SH* §164 were a conflation of at least two occasions. See discussion of "Black Forest Declaration" and "Red Hills Promise" in Chapter Three.

cause Toyoril to declare a formal father-and-son relationship with him? It is not possible to relate the promise behind the scene to another painstaking restoration, which Toyoril was striving for at that moment. The subsequent accounts in the sources justify this underlying offer: Temüjin returned the Kereit people in his camp to Toyoril and looted the Merkits to boost Toyoril's wealth. Finally, Toyoril was able to set out against the Naimans in 1199.

Furthermore, a pseudo father-and-son relationship probably demanded a great deal of the son's fidelity/loyalty to his father, far more than a natural father-and-son relationship because there was no linkage by birth in the connection. Was Temüjin's extermination of the Jürkin line which was the eldest branch of Qabul-Mongol, soon after the declaration of the father-and-son relationship,<sup>28</sup> a gesture of his true loyalty to his Kereit father? At least in Temüjin's own words, he admitted that this was one of his "contributions" (*haqq*) to Toyoril.<sup>29</sup>

From a pragmatic analysis of Toyoril's expectation and what Temüjin could offer and the subsequent development of the Toyoril-Temüjin relationship, we may conclude that the Toyoril-Yesügei *anda* relationship did not have much effect in consolidating their personal bondage ---- it did serve as an incentive agent in the groundwork of this relation, but no more than that. The mutual-assistance nature of the Toyoril-Temüjin relationship became more explicit in the later Red Hills Promise ---- affection has no part in politics.

### The fame

When Toyoril's intention has been interpreted by means of the above assumption, the next investigation shall concentrate on the stimulus of this intention ---- the fame or reputation of Temüjin at this time.

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<sup>28</sup> CCL p.24b, they declared themselves father-and-son in autumn and in the winter of the same year, Sacha-Beki and Taichu were caught up at Tele'etü Pass and exterminated.

<sup>29</sup> JT p.388, he killed them "for the sake of" Toyoril. ("man jahat-i tū")

As revealed in the discussion of the last section, Temüjin was subsequently defeated by his Mongol fellowmen in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en after Toyoril had been dethroned. Although the sources do not say explicitly that Temüjin was in disgrace during this period, the deliberate modification of the result of the battle in relevant records in *CCL* and *JT* shows that Temüjin's reputation might have been worsened by this setback. The subsequent leaving of Jaya-Gambu revealed a judgement on Temüjin's strength from this Kereit prince: Temüjin could no longer be relied on. This situation was exactly the opposite of the later incident in which Toyoril decided to come to Temüjin when Temüjin enjoyed a respectable reputation which spread across Mongolia and to the further west.

The respectable reputation of a power usually comes from a constant celebrity such as the potency of the Jurchen, or is occasionally caused by an unexpected triumph. The sources do not tell us explicitly where Temüjin's reputation came from but his previous disrepute might suggest that his later reputation was derived from an astonishing success.

If there was an astonishing success which gave Temüjin a good reputation, this success must have taken place between the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en when he was badly regarded by Jaya-Gambu, and the return of Toyoril when he was highly valued by the ex-ruler. Among the accounts concerning this period, all of them celebrate a glorious event which might have brought Temüjin an intertribal reputation ---- his victory over the Tatars.

Temüjin's warfare against the Tatars was the key incident in the second phase of this interruption in Kereit history. As in the case of the relationship between the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en and Toyoril's dethronement, there is no direct and plain connection between this pure Temüjin-Tatar conflict in eastern Mongolia and Toyoril and Jaya-Gambu's returning to Mongolia from west and south. However, Temüjin's victory and the fame and reputation which accompanied it had probably *stimulated* their impulse to return: a hope for restoration.

This event had been singled out after a comparison of the sequence of events in the three sources. The relevant events from the very beginning of Temüjin's life up to the coming of Toyoril are recorded in *CCL* in the following sequence:<sup>30</sup>

- (1) Temüjin was born and named
- (2) Most of Yesügei's subordinates deserted Temüjin and went over to the Taichiyut
- (3) The Battle of Thirteen Güre'en
- (4) Temüjin lured the Je'üreits to join himself
- (5) Some of the Taichiyut's subordinates came to Temüjin (part of the account is in the wrong chronological order)
- (6) Disagreement between the Jürkins and Temüjin
- (7) The Jurchen attacked the Tatars
- (8) Temüjin annexed the Jürkins
- (9) Jaya-Gambu came to Temüjin
- (10) *CCL* recalls the qanship struggle of Toyoril
- (11) Toyoril returned from the west, welcomed by Temüjin
- (12) Temüjin and Toyoril swore themselves father-and-son on the Tuylula river
- (13) Temüjin exterminated the Jürkin line

The sequence found in *JT* is.<sup>31</sup>

- (1) Temüjin was born and named
- (2) Most of Yesügei's subordinates deserted Temüjin and went over to the Taichiyuts
- (3) The Battle of Thirteen Güre'en
- (4) The submission of some Je'üreits
- (5) Some of the Taichiyut's subordinates came to Temüjin (part of the account is in the wrong chronological order)
- (6) Disagreement between the Jürkins and Temüjin

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<sup>30</sup> *CCL* pp.1a-24b.

<sup>31</sup> *JT* pp.309-312, 327-340, 359-363.

- (7) The Jurchen attacked the Tatars
- (8) Temüjin annexed the Jürkins
- (9) Jaya-Gambu came to Temüjin
- (10) *JT* recalls the qanship struggle of Toyoril
- (11) Toyoril returned from the west, welcomed by Temüjin
- (12) Temüjin and Toyoril swore themselves father-and-son<sup>32</sup>
- (13) Temüjin exterminated the Jürkin line

The recorded sequence of the above events in the *SH* is as follows:<sup>33</sup>

- (1) Temüjin was born and named
- (2) The Taichiyuts deserted the family of Temüjin  
[ Then the marriage, the abduction of Börte and rescue campaign, Temüjin stayed together with Jamuqa and their separation, Temüjin was made the leader of Qabul-Mongol, Toyoril was pleased with this while Jamuqa was not.]
- (3) The Battle of Thirteen Güre'en
- (4) [ No Je'üreit is mentioned]
- (5) [ The coming of the subordinates of the Taichiyuts is mentioned in a later paragraph of §149 but before Jaya-Gambu and some Kereits finally went to Temüjin.]
- (6) Disagreement between the Jürkins and Temüjin
- (7) The Jurchen attacked the Tatars
- (8) Temüjin annexed the Jürkins
- (9) Jaya-Gambu came to Temüjin
- (10) The *SH* recalls the qanship struggle of Toyoril

<sup>32</sup> The site of the declaration in *JT* p.363 is "Qarayun-Qabchal" which being annotated: "means black forest". Obviously the place name is a mistake. Qarayun-Qabchal which means Qarayun Gorge was located on the Selengge river, where Toyoril escaped to when his uncle attacked him, and later in 1204 the Merkit Dair-Usun took his people to reside. As *JT* annotated the place name as "black forest", the correct form of this place name should be Qara-Tun and it is located on the Tuyula river. Compare with *CCL* "in the black forest on the Tuyula river" and *SH* §177 "tuyula-yin qara-tun" (Tuyula's black forest).

<sup>33</sup> *SH* §§59 (birth), 70-72 (desertion), 94 (marriage), 98-113 (Börte), 118 (Jamuqa), 123-124 (qan), 126-127 (response), 128-134, 136, 150-151. I have omitted many domestic affairs during this period because those events were not significant in Temüjin's intertribal relationship.

- (11) Toyoril returned from the west, welcomed by Temüjin
- (12) Temüjin and Toyoril declared themselves father-and-son at the Black Forest on the Tuyula river<sup>34</sup>
- (13) [ Temüjin's extermination of the Jürkin line is mentioned after Temüjin's victory over the Tatars.]

The recording sequence of *CCL* and *JT* is so close that these two sources are believed to have been derived from the same narrative record, or, the same version among a variety of accounts of Temüjin's history. Moreover, although the account order in the *SH* does not coincide with the above two sources, its detailed information on the description of the events should not be ignored since the *SH* took another approach to arranging the events: it associates the events by *subjects* rather than strictly chronologically. (see discussion below)

As seen in the sequences, despite some variations, all three sources agree on a sequence of

- (1) the split between Temüjin and the Taichiyut;
  - (2) the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en took place;
  - (3) Temüjin's disagreement with the Jürkin;
  - (4) Temüjin's battle with the Tatar Megüjin-Se'ültü;
  - (5) the return of Toyoril, also Temüjin's extermination of the Jürkin line.
- This sequence is the backbone of a chronological reconstruction. The connection between the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en and the dethronement of Toyoril has been discussed earlier, and the extermination of the Jürkins has been related above. The separation of the Taichiyuts and Temüjin's disagreement with the Jürkins will be discussed in Chapter Four. Therefore, the next investigation will concentrate on Temüjin's warfare against the Tatars.

Although Temüjin's victory over the Tatars under Megüjin-Se'ültü should more likely to be counted as a looting of a division of scattered and

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<sup>34</sup> Recalled by Temüjin in *SH* §177, not mentioned in the previous narrative.

frightened non-military people rather than a formal battle confrontation between two tribes, Temüjin won. It is related in all three sources that among his booty, there were a silver cradle and a precious blanket.<sup>35</sup> JT supplied a description of the acquisitions: "because these kind of luxurious articles were rare among the Mongols at that time, they considered the action great and received reputation".<sup>36</sup>

Besides this luxurious booty, this victory inevitably also brought Temüjin a considerable fame within steppe society. If we look at this event from a community perspective, the Tatar tribe was renowned for its enormous strength and warlike nature in steppe society down the ages. The disgrace of this tribe would have drawn attention from every steppe people.

Furthermore, since the Tatars had a long-lasting enmity towards the Mongols and the Kereits for generations, the setback of the Tatars would be much valued as an respectable achievement by both Mongols and Kereits. In Kereit history, generations before Toyoril succeeded the throne, the Kereit ruler Marqus-Buiruq-Qan had been captured by the Tatars, sent to Jurchen China and executed there.<sup>37</sup> Another undated but presumably later incident was the attack of the Alchi-Tatars against the Kereit Sariq-Qan. In this attack the Tatars overran the Kereit *ulus* and Toyoril's father Qurjaqus had to marry the Betekin princess in order to obtain the assistance of this foreign power to recover their country. Toyoril would have understood the power of the Tatars from the sufferings of previous qans, not to mention his personal experience of being captured and enslaved.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, the news of their defeat would have been impressive to Toyoril, especially when that division of the Tatars might have been the very one who formerly had a good relationship with the

<sup>35</sup> Also see in CCL p.19b.

<sup>36</sup> JT pp.337-338, "shuhrat padhīrufta". Booty also mentioned in SH §133 and CCL p.19b.

<sup>37</sup> JT p.115.

<sup>38</sup> See Chapter One, Toyoril's first struggle for the Kereit qanship.

Jurchen. Toyoril's excitement would have been further heightened when the victor turned out to be someone who formerly had a good relationship with himself.

In addition, other than the material booty and fame within steppe society, Temüjin had had bestowed on him a title by the Jurchen authority because of this victory: Jayut-Quri, or just *quri*. Being appointed by the Jurchen authority was undoubtedly a recognition from the superpower which recognised Temüjin's assistance and confirmed his strength, not to mention the significance of the first establishment of a friendly relationship between the two powers. Temüjin's willingness to accept this position or title regardless of the blood feud resulting from the Jurchen's execution of Hamaqai-Qan might also suggest how this recognition was highly valued in the steppe society of Mongolia. Therefore, becoming a Jurchen subordinate could also possibly have contributed to his widely spread reputation across Mongolia.<sup>39</sup>

If the fame and reputation of Temüjin which Toyoril had heard about can be associated with Temüjin's victory over the Tatars, this may explain the situation which made Toyoril decide to end his exile and come to Temüjin: he was confident in Temüjin's strength when Temüjin proved his strength in beating the Tatars ---- he relied upon this new steppe power to help him recover his country.

### **The coming of Jaya-Gambu**

On the other hand, regarding the journey of the Kereit prince Jaya-Gambu, JT recounts in the brief chronological account at the end of the detailed history of Chinggis-Khan that: "From battle (*az jang*), Jaya-Gambu, the brother of Ong-Qan [who is] the Kereit ruler, and the tribe of Dongqayit which is a branch of the Kereits, gathered with him (Temüjin). [They] united

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<sup>39</sup> A full discussion of various aspects concerning this Temüjin-Jurchen relationship is related in Chapter Six.

and opposed Ong-Qan [should be the Merkits], then [the Merkits] retreated. Settled in the principal yurt in his (Temüjin's) own *ordos*, he occupied himself in merry-making.<sup>40</sup>

The "battle" which made Jaya-Gambu and the Dongqayit people gather with Temüjin can be identified with the Merkit assault. In CCL p.21ab, the story reads:

At that time, His Highest lived in the land of T'a-tuo-su (Dersüt).<sup>41</sup> There was the younger brother of Ong-Qan of the Kereit tribe, Jaya-Gambu, [who] came to submit. Meanwhile the Merkit tribe confronted with us, His Highest [joined] with Jaya-Gambu [and] approached to fight, their people were defeated and left. At this time, there were the tribes of T'u-man-t'u-po-yi Tung-ai (Tümen-Tübegeyit, Dongqayit) who were the defeated and scattered Kereit people, [who] also came to submit.

This account makes it clear that the *az jang* in JT p.563 should not be interpreted as meaning that Temüjin brought Jaya-Gambu to him by force.

The account in JT p.388 reveals more clearly the situation when Jaya-Gambu came to Temüjin. In this personal recall of Temüjin, he beckoned Jaya-Gambu to come to join him from the Jayut region. When he "brought" Jaya-Gambu to him, Temüjin was ambushed because of a wish for revenge. The Merkits also caused Jaya-Gambu to run. Temüjin saved Jaya-Gambu from the hand of the Merkits.

In spite of slight difference in details, a comparison of the three accounts confirms some uncertain readings of sentence meaning, and a general picture of Jaya-Gambu's coming would be "Temüjin beckoned Jaya-Gambu to

<sup>40</sup> JT pp.563-564. The 'WNG-KHĀN in this sentence is a mistake. It should be MRKYT, the Merkits, according to other versions of Jaya-Gambu's coming. A copying error in Persian script. See the first footnote in section III.

<sup>41</sup> The Chinese transcription *tuo* (朵) is probably a copying error of *érh* (𠂇).

come to him from the Jayut region. Jaya-Gambu agreed. Half way, Temüjin had been assaulted by his enemy who also attacked Jaya-Gambu. Temüjin and Jaya-Gambu repelled the Merkits together. After this battle, Jaya-Gambu stayed with Temüjin. He collected the scattered Kereit tribesmen and made them stay with Temüjin's people."

Other than some detailed questions such as the collection of scattered people and their reunion with Toyoril,<sup>42</sup> three points are worth attention here. The first is the dating of Jaya-Gambu's coming, the second is the position of this incident in event sequence, the third is the renewal of the Temüjin-Jaya-Gambu connection.

The coming of Jaya-Gambu is dated in a Hare Year in the account of *JT* pp.563-564, which shall be 1195 including January 1196. However, the description of this account is quite unreliable because it mistakenly substituted "Ong-Qan" for "Merkit", which contradicts to its detailed counterpart in p.388. This error suggests that the other parts of this account might also have been altered, therefore, we must be cautious in believing the dating supplies by this account. *SH* §150 relates the account of the coming of Jaya-Gambu *after* the account of Temüjin's defeat of the Taichiyuts. This arrangement is apparently not in a chronological order, because the Taichiyuts were defeated in 1200, *after* Toyoril restored himself to the Kereit throne.

To examine the position of this incident in event sequence can help to clarify the confusion in dating. An investigation of the background of Temüjin's invitation suggests that Temüjin invited Jaya-Gambu to come to him *before* Toyoril returned to Mongolia. First, as mentioned in the sources, the Tümen-Tübegeyits and the Dongqayits were "the defeated and scattered" Kereit people at this time. Therefore, this invitation must have made before any attempt to unite the Kereit resources in Mongolia. Second, Temüjin recalled the situation of the invitation in his words to Toyoril that:

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<sup>42</sup> Later on, because Temüjin was friendly with Toyoril, he sent Jaya-Gambu and that tribe of Dongqayit once again to his presence. *JT* p.339.

When you hide in the low cloud and became concealed, and while the sun sunk made you invisible, Jaya-Gambu *anda* was in the middle of the JĀW'QWT region. I kept shouting loudly the right sounds and had beckoned to him with a hat, I did *dalāmīshī* --- that means I called with a hand. And for that sense, Jaya-Gambu *anda* was brought to me.

This piece of evidence suggests that when Temüjin invited Jaya-Gambu, Toyoril was still in exile. Therefore, the invitation must have been given before Toyoril returned to Mongolia.

Moreover, from the standpoint of the history of Temüjin, the coming of Jaya-Gambu was placed immediately after Temüjin put the Jürkin leaders Sacha-Beki and Taichu to flight, before Temüjin's reception of Toyoril into his camp. Combining these three pieces of evidence, it seems to be no problem that the coming of Jaya-Gambu had taken place before Toyoril returned to Mongolia and the scattered Kereit people were being gathered, and most important, after Temüjin's assault upon the Jürkin, which definitely happened after his victory over the Tatars and his obtaining of the Jurchen recognition.

The only possible contradiction to this assumption of event sequence would be the record order of the relevant accounts in the *SH*. As mentioned above, the *SH* records the coming of Jaya-Gambu in §150, while in §149 it relates Temüjin's complete destruction of the Taichiyut tribe. These two paragraphs do not chronologically coincide with the event sequence in *CCL* and *JT*, and it seems that we can only choose to believe one of them since no further precise evidence supplies more information. However, these two versions are not absolutely contradictory if we take the writing style of these sources into account ---- the *SH* groups historical events by topics rather than arranging them in a strictly chronological approach. Taking the paragraphs immediately before and after §150 as example, we can see that the incidents related in *SH* §136 to §149 are domestic affairs within the Mongol genealogical network ---- those were Temüjin's "war and peace" with the branches of Jürkin, Jalayir, Jadaran (Jamuqa) and Taichiyut. From §150 on,

the accounts in the *SH* recount Temüjin's war and peace with non-Mongol tribes, such as Kereit, Tatar, Merkit and Naiman. These are Temüjin's "foreign" expansion. Knowing the arrangement principle of the *SH*, placing the coming of Jaya-Gambu after the complete destruction of the Taichiyuts would no longer seem confusing if we consider the Jaya-Gambu record as the first event of the second group, and it is not necessary to have a chronological connection between the last record of first group (§149) and the first record of the second group (§150). The situation is rather odd here, but it is not unresolvable.

Therefore, the above assumption of event sequence remains acceptable:

- (1) Background: the Kereits were scattered, Toyoril was still on exile, Jaya-Gambu was in the Jayut region;
- (2) Temüjin's victory over the Tatars and obtaining the title of Jayut-Quri;
- (3) Temüjin's first attack upon the Jürkin kinsmen;
- (4) Jaya-Gambu came to Temüjin and was attacked by the Merkits half way;
- (5) Toyoril returned.

Hence, with the establishment of this sequence, here is the third interesting point: a circumstance which favoured a renewal of the Temüjin-Jaya-Gambu connection. Jaya-Gambu had decided to leave Temüjin earlier. Why was Temüjin in a position to attract Jaya-Gambu to leave the Jayut region and join him in Mongolia at this time? Furthermore, the process must have been a peaceful one since Temüjin beckoned to Jaya-Gambu "with a hat".<sup>43</sup> Without a connection with the Kereit people and the Kereit ex-ruler, by what means was Temüjin able to "bring" Jaya-Gambu to him?

Jaya-Gambu was in the Jayut region, "that is the Khitai region" as understood in *JT* and "*han-sai*" in *CCL* when Temüjin proposed the invitation. Coincidentally, Temüjin received a title/position from the Jurchen authority

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<sup>43</sup> *JT* p.388.

after his defeat of the Tatars in spring 1196.<sup>44</sup> According to the above sequence, Temüjin had obtained this title before he offered Jaya-Gambu the invitation because the invitation was made after Temüjin set out against the Jürkins, and Temüjin's attack against the Jürkins happened after his victory over the Tatars ---- where he had been rewarded with the Jurchen title. Would this Jurchen title/position give Jaya-Gambu confidence in Temüjin, and therefore did he choose to leave the Jayut (Khitai) region and come to the residence of this appointed "commander-in-chief of several tribes"?<sup>45</sup>

Even if the title did not provide an extensive administrative power, it was a recognition as well as a support from the Jurchen. Moreover, Temüjin had shown his strength in looting the Tatars. Jaya-Gambu would probably have come to Temüjin for this practical advantage, that is, a "recent" strong protector. That his odyssey ended in Temüjin's camp proved that Temüjin had become the most influential, at least in reputation if he was not mighty in strength, potentate in central Mongolia at this time (1196).

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Summing up, the above assumption reveals that Temüjin's triumph over the Tatars was a crucial event in the second phase of Toyoril's dethronement and exile. His strength, or his fame obtained from the victory or from the Jurchen recognition, had been valued positively by both Kereit princes, and the expectation of practical advantage drove them to approach and join Temüjin in central Mongolia. That their odysseys terminated at Temüjin's residence showed that this new power was the ultimate protector for them in their misfortune, and their choice was correct.

As for the event sequence which has been partly restored in this section, Jaya-Gambu and Toyoril appeared before Temüjin after Temüjin's victory over

<sup>44</sup> Dating discussion see section III.

<sup>45</sup> Discussion on the meaning of Jayut-Quri is related in Chapter Six section II.

the Tatars and the Jürkin branch of the Qabul-Mongol. Combined with the sequence reconstructed in this section and a study of precise dating of crucial events in the coming section, the duration of this interruption of Toyoril's regime could possibly be restored, and a general account of both Kereit and Mongol histories during this period could then be presented on a chronological basis.

### III. Dating of the dethronement

In the preliminary examination section of this chapter, we have arrived at a possible period of Toyoril's dethronement. However, it was a long span of fifteen years from 1181/82 to 1196. A further narrowing down is necessary and the more precise the dating is, the more clearly the history of Toyoril-Kereit and Temüjin-Mongol can be presented.

In section II of this chapter regarding the course of Toyoril's dethronement and exile, we have reconstructed the sequence of numerous events in spite of their uncertain dating. The outline of this sequence is:

- (1) The Kereit prince Erke-Qara escaped from Toyoril and took refugee under the Naiman Inanch-Qan;
- (2) The Naiman Inanch-Qan attacked Toyoril and dethroned him;
- (3) Toyoril fled west, Kereidei (later Jaya-Gambu) came to Temüjin;
- (4) Temüjin was defeated in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en;
- (5) Jaya-Gambu left Temüjin and went to the Tangyut nation;
- (6) Jurchen's campaign against the steppe tribes;
- (7) Temüjin dispersed the Tatars at the Ulja river;
- (8) Toyoril and Jaya-Gambu came to Temüjin. Toyoril from the west, Jaya-Gambu from the Jayut region.

We cannot find the exact dating of the above events in the sources which focus on the history of Temüjin. These sources begin to supply dating in quite a late

period: *JT* starting from 1195,<sup>46</sup> the *SH* from 1200 when Jamuqa was elected Gür-Qan, and *CCL* from 1202 when Temüjin set out against the Four Tatars.

Fortunately, some of these events are related to the history of the neighbouring countries, therefore, some clues from these neighbours' historical records would be valuable supplements as evidence for dating.

Since it was the Naimans who caused the dethronement of the Kereit ruler, the history of these two tribes during this period would be the key in fixing the dating of this incident. This section is going to examine three dates: first, the reign of Naiman Inanch-Qan; second, the time when Jaya-Gambu left the Tangyut nation and entered the Jayut region; and third, the duration of Toyoril's exile. The former two are useful in fixing the inaugural date of Toyoril's dethronement, which suggest that 1193 was an important year in the whole incident. The latter one narrows down the duration of Toyoril's exile to 1192/93 to late spring of 1196, accordingly, his dethronement must have taken place around 1192/93 and not earlier than that. These topics are selected not only because of their importance, but also by a consideration of the sufficiency of supplementary evidence, basically from Chinese sources.

The rediscovery of a possible dating of Toyoril's dethronement and exile helps to reconstruct the whole chronology by fitting it into the above reconstructed event sequence. A knowledge of this dating explains many puzzles in Kereit history and Mongol history, and give researchers a new insight into the situation of central Mongolia in the second half of the twelfth century.

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<sup>46</sup> The Brief Chronicle which starts from p.563 bears the earliest dating in *JT*. The dating of 1195 is not stated in the chronological main text. I am doubtful of this dating because in the year 1195, Temüjin might to have been busy with domestic affairs with the Jürkin, according to the main text. Besides, although the account in the Brief Chronicle mentions a merry-making, this cannot be Temüjin's feast with the Jürkin kinsmen because there is no sign in other accounts that Temüjin had fought the Merkits immediate before or after his merry-making with the Jürkins. The description of this 1195 paragraph is quite unreliable because copier's corruption. The word "Merkit" (ᠮᠶᠺ) had been mistakenly changed into "Üng-Khān" (ᠦᠩᠬାନ) in *JT* p.564, which altered the meaning of the whole description.

### The Naiman Inanch-Bilge-BWKW-Qan

*JT*, *CCL* and the *SH* all relate that when the Kereit prince Erke-Qara fled to the Naimans, it was the Naiman Inanch-Qan who set out and overthrew the Kereit ruler Toyoril. However, when Toyoril struggled for his restoration in 1199, apparently Toyoril was fighting the Naiman Buiruq-Qan, who was a son of Inanch-Qan. Inanch-Qan is not mentioned in the accounts later than his campaign against Toyoril. It is possible that Inanch-Qan had passed away in or before 1199. Since the undeniable evidence shows that he was alive when he put Toyoril to flight, we may propose that Inanch-Qan died after Toyoril began his exile and before 1199. In this way, we may be able to determine the latest date at which Toyoril could have been overthrown, by fixing the dating of Inanch-Qan's last appearance in the existing sources.

No evidence supplies plainly an approximate period of the reign of the Naiman Inanch-Qan. Since he was an esteemed steppe ruler, we may probably relate him to an unidentified steppe ruler in a quotation in *CS*. A Jurchen ruler, Chang-Tsung, was going to the north to avoid the hot summer. An officer called Tung Shih-Chung tried to stop him. He appealed with two other officers that "recently the frontier is not submissive and rebellious, Pi-li-kê-powa is greedy, ruthless and truculent, [the situation] is of great concern". The emperor did not accept their remonstrance. Tung then submitted a second appeal. In this appeal, he went into more detail about the situation along the frontier: "Besides, the two subordinate tribes in the south and the north [who] defended the frontier for several decades are now lured and intimidated by Pi-li-kê-powa, with the whole tribe/clan [they] followed after [him]". Under such circumstances, how could the emperor risk himself in danger? After a debate, the emperor agreed not to go to the north.<sup>47</sup>

This account is clearly dated in the fourth Ming-Ch'ang year, that is 1193. We can also tell by the motivation of the travel that this appeal must

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<sup>47</sup> *CS* 95 *chuan* 33 the biography of Tung Shih-Chung, pp.2114-2115.

have been made in spring, before the emperor went to the north to avoid the hot summer. The significance of this account can only be revealed when we can identify this Pi-li-kê-po-wa with a steppe ruler known to us, and when if he was the Naiman Inanch-Qan, this dating of 1193 would confirm his existence at least in this period.

Could Pi-li-kê-po-wa be the Naiman Inanch-Bilge-BWKW-Qan? The examination of this possibility can be approached from three directions: first, the strength of the steppe ruler; second, the proof of a Sino-Naiman connection, third, the identity of "the two subordinate tribes in the north and the south" in Tung's appeal.

Which steppe ruler possessed such mighty power on Jurchen's northern frontier in 1193? Could this person possibly be the Naiman Inanch-Bilge-BWKW-Qan? The strength of Inanch-Qan had been revealed in Erke-Qara's choice. Erke-Qara would not have fled to a ruler who was weaker than Toyoril for protection or even military assistance against Toyoril. Therefore, we can tell that at least in the judgement of Erke-Qara, Inanch-Qan had a strength which could counter-balance Toyoril's. It seems that no other steppe ruler in Mongolia possessed an equivalent or greater power to Toyoril at this time, or they are not mentioned in the sources.<sup>48</sup> The titles of Inanch-Bilge-BWKW-Qan also provides a clue of resemblance between he and Pi-li-kê-po-wa, when the transcription Pi-li-kê-po-wa can possibly be matched to \*Bilge-Bo'a (?= Bilge-Bökö, "wise" and "strong").<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> JT p.130, the Betekin Qajir/Qadir-(Buiruq)-Qan and his ancestors were greater and more respectable than Ong-Qan and Tayang-Qan and the other Kereit and Naiman rulers, but later the later rulers became stronger than the Betekins. This Betekin ruler must be the one who helped the Kereit Sariq-Qan to recover the *ulus* from The Tatars. See Chapter One.

<sup>49</sup> The problem of BWKW can be analyzed as follows. First, an assumption of a Mongolian term. JT transliterates the title and the name of Inanch-Qan as 'NĀNJ/'YNĀNCH BLGH/BLGĀ BWKW KHĀN. I cannot find other Persian variations for BWKW in JT. I am very curious about the resemblance between BWKW and a Mongolian word Böke, "strong (man)". ("starker", Doerfer, p.349.) This word spelt in its written form as böke, such as in Ariq-Böke, but in daily colloquial usage, it may be uttered as bökö, such as in Büri-Bökö (SH §131 and §140). This alternation is occurred by the Altaic linguistic rule of "assimilation of vowels".

Second, there is evidence to suggest that the Naimans did have a relationship, no matter if only nominally, with the regimes in China, which could be the Jurchen or whatever existed earlier. Examining the titles of Naiman rulers, three Tayang-Qans can be found in *JT*: one was called Narqish, one was the son of Anyat-Qan, one was the son of Inanch-Qan. Only about the last one can we find more information in the sources, he was the one Temüjin had defeated and killed in 1204. The title Tayang is believed to come from a Chinese title, which reads *ta-wang* in modern Mandarin, but possibly *tai-ang/ong* (> tāi-āng = tayang)<sup>50</sup> in its medieval reading, which means "grand prince" or "grand king".

Many questions can be raised in the study of Chinese titles on the steppe, such as, did the ruler in China confer each of them, or were they inheritable by nature, or did the Jurchen only confer the Tayang title on the son of Inanch-Qan? However, I do not wish to go further into a detailed discussion of these. What I wish to emphasize is, this title of Chinese origin did exist as a part of the title of some Naiman rulers, which means, both the

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Second, the pronunciation of the Chinese transcription. The five Chinese characters of the name/title of the steppe ruler are quoted here in their modern Mandarin pronunciation, not in their medieval phonetic value. To find out the correct medieval phonetic value of Chinese characters is a special field of academic research, and a difficult one. The term of *pi-li-kê* had been identified by scholar Wang Kuo-Wei at the turn of twentieth century as *Belgûtei*, but when we compare this to the traditional usage on steppe, this is obviously a misleading comparison. As for *po-wa*, the character *wa* (ㄨ) is pronounced in modern Cantonese as *a*, at the back of mouth. This resembles the pronouncing position of Mongolian feminine vowels *e*, *ö*, *ü*. If the Cantonese phonetic value could be a relic of medieval northern Chinese, this resemblance is of great significance.

I do not assert that *po-wa* or BWKW must be an equivalent to the Mongolian *böke*, but, since *JT* relates BWKW to a legendary ruler, BWKW may become a prestigious title for later rulers. Bilge is a commonly known Turkic word for "knowledge" or "wisdom" (Clauson, p.339), therefore, it is not impossible for BWKW to be "strong" as a prestigious title, and both of them appeared as a part of Inanch's honourable title.

<sup>50</sup> For the medieval phonetic value of these two Chinese characters, we may consult their pronunciation in certain Chinese dialects, for instance, in Cantonese as *dai-wong*, or in Fukinese as *dai- 'ong*.

Chinese regime and "these" Naimans, that is, at least part of the Naimans,<sup>51</sup> could have known each other or have had a connection at a certain period.<sup>52</sup>

Third, the identification of the "two subordinate tribes" in Tung's appeal. The assumption for the identity of these two tribes proposed here is, the south one might have been a group of Kereits who were under Toyoril's leadership, the north one might have been a group of Naimans who were under Tayang-Qan's leadership.

As for their subordinate relationship to the Jurchen authority, the Kereit Toyoril was definitely the "Ong"-Qan, and the title is recorded as being obtained from the Jurchen regime. *CCL*, *JT* and the *SH* all mention the obtaining of Toyoril's *ong* title in the same paragraph that relates Temüjin's acceptance of his Jurchen title. They all supply, very explicitly, the information that both of the titles were bestowed by the Jurchen authority. However, to mention these two events together would be more suitably considered as "related" by the nature of the events, rather than in a chronological sense. As discussed in the event sequence during this period, Toyoril must have been dethroned and have fled far away in the west before Temüjin defeated the Tatars. Certainly it would have been impossible for him to take part in this attack, if we choose to believe in the dates provided in the campaign details in *CS*.

If Toyoril did not obtain the title at the same occasion as Temüjin's, he must have obtained it after his return from the west or before his dethronement and exile. It seems that the second dating is more convincing because the

<sup>51</sup> The Tayang-Naiman is just a group of Naimans under the leadership of a qan who bore this Chinese-style title. There are other groups of Naimans under the other leaders, such as Buiruq-Qan. Discussion see below.

<sup>52</sup> It is difficult to tell if there was any formal relationship between the regimes of Jurchen and Tayang-Naiman. *JT* pp.128-129 does relate that the Khitai rulers entitled (*laqab kardan*) Tai-Buqa as *Tāi-wāng*, however, *laqab kardan* in this sentence would possibly be just descriptive, without a serious investiture meaning.

sources have recorded historical events after 1196 in detail and they do not mention the reception of this title in the later accounts. If Toyoril had, or started, a good relationship with Jurchen China and obtained his *ong* title before Temüjin got his, also before he left Mongolia and fled into Qara-Khitai, would Toyoril have been considered as a subordinate by the Jurchen authority before he lost his rulership, and could he possibly be identified as a "subordinate" who "defended the frontier" by Tung Shih-Chung?

Tung Shih-Chung related that these "subordinate tribes" had been "intimidated by Pi-li-kê-po-wa" and "with the whole tribe/clan [they] followed after [him]". This is an observation from an officer of the Jurchen regime. Would this "intimidation", in reality, be Pi-li-kê-po-wa's "acquisition" of this tribe? Only by overthrowing this "Jurchen subordinate", could the "whole tribe" of "Ong"-Qan appear as withdrawn from Jurchen's control and to have "followed after" another authority. More accurately, this incident might simply be a shift of the Kereit rulership to another Kereit prince, Erke-Qara, who had no relation to the Jurchen regime but was supported by the Naiman Inanch-Qan.

Toyoril's Chinese-style title suggests that he has a connection with the Jurchen authority, and this connection must have started from his generation, not his ancestors'. This connection does not have a precedent in Kereit history because no other Ong-Qan can be found in the sources ---- apparently the title was not obtained by inheritance. If the title was given to him by the Jurchen authority, as recorded in the sources, he might have been considered as a subordinate by the Jurchen officials, and the "intimidation" or "acquisition" of a Jurchen subordinate tribe by Pi-li-kê-po-wa corresponds to Toyoril's dethronement by Inanch-Qan. In this way, to compare Toyoril's regime to the southern subordinate tribe in Tung's appeal is logical.

If one of the "subordinate tribes" can be identified with Toyoril-Kereit, then who can be the other?

Let us look into the Tayang title of some Naiman rulers. There were several Tayang-Qans in Naiman history, nevertheless, it seems that no two Tayang-Qans existed in the same generation.<sup>53</sup> There were many other titles for the Naiman rulers, such as Buiruq or Gütchülik, or in the example of Inanch-Qan, a ruler could bear a series of honourable titles --- but not everyone a Tayang. Besides, as seen from the Naiman history related in *JT*, when the descendants of Naiman rulers disagreed with each other, they separated from each other and lived apart, while each of their leaders bore their own honourable titles. This multi-leadership is different from the single rulership of the Kereit tribe. Suppose a group of Naimans whose leader bore the Chinese-style title of Tayang "joined" the group of Inanch "Bilge-BWKW" Qan, would this incident be understood, or judged, by the Jurchen as "a subordinate tribe" (Tayang) "who now lured" (joined) and withdrew from the Jurchen, with the "whole tribe/clan" (a shift of overlordship) going under the leadership of Pi-li-kê-po-wa (Bilge-BWKW)?

I admit that to relate the Toyoril-Kereit and the Tayang-Naiman to the two subordinate tribes of Jurchen only by a similarity in Chinese title is dangerous. However, we cannot deny the manifest uniqueness of this evidence: the only two tribes whose rulers bore a Chinese title, at the period around 1193, can be found in the sources are precisely the Naiman and the Kereit. The examinations of the date when Toyoril obtained the title, and the administrative structure of the Naiman tribe can reinforce these assumptions. If the assumptions are correct, it confirms that the Pi-li-kê-po-wa in this account was Inanch-Bilge-BWKW-Qan.

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<sup>53</sup> I doubt that one of the Tayangs, who was a son of Anyat-Qan, could be the same Tayang, who was a son of Inanch-Qan, because this Anyat-Qan can possibly be the same person as Inanch-Qan. First, *JT* relates that Anyat-Qan had two sons, Buiruq and Tayang(-Khān), they disagreed with each other. Compare with the history of Inanch-Qan, where there seems no gap between the succession of Buiruq and Tayang to the throne of Inanch-Qan, and they two disagreed with each other. Second, *JT*'s transcriptions for the names of Anyat-Qan and Inanch-Qan are curiously puzzling: 'NYĀT/'YNĀT for the former, 'NĀNJ/'YNĀNCH for the latter. I cannot find further evidence to verify this possible identification, however, if Anyat was Inanch, there would be only two Tayang-Qans in Naiman history, as seen in the sources.

Since Inanch-Qan can be identified with Pi-li-kê-po-wa, Tung Shih-Chung's appeals in the spring of 1193 supports the view that Inanch-Qan was alive at that time. As for the account recounting the sovereignty shift of "being lured" (Tayang-Naiman) and "being intimidated" (Toyoril-Kereit), it is certain that Toyoril had been dethroned in, or before, the spring of 1193 --- the incident seems to have happened not far from the time of the appeals.

### **Jaya-Gambu in the Tangyut and Jayut regions**

In the reconstructed event sequence, Kereidei (Jaya-Gambu) left Temüjin after his defeat in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, and went to the Tangyut territory. Later, he appears again in the sources, in the Jayut region. *JT*, *CCL* and the *SH* do not report the story of Jaya-Gambu's travel from Tangyut to Jayut, probably because it is not closely relevant to the history of Temüjin. However, the date on which he entered the Tangyut nation is useful in fixing the dating of the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, also the earlier dethronement of Toyoril; the period in which he wandered in the Jayut region could help to fix the date of the return to Mongolia, which ended his exile.

According to *JT*, Jaya-Gambu enjoyed high prestige and had a *quada* relationship to the royal family of the Tangyuts when he was in the Tangyut nation. It is very strange to see him wandering along the Chinese-Mongolia border subsequently, unless the situation in the Tangyut nation was no longer as favourable as it was.

An aspect of Tangyut history in the period 1181/82 to 1196 is valuable in working out the former dating. In the end of 1193, the long-reigned Tangyut ruler Jen-Tsung died (1140-1193). Huan-Tsung<sup>54</sup> succeeded him to be the Tangyut ruler. Would this change in the Tangyut rulership effect Jaya-Gambu's interest in the Tangyut nation? Considering the "favourable" and "unfavourable" situation of Jaya-Gambu, since he had obtained his title (*laqab*) "grand emir of the state" there, it might be reasonable to assume that a change

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<sup>54</sup> Both Jen-Tsung and Huan-Tsung are their temple titles which appear in Chinese records.

of attitude on the part of the court had made Jaya-Gambu leave. To support this hypothesis, evidence is supplied as follows.

First, in the period from 1181/82 to 1196, there were two Tangyut rulers, Jen-Tsung and his successor Huan-Tsung. Who gave Jaya-Gambu protection, Jen-Tsung or Huan-Tsung? If it was Huan-Tsung who gave Jaya-Gambu his protection, married his daughter and raised him to a high position, Jaya-Gambu must have enjoyed an even more prestigious status after Huan-Tsung succeeded to the throne in 1194. However, the fact was that, until Temüjin brought him back to Mongolia in 1195 or 1196,<sup>55</sup> Jaya-Gambu was in exile along the Jurchen border. This exile confirms that the Tangyut ruler who gave Jaya-Gambu his protection could not be Huan-Tsung, but the late old ruler, Jen-Tsung.

Second, later in the winter of 1200/01, when Jaya-Gambu was at odds with Toyoril, he was forced into flight. If Jaya-Gambu had had a good relationship with the Tangyut Huan-Tsung in his last exile, Huan-Tsung would have been his prime choice for this exile. However, he went to the Naiman Tayang-Qan instead of this Tangyut ruler. Does this imply that Jaya-Gambu did not expect Huan-Tsung to be a suitable protector against Toyoril? The Tangyut nation was well-known for its closeness with the Jurchen regime, in its strength and connection, it could not be considered weak or unable to protect Jaya-Gambu, unless the ruler had no intention of offering him protection.

Third, Huan-Tsung's attitude towards steppe affairs. This Tangyut ruler reigned from 1194-1205, a period which covered Temüjin's defeat of the Tatars up to Temüjin's destruction of both the Kereits and the Naimans. When the Kereits had been defeated, Toyoril's son Senggüm fled, went past the

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<sup>55</sup> *JT* recorded this incident in 1195 in its Brief Chronicle, but according to the previous discussion about Jaya-Gambu's coming to Temüjin, this incident would be better placed in 1196. In either case, the event must have taken place in 1195 or 1196, not earlier or later.

Tangyut territory and was not sheltered by the Tangyut ruler.<sup>56</sup> This flight must have taken place immediately after the defeat of Toyoril in 1203, in which case, he was not sheltered by the Tangyut Huan-Tsung. It seems that Huan-Tsung was not enthusiastic in offering political asylum. On the other hand, turning back to the earlier exile of Jaya-Gambu, 1193/94 was a feeble period of the Tangyut regime. After a long and well-established rule of the late ruler which lasted for fifty-four years, the novice ruler would reconsider the danger of keeping an exiling Kereit prince under protection. Although Huan-Tsung might not be hostile to Jaya-Gambu, the national interest of Tangyut would weigh more than the friendly attitude of the late ruler, or their in-laws' relationship. To keep peace with the powerful Naiman Inanch-Qan, or Pi-li-kê-po-wa, to whom his territory was adjoined, was far more important to a new holder of the Tangyut rulership.

In the light of all this supporting evidence, the death of Jen-Tsung was apparently the turning point of the fate of Jaya-Gambu because he had to leave the country once he could not secure protection from the newly-succeeded Huan-Tsung. Where could Jaya-Gambu go? He could not return to Mongolia because the Naimans and the new Kereit regime were there. From Tangyut, Jaya-Gambu had only two directions to go, either passing through the Tangyut territory to Uighur, then going further west to join his elder brother, or southeast to the Jurchen border, staying in the buffer zone between the steppe

<sup>56</sup> *JT* did not mention that Senggüm had passed the Tangyut territory when he fled westward. *CCL* p.64b relates that Yi-la-hê (Ilqa-Senggüm) went towards Hsi-Hsia (Tangyut), passed by the town of Yi-chi-na, and arrived at the tribe of Po-li-t'u-po. He plundered around and wanted to settle down there. [Po-li-]t'u-po [people] gathered tribesmen and drove him away. *YS* p.12 recounts that Yi-la-hê went towards Hsi-Hsia, plundering everyday to sustain himself; after a while [he] was driven away by the Hsi-Hsia [people] as well, [he] arrived in the nation of Ch'iü-tzü (Kucha). In a later account, in 1226, *YS* relates that Chinggis set out against Hsi-Hsia in person because they accepted the enemy Yi-la-hê-hsiang-k'un (Ilqa-Senggüm) and did not send hostages. According to *JT*, the 1226 campaign was in nature punitive because the Tangyuts refused to send troops to assist in Chinggis' Transoxiana campaign. With so many variations of the fleeing route of Senggüm, one could be properly agreed is, Senggüm might have passed by the Tangyut territory but he did not settle there. *YS*'s accounts are odd among these records because in the first account, it seems to be an error mistaken from the events with *CCL*'s "T'u-po", and in the second account, it seems unreasonable for Chinggis to set out so late because of an offence which happened twenty years earlier.

and Chinese settlement. His next presence in the sources shows that he had chosen the shorter way and had gone into the Jayut region.

If the above inference and hypothesis are correct, Jaya-Gambu must have come to the Tangyut country before the death of Jen-Tsung, that is the end of 1193.<sup>57</sup> With this dating, two other datings can be restored: the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en and the dethronement of Toyoril. Since Temüjin's defeat in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en was the immediate cause for Jaya-Gambu's seeking protection from the Tangyut Jen-Tsung, the battle can be dated in 1193 and no earlier than that. Since Kereidei (Jaya-Gambu) was in Temüjin's camp when the battle was fought, Toyoril's regime must have been overthrown before, or shortly before, this 1193 battle.

From the above study of the reign of Naiman Inanch-Bilge-BWKW-Qan. Inanch appears to be alive in 1193, and in or before the spring of 1193. he had incorporated the Tayang group of Naimans under his leadership, and had Toyoril's Kereit regime overthrown. Combining this conclusion with the result of the examination of Jaya-Gambu's journey, the date at which Toyoril was overthrown by Inanch-Qan can be set between 1181/82 and the spring of 1193. After the dethronement, the battle of Thirteen Güre'en was fought in 1193, and then Jaya-Gambu went to the Tangyut nation before the end of 1193.

### **The duration of Toyoril's exile**

It seems impossible to know for how long Toyoril had been dethroned at this time. All the details of the course of the exile we can extract from the sources are as follows: Toyoril passed through three regions to go to Qara-Khitai. He did not stay more than a year there then he left. He was reduced to such straits that he had to survive with only five goats and two or three

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<sup>57</sup> The death of Jen-Tsung was reported to the Jurchen court by his successor on the *kēng-ying* day of the eleventh month of the fourth Ming-Ch'ang year. (*CS* 10 *chi* 10 p.230) The last day of 1193 was the sixth day of the twelve month of the fourth Ming-Ch'ang Year, therefore, the date was at the very end of 1193. Jen-Tsung must have died before this date.

camels. When he heard about the fame of Temüjin, he came to join him. Toyoril arrived in Güse'ür-Nayur, which was not far from the yurt of Temüjin, in the spring of a Dragon Year (1196). He sent two *nökers* to Temüjin to report that he had already returned to Mongolia. These accounts provide no clue to precise dating, except for the time of Toyoril's arrival at Güse'ür-Nayur.

We can try to reconstruct the duration of Toyoril's exile with this one available dating, the reconstructed event sequence, and the results of the above dating discussions. According to the study of Toyoril's motivation of returning Mongolia in section II, Temüjin's victory over the Tatars was the immediate cause which stimulated Toyoril to return. According to CS, the Jurchen had launched a large scale campaign against the steppe tribes from 1195 to 1196, in which the dispersal of a division of the Tatars on the Ulja river could be identified with a contribution by the force of Temüjin. This dispersal was dated in early 1196.<sup>58</sup>

If Temüjin defeated the Tatars in early 1196, according to CS, and Toyoril had arrived in Güse'ür-Nayur in the spring of 1196, according to JT, the victory must have happened earlier enough for the news to spread to the west, which "echoed" with the return journey of Toyoril. In this way, the victory should be assumed to have been achieved in early spring of 1196, and Toyoril's arrival in late spring of that year.

Taking these dates into account, it seems surprising that Toyoril was able to return from the west in no more than three months. However, no one can deny that this is a realistic record of the speed of travel from the surrounding region of Qara-Khitai to central Mongolia at the end of the twelfth century. The speed suggests that the "very distant" exile of Toyoril was an illusion resulted from his uncertain "long [time] away" from Mongolia ---- actually, he was not so far away in distance.

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<sup>58</sup> Details see Chapter Six.

Since he was not so "far away" from Mongolia, we shall also reconsider the question of whether he had been "long away". If the duration of Toyoril's return journey was not more than three months, combining this evidence with the other accounts, we may conclude that Toyoril's exile did not last long. Trekking his outbound route and his "less than a year" stay in Qara-Khitai, it would take him, at most, two years before he decided to go wandering. At the following stage of wandering, although the duration is not mentioned in the sources, his poverty would not have allowed it to be long, if he had got only five goats and some camels for sustenance. Then, as soon as he heard about the fame of Temüjin, he returned. In this way, Toyoril might not have spent much time in travelling to his destination, but most of his exile in wandering.

Combining this personal experience with the general situation in Mongolia, when Inanch-Qan "intimidated" the whole Kereit tribe prior to, or in the spring of 1193, and Jaya-Gambu arrived in Tangyut no later than the end of 1193, it seems that the year 1193 would be a proper focus in the long span of the possible period of Toyoril's dethronement. In this way, the most logical reconstruction of Toyoril's exile will be: Toyoril was dethroned in early 1193, after he had spent one or two years in the far west, he must have begun wandering in or around 1195. After wandering for an unknown, but not very long period, let us allow for half to one year maximum, he heard about the "fame" of Temüjin in spring 1196. Owing to his impoverishment, he must have hurried back to Mongolia at full speed regardless of hardship. In no more than three months, he arrived in Mongolia in the late spring of 1196. This chronology seems to fit both the suggested dating and the accounts in the sources.

We cannot place his dethronement after the spring of 1193, and we cannot date his return to Mongolia before the late spring of 1196. In the light of a comparison of the speed and the distance, his poverty during the exile and the "no less than a year" stay in Qara-Khitai, his exile could not have lasted long. Therefore, it is reasonable to fix his exile at early 1193 to late spring

of 1196, or, being more flexible, that it started at 1192/93 but not earlier than that.

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The reconstruction of the above dating is of great significance to both Kereit history and the history of Temüjin. According to the above discussions, a chronology can be set up as follows: When Erke-Qara escaped from Toyoril and took refuge with the Naiman Inanch-Qan, the latter attacked Toyoril on behalf of Erke-Qara, and dethroned Toyoril in 1192/93, or no later than the spring of 1193. The Kereit *ulus* fell into chaos, Toyoril fled west, and Kereidei (later Jaya-Gambu) came to Temüjin. Unfortunately, Temüjin was subsequently defeated by his Mongol kinsmen in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, which must have taken place later in the same year of 1193, so that Kereidei left Temüjin and went to the Tangyut ruler. However, unfortunately for Jaya-Gambu this time, the Tangyut ruler who offered him protection and prestige had passed away at the end of 1193. The new ruler adopted a new policy, which caused Jaya-Gambu to leave the Tangyut territory, and to wander on the border of Jurchen China.

Two years later, in the winter 1195/96, the Jurchen launched their long-prepared campaign against the steppe tribes. In the pursuit of the defeated Tatars, Temüjin offered assistance to the Jurchen troops by attacking the frightened Tatars at the Ulja river in early 1196. Temüjin won the battle and seized some valuable booty, which brought him a good reputation across the steppe. Poor Toyoril in the west heard about the news, and decided to come to Temüjin immediately. He arrived in Mongolia, at Güse'ür-Nayur which was not far from the yurt of Temüjin and informed Temüjin of his coming in late spring of 1196. Temüjin welcomed him in person, collected provisions from his own tribe to support Toyoril, and in that very autumn, they declared themselves father-and-son in the Black Forest on the Tuyula river. The chronology regarding Toyoril's dethronement and exile, combined with the history of Temüjin, is now clear.

When the dates have been worked out, many interesting suggestions can be made on the ground of this explicit chronology, especially a new view of the history of Temüjin. If the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en took place in 1193, when Temüjin was thirty-one years old, and he was defeated, in what way did he rebuild his strength, which was strong enough to earn him the title Jayut-Quri in just two and half years? What had happened to him between 1193 and 1196? What was Temüjin's relationship to his fellow Mongol branches, the Taichiyut who attacked him in 1193 and the Jürkin who quarrelled with him in the winter of 1195/96? Did his fellow Mongols take advantage of Toyoril's absence from Mongolia to turn against Temüjin? What was his situation before 1193, before he reached his thirties? Some of these aspects will be discussed in the following chapters.

As for Kereit history, if it is linked up with the last appearance of Toyoril in the sources before the dethronement, the reconstructed dating reveals that Toyoril was in a stable situation and stayed in power in 1181/82 until he was overthrown by the Naimans in 1192/93. It seems that he had enjoyed a decade of peace before his career reached its lowest ebb. He had a peaceful and enjoyable middle age, if he was born around 1148.<sup>59</sup> At this age, mid-thirties to mid-forties, Toyoril as the ruler of the Kereit *ulus* could also be regarded as a stabilising power on the steppe for this decade, and young Temüjin, the leader of the Qabul-Mongol, looked upon the middle-aged Toyoril as his "counted" father.

In the year 1193, the good days were over and disturbances entered Temüjin's life, starting with his defeat in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en. The subsequent disorders brought the young man experience and maturity, while the powerful middle-aged man fell from the height of his career and was severely damaged by the interruption. The power structure of the Mongolian steppe began to change, and according to the reconstruction of facts, sequences and dating in this chapter, this crucial change occurred in a rather short period

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<sup>59</sup> See discussion in Chapter One section III.

of three years: from 1192/93 to early 1196. After this period of change, steppe history moved into a new era of expansion, of the Temüjin-Mongol.

### Chapter Three

#### From Friend to Foe: A Change in the Temüjin-Toyoril Relationship

The general situation of Mongolia in mid-1196 can be described as follows. In the east, some Tatars had recently been defeated by the huge Jurchen force at the Kelüren river. A division of the Tatars retreated northwards along the Ulja river, and they were assaulted from the front by Temüjin. This victory brought Temüjin fame as well as a title/position from the Jurchen commander. In short, eastern Mongolia was in disorder during this period because of warfare.

In central Mongolia, Temüjin was at odds with his Jürkin kinsmen, while at the same time he befriended the exiled Kereit princes. Jaya-Gambu and Toyoril were both welcomed to stay in his camp, and the scattered Kereits were also gathered together at this time. The situation marks a change in Temüjin's attitude towards relationships: as a leader of the Qabul-Mongol, he would rather accept the friendship of his neighbouring Turkic regime than keep up with the pride of his genealogical seniors.

To the west of Temüjin's dominion, the mighty Naiman tribe was still in possession of the Kereit territory. According to Temüjin's new dimension of thought towards relationships, if Temüjin decided to rely upon Kereit support, he had to restore Toyoril to his former leadership first. This could only be achieved by defeating the Naimans.

To the south, Temüjin had recently obtained a peaceful relationship with Jurchen China and to his east, the Turkic or Mongol tribes were occupied with the subsequent attacks of the Jurchen force; neither Jurchen China nor the tribes would pay attention to developments in central Mongolia. This

circumstance did allow Temüjin to prepare for a campaign against the Naimans who were in the opposite direction.

In the autumn of 1196, Toyoril and Temüjin formally declared their close relationship in the black forest on Tuyula river. Afterwards, Temüjin assisted Toyoril in preparing for his restoration. The steppe situation at this moment was different from the time when Toyoril was dethroned; several changes of the situation contributing to this successful restoration will be discussed in section I.

At the end of the restoration campaign, an incident happened when the Toyoril-Temüjin joint force met Kökse'ü-Sabraq at Baidaraq-Belchir. The cause and consequence of this incident are investigated in section II of this chapter. After this, Toyoril and Temüjin continued with their agreement to assist each other in several campaigns, until their ambitions clashed. An extensive analysis of the rapid change of the political situation in 1202-1203 will be provided in section III, which ends in the final collapse of the Toyoril regime.

## I. Factors contributing to the restoration

After Toyoril and Temüjin had confirmed their friendly relationship in the Black Forest Declaration in the autumn of 1196, Temüjin took care of Toyoril, as a son to his father, until Toyoril had become strong enough to launch his restoration campaign. It is not clear whether Temüjin had supplied Toyoril with any military assistance in his campaign against the Naiman Buiruq-Qan, although he did appear, on the side of Toyoril, in a later confrontation with Kökse'ü-Sabraq, a general of Buiruq-Qan. Anyhow, in the earlier campaign, the restoration force pursued Buiruq-Qan of the mighty Naiman<sup>1</sup> to his camp at Kishil-Bash (lake)<sup>2</sup> and plundered the Naiman people.

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<sup>1</sup> "Buiruq-Qan of Güchügüt-Naiman" in *SH* §158, Güchügürtei Buiruq-Qan in §177.

Buiruq-Qan fled temporarily to Kem-Kemjiut, which was in the territory of the Kirgiz.<sup>3</sup>

However, this success should not be credited alone to the generous assistance and care of Temüjin. A change of the situation on the Mongolian steppe, especially those within the Naiman tribe and between Toyoril-Kereit and Toqtoya-Merkit, helped a lot in creating favourable circumstances for Toyoril's restoration.

First, the Naiman tribe had lost its former predominant superiority, after Toyoril had been dethroned and before he was restored, owing to internal disagreements. *JT* pp.128-129 relates that Inanch-Bilge-BWKW-Qan was an esteemed ruler (*mu'tabar*). His elder son was called Tai-Buqa,<sup>4</sup> whom the Khitai (Jurchen) rulers entitled (*laqab kardan*) Tāī-Wāng, and so he was the Tayang-Qan. Another son of Inanch was called Buiruq-Qan. These two sons did not get along well with each other, as even their father could tell when he was still alive. After the death of Inanch-Qan, these two brothers quarrelled over a concubine of their father and became hostile and separated. The emirs and troops separated, too, following their chosen leader. Tayang, since he was the elder son, possessed the Naiman throne and lived on plains, while Buiruq lived in the hilly lands.

As discussed in section III of Chapter Two, Inanch-Qan may have died in or after 1193 but before 1199. According to this dating, the quarrel between the two sons after his father's death, must have happened sometime around 1193 to 1199. Their disagreement had obviously split up the Naiman

<sup>2</sup> *JT* p.366 QYZYL-BĀSH, *CCL* p.26b, Hei-hsin-pa-shih. The first consonant of this place name, /k/ in the *SH*, /q/ in *JT* and /h/ in *CCL*, are the same in written Mongolian. This is evidence for the existence of an original written Mongolian text for these three sources.

<sup>3</sup> *JT* p.366. The attacking route follows *SH* §158. *SH* §158 recounts the consequence as "they destroyed him" at Lake Kishil-Bash, however, this would not cohere with his later appearance in the Battle of Köyiten and his final capture by Temüjin on Soqoq-Usun (river) at Uluq-Taq (mountain) in 1206.

<sup>4</sup> TĀYBWQĀ, or BĀYBWQĀ/BĀY-BWQĀ. *JT* p.365 TĀYBWQĀ/TĀBWQĀ

realm, and also their officials and supporters, into two. This disagreement can be further proved by a historical event: when Toyoril was fighting Buiruq-Qan in 1199 and pushed him back, apparently Tayang-Qan did not help his defeated brother. The split of the Naiman authority inevitably divided their strength, so that the Naimans were not as strong as they were six years previously. The internal disagreement of his enemy had made Toyoril's restoration easier.

Second, Toyoril rebuilt his force in two years from 1197 to 1198. How did he obtain such a speedy renovation of his force? The material foundation was not provided by the Temüjin-Mongol, but came with the wealth of the Turkic Merkits. According to the records of *JT* and *CCL*, Temüjin looted the Merkits in the autumn of 1197.<sup>5</sup> In this attack, Temüjin fought Toqtoya at Mürüche-Se'ül by the Qadiqliq (/Qadingliq) Niruyun (ridge),<sup>6</sup> then Temüjin offered all the booty: horses, tents and "crops", to Toyoril to assist him in his poverty. After this, in this year 1198, Toyoril set out alone to attack the Merkits on the Buyura steppe. He chased Toqtoya towards the Barqujin, killed his eldest son Tögüs-Beki, seized his women and held part of the Merkit people who belonged to the brother or son of Toqtoya.<sup>7</sup> He did not give a share of this booty to Temüjin. Apparently, the abundant booty of these two lootings was useful in recovering Toyoril's strength.

<sup>5</sup> *CCL* p.25a, "the next autumn" after the Black Forest Declaration. *JT* p.364, a Snake Year.

<sup>6</sup> *SH* §177 "Mürüche-Se'ül by the Qadiqliq ridge", *YS* "Mo-na-ch'a mountain" or "Ha-ting-li", *CCL* p.25a "Mo-ch'a-na mountain" or p.51a "the west of Ha-ting-hei mountain, the plain of Mu-na-ch'a-hsiao-li". *JT* p.364 "at a place which is called MW RW CHH-S'WL" or variation MWNJH. Apparently, Mo-ch'a-na on *CCL* p.25a should be Mo-na-ch'a. The conflict of Mürüche and MWNJH can be solved if the /r/ (ᡵ) in *SH* is a misreading from /n/ (-ን). *JT* p.364, the site is before the Kelüren and not far from the Selengge river. *SH* alone records that Temüjin chased Toqtoya towards the Barqujin, which is on Lake Baikal, I am in doubt of the accuracy of this account, and I believe that his flight should be correctly placed in the next defeat of Merkit in 1198, in which Toqtoya was overwhelmed by Toyoril, his wives/daughters and sons/brothers were killed or captured while himself fled to Barqujin.

<sup>7</sup> *SH* §157, wives and sons. *CCL* p.26ab relates that Toyoril had captured two khatuns, and beckoned to the two younger sons of Toqtoya to come to him. *JT* p.364 relates the captured women were Toqtoya's "two daughters/girls" and these men his "two brothers", while in p.368 it relates that for these two males, Qodu was Toqtoya's brother and Chilayun was his son. In the account of Merkit tribe, *JT* p.95 relates that Qodu was the brother of Toqtoya and Chilayun "who born to Ong-Qan's daughter".

Temüjin's 1197 attack upon the Merkits is not difficult to understand, because the long enmity between the Merkits and the Temüjin family does not need further explanation. However, it is curious to see Toyoril turning against his son-in-law. Toqtoya seems to have maintained a good relationship, also an in-laws' connection with Toyoril since his first struggle for the Kereit qanship. Under what circumstance, or with what excuse, would Toyoril attack Toqtoya?

Perhaps an earlier incident can supply an explanation for this action. When the Merkits assaulted Temüjin in 1196, they had carelessly targeted also the exiled Kereit prince Jaya-Gambu. There seems to have been no other wealthy tribes nearby but Toyoril needed desperately to boost his material possessions. No matter how intimate the Toyoril-Toqtoya relationship was, wealth which could support Toyoril's restoration seemed much more valuable than affinity at this crucial time. Probably with this excuse, Toyoril took "revenge" and plundered Toqtoya.

With the shelter provided by Jayut-Quri, a division of the Naiman authority and the possession of Merkit's wealth, the situation was favourable for Toyoril to launch his restoration campaign. Toyoril did take advantage of this situation, and successfully recovered his *ulus* from the Naimans. The future of this Toyoril-Kereit regime seemed bright, if he could still make use of the circumstances, namely, friendly support from the Temüjin-Mongol, a weakened Merkit and a split Naiman. However, some problems had occurred at the end of 1199, and the subsequent incidents led to a quick downfall of his regime, in no more than four years.

## II. Distrust in 1199-1200

The friendship between Toyoril and Temüjin went well, until a desertion on the battlefield.

In the winter<sup>8</sup> of 1199/1200, the forces of Temüjin and Toyoril came to face a brilliant Naiman general: Kökse'ü-Sabraq.<sup>9</sup> After an initial fight, or according to the *SH*, before they fought, Toyoril and Temüjin were stationed at Baidaraq-Belchir overnight to wait for dawn. During the night, Toyoril pulled out secretly. Next morning, Temüjin discovered this desertion, or betrayal. He was apparently enraged. Temüjin then withdrew from the battlefield as well, and returned to the Sayari steppe.<sup>10</sup>

It seems that the sources implied that this desertion was caused by an untrue slander uttered by Jamuqa. The sources relate that Jamuqa had told Toyoril that "Temüjin is the migratory lark", implying that Temüjin was unreliable and that he was going to migrate to the other side.

This opinion does not have a solid basis when we compare it with the timing described in the same sources. All three sources record that *at dawn*, when Jamuqa saw that the standard (*tuq*) of Toyoril was not in its previous location, he rode to him and spoke those words. If the timing in the three sources is correct, Jamuqa should not be used as a scapegoat for Toyoril's withdrawal: Toyoril could not have withdrawn (moved his standard) before Jamuqa's slander reached him at the next dawn, if his movement was solely stimulated by the slander.

If his withdrawal was not caused by a slander, then what made him pull out without informing his ally in front of a dangerous rival? Would he not have understood that the consequence of this action would be the destruction

<sup>8</sup> *CCL* p.27a.

<sup>9</sup> KWKSWW SĀYRĀQ/KWKSĀKW SRĀQ/KWKSĀKY. Tayang-Qan's high official Qori-Sübechi had said of him in 1204: "what a pity that Kökse'ü-Sabraq has grown old; how lax has the discipline in our army become!" (*SH* §194) It is clear that, from this description, Kökse'ü-Sabraq was not very young in 1199, and, he must have been an expert in military affairs especially in putting the troops under discipline.

<sup>10</sup> *JT* pp.366-368, *CCL* pp.27a-28a, *SH* §159 and §161.

of his ally and caring son Temüjin? Supposing that this action was not related to slanders, then what is the explanation?

### The evil intention and attempts

The real reason, which I take to be a more convincing elucidation of Toyoril's pull-out can only be explained if taken together with some other later incidents. According to *JT*, immediately after the settlement of this Naiman campaign, Toyoril had attempted to bribe Temüjin's closest näker Boyorchu, and to capture Temüjin at a feast.

First, to bribe Boyorchu. After the Baidaraq-Belchir encounter, Kökse'ü-Sabraq went after the retreating Toyoril and plundered his people at Telegetü Pass. Toyoril appealed to Temüjin for reinforcement, and Temüjin sent out his näkers, including Boyorchu, to recover the Kereit people. When the warfare was concluded, "one day", Toyoril invited Boyorchu to his place. He gave him ten golden *manqur* (?goblets) as a present. Compared with the booty Temüjin had got from the Tatars, these goblets must have been very valuable. Boyorchu then reported this to Temüjin and handed in the goblets when he returned. He confessed to Temüjin that he should not go over to Toyoril's place, and leave Temüjin unattended.<sup>11</sup>

According to the record sequence of events in *JT*, after Toyoril failed to bribe Boyorchu, he had tried to capture Temüjin when they were having a gathering at Sayari steppe (Temüjin's residence) in the spring of 1200. "People say that", in the feast, a Bayarin called Usun suspected [something unusual]. He put a knife into his boot, and sat between Toyoril and Temüjin. He was eating meat, kept turning back to look [at them] and having a conversation [with others]. Because of this, Toyoril acknowledged that they had known about his villainy, so that he was unable to carry on.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *JT* p.370. BWRCHY reads Bürjū, < Boyorchu.

<sup>12</sup> *JT* p.371. The record is not complete. The last sentence of this record is "Chinggis-Qan by this reason, tūmān-i BĀRYN ... ". If we relate this to the award Usun had received from Temüjin, the complete sentence would possibly be either "Chinggis-Qan by this reason, he

This Usun-Noyan in *JT* can be identified with Usun-Ebügen (Usun the Old Man) in *SH* §216, who had been awarded a prestigious position: the *beki* of the Bayarin tribe, by Temüjin. No explicit contributions of his which are directly related to his prestigious award can be found in the sources, except for a vague sentence in the same paragraph of the *SH*, which relates that Usun always reported to Temüjin what he saw, heard, thought and comprehended without hiding or concealing. This attitude can possibly be related to his uncovering and prevention of the above attempt upon the life of Temüjin.

Three attempts were carried out in a few months ---- must there not have been some intention behind them? Is it reasonable to conclude from these incidents that Toyoril had tried to destroy Temüjin? This first abandonment is suspiciously evil, while the later two were certainly malevolent, as implied in the accounts.

Let us turn back to the time of the withdrawal from the battlefield, the winter of 1199/1200. Looking into the circumstances of the power structure on the Mongolian steppe during Toyoril's restoration campaign, the Naiman tribe and the Temüjin-Mongol were undoubtedly the strongest. The Tatars were weakened in the warfare with the Jurchen, the Merkits had been looted twice in two years, respectively by Temüjin and Toyoril. In the restoration campaign, the Naiman Buiruq-Qan was put to flight while his disaffected brother Tayang-Qan remain neutral. It seems that all Toyoril's enemies were removed.

Temüjin did appear to be too strong as a vassal to Toyoril during this time. Young Temüjin would be a good ally, but when the lamb grew up, Toyoril might not be able to keep him under control. If Toyoril had made up his mind to consider Temüjin as a threat, it was possible for him to abandon Temüjin on the battlefield in the final combat, deliberately, and hope that the Naimans would do the job for him.

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gave the Bayarin Thousand to Usun" or "he made Usun a Thousand leader of the Bayarins".

Temüjin had then come to notice the evil situation, if not his intention, and furiously described this abandonment as "they certainly treat us like food burned at the sacrifice for the dead", which means "like something that is no longer useful and can be discarded".<sup>13</sup> This description tells that, in Temüjin's understanding, Toyoril intended to disable Temüjin after he had outlasted his usefulness. This observation is accurate when we compare the situation in central Mongolia at that time, also Toyoril's later "attempts". This explains the real reason of Toyoril's withdrawal from Baidaraq-Belchir.

### **The Red Hills Promise**

Unfortunately, Toyoril miscalculated the situation and acted too early. The Naimans knew who their enemy was. They did not chase after Temüjin but came after Toyoril. Having no alternative, Toyoril had to turn to the only power who could counter the Naimans, that is Temüjin, for help. Temüjin sent out the reinforcement, and recovered the Kereit people for Toyoril. However, Temüjin did not forget the previous desertion on the battlefield. It seems that Temüjin had demanded from Toyoril an explanation for his previous withdrawal, immediately after the warfare concluded. The result of their explanation and negotiation was the Red Hills Promise in the winter of 1199/1200.

The Red Hills Promise has not been singled out by previous researchers as an individual and important event, nonetheless it is of great significance to the development of the Toyoril-Temüjin relationship. One possible reason for its being neglected is, it is not stated in the explicit chronological history of Temüjin, but is only recorded in the complicated paragraph dealing with Temüjin's reprimand of Toyoril. Besides, in the account of *SH* §164, it is mixed up with the "Black Forest Declaration", therefore, researchers may have overlooked it if they were unable to separate these two events.

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<sup>13</sup> *SH* §161. Annotation by Igor de Rachewiltz, *PFEH* 13 (1976) p.51.

These two events in *SH* §164 can be separated from each other, by an investigation of the locations where the events took place. The "Black Forest Declaration" ---- the phrase is invented for narrative convenience in this thesis ---- is the occasion on which Toyoril and Temüjin declared to each other father-and-son "in the black forest on the Tuyula river" right after Toyoril returned to Mongolia in 1196. To be precise, the "Black Forest Declaration" was proclaimed in the autumn of 1196.<sup>14</sup> The rest of *SH* §164 text should be referred to a later re-confirmation of their relationship, which took place at Hulayan-Qut-Boldayut (Red-cliff-hills) of Jorqal-Qun, according to §177 in the same source.

The relevant text in the reprimand in §177 is quoted below:

O qan my father, what did we agreed upon, the two of us? At Hula'a nu'ut Bolda'ut of Jorqal-qun, did we not say to each other that if a snake with teeth incites us against one another, to his incitements let us not fall; by explaining eye to eye, we shall believe. Did we not agree on this? And now, o qan my father, when you aparted from me (ie Battle at Qalaqaljit-Elet), did we have an explanation eye to eye? If a snake with fangs spreads slander about us, his slander let us not accept; by explaining face to face, we shall believe. Did we not agree on this? And now, o qan my father, when you separated from me, did we have an explanation face to face?<sup>15</sup>

This account recounts an agreement between Toyoril and Temüjin which cannot be found in the chronological history and hence can not be dated. I assume that this promise shall be dated to the turn of 1199-1200, immediately after Temüjin had rescued the Kereit *ulus* from Kökse'ü-Sabraq. My assumption is based on a coincidence of the site of Red Hills in both accounts, and the record sequence of the events in the sources.

<sup>14</sup> CCL p.24b, autumn.

<sup>15</sup> Translation by Igor de Rachewiltz, *PEFH* 16 (1977) pp.34-35. I have slightly amended the punctuation.

In the chronological histories, Temüjin reinforced Toyoril's force and fought Kökse'ü-Sabraq at Hulayan-Qut (red cliff) according to *SH* §163, or "Hu-la-hê shan" (\*Hulaqa Hill, red hill) according to *CCL* p.29b. *JT* does not record the site in its chronological account.

Regarding the promise related in the reprimand, it was agreed at the hills of Hu-la-a-pan-ta-wu chuo-êrh-wan-hu-nu (Hulaya-Boldayut, Jorqal-Qun), according to *CCL* p.52a, or at a place "on the Qarā river, that is HWLĀĀN NWWT (\*Hula'a-nu'ut), and close to a hill which is called JWRQĀL-QWN", according to *JT* p.389. A variation of *JT* p.389's HWLĀĀN NWWT is HWLĀĀN-BYLTĀTWWT, and the latter can be restored as Hulān-Boldayut, < Hulayan-Boldayut. This place name means "red hills", and this is the very location where Temüjin expelled Kökse'ü-Sabraq.

As for the location mentioned in the reprimand of *SH* §177, Hula'anu'ut-Boldayut can be possibly be understood as Hulayan-Qut Boldayut, with a similar meaning to "red hills". I strongly suspect that the HWLĀĀN NWWT in *JT* p.389 is a recent "correction" by the editor of Persian text, who put away HWLĀĀN-BYLTĀTWWT as a "variation" and "corrected" it with the spelling in *SH* §177.<sup>16</sup>

On the other hand, both *CCL* and *JT* record this promise in the reprimand, *after* Temüjin has mentioned his rescue of the Kereit people from Kökse'ü-Sabraq, and *before* Temüjin mentions his battle with the Qatagins and Saljiyuts. According to the event order in the chronicle in *JT*, Temüjin's campaign against these two tribes should be dated after Temüjin's attack of the Taichiyuts, and Temüjin's attack of the Taichiyuts happened after the above mentioned Toyoril-Temüjin gathering in spring 1200. In this way, the Red Hills Promise was agreed undoubtedly after the Kökse'ü-Sabraq incident in

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<sup>16</sup> This is also the possible situation in respect of Mürüche-Se'ül. The variation MWNJH (\*Mūnacha) seems more accurate when compared with the transcriptions in Chinese sources. In this instance, Mürüche-Se'ül in the main text appears odd.

winter 1199 and before the gathering in spring 1200, therefore, it should be dated at the turn of 1199/1200.

By comparing the location where the conclusive battle against Kökse'ü-Sabraq was fought and the location where the promise had been made, these two events have been linked up. Also through the event sequence in the sources, the promise has found its place in the chronology. We can conclude that the Red Hills Promise comes immediately after Temüjin rescued the Kereit people from Kökse'ü-Sabraq, and the promise should be dated at the turn of 1199-1200. Obviously, Temüjin had reviewed his relationship with Toyoril *on the spot* immediately after the disturbances were settled.

From the content of the promise, we can tell that there must have been an "misunderstanding" between two parties, in which one of them had been incited by "snake teeth", that implies to believe in slander or whatever evil, and he did not question the other "eye to eye, face to face" for the truth. It is very clear that the "misunderstanding" could not be other but the distrust between Toyoril and Temüjin, or it would be better described as, Toyoril towards Temüjin.

The sources do not supply any more information about the incitement, however, as discussed above, Jamuqa should not be held responsible for this. In fact, the explanation of how they resolved their misunderstanding did not really matter to the development of history since the vital consequence of the desertion had been avoided. The explanation they accepted and the promise they agreed at least calmed Temüjin down and preserved a peaceful relationship between the two, for the moment.

In spite of the discovery of Toyoril's distrust of Temüjin, and the failure of several attempts upon Temüjin, Toyoril apparently did not abandon his constant "intention" towards Temüjin, or the Temüjin-Mongol. On the other hand, it seems that Temüjin also began to have an ambition in the Kereit

*ulus* in 1202. The conflict of their ambitions and its impact on the Toyoril-Temüjin relationship is related in section III.

### III. Ambitions and Circumstances in 1202-1203

After the incident of Kökse'ü-Sabraq, Temüjin launched a series of military operations against the steppe tribes in eastern Mongolia. Briefly, from the spring of 1200 to the autumn of 1202, according to the event sequence in *JT*,<sup>17</sup> Temüjin attacked the Taichiyyuts on the Onan, then defeated a hostile Mongol coalition at Buyur-Nayur ---- an coalition made up of the tribes of Qatagin, Saljiyut, Dörben (allied with Turkic Tatars) and Qonggirat. After this, Temüjin waged a battle against four Tatar leaders at Dalan-Nemürges.<sup>18</sup> Thereafter, Jamuqa was elected Gür-Qan by certain Mongol tribes and their allies in 1201. They set out against Temüjin but were defeated at Yedi(Teni)-Qorqan.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently, in the Year of Dog (1202), Temüjin attacked the Alchi-Tatars and Chaqayan-Tatars from (H)ulqui-Silügeljit.<sup>20</sup> Later in that

<sup>17</sup> *JT* pp.371-381.

<sup>18</sup> *JT* pp.375-376 has mistaken the tribal identity of Alaqt-Udur and Qirqan-Taishi (QYRQYZ in *JT* p.82, Ch'i-êrh-ha in *CCL* p.34a). In *CCL* p.34a, Alaqt-Udur was a Tatar leader, and in *JT* p.82, he was a son of Megüjin-Se'ültü and Qirqan-Taishi was the brother of Alaqt-Udur. They were not Merkits nor Taichiyyuts, as mentioned in *JT* pp.375-376. Also, in *CCL* p.34b and *SH* §153, the location of battlefield, Dalan-Nemürges, appears to be the battlefield of Temüjin's Tatars' campaign.

The account of *SH* §153 might have confused two battles against the Tatars. The first shall be the one which fought at Dalan-Nemürges, dated in the winter of 1200/01 (*CCL* p.34a and *JT* p.377), the enemy was four Tatar emirs (named in *JT* pp.375-376, could be the so called "Four Tatars" in *SH* §153?). The second is the battle of (H)ulqui-Silügeljit which shall be dated in 1202, see *CCL* p.37b and *JT* p.378.

<sup>19</sup> *CCL* p.37b, T'eh-ni-huo-luo-han, *JT* p.378, YYDY-QWRQĀN.

<sup>20</sup> Toyoril's force might have allied with Temüjin in this campaign. According to *JT* p.378, the attacking force set out in the spring of 1202, and according to *CCL* p.38a, they paused in summer to avoid the heat. Therefore, the engagement must have taken place in autumn, and in the autumn, the allied force under the Naiman Buiruq-Qan approached. *JT* p. records that when the allied force was approaching, Temüjin and Toyoril retreated towards the direction of "the wall" (utku, "A-lan sai" in *CCL*) from the place of (H)ulqui-Silügeljit. Apparently, they were both at (H)ulqui-Silügeljit that autumn. The Tatars were also an old foe to the Kereits, it is reasonable to see Toyoril and Temüjin joined together in destroying the Tatars.

autumn, a huge force made up of the defeated tribes, defeated either by Temüjin or Toyoril, struck back, which resulted in their spontaneous dispersal at Köyiten.

As for the situation in central Mongolia and the relationship between the Temüjin-Mongol and the Toyoril-Kereit during these two years, Temüjin and Toyoril apparently lived in peace, observing the agreement they made at Red Hills, and assisted each other in military affairs<sup>21</sup> up to the phoney battle at Köyiten, until the failure of a marriage proposal in the winter of 1202.

In this disagreement, Toyoril and Temüjin "lost affection" to each other. *CCL* p.42a describes that they "slightly detached [from each other] since then", *SH* §165 describes from the perspective of Temüjin that Temüjin "in his heart lost affection for" Toyoril and Senggüm, and *JT* p.381 relates that "a little sorrow began to appear among them". With our knowledge of Toyoril's "intention" towards Temüjin which has been analyzed in section II, it would be more appropriate to say that the tension had "resumed" this time, rather than "built up".

Moreover, the circumstances in the winter of 1202/03 provided a fertile ground for their dissension. An examination of Temüjin's attitude towards the Taichiyut tribe, and Toyoril's attitude towards Jamuqa reveals that during 1200-1202 before their disagreement on the marriage proposal, both Toyoril and Temüjin had showed an interest in expanding their dominion by taking over other existing powers. The failure of the marriage proposal, in fact, was a clash of their interests, or, ambition.

This section concentrates on indicating important events which reveal or cause the change of the political situation in central Mongolia during this period, including Toyoril's attitude towards Jamuqa and some anti-Temüjin Mongols, and Temüjin's ambition in expanding his leadership.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

### The alliance of Toyoril and Jamuqa

*SH* §144 relates that upon the retreat of the enemy forces in the Battle of Köyiten in autumn 1202, Toyoril pursued Jamuqa and Temüjin chased after the Taichiyuts.

How should we understand this pursuit? Regarding the relationship between the Taichiyuts and Temüjin, the qan of Qabul-Mongol at this time,<sup>22</sup> genealogically, they were the closest kinsmen, brother branches descended from two sons of Qaidu, the greatest branches in Nīrūn-Mongol, peers but independent of each other. If Temüjin intended to extend his rulership over other Mongol tribes, to unite the Qaidu-Mongol by annexing the greatest brother branch would be the first task. Since there was no general leader for the Taichiyut tribes at this time, Temüjin had to destroy all of the potential opponents.<sup>23</sup>

If this relation between Temüjin and the Taichiyuts, also his earlier campaigns against certain Mongol tribes and the Tatars, can be interpreted as "ambitious for power", then, what shall we consider Toyoril's pursuit of Jamuqa?

Jamuqa belonged to the Jadaran or Jajirat tribe, whose ancestor had a matrilineal connection to the Borjigin-Mongol,<sup>24</sup> and he had recently been elected Gür-Qan, supported by important non-Borjigin Mongol tribes. At the time of the Battle of Köyiten, he was at the head of these Mongol kinsmen.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See Chapter Four, the analysis of Temüjin's being elected as a Mongol qan.

<sup>23</sup> *JT* p.189, the disagreement among leading kinsmen and the contest for Taichiyut leadership continued when Temüjin waged battles against them. Details related in Chapter Four.

<sup>24</sup> The first ancestor of the Jadaran clan was called Jajiratai, who was born by a women of Bodonchar but his father was not Bodonchar.

<sup>25</sup> A branch of Qonggirat who elected Jamuqa as Gür-Qan had submitted to Temüjin in 1201. *JT* p.378. Therefore, they were not supposed to fight for Jamuqa in this battle.

It is strange to see the Kereit ruler pursuing the leader of certain Mongols. Could his intention have been similar to Temüjin's: an interest in expansion?

If Toyoril was ambitious for power, there were some other Turkic tribes also in retreat: the Naiman, the Oirat and the Merkit. Is it not curious that Toyoril ignored these Turkic people but followed after a Mongol leader?

The relationship between Jamuqa and Toyoril then needs re-examination.

First of all, it is a fact that Jamuqa had disagreed with Temüjin since the incident of Taichar (?1193), and if Toyoril did have a destructive intention towards Temüjin since 1199/1200, Jamuqa and Toyoril were both anti-Temüjin at this time (1202).

From the perspective of Toyoril, if Toyoril was still keen on overthrowing Temüjin, he should have learnt the lesson from his previous failure that he would not be able to achieve this on his own. To ally with another anti-Temüjin power might appear to Toyoril as an opportunity, however, the Turkic Merkits, one of Temüjin's enemies, would not befriend Toyoril after his plundering in 1198. Another great power which was not getting along with the Temüjin-Mongol was the Taichiyut tribe. However, obviously the tribe was the main target of Temüjin's expansion. It would be unwise to annoy the powerful Temüjin by having an interest in the Taichiyut-Mongol. In this way, Jamuqa who was at the head of a group of anti-Temüjin Mongols might attract Toyoril's attention. Most of these anti-Temüjin Mongols had a genealogical connection to Borjigin-Mongol but this connection was distant enough for them to have a marriage relationship; besides, they were not under the sphere of influence, or interest, of Temüjin, at least at that moment. An interest in this group of steppe people then seems sensible, no matter if Toyoril was considering whether to ally with them or to annex them.

From the perspective of Jamuqa, he seemed always have been keeping in touch with Toyoril. In the accounts of the winter of 1199/1200, Jamuqa had

appeared on the battlefield of Baidaraq-Belchir, reason unknown, and spoke "slanders" about Temüjin to Toyoril. This action confirmed that there was no serious enmity between the two at this time, and Jamuqa favoured Toyoril more than Temüjin. Later, in 1201, Jamuqa the Gür-Qan marched against Temüjin but was defeated at Yedi(/Teni)-Qorqan. Understandably, Jamuqa and his subjects were disgraced by this defeat, and at the same time, Jamuqa may have realised that he was not strong enough to overthrow Temüjin, if he fought alone.

The next year, at the battle of Köyiten, Jamuqa appeared at the battlefield when his subject tribes participated in the allies' attack.<sup>26</sup> Although Toyoril was in the enemy's camp, Jamuqa was not necessarily hostile to him if we analyze the composition of both forces.

Toyoril and Temüjin fought on the same side in the battle of Köyiten, however, their alliance was probably not based on friendship but on practical mutual assistance. In the rival camp, the Naiman Buiruq-Qan was Toyoril's prime enemy, the anti-Temüjin Mongols were Temüjin's prime enemy, and the Merkits were a common enemy for both Toyoril and Temüjin. Toyoril and Temüjin must have both realised from past experience that they could hardly win over such an alliance of enemies if they fought alone.

From the same point of view, the mutual-assistance nature of the rival camp might also suggest that even when Toyoril and Jamuqa appeared in confronting camps, Jamuqa was not necessarily hostile to Toyoril: the enemy of Jamuqa was explicitly his ultimate rival Temüjin.

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<sup>26</sup> The three sources mention the tribes which made up the allied force but not the name of Jamuqa. However, in the aftermath of the battle, all sources relate the presence of Jamuqa that he plundered his subject tribes on retreat. As for the leader of this allied force, the *SH* implies that it was Jamuqa, but in the narrative of *CCL* and *JT*, it seems that the general-in-command was the Naiman Buiruq-Qan. If the latter accounts are correct, the mistaken description in the *SH* may have resulted from the confusion of two events: the election of Jamuqa and battle at Yedi(/Teni)-Qorqan in 1201, and this allies' attack in 1202.

The above accounts of Jamuqa show that he did not turn against Toyoril from 1199 to 1202, and that he had suffered a further setback at the hands of Temüjin. Although it is hard to prove the accuracy of the unique pursuit account in the *SH*, Toyoril's interest in Jamuqa and his people may have made Jamuqa a target.

No matter whether Toyoril had subdued Jamuqa in the pursuit or Jamuqa was still an independent commander-in-chief,<sup>27</sup> Jamuqa's later presence in the sources justified his closeness to Toyoril after the Köyiten battle. First, in that winter, Jamuqa appeared in the camp of Senggüm and enhanced Senggüm's hostility towards Temüjin. Second, according to the *SH* alone, Jamuqa went with Toyoril in the battle of Qalaqaljit-Elet, which aimed at the destruction of Temüjin. Third, after this inconclusive battle, Jamuqa plotted with some Mongols in Toyoril's camp to take over the power of Toyoril. This unsuccessful conspiracy concluded their friendship, Jamuqa left the Kereits and fled to the Naiman Tayang-Qan. In all these events, it is clear that Jamuqa's main concern in the first two incidents was to counter Temüjin. Jamuqa seemed content with this collaboration with the Kereits in their attempts to destroy Temüjin, until his power ambition switched towards Toyoril.

Since Toyoril and Jamuqa had the same intention towards Temüjin, it would not be surprising for them to obtain a good acquaintance with each other, although ethnically one was Turkic and one was Mongol. Jamuqa must have inclined to the Kereit side in late fall of 1202, if he was chased and subdued by Toyoril, or in the winter of 1202/03, after the Kereits and Temüjin "lost" their "affection". Even if the account of Toyoril's pursuit of Jamuqa is incorrect, their association could still easily have occurred in this period because of their common hostility towards Temüjin.

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<sup>27</sup> It is doubtful that Jamuqa was still in command as a Gür-Qan after he had looted his supporting tribes en route from Köyiten.

### "Loss of affection"

Toyoril and Jamuqa were associated together closely after the crisis of the marriage proposal between the Temüjin-Mongol and the Toyoril-Kereit in the winter of 1202/03. This crisis was the immediate cause which uncovered the underlining distrust between Toyoril and Temüjin, and a conflict of their ambitions in expansion.

Factors contributing to this "loss of affection" can be examined from three aspects, from the perspective of the Kereit regime: Temüjin's intention in the inappropriate marriage proposal, the threat of a joint force invasion of Temüjin and Naiman-Tayang-Qan, and the changing of sides by some Mongol leaders.

First, the mismatched request for an in-laws' relationship between the Toyoril-Kereit and the Temüjin-Mongol. In this marriage proposal, Temüjin had asked the sister of Senggüm for his eldest son Jochi, in exchange for a marriage of his daughter to the son of Senggüm.<sup>28</sup> In the latter match, Temüjin would become the father-in-law of Senggüm's son when he took Temüjin's daughter ---- this relationship fitted well the current peer status between Temüjin and Senggüm. However, when Jochi took Toyoril's daughter, Senggüm would become a brother-in-law to the son of Temüjin. This mismatch would debase Senggüm.

More than being merely humiliating, the marriage might grant Temüjin a opportunity to intervene in Kereit politics, if Temüjin had any ambition to do so. Senggüm was the only heir<sup>29</sup> to the Kereit throne at this time. Assuming that the marriage proceeded and the sister of Senggüm gave birth to

<sup>28</sup> SH §165, Temüjin himself offered the exchange. *JT* p.381 and *CCL* p.42a, Temüjin and Toyoril asked girls from each other.

<sup>29</sup> SH §174 implies that Senggüm was Toyoril's only son. However, *JT* p.362 says that Ong-Qan had two sons, the elder one was Senggüm (SNGWN), the younger one was 'YQW (\*Iqu?). 'YQW's daughter Toqus (TWQWZ) khatun was married to Tolui and after him, Hülegü acquired her as his wife.

a son, this child might have a voice in the affairs of Kereit tribe, and his father and grandfather might also exercise an influence in the tribe via this offspring. As seen in Kereit history, the offsprings of Betekin seed enjoyed a privileged status in Kereit politics during the reign of Qurjaqus, which threaten the succession of the legitimate heir Toyoril. This lesson would have reminded Toyoril and Senggüm to be cautious before entering any marriage agreement, in particular with Temüjin, a steppe ruler who was too strong to be handle.

Even without a competitor for the throne, an in-law who was too powerful would not allow the future Kereit ruler to govern unconstrained ---- if Temüjin sought to intervene. Senggüm's anxiety over this possible challenge to his nation or his future sovereignty is clearly reflected in his suggestion to his qan father: he said to Toyoril that even now, while Toyoril was still alive and well, Temüjin had not the slightest regard for them; when Toyoril became old, Temüjin would not allow them to rule the Kereit people. "Whom will he allow to govern it, and how?"<sup>30</sup>

Although Temüjin might not have such an ambition in making such a proposal, since it was reasonable for the Kereits to understand it in this way, the proposal did not work out. This disagreement stirred up a tension between the Toyoril-Kereit and the Temüjin-Mongol: they "lost affection" for each other.

Two more incidents in this winter further intensified the tension: a suspicious connection between the Temüjin-Mongol and the Tayang-Naiman, and certain anti-Temüjin Mongols supporting the Kereits in their efforts to destroy Temüjin.

A rumour about a secret connection between Temüjin and Tayang-Qan frightened the Kereits. Soon after the Kereits and the Temüjin-Mongol lost affection on the issue of marriage, Jamuqa said to Senggüm that Temüjin had

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<sup>30</sup> SH §167. Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz, *PFEH* 13 (1976), p.56.

been sending messengers to the Naiman Tayang-Qan. No matter if this information was true or again a slander, it struck fatally at the security of the Kereits. The mighty Naiman tribe which adjoined to the Kereit territory was always a threat to the Kereit *ulus*. Although Buiruq-Qan had been defeated recently, Tayang-Qan, who was the proper ruler of all Naimans, remained untouched. The Kereit *ulus* was effectively sandwiched between the nations of Temüjin and Tayang-Qan, and to the Kereits, these two prominent powers were hard to deal with even before their alliance. While Temüjin's marriage proposal has been considered as a design to seize the Kereit regime peacefully from within, his alliance with the hostile Naimans could be seen as a conspiracy to take over the nation from the exterior. This critical danger to the survival of Toyoril-Kereit was intelligently observed by Jamuqa; therefore he persuaded Senggüm that "if you do not strike at him by surprise, what will become of you?"<sup>31</sup>

With such fear of the ambition of their neighbours, it was reasonable for the Kereits to response instantaneously in a hostile way. At this crucial moment, some important leaders of Qabul-Mongol changed sides to oppose Temüjin. Their support made the circumstances very favourable for the Kereits.

The first Mongol leader who the Kereit authority had accepted was Jamuqa. Soon after the phoney Battle of Köyiten and the failure of the marriage proposal, Jamuqa appeared in the camp of Senggüm, the son of Toyoril, the heir of the Kereit throne. This event appears curious, not because of his presence in the Kereit camp but because the Kereits did not reject him. Toyoril and Senggüm must have known that Jamuqa was the prime rival to Temüjin, the only alternative leader of the Mongols who had recently been defeated by Temüjin (1201). Knowing this, a friend of Temüjin should not have accepted and listened to Jamuqa. Besides, historically, Temüjin and Toyoril were "supposed to be" incited by a slander spoken by Jamuqa in

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<sup>31</sup> *SH* §166. Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz, *PFEH* 13 (1976), p.54.

1199/1200. This lesson should have reminded the Kereits about the untrustworthiness of Jamuqa. Under either consideration, the Kereits ought not to have allowed Jamuqa to appear in their camp, or to maintain a good relationship with him. Although no evidence in the sources confirms that Senggüm had offered Jamuqa any protection and Toyoril was aware of Jamuqa's "glib tongue",<sup>32</sup> the absence of any rejection of his stay with the Kereits was abnormal, if the Kereits and Temüjin were still on friendly terms. Apparently, this Mongol leader collaborated with the Kereits from then, until his next appearance in the Battle of Qalaqaljit-Elet in 1203.<sup>33</sup>

No later than the winter of 1202/03, the Kereit authority also accepted some Qabul-Mongol leaders who disagreed with Temüjin. Altan, Quchar and Dayaritai, these close kinsmen to Temüjin, were punished by Temüjin because of their disobedience in an earlier battle against Four Tatars in 1202. They came to Senggüm after the failure of the marriage proposal, and promised Senggüm that they would have their *āqā wa īnī*, "the children of Hö'elün", done away with.<sup>34</sup>

The anti-Temüjin sentiment of these Qabul-Mongol seniors was apparently owing to oppression on the part of Temüjin, and they were seeking revenge for this embarrassment. However, these being offended seniors were not the only Mongols who took the Kereit side. When we examine the common feature of the other Mongol betrayers, we can tell that Temüjin was in a major crisis of his Mongol leadership in 1202/03.

An analysis of the composition of these anti-Temüjin Mongols tells the story behind the scene. Other than Altan, Quchar and Dayaritai, the rest of the anti-Temüjin Mongols who appeared in Senggüm's camp were Jarnuqa of the

<sup>32</sup> SH §167.

<sup>33</sup> SH §170 only. CCL and JT did not mention this appearance.

<sup>34</sup> Details of this separation, see Chapter Four section II (ii).

Jadaran, Taqai-Qulaqai of the Mangqut,<sup>35</sup> Muqur-Quran of the Nīrūn Hadargin,<sup>36</sup> Ebüge(jin) of the Noyakin,<sup>37</sup> Toyoril the descendant of Süge<sup>38</sup> and Qachiyun-Beki of the Dörben. Examining their genealogical relationship, they were from different backgrounds but shared a common feature: they were not a part of the Qabul-Mongol which was the power base of Temüjin.

The Dörben and Jadaran tribes, although both Mongols, were distant from the family line of Temüjin. The Dörben tribe was descended from Duwa-Soqor who was a brother to Dobun-Mergen, therefore, Dörben was an uncle clan to the Borjigin branch, not in the same line as Temüjin's descent.

<sup>35</sup> Taqai-Qulaqai (*JT* p.382 *TGHĀY QWLĀTĀY*, p.196 *TGHĀY-QWLQĀY*, *CCL* p.42b T'a-hai-hu-la-hai), also called as Taqai-Kuharin (*Tagħāt-Kuharīn*). *JT* p.196, Kuharīn meant "a thief" (*duzzd*) or "a liar" (*duriġħgħiġ*); *SH* §131, §154 and §203, Qulaqai means "thief" in Mongolian.

<sup>36</sup> Muqur-Quran (*JT* p.382 *MWQWR QWRĀN*, p.229 *MWQWR QW'RĀN*, *CCL* p.42b Mu-hu-ērh-ha-tan) was the leader of Hardagin, and he was fighting for Temüjin in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en in the third division. (*JT* p.229) *CCL* p.8b: "T'u-pu-kē-yi(d)'s Mu-hu-ērh-hao-lan commands A-ērh-ta-chin", i.e. Muqur-Quran of the Tübügeyit commands (H)ardagin is a misreading, see discussion on this textual error in Chapter Two section II. The "Qardakidai" in the *SH* should read, not as a proper name, but as "a person of the Qardakin clan/tribe". This Qardakin (=Hardagin) person should be referring the Hardagin leader Muqur-Quran in the same account in *JT* and *CCL*. /h/ and /q/, /k/ and /g/ are interchangeable in written Mongolian. Hardakin = Qardakin > Ardakin/Adarkin, /r/ is shiftable as seen in the example of the tribal name of Merkit/Mekrit. (*JT* p.93) "Qardakidai" should not be designated to "Ebügejin", as annotated by Igor de Rachewiltz. (*PFEH* 13 (1976), p.73)

<sup>37</sup> "Ebügejin Noyakin", Noyakin is a tribe, and Ebüge(jin) is a proper name.

<sup>38</sup> Toyoril could not be a member from the Söge'en tribe as translated by Igor de Rachewiltz. (*PFEH* 13 (1976), p.54) According to the *SH* §180, this Toyoril belonged to a hereditary slave family which was descended from Oqda-Boyl, passed down to Sübegei-Boyl to Kököchü-Kirsayan to Yegei-Qongtaqar to Toyoril. Another Persian version of the name Sübegei-Boyl is SWKY BW'WL (*JT* p.1694, note 3 for the text in page 392) while *CCL* p.55b states his name as Hsüeh-yeh-kē (\*Sü'ege).

As for the relation between this Toyoril and the description of "Süge'etei", my explanation is as follows. Although the ancestor of this slave family was Oqda, who was captured by Tumbinai and Charaqai-Lingqu and turned into a slave, I would assume that Süge/Sü'e'e (Süge), the son of Oqda, was the first born slave in this Mongol house. It was under the reign of Temüjin's great grandfather, Qabul, when Süge began this hereditary slave family. (*SH* §180) Because they had no tribe affiliation, it would be reasonable for the Qabul-Mongols to called his descendants by referring to Süge. Therefore, Toyoril was called as "Süge'etei Toyoril", Toyoril the descendent of Süge.

There are two more Toyorils in *JT*, one was the Kereit Ong-Qan and the other a Taichiyut who was the eldest son of Tödö'en, Tödö'en was one of the elders of the Taichiyuts. The latter Toyoril, Temüjin called him Toyoril-De'ü (*TGHRYL DW'W*, p.190). They were obviously not the "Süge'etei Toyoril".

As for the tribe of Jadaran, or Jajirat in *JT*, it was descended from the son of a woman of Bodonchar, where Bodonchar was not his father. This relationship implies a connection between Jadaran and Borjigin-Mongol, but to the family from which Temüjin descended from, Jadaran might have been counted as a maternal half-brother clan.<sup>39</sup>

The tribes of Noyakin, Hadargin and Mangqut were among the Nīrūn Borjigin clans, however, they were not part of the Qaidu-Mongol ---- they descended from the grandsons of Menen-Tudun, their first ancestors parallelled with Qaidu in generation. As for Toyoril the descendent of Sügē, he was from a slave family in the service of the descendants of Charaqai-Lingqu and Tumbinai-Sechen. His family had no relation to the Mongol genealogy.

The background of these treacherous Mongols suggests a rebellious anti-Temüjin sentiment within Temüjin's subjects. Some of them were from distant branches from Temüjin's, and even from within Temüjin's own clan and house, the Qabul kinsmen who elected Temüjin as their qan, and his family slave who, in Temüjin's assumption, was interested in having Temüjin's people.<sup>40</sup>. The situation is described by the Kereit general Achiq-Shirun as "the majority of the Mongols are on our side",<sup>41</sup> More precisely, Temüjin was in a crisis because some leaders of influential Mongol clans from each part of the Mongol genealogy had joined the Kereits against him.

With such an advantage of the draining away of Temüjin's former support, it would be reasonable for the Kereit ruler, under threat, to reconsider

<sup>39</sup> If Jamuqa, an offspring had only a "not by blood" maternal connection to the Mongol genealogy, can have a voice in the tribal affairs of the Mongols and be elected as Gür-Qan by his Mongol "kinsmen", the offspring of Senggüm's sister, who has a "by blood" maternal connection to Kereit genealogy, is assumed to have a similar right to the Kereit affairs as well. No wonder Senggüm had a strong inclination to obstruct the marriage between the ruling families of the Kereit *ulus* and the Temüjin-Mongol.

<sup>40</sup> SH §180, JT pp.391-392.

<sup>41</sup> SH §174.

taking the risk of attacking Temüjin. As revealed in the discussion between Toyoril and Senggüm, Toyoril understood that it would be unwise to have an evil intention against their major supporter, although this opinion might not come with a moral concern. However, he still allowed his son to decide what to do.<sup>42</sup> This indecisive attitude of Toyoril may have resulted from his desire to destroy Temüjin and the repeating failure of his attempts, however, encountering a pressure from the "ambition" of Temüjin and joined by the supports of some Mongols, the Kereits inevitably had to react.

### **The ordeal and the shift of supporters**

Owing to their fear of Temüjin's ambition over the Kereits, the Kereits collaborated with some anti-Temüjin Mongols to conspire against Temüjin.

The Kereits first burnt Temüjin's pasture "secretly".<sup>43</sup> This economic destruction would have a negative impact on Temüjin's strength, which guaranteed his impoverishment in the coming year. Secondly, they set the trap of a betrothal feast in order to capture this leader of Qabul-Mongol. These secret movements showed that Senggüm had endeavoured to avoid an open conflict with Temüjin, which might cost the Kereits too much. However, the plan of unexpected seizure did not work out. Taking a preemptive measure, the Kereits set out immediately after Temüjin before he prepared for war.<sup>44</sup> A raid would usually minimise the casualties of the attacking force. Unfortunately, Temüjin had been informed by Badai and Kishiliq that very night, and also by Chigidei and Yadir, so the raid turned into a battle

<sup>42</sup> SH §167 and CCL p.43b. JT implies that Senggüm was acting against Toyoril's goodwill towards Temüjin.

<sup>43</sup> CCL p.43b, JT p.383.

<sup>44</sup> SH §170: "if on that occasion [the two herdsmen] had not noticed [the approach of the enemy], they would have been [caught] unprepared." Translation by Igor de Rachewiltz, PFEH 16 (1977) p.28.

confrontation ---- in the spring of 1203, the Battle of Qalaqaljit-Elet (Qalaqaljit Sands) slightly damaged both sides. Temüjin withdrew to Baljuna.

The battle at Qalaqaljit-Elet marked the open breach of the Toyoril-Temüjin relationship. The battle array of both sides is a good source for a close study of their warfare strategy, nevertheless, the discussion is not going to be related here. As for its impact on the power structure on the steppe, the battle is also significant in demonstrating their strength, which can be regarded as an ordeal to both Toyoril and Temüjin, for their pursuit of steppe supremacy.

The ordeal nature and the consequence of the battle cannot not be seen clearly from the course of the battle, but it is revealed by the shift of supporters. On the Kereit side, Toyoril's failure in destroying Temüjin made his Mongol supporters "lose affection" to him. This disappointment can be seen in the opinion of Jamuqa and the Mongols who were staying in the Kereit camp.

The description of this battle in the *SH* is more legend than reality, however, a hint may be helpful in uncovering the purpose of Jamuqa's alliance with Toyoril. When Toyoril requested Jamuqa to set (*jasa-*) the Kereit troops in battle array, Jamuqa said:

Ong-Qan tells me to set these troops of his in battle array, but I have never been able to fight against [my] sworn brother. For Ong-Qan to say that I should set these troops in battle array [means that] he is less capable than I am. Not much of a companion is he!<sup>45</sup>

"Not much of a companion is he!" A similar sentence was found, curiously coincidentally, in the mind of the treacherous Mongols when they

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<sup>45</sup> Translation by Igor de Rachewiltz, *PFEH* 16 (1977) p.29.

were plotting against Toyoril in the Kereit camp *after* this battle. They thought: "[Toyoril] cannot be relied upon!"<sup>46</sup>

These comments on Toyoril would initially be related to the "unreliable" character of Toyoril. However, in these occasions, this comment should not be attributed to his personality in spite of the fact that Toyoril did not have a good reputation in maintaining friendship. The real meaning of this sentence can only be revealed when we take account of their motivation as supplied in *JT* p.394, which relates that these conspirers planned to assault Toyoril by night in order to "become the ruler ourselves". They did not want to pay respect to Toyoril or Temüjin any more.<sup>47</sup>

These reactions, or disappointments, imply their expectations when they come to Toyoril at the turn of 1202/03. Jamuqa would have expected that Toyoril would be capable of destroying Temüjin by force. When he discovered that Toyoril was less capable than himself, he was disappointed. Therefore, he commented that "Not much of a companion is he!" As for the treacherous Mongols, they would have expected that Toyoril could counter Temüjin, but when the result of the battle showed that Toyoril was not capable of destroying his opponent even with the "majority of Mongol" on his side, their confidence in Toyoril was shaken. This disappointment made them think "[Toyoril] cannot be relied upon [for his strength against Temüjin]", therefore, they had to turn themselves into an individual power in order to counter-balance their rival Temüjin.

On the other side, the shift of supporters also took place in the camp of Temüjin. The first Kereit who decided to abandon Toyoril and came to Temüjin with all his belongings was Quidu, soon after Badai and Kishiliq

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<sup>46</sup> *CCL* p.62b.

<sup>47</sup> *JT* p.394. Another brief account is on p.123.

informed Temüjin of Toyoril's preparation of an assault.<sup>48</sup> *YS* also tells of two "Kereits" who appeared to be in attendance with Temüjin at Baljuna in 1202/03: Chêng-hai (\*Chinqai) and Ha-san-na (\*Hasana).<sup>49</sup>

Chinqai was a Kereit or an Uighur or an Önggüt,<sup>50</sup> or probably an ethnic Önggüt who could speak and write Uighur (even reading Chinese?). He appeared to the author of his Chinese biography as a Kereit, and he was definitely drinking with Temüjin at Baljuna after the Battle of Qalaqaljit-Elet as a "chün-wu-chang" (army patrol leader). Hasana might have been the Sartayul Asan (Hasan) in *SH* §182, who was buying pelts of sables and squirrels and then rested at Baljuna ---- apparently he was a Central Asian merchant. *YS* relates that he had fought Toyoril with Temüjin.

Were Chinqai and Hasan Kereits? We shall consider the life style of a highly mobile society. As for the Kereit identity of Chinqai, it was possible for an intelligent person to travel around and join with other nomads, or, to be in service of Turkic courts as a scribe, with his knowledge of Turkic language and Uighur script, no matter what his ethnic origin was. Even a noble born Taichiyut could be in service of the Kereit Ong-Qan Toyoril, if *JT* is not mistaken. The eldest son of the Taichiyut elder Tödö'en was in the company of the Kereit Ong-Qan (Toyoril) and passing messages between Temüjin and

<sup>48</sup> *JT* pp.122-123. According to *JT*, Quidu had twenty-four sons and the source mentions only the eldest Tukur-Bitikchi who was the father of Alinaq. There is also a Quidu in *YS* 124 *chuan* 11 p.3051, who had drunk with Temüjin at Baljuna. This is recorded in the biography of his son Süge. These two Quidus could be the same person, who has been recorded in the two sources with different approaches. *JT* may relate Quidu with one of his son Tukur because Tukur was a bitikchi in the service of Hülegü-Qan, while *YS* relates the accomplishment of Süge because his achievements were mainly in China proper. If these two Quidus were the same person, he had been rewarded for his allegiance at Baljuna with a privilege to gather together "the Kereits and Dongqayits of his own tribe" which made up a Thousand. The making of a Thousand should have happened after Temüjin had overthrown Toyoril.

<sup>49</sup> *YS* 120 *chuan* 7 the biography of Chêng-hai, 122 *chuan* 8 the biography of Ha-san-na.

<sup>50</sup> "His precise ethnic affiliation is in doubt due to apparent contradictions in the sources." (Buell, "Činqai", pp.96-97.) In *YS* he was a Kereit, according to Jūwaynī he was an Uighur, and a third possibility a Kereit(?) -Önggüt, see Buell's analysis of the contradictions.

Ong-Qan (Toyoril).<sup>51</sup> A reporter who did not have enough knowledge about the facts behind the scene would take down only what had "appeared" to him.

As for Hasan, the Central Asian merchant, he might have been described as a Kereit in some records because he came to central Mongolia from that direction, or probably because he communicated in a Turkic language. To the Mongols at that time, the knowledge of what was beyond the Kereit territory was limited. This uncertainty of Hasan's ethnic identity is reflected in *SH*'s usage. The *SH* does not relate him as a Kereit, but a "sartayul", which is a general term designated to his quality, not his tribal identity. Therefore, Chinqai and Hasan, two friends who had come to central Mongolia from the Kereit territory, may have been referred by less careful reporters as "Kereits", although they may not have been Kereits ethnically.

Even if Chinqai and Hasan were not Kereits, they stayed with the defeated Temüjin at Baljuna and their subsequent affirmation to Temüjin<sup>52</sup> showed that at the same time when some of Temüjin's Mongol subjects decided to withdraw their support, he won some new support from non-Mongols. The power structure in central Mongolia was being transformed: not only had the supporters of Temüjin been reconstructed, a few Kereits and some other people of Turkic origin might have joined this Mongol leader after the battle, at the same time the anti-Temüjin tribal/clan leaders lost confidence in Toyoril and rebelled and were expelled. The whole situation was reversed.

As for the impact of this battle to the Temüjin-Toyoril relationship, although Temüjin had been beaten at Qalaqaljit-Elet, he was not defeated. The opposition of the Kereit force made their intention public ---- they wanted Temüjin dead. Temüjin also realised that a group of Mongols intended to

<sup>51</sup> His name was the same as Ong-Qan, and Temüjin called him Toyoril-De'u.

<sup>52</sup> According to *YS*, Hasan had fought Toyoril with Temüjin, and later he went with him on his Central Asian campaign. Chinqai had attended the enthronement of Temüjin, later fought with Naiman, Qipchaq, Tangut and Jurchen.

usurp his rulership.<sup>53</sup> In spite of their previous friendship and assistance, "misunderstanding" and reconciliation, the now hostile Kereits could not be forgiven especially when they were collaborating with those Mongol rebels, who challenged Temüjin's claim to the sovereignty of the Mongol tribes. Therefore, when the Mongol rebels turned against Toyoril and were expelled, Temüjin took advantage of the sudden weakening of Toyoril's power and took the initiative. As the phenomenon of support shifting was predominant, he in return played a trick on Toyoril, by a faked defection of his younger brother Jochi-Qasar ---- this would be very appealing to Toyoril when he had just lost the support of "the majority of Mongols" ---- then Temüjin fell upon the Kereits in a raid which brought the regime to its end.

Toyoril and Senggüm escaped --- however, this did not matter much to Temüjin. Temüjin had taken possession of the whole Kereit territory and troops and people.<sup>54</sup> The huge population of the Kereit *ulus*, excluding the hereditary subjects of Jaya-Gambu because of his in-laws' relationship with Temüjin's family, was distributed among the Mongols "so that nobody went short of them".<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the brave Jirgin Kereits who had fought Temüjin at Qalaqaljit-Elet and looted Jochi-Qasar at Qarayun-Jidun submitted to Temüjin when the Toyoril regime collapsed.<sup>56</sup> The abundant wealth and strength that Temüjin obtained from this victory, not to mention the reputation, undeniably further consolidated his status as a great potentate, and this sudden increase of acquisition should not be underestimated in studying the process of Temüjin's triumph.

<sup>53</sup> SH §166, Altan and Quchar said that they will "kill the elder brother" and "do away with the younger brother" (= slay *āqā wa īni*), Ebügejin and Muqr-Quran said that they will seize Temüjin's hands and feet, Toyoril the descendant of Sügē suggested a ruse capture of Temüjin's people, and Qachiyun-Beki promised to go with Senggüm's plan "to the farthest limit" and "to the bottom of the deep". These words show different aims, nevertheless, their wish to destroy Temüjin is the same.

<sup>54</sup> JT p.396.

<sup>55</sup> SH §§186-187.

<sup>56</sup> JT p.113 records some Jirgins came to Temüjin after he defeated Toyoril. SH §186, Temüjin distributed the Jirgin people.

The sudden accession of strength after the termination of the Kereit regime made the Mongols simple-mindedly risk themselves in making an attack on Tayang-Qan. Perhaps the Mongols were beloved by Heaven, fortunately they did not lose the battle. The expansion of Temüjin-Mongol after the end of Kereit regime is not going to be related in this part, but the hardest struggles for both Temüjin and Toyoril have been related in the last three chapters. This reconstruction of the Kereit history from the 1130s to 1203 has assisted in explaining many obscure events in relate to Temüjin's expansion, in this way, it provides a broader scope of examination of Temüjin's early career from the perspective of his "partner".

## Part Two

The Network of Expansion

## Chapter Four

### Āqā wa īnī: Genealogical Connections among the Mongols

Genealogy provided the framework of social relations among the Mongols in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The contemporary Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn observed that the Mongol population of this branch (*sha'b*)<sup>1</sup>, which had originated from the progeny (*nasl*) of Alan-Qoya, had more than a hundred *tūmen*. Such a multitudinous population consisted of many tribes/clans (*aqwām*); all these clans had a clear and manifest genealogical tree.

It is the Mongol custom to observe the genealogy (*nasab*) of fathers and forefathers, [to] each offspring who is born [to this clan], they teach and instruct him in the genealogy. In such manner, the others [family kinsmen] made faith (*millat*) out of that [teaching]. For this reason, everyone of them would not be ignorant of with [their] own line (*qabīla*) and descent.<sup>2</sup>

Rashīd al-Dīn further remarked that "besides the Mongols, this custom is not [practised in] other tribes, except for the Arabs who observe [their] own affinity".<sup>3</sup>

Apparently, the genealogical connections among the Mongol tribes/clans supplied them with a sense of integration into the general Mongol nationality, also an independent identity for each branch or clan. It is essential to understand this social framework in the study of medieval Mongol history,

<sup>1</sup> The Persian text does not use plural for the word "branch", therefore I have interpreted the sentence as "the branch and many tribes/clans which originated from the progeny (*nasl*) of Alan-Qoya", where the "branch" designates the genealogical tree which starts from Alan-Qoya.

<sup>2</sup> *JT* p.223.

<sup>3</sup> *JT* p.223.

especially when the study focuses on the career of Temüjin, where this background knowledge appears indispensable.

At the first stage of power consolidation in Temüjin's world conquering career, which is commonly named "the unification of Mongolia", Temüjin had acquired all his Mongol kinsmen, and also incorporated the Turkic people who inhabited Mongolia. His battles against the Turkic tribes are clearly narrated in the sources, however, his effort to obtain a general recognition from his kinsmen for the Mongol sovereign is less explicit. Accordingly, an investigation into this endeavour would help to present a clearer picture of the factors contributing to Temüjin's rise to power.

This examination of the Mongol genealogical connection can also help in explaining many historical events, crises and turning points, which brought about the ups and downs in the course of Temüjin's power building. These disputes between the Temüjin-Mongol and his kinsmen appeared to be "domestic affairs" among the Mongols. Since Temüjin could not, or should not, exterminate all his kinsmen by force, his skill and intelligence in handling these in-tribe crises ought to be valued more highly than his military conquest of the non-Mongols.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to make a close analysis of the strategy by which Temüjin managed to win himself recognition from all Mongols, via the kinship network of the Mongol genealogy. The discussion falls into two sections. The first section is an introduction of the Mongol concept of their genealogy, plus a diagram of the *SH* version of the Mongol genealogy, which will be used as the basis of discussion. The second section investigates several historical events by way of a chronological approach, which have a special significance in revealing how the genealogically associated clans/tribes affected the early stage of Temüjin's expansion. Two major principles of the Mongol kinship practice in the second half of the twelfth century have been extracted from these incidents. Observing or

violating these principles caused a rapid change of attitude of Temüjin's kinsmen towards him, as also of Temüjin's towards his kinsmen.

### I. The structure of Mongol genealogy

*JT* and the *SH* presented two slightly different versions of the Mongol genealogy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Since it is difficult to determine which one is more reliable when there is no a third version available to compare them with, and a reckless comparison may result in a less fruitful dull discussion even leading to further distortion, it would be more practical to select one version and follow it. Therefore, discussion in this thesis will be based on the *SH* version of Mongol genealogy regardless of its lack of conformity with the *JT* version.<sup>4</sup> The *SH* version of Mongol genealogy is supplied in a two-page diagram for quick reference; it starts from the two brothers, Duwa-Soqor and Dobun-Mergen. (Table 1)

Then, we enter into an analysis of the structure of Mongol genealogy. Several technical terms for the genealogical association are found in the contemporary Mongolian and Persian sources, either in Mongolian or Persianized Mongolian, each of them appears to designate a well-defined range of genealogical connections, or in short, kinship. They are the real examples revealing how the twelfth century Mongols classified and identified themselves within the Mongol genealogy. Therefore, to work out the definition/coverage of these terminologies through a careful comparison of these accounts rather than a conventional review of their linguistic element, would suggest a more precise understanding of the structure of the Mongol genealogy of this period. The terms which will be discussed in this section are *āqā wa īnī*, *oboq* and

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<sup>4</sup> For example, *JT* p.197 relates that Dörben was a Nirün tribe, the Dörben and the Bayarin descended from one root (*asf*). This is totally different from the genealogy supplied by the *SH*, even contradictory to its later narration of the early story of Mongols, where *JT* p.219 relates that "and they say, the Dörben tribe was from the line (*nasf*) of them [four sons of Tamacha]". Tamacha in *SH* §2 was a very early ancestor of Dobun-Mergen.

*qawm* (pl. *aqwām*), Derelkīn and Nīrūn, Borjigin, Qiyan and Negüs, also a study on the horizontal and vertical kinship relations among the genealogical "branches".

### āqā wa īnī

*Āqā wa īnī* is the most frequent encountered term in *JT* which was used to describe genealogical kinship. *Āqā* is the Mongolian word which means "elder brother", while *īnī*, according to a comparison of the accounts in *JT*, means "younger brother".<sup>5</sup> Literally, the phrase can be correctly translated as "elder brothers and younger brothers", although in fact the phrase has a broader meaning that it is not confined to the blood brothers born to the same parents.

*Āqā wa īnī* is extensively used in *JT* to designate "tribal/clan kinsmen" in general. For instance, the phrase appears twice in the words of the legendary Kereit Sariq-Qan, simply used as a description of one's "kinship association" with no specific ethnic indication or genealogical connection in a hierachic sense.<sup>6</sup> The phrase can be used to describe the kinsmen within the Mongol genealogy, also the kinship relation within one Turkic tribe. For example, when Yesülün, one of Temüjin's Tatar wives, petitioned for two Tatar brothers to collect their kinsmen, she said that "of their *āqā wa īnī* and [their] tribe (*qawm*), they are [scattered] everywhere".<sup>7</sup> *Āqā wa īnī* here apparently designates the kinsmen of the Tatar tribe. Therefore, in its broadest

<sup>5</sup> According to *JT* p.93, the Persian text paralleled the phrase "barādarān kūchikīn" (little brothers) to the term "*īnīān*" (*īnī* plus Persian plural ending).

<sup>6</sup> The term appeared in *JT* p.92 is in an idiomatic sentence which I understood, with reference to Muller's translation, as "to kill a fly would shame oneself in front of his *āqā wa īnī*; but if not kill, [the annoyance of the fly] is unbearable." The second appearance is in *JT* p.93, where Sariq-Qan suggested the Mongols to become sworn brothers (*anda*) and to be *āqā wa īnī* to each other. I understood the latter suggestion as "to have a close affinity to each other as to what kinsmen should do."

<sup>7</sup> *JT* p.88.

sense, the concept of *āqā wa īnī* was widely employed by the steppe society of twelfth century Mongolia where tribes/clans were the basis of social relations; it designates the kinsmen who shared the same tribal identity and affiliation.

As for ethnic Mongols, *āqā wa īnī* can be applied to every person who was born to a Mongol identity regardless of the genealogical subdivisions of their clans or branches. However, when it is used in a narrower sense, the term has a limited and specified coverage in these kinsmen's genealogical connections. *JT* p.163 explains that although "they quarrel and fight with one another all the time", the tribes of Qorulas and Qonggirat and Ikires were all *āqā wa īnī*. The usage here does not suggest only their common ethnic feature as Mongols, but also emphasizes a specific genealogical association between these tribes because the ancestors of Qorulas, Qonggirat and Ikires shared the same origin from Altan-Quduqa (Golden Vessel), an origin which the other Derelkīn Mongols did not have a claim to.

*Āqā wa īnī* can also be applied in a restricted coverage to the tribes within the Nīrūn Mongols. *JT* p.187 describes the major clans which stemmed from Qaidu, including the Qabul-Mongol, the Taichiyut-Mongol even the Chinos, as *āqā wa īnī*. This is another example of the term being used to designate the kinship within a big branch which consisted of several sub-branches, besides the term's general "tribesmen" connotation.

Sometimes, the usage of *āqā wa īnī* implies the exclusion of the Mongol kinsmen outside one's own branch, along with its inclusive sense of affinity. Temüjin had once spoken to the Mongol Saljiyuts that "we, who are *āqā wa īnī* and blood [kinsmen to] each other".<sup>8</sup> The *āqā wa īnī* here might mean the exclusive designation of their clan affiliation as the Nīrūn-Mongols, because at the same time, Temüjin says that the Derelkīn-Mongol Qonggirat

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<sup>8</sup> *JT* p.185.

and Dörben<sup>9</sup> "had no relation (*ta' alluq*) to us". The Saljiyut tribe is an elder brother branch to the descendants of Bodonchar, they were both the offspring of Alan-Qoya and the "spirit", while Qonggirat and Dörben were not. When Temüjin emphasised on the "blood" connection between the Saljiyuts and his clan, he separated the Derelkīn Mongols from the Nīrūn Mongols.

When it come to a special clan, *āqā wa īnī* has a further limited indication. *JT* p.211 recounts that at the time when the two Besüts called Degei and Küchükür were with the Taichiyuts, the Taichiyuts killed their father (*pidar*) and *āqā wa īnī*. According to the Mongol genealogy, the Besüt tribe was the immediate brother branch to the Taichiyut tribe; both of them stemmed from the two sons of Charaqai-Lingqu. Therefore, the *āqā wa īnī* who had been killed by the Taichiyuts in this paragraph were only the kinsmen *within* this specific clan of Besüt; the term does not extensively cover also their Taichiyut kinsmen.

Probably the narrowest range which the phrase *āqā wa īnī* might have covered is the kinsmen associated to "one of the clan princes". As for the Derelkīn Mongols, an example is found in *JT* p.79, where the *āqā wa īnī* of Sayin-Tegin, who were the Qonggirats, went and killed the Tatar shaman CHRQL because the shaman failed to cure the illness of Sayin-Tegin. As for the Nīrūn Mongols, one of the Taichiyut princes accused the other prince that "he had taken my property and flock and herd, and *āqā wa īnī*".<sup>10</sup> The *āqā wa īnī* in this sentence could not be anybody but *his* kinsmen.

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<sup>9</sup> The sentence in *JT* p.185 reads many tribes like Qonggirat, Tatar and Derelkīn(?) "which have had no relation to us [have recently] all agreed with us and become friends". The Derelkīn here does not make sense. This Derelkīn (DRLKYN) might have been a copying error from Dörben (DWRBĀN, ?DRBĀN), which was a Mongol tribe but had certain relationship to the Tatars.

<sup>10</sup> "ū māl wa gala wa rama-i marā wa āqā wa īnī sitda" (he, my property and flock and herd, and āqā wa īnī, had taken.) The sentence may be understood in two ways, first, Tarqutai had taken Bayachi's possession and his own kinsmen, second, Tarqutai had taken Bayachi's possession and the Taichiyut kinsmen. The first reading appears more reasonable because the Taichiyut kinsmen did not belong to Bayachi either.

Summarizing the above analyses, *āqā wa īnī* is a usage which the steppe people used to describe a person/tribe's relation to their genealogical associated kinsmen/tribes. It can have a wide range of coverage according to the genealogical ramification, from its broadest meaning of "*āqā wa īnī* = tribesmen", to the kinsmen of a specific descendance in the general genealogy. The varied stages of its ramification can be a person's association to his kinmen within a genealogical branch, a sub-branch, an individual clan/tribe and even one of the princes in the clan/tribe. "Blood-related relatives" may be good explanation of the term,<sup>11</sup> but since its genealogical coverage varies, this makes a precise definition of the term difficult.<sup>12</sup>

#### *oboq* and *qawm*, and the horizontal and vertical kinship relations within "branches"

The varied coverage of *āqā wa īnī* suggests also the Mongols' attitude to their genealogical identification in the twelfth century. Their distance or closeness is decided by their position in the genealogy, and functions through the groupings of Derelkīn-Mongol and Nīrūn-Mongol, the big branches and its sub-branches, and the basic concept of a clan/tribe (Mong. *oboq*).

The primary unit in the Mongol genealogy is an *oboq*. The term appears in Chinese sources as *chung* (variety) or *hsing* (surname) or *pu* (tribe) or *shih* (clan), depending on the context, and in Persian sources as *qawm*, meaning people, tribe, family or sect. Each Mongol *oboq* has its specific appellation, some of these appellations deriving from the name of their

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<sup>11</sup> This term ("elder brother and younger brother") is always used in a collective sense and never been used in naming the immediate brothers born to the same parents.

<sup>12</sup> The examples quoted here are found in *JT* because the term *āqā wa īnī* is a Persianized Mongolian term used in *JT*. Its designation after Temüjin's unification of the Mongol tribes was almost the *urug* of Chinggis-Qan, the discussion of this part is thus omitted.

ancestors, such as the Qatagin *oboq* from Buqu-Qatagi.<sup>13</sup> Some of the *oboqs* were numerous and some of them were not. The concept of *oboq* is usually rendered in English usage as "tribe" or "clan" in modern researches. However, when several sub-groupings of people have stemmed out from a large Mongol *oboq*, the large *oboq* has a similar meaning to the English usage of "branch". The Taichiyuts are always described in *JT* as *aqwām* (tribes/clans), which suggests that there were several groupings of people under this general *oboq* title; in this sense, the Taichiyut *oboq* was a "branch".

There is another possibility: the descendants within a large genealogical branch might have their separate *oboq* identification when the large branch had no specific *oboq* identification. For instance, the offspring of three sons of Qaidu had developed into individual genealogical lines, and each of them had their own sub-*oboqs* (clans). For narrative convenience, the vertical genealogical linkage (Pers. *qabīla*) of these clans or branches will be designated with a compound term in this thesis. This term is made up of the common feature of the people, such as the name of their founder/leader or their *oboq* appellation, and its specific ethnic identification. According to this approach, the clans of Jürkin and Temüjin were among the "Qabul-Mongol", the "Qabul-Mongol" and the "Taichiyut-Mongol" were among the "Qaidu-Mongol", the people under the family (*uruq*) of Temüjin will be indicated as "Temüjin-Mongol", while "Qadian-Taichiyut" means a group of the Taichiyut-Mongols who were under or descended from Qadian-Taishi.

The *oboqs* which stemmed out from the same ancestor would have a closer relation to each other than the other Mongol *oboqs*. For example, the *oboq* of Besüt was the younger brother *oboq* (clan) to the *oboq* (branch) of Taichiyut; their closeness is clearly reflected in the sources which show that some Besüts were in attendance to the Taichiyut princes, for instance,

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<sup>13</sup> SH §42. Many of the *oboq* appellations can be identified with their ancestor names, which were in an adjective form (end with -dai/dei or -tai/tei), while some others has their appellations definitely irrelevant to the founders' name, such as the famous *oboq* of Taichiyut. Cf. SH §47.

Balaqachi to the Taichiyut leader Hambaqai and Jebe to the Taichiyut elder Tödö'en.<sup>14</sup> Occasionally, the vagueness of one's genealogical linkage to its brother *oboq* would affect their affiliation when the clan has only either maternal or paternal connection to the other. This vagueness had played an important role in Temüjin's early expansion via his genealogical network.

When there were so many lines of descent (Pers. *qabīla*) in the same genealogy (Pers. *nasab*), the horizontal kinship connection between the kinsmen from different lines of descendence also needs to be specified. The idea of "cousin" applies here, but in a genealogical approach. The kinship relation between the descendants from the different lines of a large branch is described by Rashīd al-Dīn as Q'DWD.<sup>15</sup> *JT* p.187 recounts that SWRQDWLW-Chino was a Q'DWD to Tumbinai-Qan, Hambaqai-Qan was a Q'DWD to Qabul-Qan, Qadayan-Taishi was a Q'DWD to Bartan-Bayatur. The "cousin" kinship relation implied in this description is, Hambaqai (a Taichiyut) was a kinsman in the same genealogical hierarchy to Qabul (non-Taichiyut), and his son Qadayan-Taishi was a kinsman in the same genealogical hierarchy to Bartan-Bayatur, who was the son of Qabul and a brother to Qutula (non-Taichiyut). In short, they were "genealogical peers" to each other.

The concepts and terminologies for clan/tribe, branch and "cousin" reviewed above can be summarised and presented in the following description: the Qabul-Mongol (term in *uruq* sense) and the Taichiyut-Mongol (term in *oboq* sense) were two great branches of the Qaidu-Mongols. Qabul of the Qabul-Mongol was a peer to Hambaqai of the Taichiyut-Mongol; their sons, Bartan-Bayatur of the Qabul-Mongol and Qadayan-Taishi of the Taichiyut-Mongol were peers to each other. The Bartan-Mongol (Bartan and his

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<sup>14</sup> Balaqachi, *SH* §53, who Hambaqai-Qan had instructed to report the news of his death to the Qaidu-Mongols. Jebe, a Besüt in *JT*, was a *nöker* to Tödö'en and fought Temüjin in the battle (*SH* §§146-147).

<sup>15</sup> Meaning unknown. It may have a relation to the Arabic stem: Q'D, bearing a meaning of "with equivalent in seating".

offspring) was a brother *uruq* to the Qutula-Mongol (Qutula and his descendants), and the son of Bartan, Yesügei, was a "blood nephew" to Qutula and Qutula's son Altan a "genealogical uncle" to Temüjin.

### Derelkīn and Nīrūn

The concept of progeny (Pers. *nasl*) works for a broader classification of the Mongol genealogy in the twelfth century. According to the narration of the genealogical tribal relationship in *JT*, all Mongol tribes/clans were descended from the two common ancestors Negüz and Qiyan, but they were then put into two catalogues as the Derelkīn Mongols and the Nīrūn Mongols, based on their association to the progeny of Alan-Qoya. The criteria of classification begins from the three sons of Alan-Qoya who were pregnant by the divine light, not by her husband Dobun-Mergen.<sup>16</sup> For those Mongols who descended from these three brothers: Buqa-Qatagi, Buqatu-Salji and Bodonchar are called Nīrūn, literally "waist", respectively the branches of Qatagin, Saljiyat and Borjigin; and for the Mongol tribes existing before them are called Derelkīn Mongols.<sup>17</sup>

The principal evidence for the distant kinship between Nīrūn and Derelkīn Mongols is the freedom of inter-marriage. Many examples can positively support this practice: Dobun-Mergen married Alan-Qoya who was a Qorulas, Yesügei took Hö'elün who was an Olqunayut, and Temüjin's senior khatun Börte was a Qonggirat. Qorulas, Olqunayut and Qonggirat were all Derelkīn tribes. On the other hand, the forbiddance of inter-marriage between the Nīrūn tribes shows their "blood-related"<sup>18</sup> intimate kinship. When the Qatagin tribe was annexed by Temüjin, he instructed his people not to take

<sup>16</sup> *JT* pp.223-224. Dobun-Mergen is the *SH* appeared as Dobun-Bayan in *JT*.

<sup>17</sup> *JT* p.152.

<sup>18</sup> See the example of Temüjin's invitation to the Qatagins.

their girls nor give because the Qatagins were kinsmen. Also, they should be "distinct and manifested from the other Mongol tribes."<sup>19</sup>

Here a question arises. If only the offspring who Alan-Qoya begot from the "light" are the Nīrūns, then, what will the sons by her husband be? Rashīd al-Dīn relates that some people counted them as Nīrūn, because of their maternal connection with Alan-Qoya.<sup>20</sup> Then, what was the Mongols' attitude to their genealogical association in the twelfth century? Was the affiliation between their clans and their genealogical kinship based on their maternal descent, or paternal descent, or both, or either? This vagueness supplies the key explanation of Temüjin's early alliances to his "ambiguous" kinsmen of Jadaran/Jajirat, Je'üreit and Chinos, in various stages of genealogical ramification.

### Borjigin, Qiyan and Negüs

Other than Nīrūn, Borjigin is also a usage which Temüjin's family used to identify themselves. This term appeared quite late in *JT*, in the time of Yesügei.<sup>21</sup> However, its coverage is very clear in *SH* §42 that Borjigin was the branch which consisted of the descendants of Bodonchar.

Two questions may be asked about this definition. First, what is the validity of the *SH* description of the coverage of Borjigin? Second, what was the extent of the Borjigins, since Bodonchar had so many "women"?

The first doubt can be clarified by an account of the genealogical hierarchy, ironically, found in *JT*. In *JT* pp.292-293, Rashīd al-Dīn carefully relates the direct ancestors of Temüjin-Mongol, also their Mongolian titles

<sup>19</sup> *JT* p.186.

<sup>20</sup> *JT* p.220.

<sup>21</sup> See the discussion of Qiyat-Borjigin below.

(*laqab*) which indicated their rank of generation in the genealogical hierarchy. Temüjin's father Yesügei was called *echige*, his grandfather Bartan was called *ebüge*, his great grandfather Qabul was called ALYNCHYK (*elenchiq*), his great great grandfather Tumbinai was called BWDTWR, then Bai-Singqor BWDĀWKW, Qaidu BWRQY, Dutun-Menen (Menen-Tudun in *SH*) DWTĀQWN. When it came to one generation earlier than Menen-Tudun, it should have been Bodonchar,<sup>22</sup> curiously no special title was attached to him. Rashīd al-Dīn recounts that "all [Bodonchar and ancestors before him] are called AYCHYGYN ABWGH" (*echige-yin ebuie*).

Does this suggest that the remotest ancestor Temüjin could trace himself back to was Menen-Tudun, the first descendant from the "proper" marriage of Bodonchar? The idea of "the first descendant" will be discussed first. There is a coincidence in the trace of origin when we look into the example of "Söge'etei Toyoril". Toyoril was a hereditary slave in the time of Temüjin, but he was referred as "Söge'etei" Toyoril because people identified him as "of Söge'e". As analyzed in Chapter Three, Söge'e (\*Sögē) is not a tribe but a proper name of one of Toyoril's direct ancestors. Although the beginning of this slave family can be traced back to the capture of Sögē's father Oqda, Sögē was the first slave of this line born in this Mongol camp, and obviously the Mongols identified his offspring by him, not the captured one. If the assumption of the meaning of "Söge'etei" is acceptable, it apparently suggests a sense of "pureness" of the line. When we compare this with the above example of Menen-Tudun, will only the "pure" descendants who descended from Bodonchar and his legitimate wife,<sup>23</sup> not his other "women", have the right to call themselves the Borjigins? The first descendant of Bodonchar and his legitimate wife was Menen-Tudun (or Qabichi according to *SH*), therefore, he was the first Borjigin.

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<sup>22</sup> *SH* §43 has another version of the generation of succession. There was a Barim-Shiyiratu-Qabichi (also called Qabichi-Bayatur) between Bodonchar and Menen-Tudun.

<sup>23</sup> *SH* §43, "the wife Bodonchar himself had taken".

The concept of the only direct and legitimate branch which descended from a "proper" relation of marriage is very important in the kinship practice within the genealogy. According to this assertion, Temüjin was a direct and legitimate offspring from Bodonchar, he had the right to regard himself as a Borjigin, while the other offspring of Bodonchar who were born of the other women, adopted their separate clan appellation as Bayarin and Je'üreit. The Bayarin and Je'üreit clans had only a paternal connection to the Borjins; they were half-brother branches to the Borjins. Paternal half-brothers obviously have no claim to the "proper" line, as suggested in the peace relationship between Belgütei and Temüjin, also a possible conflict over the clan leadership between Qasar and Temüjin.<sup>24</sup>

The genealogical legitimism bestowed on Temüjin an unsurpassable advantage in his competition with other candidates over the leadership of Borjigin branch or Nīrūn Mongols; some non-legitimate lines which were partly related to the Borjigin branch also provided Temüjin with a chance to build up his strength under excommunication by his legitimate kinsmen. Details of this impact will be given in the following section, especially in Temüjin's selection of his targets among his genealogically related tribes, for friendship together with their support.

Qiyat/Qiyan/Kiyan is also an ambiguous term which needs clarification. The coverage of the term is obscure, especially when it was mixed with "Borjigin", therefore, we need to follow every account Rashīd al-Dīn provides for its exact coverage:

- (1) *JT* p.146 relates that those who were Nīrūns also from the branches of the line (*nasl*) of Qabul were called Qiyat.

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<sup>24</sup> SH §244, Teb-Tenggeri said that the Eternal Heaven once foretold that Temüjin will hold the nation and once Heaven said Qasar, he advised Temüjin to strike at Qasar by surprise in order to prevent any unpredictable result. If Qasar, also a son of Hö'elün, did not have a claim in the clan leadership, this threat would not have been considered so seriously by Temüjin. This example shows that the maternal line of descent is considered when it comes to the legitimate position in the family, branch or genealogy.

- (2) *JT* the same page, those who were from the tribe of Nirün and Qiyat, and from the pure line of Alan-Qoya and her sixth [generation of] posterity Qabul-Qan, were called Qiyat-Borjigin. It started from Yesügei-Bayatur.
- (3) *JT* p.148, the common ancestors of Mongols were Negüs and Qiyan, and Qiyat is the plural of Qiyan, which designates a group of ancient Mongol people.
- (4) *JT* pp.149-150, Dobun-Mergen, the husband of Alan-Qoya was from the line of Qiyan, the genealogy of Temüjin came from them.<sup>25</sup>
- (5) However, after Dobun-Mergen, his offspring adopted various appellations for their own clans; therefore the title (*laqab*) of Qiyat was withdrawn.
- (6) When the outstanding era of Qabul came, the title was restored to them.
- (7) Particular to the descendants Bartan-Bayatur, they were called the Qiyat, for instance, the eldest son of Bartan was called Mönggetü-Qiyan.
- (8) Yesügei-Bayatur and his sons were labelled as Qiyat-Borjigin, which means they were both the Qiyat and the Borjigin.<sup>26</sup>

In brief, what *JT* relates is, Qiyat was a general title to the Mongols who descended from the ancestor Qiyan, it had once faded out, but during the time of Qabul, the title was resumed and applied only to the "Qabul-Mongol", especially to its offspring the Bartan-Mongol, then the title passed down to the family of Yesügei and Temüjin. This identification was even noticed by non-Mongol tribes such as the Tatars: they called Yesügei "Yesügei-Qiyan".<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> This description challenges the theory of Nirün Mongols because it mentions Dobun-Mergen as Temüjin's ancestor. In the theory of Nirün classification, Temüjin's line had no paternal relationship to Dobun-Mergen ---- they were the begotten of the "light".

<sup>26</sup> From the fifth to the eighth, see *JT* p.150.

<sup>27</sup> SH §67.

Since Qiyan had one broader genealogical coverage and a narrow one, I would deliberately avoid using the terms in this thesis in order to avoid confusion. The narrow coverage of Qiyan will be rendered, respectively, as the Qabul-Mongol, the Bartan-Mongol, the Yesügei-Mongol and the Temüjin-Mongol. The Chinos receive the same attention in that they will not be related by their other name Negüs/Negüz, in order to avoid confusion with the descendant of their common ancestor Negüs.

As the usages of particular genealogical groupings have been worked out, the structure of the Mongol genealogy becomes clearer. The terminologies defined and invented here will be used in the appropriate places of the next discussion, for a precise coverage and a clear idea of the genealogical kinship of the Mongols.

## II. Advances and setbacks of Temüjin's expansion through the genealogy network

### (i) Loss of kinsmen's affection

This phase lasted from around 1172 to 1177, covers the hard life of young Temüjin, the degree of the harshness and the duration, as well as its cause and its consequence, which relates to a dispute between his family and their kinsmen: the Taichiyuts.

*CCL*, *JT* and the *SH* show great sympathy towards Temüjin for his difficult teenage years, which commenced shortly(?) after his father's death. Temüjin is described, mainly in *SH* §§73-74, as a helpless child who was abandoned by his arrogant kinsmen, his people gathered by his late father also follow the Taichiyuts; this desertion made his mother and his four brothers and

sisters<sup>28</sup> live on fruit and vegetables, and some fish perhaps,<sup>29</sup> in miserable isolation. Temüjin appears firm, brave and able in this period. By his virtue, also this moral strength, he overcame the hardship and finally he achieved a great career and worldly respect.

Was this suffering exaggerated? If the suffering was heartbreaking, why was this brought about? Envy from the other kinsmen<sup>30</sup> would be the last answer to this circumstance if we can find other evidence in the sources which illustrates the real cause. *CCL* and *JT* do not mention much about the early life of Temüjin, except for the Taichiyut desertion. Therefore, most of our knowledge of his early life has to rely on the accounts in the *SH*.

Temüjin enjoyed a happy childhood before the Taichiyut separation. Although the limit of Yesügei's power and strength is not certain because of the scarcity of supportive evidence, he apparently had gathered some Mongols around him<sup>31</sup> and exercised a considerable command over them. Moreover, his military strength was demonstrated in his assistance to Toyoril against Gür-Qan, also his battle against the Tatars, in which he won and captured a number of them.<sup>32</sup> It is reasonable to assume that Yesügei sustained a certain degree of popularity and power during his lifetime. Therefore, Temüjin, the eldest son from Yesügei's senior khatun, would have grown up in a prestigious and harmonious atmosphere before the separation of the Taichiyuts.

<sup>28</sup> *SH* §60, Hö'elün had five children from Yesügei, however, it is obvious that the half-brothers of Temüjin were living with them as well. (*SH* §76)

<sup>29</sup> *SH* §75 relates that when the children grew up, they went for fishing. However, the description of their fishing appears more like a kind of child's game than serious food-gathering.

<sup>30</sup> The main argument of *JT*, which starts from p.325 and throughout.

<sup>31</sup> *SH* §73.

<sup>32</sup> *SH* §59.

Temüjin's merry life remained uninterrupted even after the sudden death of Yesügei. *SH* §116 relates that Temüjin and Jamuqa became *anda* to each other when Temüjin was eleven years old, that is 1173. Then, "after this, in the (next?) spring" when they were practising shooting, they exchanged gifts and confirmed their *anda* friendship again. This event can be dated in 1174 if the "spring" was not the one of two years later or so. This account of children's friendship confirms firmly that Temüjin was not in a situation of, best described by his mother's words, "our shadows are our only friends, our horses' tails our only whips",<sup>33</sup> in early 1174.

Ratchnevsky suggests that Temüjin got married when he was fifteen.<sup>34</sup> If it was so and the Taichiyuts had abandoned his family immediately after the death of Yesügei,<sup>35</sup> Temüjin's "hard" youth would have lasted only a maximum of six years,<sup>36</sup> and was less miserable than expected because the presence of Jamuqa proves that there were still some Mongols remaining nearby after the Taichiyuts left.

That this period of hard life was rather short can also be supported by the records regarding Temüjin's private life. In *SH* §§72-93, during the "hardship", Temüjin killed his half-brother Bekter because of a shiny minnow, became wanted by the Taichiyuts, was captured but managed to escape shortly

<sup>33</sup> *SH* §78.

<sup>34</sup> Ratchnevsky, *ibid.*, English translation, p.31. The age of fifteen appears an important age for the Mongols. Some later eminent persons showed their acclaimed character when they were fifteen. For instance, Shigi-Qutuqu had pursued and killed a herd of deer (*āhū*) on his own in a severe winter, and Temüjin was impressed with this young Tatar (p.85). Another example is Üchügen, a Tangyut. Temüjin acquired him when he was fifteen years old, he brought him up as his own son, calling him his fifth son, and put him in charge of the qan's personal Thousand (p.136). This age might have been considered by the twelfth century Mongols as the age of maturity. As for Börte the Qonggirat girl, it was acceptable for her to get married when Temüjin was fifteen because she was one year older than him (*SH* §66) and both of them had become mature.

<sup>35</sup> *SH* connects the events of Temüjin's returning from the Qonggirats (§69) and the Taichiyut separation (§70) with the phrase: "that spring".

<sup>36</sup> In *JT*, Yesügei died when Temüjin was thirteen. If we follow this version, the hardship of his youth is even shorter.

afterwards by hiding his small body in a cart of wool; then, he met Boyorchu on the way chasing eight stolen horses and formed a good relationship with him. All this behaviour reflect just a very young teenager who acts straightforwardly with his premature recklessness and sincerity.

Such a simple-minded under-fifteen young man, although he was a legitimate heir to Yesügei, did not seem likely to provoke envy or jealousy from his powerful Taichiyut kinsmen, neither appeared as a threat to them. Therefore, a more convincing reason is needed to explain Taichiyuts' abandonment of Temüjin and his family. An alternative explanation can be established if we examine this event through the perspective of a principle of kinship practice.

The immediate cause of the abandonment is described in *SH* §§70-72 as follows. One spring after Yesügei had passed away, some Mongols were performing a sacrifice ritual to their ancestors. Hö'elün also went but she had been denied a share of the offerings because she was late. She told off the khatuns of Hambaqai-Qan saying that they denied her because they said to themselves that Yesügei was dead and her sons were not grown yet. These words were obvious very unwisely spoken and the khatuns replied that she had been denied because of her own fault (being late), and answered back to her insult: "Is it because you tell yourself that Hambaqai-Qan is dead, that you abuse us like this, Hö'elün?" Then the khatuns turned to their kinsmen and said: "The best plan would be for you to leave these mothers and children in the camp and move on without them."<sup>37</sup> Next morning, the Taichiyuts carried out the instruction of their seniors. They moved downstream along the Onan, and left behind Hö'elün and her children.

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<sup>37</sup> *SH* §72. This sentence, as seen in the changing of subject and object, is apparently addressed to the Taichiyuts, not as a part of their comment to Hö'elün.

When Charaqa, a Qongqotan, tried to stop them, Tödö'en, an elder<sup>38</sup> of the Taichiyuts, told him: "The deep water has dried up, the shining stone has crumbled."<sup>39</sup> This is the key sentence which explains the situation and reveals the underlying cause of their separation. The meaning of this idiom has been translated into Persian as "I am determined in the decision and [there is] no alternative. An opportunity of hesitation is impossible."<sup>40</sup>

The separation can only be understood from a genealogical point of view. Although the account did not supply the function or meaning of the sacrifice ritual, the genealogical background of the participants reveals that this ritual might have related to Qaidu, the common ancestor of the Qabul-Mongol and the Taichiyut-Mongol, where Hö'elün was identified with the Qabul line. In such a meeting of some genealogically closely related kinsmen, the khatuns of Hambaqai-Qan, who was in the same genealogical generation of Qabul, could have been reasonably rated a higher rank than the khatun of Yesügei, who was two generations younger than Hambaqai. In this offence in which both sides felt offended, Hö'eltün had challenged the genealogical seniority, which was also the social status in twelfth century Mongolia, of her "grandmothers". By this way, the Taichiyut decision to separate from their offensive kinsmen appears just and reasonable.

As for the meaning of the quotation, the genealogical connection between these two brother branches which were both descendants of Qaidu was as hard as the core of stone ("the shining stone") and their affection profound as deep water. However, with this insult, it was spoiled. The Taichiyuts described their affection as having been ruined by this offence as the deep water dried up and the core of stone crumbled. This shows how seriously the

<sup>38</sup> *JT* p.326, *āqā-yi hama*, but according to *JT* p.325, the Taichiyuts were under the command of Tarqutai and Quril then.

<sup>39</sup> *SH* §72.

<sup>40</sup> *JT* p.326.

Taichiyuts had been offended, and how badly Hö'elün had violated one of the principles of kinship practice: "to respect genealogical seniority".

Thus, utilising an explanation from the genealogical point of view, the separation was not caused by jealousy, but explicitly by the offensive manner of Hö'elün.

Besides the Taichiyuts, the people gathered under the banner (*tuq*) of Yesügei also left Hö'elün and followed the Taichiyuts. These Mongols would have had no social or military obligation to stay with Yesügei's family, because their freedom in choosing their adherence is revealed in this incident, in which they left by their own will.<sup>41</sup> Interestingly enough, *JT* p.326 supplies the detail that these people were "the other kinsmen and their troops". That is, they were Mongols, and kinsmen to Yesügei. Did their leaving show also their disapproval, as kinsmen, of Hö'elün's offensive manner to her genealogical seniors?

If these "kinsmen" did leave the family of Yesügei for this reason, we may conclude that the abandonment of Hö'elün and her family was considered as a proper punishment to an offender against kinship practice, and this punishment was agreed by not only the offended kinsmen, but kinsmen in general.

Such a strong reaction to a kinship offence is not unique to Hö'elün but universal, as seen in Temüjin's later two violations of this principle towards his kinsmen within the Qabul-Mongol: the Jürkins and two uncles and one cousin. The violent reaction they brought about had put Temüjin in an embarrassed or even dangerous situation. Upon the offence to the Jürkin clan which was the eldest branch in the Qabul-Mongol, after a conflict started by Temüjin's *nökers* and the capture of two Jürkin khatuns, the whole tribe of

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<sup>41</sup> *SH* §73, Hö'elün had tried to bring back half of them by raising Yesügei's banner (*tuq*), however, these people "did not stay either, but followed the Taichiyut".

Jürkin separated from Temüjin<sup>42</sup> ---- exactly the same reaction as the Taichiyuts. In the latter incident, his kinsmen turned treacherous to Temüjin.

The transgression of the principle this time, by Temüjin's mother, did not just cause their individual sufferings which was a just punishment as acknowledged by the Mongols; it also damaged the friendship between the two genealogically closely related clans: the Taichiyut-Mongol and Temüjin's family. Later when Temüjin obtained recognition and the support of some kinsmen of the Qabul-Mongol, the Taichiyuts showed no affection to this leader of their brother branch, and appeared to have no interest in having an intimate relation with this "qan". The breach was apparently irrecoverable, and this laid a great obstacle in the way of Temüjin's road to success.

#### (ii) Winning kinsmen's affection by courtesy

This phase covers a period from 1177 to early 1190s, when Temüjin was in his youth.

After obtaining an in-laws' relationship from the Qonggirats, which was a huge tribe and strong enough to harass the Jurchen realm (see Chapter Six), Temüjin began to resume his role as the successor of Yesügei. However, because the imprudence of his mother, Temüjin had lost the affection of the Taichiyuts also the other kinsmen who were attached to Yesügei. He started his career in a hard way. The damage caused by that offence became evident when Temüjin started to build up his power, since many Mongols would no longer befriend with him.

Summarized from the sources, under such unfavourable circumstances, Temüjin tried to seek friendship from some non-Borjigin Mongols, and non-Mongols. His first three beneficial connections which were created before his

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<sup>42</sup> *JT* p.336, "judā shudan".

ascendance as the qan of Qabul Mongols are all in this ethnic and genealogical catalogue: the revival of old friendship with the Turkic Toyoril-Kereit, his in-laws' relationship with the Derelkīn Qonggirats and an alliance with Jamuqa. The first and the second of these will be related in Chapter Five, and his relation with Jamuqa will be discussed here.

After his separation from Jamuqa, Temüjin acquired a certain number of Mongols and was elected as their leader. His strength as a multi-clan leader as well as the allegiance of his Mongol supporters were first put to the test in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en (1193). A particular principle of genealogical kinship is revealed by two incidents in the battle. The disappearance of his Bayarin supporters and the disaster which fell upon the Chinos kinsmen warn: "never confront your kinsmen with a sword".

Temüjin did not give up his attempt to seek friendship with his Mongol kinsmen. An earlier invitation to the non-Borjigin kinsmen: the Qatagins and the Saljiyuts and a later temptation of the Je'üreits, who were under the banner of the Taichiyuts confirm this. A review of these incidents reveals his strategy of gathering support at this stage: by a gesture of courtesy, and his targets were selected after a careful consideration of the genealogical connections of those clans.

### **Temüjin's friendship with Jamuqa and Temüjin's ascension as a qan**

Before Jamuqa became Temüjin's major rival, he had a sworn-brother friendship with Temüjin. Their closeness reached its climax with Jamuqa's assistance in rescuing Temüjin's wife from the Merkits, in the *SH* version of the incident of Börte. They renewed their *anda* relationship the third time with the Merkit booty, "enjoyed themselves revelling and feasting, and at night they slept together, alone under one blanket".<sup>43</sup> Temüjin had stayed with Jamuqa

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<sup>43</sup> *SH* §117.

for one and a half years during the best time of their friendship, then, he broke away from his *anda*, and some Mongols who had previously followed Jamuqa now followed Temüjin. It appears that Jamuqa had lost his affection to Temüjin since then, because Temüjin was elected by those Mongols as their qan.<sup>44</sup>

In the course of the rapid change of the Jamuqa-Temüjin relationship, three points are worth notice. First, the assistance and closeness between these two youths seems natural because they have an old *anda* relationship dating from their teenage years. However, if the above assumption of Temüjin's family having been condemned by most of its Mongol kinsmen is correct, the continuing closeness of Jamuqa and Temüjin attracts particular attention. Second, during their staying together, they together invited friendship from the Mongol Qatagins and Saljiyuts, although this was unsuccessful. The reason for choosing these two tribes implies Temüjin's strategy of expansion: via the genealogical network. Third, Temüjin was elected a qan after their separation. What is the nature of this qanship, and what was the situation which allowed him to become the qan, not Jamuqa? All these questions can be properly answered by a study from the perspective of genealogical connections.

First, the genealogical connection of Temüjin and Jamuqa. Jamuqa was a Jadaran, or Jajirat.<sup>45</sup> The tribe was descended from Jajiradai, who was born to Adangqan-Urangqajin of the Jarchiyut tribe, a woman who was captured by Bodonchar when she was already pregnant with this son.<sup>46</sup> Since this woman was later possessed by Bodonchar, her children and the clans stemming from these children would have a kinship with the legitimate descendant of

<sup>44</sup> SH §127. See discussion below.

<sup>45</sup> The tribe/clan name is occasionally related as Jajirat probably because its ancestor was called Jajiradai, a common way of designating clan titles, such as Bayarin tribe had their title from their ancestor Bayarindai, Je'üreit tribe had their title from their ancestor Je'üreidei. However, I cannot find a convincing reason to explain why Jamuqa is related as a Je'üreit in JT.

<sup>46</sup> SH §38 and §40.

Bodonchar, that is the Borjigin branch which the Taichiyut-Mongol and Temüjin's family descended from ---- but the genealogical relationship is very ambiguous, especially when the father of Jajiradai was not Bodonchar. This equivocal genealogical relation might have prevented Jamuqa from being condemned by his Nīrūn kinsmen for his friendship with the condemned Temüjin family, and also provided Temüjin with a chance to maintain a friendship with his "kinsmen".

The invitation from Temüjin and Jamuqa to the Qatagins and the Saljiyuts partly justifies this hypothesis. The incident is recorded in *JT* p.185 alone. After consulting with Jamuqa, Temüjin sent a messenger to the Qatagins and the Saljiyuts, saying: "Many tribes like Qonggirat and Tatar and Derelkīn (?Dörben) which had no relation (*ta'alluq*) with us [have recently] all agreed with us and become friends. We are *āqā wa īnī* and [in] blood [related] one another, [let] us unite and become friends."

The only occasion when Temüjin and Jamuqa stayed together was the merry period mentioned in the *SH*, the one and a half years when they "slept under one blanket". Therefore, this invitation must have been made during this period.

It is interesting to see Temüjin and Jamuqa making the decision to invite the Qatagins and the Saljiyuts to join them because from a genealogical point of view, the Qatagin and the Saljiyat were two elder brother branches to the Borjigin. They were the only three branches direct descended from the same progeny of Alan-Qoya and the "light", that is, the starting branches of Nīrūn-Mongol, and Temüjin was a descendant from the youngest branch. In this invitation, Temüjin, a legitimate Borjigin descendant who had been condemned by his kinsmen, discussed with Jamuqa, a non-legitimate but to certain extent "related" descendant to Bodonchar, an attempt to win the friendship of these two senior Nīrūn branches. This may be evidence for the above assumption that Temüjin had been condemned by many of his Borjigin

kinsmen, thus, he had to seek friendship from outside the Borjigin branch, or from those non-legitimate Borjigin clans.

The unity of Jamuqa and Temüjin provided an opportunity for them to make themselves the leaders of non-Taichiyut Nīrūn Mongols. Jamuqa possessed a certain amount of support from the Mongol kinsmen, and from the list of the tribesmen who left Jamuqa and followed Temüjin after the separation, we can tell there were plenty of Mongols, from various tribes, under the banner of Jamuqa before the separation. According to *SH* §§120-122, these people were from:

A. Turkic tribes:

the Jalair, the Tarqut;<sup>47</sup>

B. The Derelkīn-Mongols:

the Uriangqan, the Suldus, the Olqunuyut and the Qorulas from the Qonggirat;<sup>48</sup>

C. The Nīrūn-Mongols:

the Barulas, the Mangqut, the Sükeken, the Dörben, the Noyankin, the Jadaran, the Bayarin;

1. Descendants of Charaqai-Lingqu:

the Besüt, the Negüs (/Chinos)

2. Descendants of Chaujin-Örtegei:

the Arulat, the Qongqotan, the Oronar (and the Nünjin)<sup>49</sup>, the Geniges

3. Qabul-Mongol:

(1) Descendants of Ökin-Barqaq: the Jürkin

(2) Descendants of Bartan-Bayatur:

<sup>47</sup> A Turkic tribe which had a *quda* relationship to Qabul-Mongol. The wife of Bartan-Bayatur who was the grandmother of Temüjin was from this tribe. *JT* p.99.

<sup>48</sup> Qorulas and Ikires were derived from the Qonggirat tribe. See the discussion of the "Golden Vessel" in section I.

<sup>49</sup> *JT* p.172, Nünjin is a branch of the Oronar-Kelegenüt, a cousin branch of Qongqotan and Arulat. QWNJYN, an error from NWNJYN. Ünjin < Nünjin, the same pattern as Ilqa-Senggüm < Nilqa-Senggüm.

- a) the clan of Mönggetü-Qiyan and their Changshiyut and Bayayut people
- b) the clan of Nekün-Taishi: Quchar-Beki
- c) the clan of Dayaritai-Otchigin

(3) Descendants of Qutula-Qan: Altan-Otchigin

No legitimate Taichiyut descendants appear on the name list ----- that means both Jamuqa and Temüjin did not have Taichiyut supporters. The absence of supporters from the Taichiyut tribe may also confirm the irrecoverable breach between the Taichiyuts and the family of Temüjin.

Temüjin's separation from Jamuqa is mysterious. They were sworn brothers since childhood, they had sworn their friendship three times, which suggests their personal bondage was firm and strong. It is curious to see them separated just one and a half years after their third affirmation of their relationship, especially when the reason is obscure. The reason supplied by *SH* §118 is that Jamuqa uttered something which Temüjin could not understand. He listened to his wife Börte's interpretation of those words and believed that his *anda* had "tired" of him. Thereupon, he separated.

This separation was beneficial to Temüjin because when we look into the subsequent development of Temüjin's career, plenty of followers who were previously gathered around Jamuqa changed sides and came to Temüjin. These people came with a purpose: if we look into the personal association of these people, we discover that some of them came individually because their relatives were with Temüjin<sup>50</sup>, and some came as a whole clan because they were close kinsmen to Temüjin. Most of them came not because of virtue attraction but kinship connection.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> *SH* §120, Ögölen of the Arulat came to join his cousin Boyorchu, Chayurqan and Sübe'etei of the Uriangqan came to join their elder brother of Jelme, Butu (Botu) of the Ikires was performing his bridegroom duty (*güregen*) there.

<sup>51</sup> The Besüts had a paternal connection to Charaqai-Lingqu but a maternal connection to the wife of Bai-Singqor, that is, they were paternally related to the Taichiyuts but maternally related to the descendants of Bai-Singqor ---- Temüjin was one of them. The Chinos has also an ambiguous position in the genealogy, see below.

Temüjin did have an advantage in his genealogical position which Jamuqa did not have: he was *born* the legitimate heir to Yesügei, a leader who was once strong and popular and had many kinsmen followers. This position did attract kinsmen followers, and its significance worked to its maximum when these newly-arriving supporters elected him a qan shortly after his separation from Jamuqa.

It was the kinsmen from the Qabul-Mongol who made Temüjin their qan. In *SH* §123, it was Altan, Quchar and Sacha-Beki who made Temüjin the qan; in *SH* §179, it was Temüjin who proposed to elect a qan; after Altan, Quchar and Sacha-Beki all declined his kindly offer, he himself was made the qan. No matter which account is correct, from the participants in this decision-making, we can tell that this qan was a qan for the Qabul Mongols, not an all-Mongol qan.

Jamuqa had a sharp observation to make of this circumstance. He asked the shifting supporters: "Why did you not make sworn brother Temüjin qan when we were together - when the sworn brother and I had not yet been separated? What did you have in mind now, when you made him qan?"<sup>52</sup> Apparently, the genealogical position of Jamuqa was not strong enough to convince these legitimate Qabul-Borjigins to make him their qan. Although Jamuqa did not tell Temüjin frankly that he was unhappy with this news of his ascension, his reprimand to those "migratory larks"<sup>53</sup> shows that he was not rejoicing at his *anda*'s ascension as a formal recognized leader of some Mongols, and he was even irritated by this because this election was taken place after Temüjin's separation, that is, after so many of his previous supporters had "migrated" over from him --- those Mongol kinsmen had

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<sup>52</sup> *SH* §127.

<sup>53</sup> This is the phrase which Jamuqa used to describe the uncertainty of Temüjin in *SH* §160. I think the action of these kinsmen suggested the real meaning of this idiomatic steppe usage: they did not stay like "skylark".

decided to leave a leader who could not have a proper genealogical position confirmed, to a thief who stole people from his banner.

Altan, Quchar and Sacha-Beki's decline of the offer of qanship is peculiar. According to genealogical seniority, Altan was the youngest son of Qutula-Qan (Altan-Otchigin) and an genealogical "uncle" to Temüjin, Quchar was a son to Nekün-Taishi who was Yesügei's elder brother, therefore Quchar was a cousin (from an elder branch) to Temüjin; as for Sacha-Beki, he was in the same genealogical generation as Temüjin but a descendant of the eldest branch in the Qabul-Mongol. They all had a better claim than Temüjin to the leadership of the Qabul-Mongol.

It does not appear sensible for them to have refused to take up this offer, unless they wished somebody else to become the target of hostility for Jamuqa, or for the Taichiyuts. These Qabul-Mongol kinsmen had left Jamuqa, therefore, it was embarrassing for them to take up the offer to become a competitor to Jamuqa. On the other hand, they might also have disagreed with "the insult of our Taichiyut brothers"<sup>54</sup> upon their legitimate descendants. Therefore, Temüjin was peculiarly recognised by them as their qan.

Summarized from the above, the examples of Jamuqa, Qatagin and Saljiyat, also the making of a Qabul-Mongol qan, all suggest that the genealogical connections had a great significance in the early career of Temüjin. Temüjin did desperately need supporters ---- but he did not hunt around for every chance. He set his targets after careful thought, and his supporters came to him also after careful thought. Temüjin's interest in the tribesmen who had a distant genealogical relation to him might be explained by the influence of the Taichiyuts: most of Yesügei's previous kinsmen followers stayed with the Taichiyuts, but Temüjin was not strong enough to challenge the Taichiyuts for the moment. Finally, by his born privilege in the

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<sup>54</sup> SH §78.

genealogical network, Temüjin won himself the essential support of the Qabul-Mongols, under peculiar circumstances.

### Kin's peace

The above examination of Temüjin's strategy for expansion in its early stages has revealed that Temüjin attempted to reach his goal by a peaceful alliance among his genealogical connections, not by violent confrontations. The early development of Temüjin's friendship with Jamuqa and the attempt to win a friendship from the Qatagins and the Saljiyuts indicates that he was trying to seek associations with his genealogical kinsmen from non-Taichiyut Mongols and non-Borjigin Mongols. After he ascended as the qan of Qabul-Mongols, he had secured certain recognition within the Borjigin and his direct line of Qabul-Mongol, however, this progress was not achieved by his intelligence, but resulted from the decline of other eligible candidates. After a carelessness which caused the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, Temüjin continued his policy of attracting kinsmen to join him ---- but this time, he carelessly stepped on the tiger's tail that he annoyed the Taichiyuts by attempting to lure the Je'üreits from under their banner. The setbacks are going to be discussed as follows.

Upon Temüjin's separation, some Bayarin left Jamuqa and followed Temüjin. It is curious to see these Bayarins come because in genealogical sense, the Bayarin tribe has a close connection to the Jadaran tribe, they are brother branches who shared the same maternal ancestor: Adangqan-Urangqajin.<sup>55</sup> Their different paternal ancestor might explain this move: while sharing the same maternal line with the Jadaran, the Bayarin tribe shared the same paternal line to the Borjigin ---- they also had a brotherhood affiliation to the legitimate descendant of Bodonchar.

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<sup>55</sup> SH §41.

The Bayarin Qorchi was aware of their kinship connection to Jamuqa and he knew that they should not have left him.<sup>56</sup> However, Temüjin did need their support, from a genealogical point of view. The support of the Bayarins could be a replacement for losing the friendship of the Jadaran. With the coming of some Bayarins, Temüjin still had the companionship of the Mongol kinsmen who descended from the Jarchiyut Adangqan-Urangqajin. In this way, the power foundation of Temüjin ---- in a genealogical sense ---- was not shaken by his separation from Jamuqa. Therefore, for his pain in this separation, Temüjin promised Qorchi the position of a commander of Ten-Thousand.<sup>57</sup>

These Bayarins might have stayed with Temüjin from then on, and this can be confirmed by the appearance of the Bayarin Usun-Noyan in his protection of Temüjin from an unsuccessful conspiracy in 1200.<sup>58</sup> However, they might have disappeared from the banner of Temüjin during the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en (1193) in which Temüjin suffered his first defeat. *SH* §120 relates that these Bayarins, together with Menen-Bayarins, came to Temüjin in one *güre'en*. If they had supported and assisted Temüjin in this battle, the defensive power of Temüjin would have increased to fourteen *güre'en*.

The fact is, when we compare the name list of the people who separated from Jamuqa and the people who fought for Temüjin in this battle, the Bayarins under Temüjin were missing. Their absence can only be explained by their reluctance to confront their clansmen in the enemy camp: the Bayarins who came with the punitive force.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *SH* §121.

<sup>57</sup> Qorchi was not satisfied with this position. According to *SH* §121, he demanded a further right to take thirty of the most beautiful girls as wives, and, "listen closely whatever he said". This is racketeering. Qorchi did not come because of affection but for privileges.

<sup>58</sup> See Chapter Three, Toyoril's attempt against Temüjin in the spring feast in 1200.

<sup>59</sup> *CCL* p.6a. There may be another possibility that those Bayarins who came to Temüjin had shifted their affiliation again, but this is not a sound assumption because the accounts in the *SH* recount Temüjin's kindness to Usun-Ebügen and Qorchi after his "unification of Mongolia". Temüjin would never treat betrayers with benevolence.

The absence suggests another general acknowledged principle in kinship practice which prohibits military confrontations among kinsmen, especially within their own clan and among the closely related brother clans. This principle of "kin's peace" is clearly demonstrated in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, where two examples are found: the Bayarins' reservation in offering military assistance to Temüjin against their kinsmen, and the devastation of the Chinos.

In the battle, the punitive troop which was made up of Jamuqa and the Taichiyuts and the other allied tribesmen completed their revenge for the death of Taichar by forcing Temüjin to escape into the Jerene Gorge.<sup>60</sup> However, when the troop was about to return, Jamuqa "had the princes of the Chinos boiled in seventy cauldrons" and "cut off the head of Chaqayan-Uya of the Ne'üs (\*Negüs)", dragging it on his horse's tail.<sup>61</sup> This massacre was unreasonable, especially when the life of their major enemy, Temüjin, had been pardoned.

To rediscover the background of this event, we have to look into the identification of the Chinos and the Negüs, also the genealogical connection of this clan to the tribesmen of both sides in this military confrontation. The *SH* records the event but does not supply the genealogical identification of the Chinos or Negüs. The identity is found in *JT*.

*JT* pp.151-152 recounts that the various tribes of Derelkīn Mongols stemmed from NKWZ (\*Negüs) and Qiyan, as the people are called. Later, a Nīrūn clan is also called Negüs. It is descended from Gendü-Chino and ALKCHYN-Chino, two sons of Charaqai-Lingqu. Their line and *uruq* are

<sup>60</sup> *SH* §129, Jamuqa said: "we have forced him to take refuge in the Jerene by the Onan" then prepared to return.

<sup>61</sup> *SH* §129. The execution of the Chinos is distorted in *JT* into a celebrating deed of Temüjin. *JT* p.331. The name and the clan identity of his enemy is not mentioned in this account, but the "seventy cauldrons" are the same.

called "Chino", also "Negüs". The Mongols who have a clear idea of their own genealogy are able to distinguish these two Negüs people.

According to this description, the clan of Chinos was the clan of Nīrūn Negüs, and Chaqayan-Uγa, the leader of the "Ne'üs" in *SH* §129, was the leader of the Chinos.

The Chinos leader was killed with many of his Chinos princes in the after-battle clearance. Why were they killed?

After giving the genealogical identity of the Chinos, *JT* continues to give the genealogical connection of the clan. The Chinos were from the Taichiyut tribe but allied with Temüjin when the Taichiyuts were confronting Temüjin. This branch came from the two sons of Charaqai-Lingqu, who were born to the wife of his elder brother,<sup>62</sup> when Charaqai-Lingqu took her after his elder brother passed away.<sup>63</sup> The practice of this Mongol custom inevitably caused a vagueness in Chinos' genealogical connections.

*JT* further supplies that "that Negüs which is [descended] from the offspring of Gendü-Chino and ALKCHYN-Chino and(?which is) another *uruq* of Charaqai-Lingqu which [is/are born] to the other khatuns are all ancestors of the Taichiyut tribes."<sup>64</sup> This description is more confusing. No matter if the clan was a part of the Taichiyuts or not, there is no doubt that the Chinos had a paternal kinship to the Taichiyuts, that is the *uruq* of Hambaqai-Qan, and at the same time, they had a maternal kinship to the Qabul-Mongols, which Temüjin was descended from.

<sup>62</sup> According to the *SH*, this elder brother should be Bai-Singqor but in *JT* p.151, she was the khatun of Tumbinai.

<sup>63</sup> *JT* p.192.

<sup>64</sup> *JT* p.152. The separation between sentence clauses is unclear. If the *wa* after ALKCHYN-Chino could be a copying error of *ki*, the sentence would not be so confusing and would become comprehensible.

Perhaps the Chinos left Jamuqa and joined Temüjin under this kinship consideration. However, when the Taichiyuts came with Jamuqa in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, the Chinos had been being put in a dilemma by their genealogical connections --- they should not fight their paternal kinsmen, but they were also obligated to assist the leader who they had selected to attach themselves to. Their decision to confront the Taichiyuts violated the principle of "kin's peace", and the offence might have resulted in the slaughter launched by the irritated Taichiyuts (not by Jamuqa), in return for their opposition to their brother clan.

The examples of the absence of the Bayarins and the slaughter of the Chinos confirm that the Mongols observed a principle of "kin's peace"; also the principle of respecting genealogical seniority. In the subsequent interaction of Temüjin and his kinsmen, a conflict between his expansion and these principles became more striking, which eventually led to a change of Temüjin's strategy of expansion: from peace to violence.

This conflict and change occur in Temüjin's temptation of the Je'üreits. The Je'üreit incident appears quite abruptly isolated in *CCL* and *JT* --- no dating, no notable significance (although dramatic), the only clue which suggests an approximate dating is *JT*'s mistaken narration of the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en. In that paragraph, *JT* relates that when Temüjin boiled his enemies in the cauldrons, the Je'üreits also submitted and came to Temüjin "at that time". They moved their houses (*khānahā*) into the neighbourhood of Temüjin's yurt, and again, some of them turned into enemies.<sup>65</sup> Since in *CCL* the coming of some Je'üreits also came after the account of the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, it would be reasonable to consider that the temptation of the Je'üreits happened after the battle and before Temüjin's victory over the Tatars.

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<sup>65</sup> *JT* p.331.

According to the description in both sources, the Je'üreits lived next to Temüjin, they occasionally met each other in hunting. Temüjin represented himself as a thoughtful and generous leader, sharing provisions with the Je'üreit hunters and allowing them to carry away more prey than they deserved ---- this generosity won gratitude from them. Then, according to *CCL*, Temüjin sent over a messenger and asked: "would you come to ally [with us]?"<sup>66</sup> Ülük-Bayatur discussed this matter with another Je'üreit leader Mayu(i)-Yadayana.<sup>67</sup> The latter disapproved of this move, therefore, Ülük-Bayatur himself separated from Mayu(i)-Yadayana and came to Temüjin with some of the Je'üreits who lived nearby and were related (*muta 'allaq*).<sup>68</sup>

The event is not so simple as it seems. When we look into the role of genealogical connection in this matter, also the recent lord of the Je'üreits, the movement is full of significance.

First, the genealogical issue. It is interesting to see that the Je'üreits also had a vague position in the Mongol genealogy which relates to the Borjigins. The ancestor of the Je'üreits was called Je'üredei, who was born to Bodonchar and his concubine. In the early days, Je'üredei was allowed to participate in the sacrifice ritual as a family member, but after Bodonchar's death, he was excluded from it.<sup>69</sup> Thus, the Je'üreit clan was a half-brother clan to the legitimate Borjigin branch (Temüjin's) because they shared the same paternal origin.

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<sup>66</sup> *JT* account of this event relates that Ülük-Bayatur suggested that the tribesmen move over.

<sup>67</sup> *JT* p.204, MĀGHWY W YĀDĀGHĀYĀ, variations YĀDĀGHĀ/YĀDĀGHĀNĀ, p.332, MĀGHWY YĀDĀQĀYĀ, *CCL* p.13b Ma-wu-ya-ta-na. *CCL* p.13b, Mayu-Yadayana was the Je'üreit tribal leader. *JT* P.332, Both Ülük-Bayatur and Mayu(i)-Yadayana were Je'üreit chiefs (*sarwarān*).

<sup>68</sup> *JT* pp.331-332, *CCL* p.13ab.

<sup>69</sup> *SH* §§43-44.

As a half-brother clan to the legitimate Borjigin, the Je'üreit clan had no obligation to either the Taichiyut-Mongol or the Qabul-Mongol, the two great branches in the Borjigin. Its genealogical position is similar to the Bayarin clan, both of them are half-brother clans to the Borjigins by a paternal connection. From a genealogical point of view, Temüjin's effort to win friendship from the clans of Jadaran, Bayarin and Je'üreit, which all have a vague genealogical connection to the Borjigin, even the tribes of Qatagin and Saljiyat, which were the brother clans to the Borjigin, suggests a careful design of Temüjin's early expansion: to seek companionship from those Borjigin-related but genealogically ambiguous kinsmen, and the most distant clans within the Nirün-Mongol, by peaceful means.

This strategy worked well until his careless attempt upon the Je'üreits under the Taichiyut sphere of influence. The Je'üreits were staying with the Taichiyuts at that time.<sup>70</sup> The reasons of Mayu(i)-Yadayana's disapproval to move away from the Taichiyuts reveal his consideration of the present situation: first, the Taichiyuts did not treat them badly, second, they were also "*āqā wa īnī*".<sup>71</sup> Mayu(i)-Yadayana could not see any point sufficient to justify a shift of their support to Temüjin.

Is it appropriate to lure a clan of kinsmen to abandon their companionship with another kinsmen, in favour of joining himself? Apparently what Temüjin was doing in this temptation was to snatch the supporters of the Taichiyuts for himself. It is true that the Taichiyuts had possessed a vast territory, plenty of people at this time but loosely disciplined<sup>72</sup> ---- a great chance to take advantage of. If the temptation is inappropriate, were the Taichiyuts totally ignorant of this intrusive attempt?

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<sup>70</sup> CCL p.13a describes the "Je'üreit tribe" as a tribe of/to the Taichiyuts ---- if this is not in a genealogical sense, at least it shows their present attachment. The Je'üreits had complained, in JT pp.331-32 and CCL p.13b, about the inconsiderate treatment they suffered from the Taichiyuts. This certifies the Taichiyut leadership over the Je'üreits during this time.

<sup>71</sup> JT p.332. CCL mentions twice in p.13b and p.14a that the Taichiyuts were "brothers" (*hsüng-ti*, lit. elder brother [and] younger brother) to the Je'üreits.

<sup>72</sup> CCL p.13a.

The Taichiyuts were not ignorant of this attempt. The Je'üreits under Ülük-Bayatur came to Temüjin fearing a danger of extinction. Explicit evidence cannot be found in the sources, but we learn of the tension from the words of Ülük-Bayatur: "the children of the senior khatun were killing us!"<sup>73</sup> This sentence, as it appears in *JT*, does not tell who these *pisarān* (sons/children) were, but in the same sentence in *CCL*, these *pisarān* were definitely "the son(s) of the Taichiyut senior mother(s)".<sup>74</sup> If "the Taichiyut senior mother(s)" can be identified with the two khatuns of Hambaqai-Qan, and their sons/children the contemporary Taichiyut leaders Tarqutai and Quril, this sentence would mean that these Taichiyuts had been offended by the leaving of these Je'üreits and they were thinking of exterminating them. When the shift of the support of Ülük-Bayatur could result in such a severe consequence, or punishment, Temüjin's attempt can certainly be considered an intrusion into the power base of his Taichiyut kinsmen, in which Ülük-Bayatur appeared as a betrayer to the Taichiyuts.

A separation from one's *āqā wa īnī* is not always counted as a betrayal, but turning away from a previous leadership to its rival is totally different. The Taichiyuts had separated from Temüjin's family, but with a just cause. Temüjin had separated from Jamuqa, but not in order to turn to a competing leadership ---- although Jamuqa did show his anger when Temüjin made himself a competing leader. However, when Temüjin attempted to lure the Je'üreits, he had already established himself as the leader of Qabul-Mongol and eager for the support of his genealogical kinsmen in order to compete with the leadership of his brother branch, the Taichiyut-Mongol. Je'üreit's changing sides under such circumstances would mean a loss to the Taichiyuts, and an reinforcement to the "villainous" *āqā wa īnī* who had a very bad record in violating the principles of kinship practice: his mother's arrogance, his murder of his half-brother, and his recent punishment because his fellowman killed a kinsman of Jamuqa.

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<sup>73</sup> *JT* p.332, "pisarān ki az khatūn-i buzurgand mā-rā mīkishand".

<sup>74</sup> *CCL* p.14a.

Temüjin was not unaware of the social judgement of this kind of offence, and he also demanded the same loyalty from his supporters. He was furious when his kinsmen Altan, Quchar and Dayaritai separated from him and turned to his prime rival: the Toyoril-Kereit in 1202/03. He responded in the same manner, and had Altan and Quchar done away with at the end. When kinship affinity and the leadership supremacy came to a conflict, as seen from the above example, Mongol society at the end of the twelfth century inclined to give priority to allegiance.

Before allowing himself to engage in an open military conflict with the Taichiyuts, Temüjin had succeeded in securing a number of kinsmen supporters and had become the recognized leader of Qabul-Mongol. Young Temüjin was successful in his power-building through the existing genealogical network. In his thirties (1193-1203), Temüjin's expansion became rapid because he adopted an aggressive manner towards his career ---- subduing by the sword.

### (iii) Winning kinsmen's recognition by the sword

This phase covers a decade from 1196 to 1206, in which Temüjin expanded rapidly and unified the Mongols.

#### **From peace to violence**

Temüjin had achieved many victories after his first trial of his sword on the Tatars in early 1196. The subsequent conquests were quick, forceful and determinative, and by adopting this style, Temüjin had been acknowledged as a world conqueror.

If the observation of his strategy of a smooth expansion through the genealogical network is correct, it is astonishing to see Temüjin suddenly

changing his manner from a courteous leader to a war-fond exterminator. Thus, a study of the change of Temüjin's strategy is necessary.

We have reached the point in the previous discussion at which Temüjin had become an established leader of the Qabul-Mongol, and possessed at least the support of thirteen *gure'en* of manpower in 1193. He still attempted to expand his power by attracting other Mongols to join them. This intention was recently shown in the temptation of the Je'üreits by generosity on the hunting ground. However, the changing sides of some Je'üreits had provoked the Taichiyuts, and they had been threatened with extermination.

Temüjin came to a deadlock. He wished to expand his influence and build up his power by attracting other genealogically closely-related Mongol tribes to join him, however, would these Borjigin tribes, especially those who were staying with the Taichiyuts, risk the threat of extinction which would accompany their acceptance of Temüjin's goodwill? The Qabul-Mongol and the Taichiyut-Mongol were both great branches in the Borjigin-Mongol, and their genealogical kinsmen overlapped. Apparently the spheres of influence of Temüjin and the Taichiyuts were meeting each other, and their contact, or conflict, seemed inevitable.

The coming of the Je'üreits who were commanded by Ülük-Bayatur is significant in two ways in the development of Temüjin's career: one concerns his strength-building, which was related in previous discussion, the other Temüjin's modification of his strategy of strength-building. Regarding the second point, it was this kinsman, Ülük-Bayatur, who encouraged Temüjin to use force against his rival kinsmen.

"The children from the senior khatun were killing us! We together, for your friendship, we strike with a sword and slaughter your enemies!" Ülük-Bayatur said to Temüjin.<sup>75</sup> These words opened a new gateway for Temüjin

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<sup>75</sup> JT p.332.

---- Temüjin suddenly realized the essence of his previous failure. Regarding this inspiration, Temüjin himself commented that it was like awaking him from sleeping by pulling the hair on his forehead, and raised him from sitting by pulling [him up by] the chin.<sup>76</sup> This sentence is idiomatic but the astonishing excitement is clear: Ülük-Bayatur suggested to Temüjin an approach which he had never thought of. This was the turning point of Temüjin's strategy in his expansion, when a competing enthusiasm was stirred up in Temüjin.

This change of attitude can be proved by a review on the chronology of the major events in Temüjin's early expansion. In *JT*, this account of the temptation of some Je'üreits and their separation from the Taichiyuts is placed soon after the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, while in *CCL*, after the narration of the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en and before Temüjin's feast with the Jürkins and his subsequent attack against the Tatar Megüjin-Se'ültü. Although no exact dating is supplied, we can still reconstruct a reliable sequence of Temüjin's career up to the attack of Megüjin-Se'ültü by the narrative order in the sources:

- (1) the birth of Temüjin (1162)
- (2) the betrothment of Börte (1171)
- (3) the death of Yesügei
- (4) the separation of the Taichiyuts
- (5) a *quda* relationship with the Qonggirats (1177)
- (6) the revival of a friendship with the Toyoril-Kereit
- (7) good relationship with Jamuqa; stayed together
- (8) an invitation to the Qatagins and the Saljiyuts, unsuccessful
- (9) separated from Jamuqa and the coming of some Bayarins
- (10) the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en (1193), defeated
- (11) attracting the Je'üreits to join
- (12) the quarrel with the Jürkins, Jürkins' separation from Temüjin and Temüjin's attack on the Tatar Megüjin-Se'ültü (1195/96)
- (13) the destruction of Jürkins and the coming of the Kereit Toyoril (1196)
- (14) two plunderings of the Merkits

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<sup>76</sup> *JT* p.332. *CCL* p.14a has a similar speech with the second sentence reads "drawing the beard to raise [him] up".

- (15) the Kereit battle against the Buiruq-Naiman (1199)
- (16) Temüjin's attack upon the Taichiyuts (1200), and a series of battles in eastern Mongolia

Undeniably, Temüjin had turned "aggressive" towards his kinsmen and the Turkic tribes after the Je'üreit incident: first he quarrelled with his senior kinsmen and fought with them, in which struggle Temüjin's *nökers* won, then he set out to assault the fleeing Tatars, and won the battle. He returned, attacked the Jürkins and later he killed their clan leaders. For the next three years, he plundered the Merkits, and assisted Toyoril in his restoration. After this, he launched a series of attacks, starting with an open challenge to the Taichiyuts.

Before all these aggressive movements, Temüjin seemed to be trying to live peacefully with the other tribes, and in his capture by the Taichiyuts, his wife's abduction by the Merkit and the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, Temüjin kept a low profile and remained in a self-defensive position. Therefore, the suggestion of Ülük-Bayatur might have been the turning point of his attitude, not only towards kinsmen but for his personal career: Temüjin had to reconsider his strategy when he had come to such a deadlock: either to remain weak, or to challenge his rivals.

Using the sword is definitely more efficient in time than attracting by courtesy. Comparing with his peaceful life before his thirties, the subsequent thirty years were in a turmoil. In ten years' time (1196-1205), Temüjin defeated a division of the Tatars, the Jürkins, the Merkits, the Buiruq-Naiman, the eastern tribes, the Kereits, the Tayang-Naiman and made himself the sole ruler of Mongolia. For another thirteen years (1205-1218), he subdued part of the realms of Jurchen and Tangyut, also the western steppe to the fringe of Transoxiana. The following seven-year expedition in Transoxiana laid the foundation of his world empire, which allowed his successors to advance towards Persia, the Russian lands and even eastern Europe.

However, the sword should not be laid on everybody, particularly his own kinsmen. Temüjin provoked a strong anti-Temüjin sentiment among his Borjigin kinsmen when he violated some principles in kinship practice by this aggressive policy, and their resentment interrupted his speedy unification of Mongolia.

### The attack on the Taichiyuts

The history of the Taichiyut tribe in the time of Temüjin is obscure in the sources, probably because of its complexity in reality. The leadership of the Taichiyuts is the most confusing subject. In the sources, we find Tarqutai-Kiriltuq, Quril-Bayatur, Anqu-Huquchu and Quduyudar-Beki all exercising a certain degree of leadership. Altogether with their elder Tödö'en and the khatuns of Hambaqai, it seemed that many people were giving orders in Taichiyut affairs.

Regarding the Taichiyut leadership in the youth of Temüjin, *JT* p.189 reports the earliest available information. Before the death of Qadayan-Taishi, he was "acting as" the general leader of all the Taichiyut tribes in special occasions. After his death, the tribe fell into a chaos of leadership competition. Three Taichiyut princes, namely Tarqutai-Kiriltuq, Quril-Bayatur and Bayachi, were all interested in this general leadership, however, no one had obtained consent from the others. For some untold reason, Bayachi seems to have withdrawn from the competition; then, Tarqutai and Quril were left in charge of the tribal affairs.<sup>77</sup>

The prologue of *CCL* also supports Tarqutai and Quril's leadership over the Taichiyuts. It recounts that "in the very beginning, [our] kinsmen Taichiyuts lived in another forest. In the old days, they had no enmity to us. Later, because of having a "regret" with the two sons of their leader A-tan k'ê-han (Adal-Qayan), T'a-êrh-hu-t'ai (Tarqutai) [and] Hu-lin pa-tu (Quril-

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<sup>77</sup> *JT* p.325.

Bayatur), [the friendship] came to an end.<sup>78</sup> *JT* relates that Tarqutai was a son of the Taichiyut Adal-Qan, and in the genealogical hierarchy, he was in the grandson generation to Qabul-Qan.<sup>79</sup> The record coincided with his family background in this *CCL* quotation, and to Temüjin, Tarqutai was his "genealogical uncle".

His leadership was seen in the *SH* as well, in which Tarqutai gave the order to capture Temüjin.<sup>80</sup> With confirmation from each of the main sources, Tarqutai is unquestionably a leader of the Taichiyuts. However, in Temüjin's attack on the Taichiyuts in 1200, the "chief and elders" (*pīshwā wa buzurg*) of the Taichiyuts were Anqu-Haquchu, Quril, Quduyudar, "with some other kinsmen emirs such as Tarqutai-Kiriltuq".<sup>81</sup>

Anqu-Haquchu appears to be an important Taichiyut leader at least from 1200 on, and he is the key person in recounting a confusion in the sources of two Temüjin's campaigns against the Taichiyuts. According to *JT* pp.371-372, in the 1200 attack on the Taichiyuts on the Onan, Temüjin's troop killed Tarqutai-Kiriltuq and Quduyudar at Ülengüt-Turas.<sup>82</sup> The other Taichiyut "chief and elders" fled, Quril went into Naiman, and Anqu-Haquchu fled into Barqjin with Qodun-Örcheng,<sup>83</sup> who was a brother to the Merkit

<sup>78</sup> *CCL* p.2ab.

<sup>79</sup> *JT* p.325.

<sup>80</sup> *SH* §79.

<sup>81</sup> *JT* p.371. Anqu-Haquchu, *JT* P.371 'NKQW HWQWCHW, variations 'NKĀQ HĀQWJW/'NKĀQW HĀQWJW, or 'NKQW-HĀQWJW, *SH* A'uchu (a'uchu-ba'atur = (H)Ayuchu-Bayatur), *CCL* p.31a Hang-hu-a-hu-chu (\*<sup>(H)</sup>an(g)qu-(H)aquchu). Quril [and] Quduyudar, *JT* p.371 and variations QWRYL QWYLDĀR/QWDWDĀR/TWDWDĀR. *CCL* p.31a Hu-lien hu-tu-ta-êrh-peh-chi (\*Quril, \*Qudūdar-Beki).

<sup>82</sup> *JT* p.372 'LNKWT-TWDĀS, variation 'LNKWT-TWRĀS/'NKWT-TWRĀS. *CCL* p.31a Yüeh-liang-wu-t'u-la-ssü (\*Ülen'ü[t]-Turas < (H)ülengüt-Turas).

<sup>83</sup> This person cannot be definitely identified. First, his tribal identification. In this account of *JT*, he was a Merkit representative sent by his brother Toqtoya, and the story became reasonable when he accompanied Anqu-Haquchu to return to Barqjin after the latter had been defeated. However, he appears in every account in the *SH* as an important Taichiyut, also, *CCL* p.14b recounts that when the Je'üreits broke their promise of staying with Temüjin

leader Toqtoya. Toqtoya had been settled in Barqujin since his defeat by Toyoril in 1198.

An account in *SH* §§144-149 tells a similar story, in which Temüjin pursued the Taichiyuts in the direction of the Onan. They fought at Hüle'üt-Turas (\*Hülen-güt > Ülengüt) on the other side of Onan, and "on that occasion", Temüjin "exterminated" the Taichiyut clansmen Aγuchu-Bayatur, Qoton(/Qodun)-Örcheng and Quduyudar, while Tarqutai-Kiriltuq was seized by some Bayarins but later released. The location of the battlefield and the persons involved coincide with the *JT* account of the 1200 attack; however, this *SH* account followed after the battle of Köyiten, so the date should be in or after 1202.

The confusions may be explained in this way. Assuming that Temüjin had fought the Taichiyuts twice, one in early 1200 which was a full-scale attack on the Onan, in which he killed Quduyudar and possessed the Taichiyut people, and one in late 1202, the pursuit after the Battle of Köyiten in which he exterminated the line of Aγuchu-Bayatur, the accounts will not severely contradict each other. In order to prove this assumption, we must look into the identity of the key person Aγuchu, who appears in both sources on both occasions.

First, the Aγuchu-Bayatur in the *SH*. He appears in the Battle of Köyiten (1202) as in the vanguard of the enemy troop, and he is recorded as "Aγuchu-Bayatur of the Mongols" (*SH* §142). The second time, he appears

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and left, "kinsman Hu-tun-hu-êrh-chang (Qodun-Örcheng) was resented with the inconstancy of T'a-hai-ta-lu (Taqai-Dalu, a Je'üreit leader) therefore [he] killed him." If Qodun-Örcheng was a "kinsman" to whoever the Taichiyuts or the Je'üreits, he could not be a Merkit. In the same account of the finale of Je'üreits in *JT* p.332, Qodun-Örcheng is definitely mentioned as "from the Merkit tribe". Here, I follow *JT* for his tribal identification.

Second, the name may be separated and probably be assigned to two persons. *JT* p.372 uses the plural noun "brothers" (*barādarān*) to designate QWDW W 'WRCHĀNG. I take the name as one person, because its Chinese transcription in *CCL* p.31b is Hu-tun-hu-êrh-chang (\*Qudun/Qodun-(H)orchang/(H)örcheng), and the name appeared in *JT* p.332 is QWDWN 'WRCHĀNG. These two examples suggest that "QWDW W" in p.372 should be QWDWN, where the last letter is a copying error which mistakes /n/ for /w/. The plural noun *barādarān* might be rendered according to this mistake.

as the person being pursued in the direction of the Onan, and he is recorded as "Ayuchu-Bayatur of the Taichiyut" (*SH* §144). These two Ayuchu-Bayatur were the same person, he was a Taichiyut leader, also in tribal identity, a Mongol.

Second, the Anqu-Haquchu in *JT*. The Taichiyut Anqu-Haquchu fled into Barquin in 1200, after Tarqutai and Quduyudar were killed and Quril fled to Naiman. Then, in the autumn of 1202, he appeared in the alliance troop of anti-Temüjin tribes to attack Temüjin. These two accounts are logically related because Anqu-Haquchu had fled into Barquin where the settlement of Merkit Toqtoya was, then it would be reasonable for him to come out two years later with his protector Toqtoya to attack their common foe.

The identity of the person agreed in the individual sources, and from a linguistic perspective, the Ayuchu-Bayatur in the *SH* can be identified with the Anqu-Haquchu in *JT* and *CCL*, where Ayuchu>(H)ayuchu = Aquchu>(H)aquchu.

The *SH* does not relate Temüjin's 1200 attack against the Taichiyuts. However, an account in the *SH* suggests that the 1200 attack did occur. *SH* §141 recounts that Tarqutai-Kiriltuq, Qodun-Örcheng and Ayuchu-Bayatur had attended the meeting in the Year of Hen (1201) to decide electing Jamuqa as the Gür-Qan.<sup>84</sup> Apparently, Quduyudar, who was killed in 1200 according to *JT*, was not on the name list. Tarqutai was also "dead" in *JT* but according to *SH* §149, he was released after temporary capture, before he had been delivered to Temüjin. Therefore, Tarqutai could have attended this meeting in 1201. As for Qodun-Örcheng and Ayuchu-Bayatur, they fled together in the previous year, and it is not surprising to see them come back together this year. In this way, even the account in the *SH* confirms the 1200 dating of

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<sup>84</sup> This account is another confusion in participants and locations for two events.

Taichiyut's destruction. There is no severe contradiction among the sources, just some "acceptable variations" and "conflations".<sup>85</sup>

Therefore, the situation of the Taichiyuts is clear when the confusion of the accounts has been clarified. Temüjin did attack the Taichiyuts in 1200 and fought on the Onan, the Taichiyuts were defeated and many leaders killed, captured or fled. The battle was so fierce that Temüjin was wounded in the neck artery.<sup>86</sup> After his victory, the remaining Taichiyut leaders had attended an anti-Temüjin meeting, but how much strength they still retained is in question. In 1202, one of the Taichiyut leaders, Anqu-Hauchu, joined the multi-tribal alliance and confronted Temüjin at Köyiten. Probably when the enemy dispersed at the end of the battle, Temüjin pursued this leader and had his line exterminated.

The 1200 victory over the Taichiyuts should be counted as a great victory for Temüjin, because he annexed this huge brother clan, probably the strongest Mongol branch at that time. There ought not to have been any more resistance to his supremacy over the Mongol tribes when the Taichiyuts could not challenge him any more in strength, however, the consequence did not turn out this way. Many Mongol tribes solemnly united to fight him, just because his annexation of the Taichiyut tribe.

### **The anti-Temüjin sentiment among the Mongols, 1200-1203**

The 1200 incorporation of the Taichiyut tribe did not have only a significant impact on both the Taichiyut-Mongol and the Temüjin-Mongol, it also started a series of internal disagreements among the Mongol tribes/clans. Some Mongol tribes, for the first time, formed a rival coalition against the Temüjin. The Nirün tribes of Qatagin and Saljiyat gathered together, with the

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<sup>85</sup> CCL p.31a says Tarqutai and Quduyudar were captured. This account might be correct, and the JT account of killing Quduyudar might not be wrong, if Quduyudar was executed after capture. This is very possible, because his position in the tribe is a *beki*. (Ibid.) Beki, as explained by Temüjin, is the "tribal chief" in Mongol tradition. See SH §216.

<sup>86</sup> SH §145.

tribes of Dörben, Dörben's ally Tatar<sup>87</sup> and Qonggirat, they made the most solemn oath among the Mongols<sup>88</sup> to march against Temüjin.

This coalition does not seem to have been a self-defensive alliance. Although the Qatagins and the Saljiyuts had declined his friendly invitation before, Temüjin had no deep hatred of these Mongol tribes, unlike his hatred of the Taichiyuts. The sources do not clearly explain the purpose and claim of the coalition, but apparently the coalition was hostile to Temüjin.

According to *JT*, the coalition was formed soon after Temüjin's defeat of the Taichiyuts, that is, no later than the winter of 1200. Besides, the backbone of the coalition, the Qatagins and the Saljiyuts, were old allies to the Qadayan-Taichiyut.<sup>89</sup> This timing and participants' information supports the assumption that the formation of this coalition might have been related to the event of the Taichiyut's devastation by Temüjin.

To confirm this assumption, it is necessary to review the past confrontations among the Mongol kinsmen. In the earlier capture of Temüjin, the Taichiyuts "wanted" Temüjin but not other children of Yesügei perhaps because of his imprudent *killing* of his half-brother. Later in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, Jamuqa had a just claim to attack Temüjin because one of Temüjin's subjects had *killed* Jamuqa's tribesman/kinsman Taichar. The Chinos was exterminated after the battle, because they raised their sword against their brother clan of Taichiyut. Now, Temüjin happened to be

<sup>87</sup> *SH* §141, Qachiyun-Beki, the leader of Dörben is mentioned together with the Jalin-Buqa of the Alchi-Tatar, and the account recounts that the Dörben "having made peace with the Tatar".

<sup>88</sup> *JT* p.373, an oath which "among the Mongols, no oath is greater than that". ("az ān buzurgtar sawgand nīst")

<sup>89</sup> *JT* p.373. The branch was headed by Tödö'en, Quril and Tarqutai-Kiriltuq at that time.

behaving similarly: he laid the sword on his brother clan, without a satisfactory cause.<sup>90</sup>

The Temüjin-Mongol and the Taichiyut-Mongol were two Borjigin groupings; both of them were the descendants of Qaidu and they had been together for a long period, even once under the common leadership of Qutula for special campaign. Although the Taichiyuts had separated from the family of Temüjin because of Hö'elün's offence to the Taichiyut elders, the Taichiyuts were still genealogically close to Temüjin. Tarqutai, a "genealogical uncle" to Temüjin appeared acting as a guardian to this reckless heir of his brother clan. In the early youth of Temüjin, Tarqutai had instructed and taught him just as if he had been a two or three year old new colt he had been training.<sup>91</sup> If the extermination of the Chinos had been accepted by the Mongol kinsmen as a proper punishment for their violation of kinship rules, would Temüjin be sentenced to the same for his attack on the Taichiyuts?

In the punitive separation from Hö'elün's family, the Taichiyuts did not destroy the offensive kinsmen. In the later punitive capture, Tarqutai also did not, or seem to have planned, to execute Temüjin. In Jamuqa's punitive attack on Temüjin, that is the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, he completed his revenge by putting Temüjin to flight. Temüjin had survived miraculously through all the disastrous punishments which were carried out by his Mongol kinsmen, undoubtedly because of their kinship affinity in the same genealogy. However, in Temüjin's attack upon the Taichiyuts in 1200, he engaged in slaughter. *SH* §146 recounts that when Temüjin was bringing back the fleeing Taichiyut

<sup>90</sup> His attack and annexation of the Jürkins may be counted as an internal affair among the Qabul-Mongols. Since the Jürkin leaders had given their word to support Temüjin, Temüjin has a just claim to punish them because of their disobedience to his summons --- although the punishment was unexpectedly severe.

<sup>91</sup> *SH* §149. I incline to agree that Tarqutai's capture of Temüjin and showing him around in the Taichiyut camp is a punishment to Temüjin for his wrong-doing in killing his half-brother Bekter. In *SH* §149, Tarqutai said that he had brought Temüjin back from a deserted camp and instructed him this way. This camp can be associated with the camp where the Taichiyuts and Hö'elün's family had stayed together because Temüjin "had been abandoned" there. Tarqutai's comment to the adult Temüjin when he was captured recounts Temüjin's recklessness in his youth: Temüjin was not "thoughtful in his actions" and his mind not "open".

people, the daughter of Sorqan-Shira cried loudly for his help because "the soldiers here caught my husband and were going to kill him. As my husband was being killed, I cried and shouted, and called Temüjin that he should save my husband." When Temüjin received this report and rode to her, "her husband had already been killed by our (Temüjin's) troops." Apparently Temüjin was not there to comfort the fleeing Taichiyuts and their followers, but massacring every male adult.<sup>92</sup>

Would this be a proper resolution for an attack upon his brother clan, or, could the attack be proper? We learn from the examples of the Bayarins and the Chinos that the Mongols observe a principle of kinship practice which forbids a clan to confront its genealogically close-related clans. According to this principle, Temüjin's destructive attack upon the Taichiyuts without providing a satisfactory cause would be seen as an evil deed in the eyes of other Mongols, especially those old allies of the Taichiyuts. The first Mongol coalition was thus formed to fight for the principle of "kin's peace": these Nirün and Derelkün tribes, except for the Turkic Tatar who came as an ally to the Dörben, swore solemnly to take revenge for their ravaged kinsmen and to punish their evil kinsmen. A civil war then started among the Mongols from 1200.

Although the first anti-Temüjin Mongol coalition had been defeated at Buyur-Nayur, these kinsmen did not give up. They assembled again to form the second coalition, this time with Jamuqa at their head.

Why Jamuqa, not other tribal leaders?

Jamuqa is a famous character in every narrative of Temüjin's legend. He has always been portrayed as witty and cunning, jealous of Temüjin's ability and attempting to interrupt Temüjin's success with his evil mind. His notorious reputation in the sources might have resulted from his position as a

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<sup>92</sup> The same was done to the Tatars, see *SH* §154.

competitor to Temüjin. In fact, as revealed in the relevant accounts, Jamuqa did possess a remarkable capability to be a brilliant leader: he was intelligent and competent in military affairs. His cleverness won for him the nick name of Jamuqa-Sechen (Jamuqa the Wise), and his military talent and strength was made known very early in his teenage years, notably in the rescue of Börte<sup>93</sup> and the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en.

The fact that he had prestige sufficient to compete with Temüjin in the leadership of the Mongols was not due to his intelligent mind and wicked personality, but his position in the Mongol genealogy. Sorqan from the Derelkīn Bayayut tribe, a wise old man and a master of judgement in that era, mentioned three persons who were eager to take the overlordship [of Mongolia]: Sacha-Beki, Jamuqa-Sechen and Alaq-Udur of the Tatar tribe.<sup>94</sup> In the other account, the number of competitors is increased to five, including Jochi-Qasar and his elder brother Temüjin.<sup>95</sup> An examination of the background of these candidates from a genealogical perspective reveals the unique identity of Jamuqa: Sacha-Beki was killed early by Temüjin, Jochi-Qasar was unable to surpass his elder brother's competence, and Alaq-Udur was a Tatar, not a Mongol. Jamuqa of the Jadaran was hence left as the only candidate capable of challenging Temüjin's supremacy within the Mongol tribe, also his genealogical position<sup>96</sup> had made him the only alternative to Temüjin in the Mongol leadership.

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<sup>93</sup> Based on the *SH* version of the story of Börte. In that account, Jamuqa worked out the situation and location of the Merkits, set the attacking plan and timetable, where Toyoril and Temüjin appeared to act passively according to his design. When the troops set forth to the meeting point, only the troop of Jamuqa arrived in time. This shows the discipline of the forces under his command.

<sup>94</sup> *JT* pp.180-181.

<sup>95</sup> *JT* p.376. Alaq-Udur is mistaken for a Merkit in this account, see Chapter Three section III.

<sup>96</sup> Jamuqa's genealogical background, see previous discussion.

Jamuqa's prominence was noticed by the Mongols at a very early stage. First, Temüjin himself had decided to stay with Jamuqa until their separation. Second, when Temüjin separated from Jamuqa, some Mongols chose to go after Temüjin, but obviously "the others" had decided to stay with Jamuqa. Third, the Mongols under Temüjin's qanship were mainly from the Qabul-Mongol, but Jamuqa had a better relationship with the other Mongol branches, such as the Taichiyuts, the Ikires, the Uruyuts, the Noyakins, the Barulas and the Bayarins who had assisted him to take revenge on Temüjin in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en.<sup>97</sup> At the turn of 1200/01 when a division of Qonggirat people which befriended with Temüjin was plundered by Qasar (by mistake), they decided to go to Jamuqa.<sup>98</sup>

When most of the Taichiyuts had been secured by Temüjin,<sup>99</sup> it must have seemed that no power could counter-balance the mighty Temüjin unless the rest of the Mongol kinsmen united under a capable leader. Therefore, in spite of Jamuqa's vague genealogical position, the Derelkīn and Nirūn anti-Temüjin Mongols still turned to him as their last hope. Jamuqa was once again being "exploited" by his kinsmen by being elected as the Mongol Gür-Qan.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> CCL pp.5a-6a. According to SH §129, Jamuqa and his allies made up the number of thirty thousand, on the other hand, Temüjin mobilised also three *tūmen* of his people to confront them. CCL does not supply the amount of the defensive force of Temüjin but it confirms that Jamuqa had thirty thousand people in the punitive troop. If these figures are reliable, they show that Jamuqa and Temüjin possessed a similar degree of support from their Mongol kinsmen at that time.

<sup>98</sup> They disclosed the news of the coming attack of the first Mongol coalition to Temüjin and made their alliance lose the battle. Then they went to Temüjin but on the way they were mistakenly plundered by Qasar.

<sup>99</sup> SH §148, when Temüjin exterminated the Taichiyut clansmen, he "carried their people off with him".

<sup>100</sup> Last time, Jamuqa was exploited by Temüjin, who stole many Mongol supporters from under his banner.

Such a distinguished kinsman must have appeared to Temüjin as "the louse in his collar" and "the thorn in the inner lapel of his coat".<sup>101</sup> Although Jamuqa had been his *anda* since his childhood and he had not committed any serious offence against him, Temüjin had to wipe out this potential opponent who had a challenging capability as well as a position in his genealogy. The capture and execution of Jamuqa is treated at an unusual length in *SH*'s narration. This suggests the importance of this matter. The trouble which Temüjin had taken in finding a sensible excuse for executing Jamuqa also marks Jamuqa's guiltlessness in this power struggle. In reality, Temüjin had not been proclaimed Chinggis-Qan<sup>102</sup> until 1206 ---- this might have been partly related to Jamuqa's existence before that date.<sup>103</sup>

The second coalition of anti-Temüjin Mongols failed, too. Their members continued their struggle against their evil kinsmen in the Battle of Köyiten, in which they allied with the Buiruq-Naiman and the Merkit Toqtoya. When the battle was over, Jamuqa went over to the Kereit camp to stir up their hostility towards Temüjin.

Meanwhile, Temüjin had made a jurisdictional decision which at the same time offended his genealogical seniors. This made some of his closest Qabul-Mongol kinsmen turn treacherous. This unexpected incident in which they changed their role from supporters to antagonists had put Temüjin's

<sup>101</sup> *SH* §201.

<sup>102</sup> To the Mongols, the reconfirmation of Temüjin's leadership in 1206 might have a sense in recognising him "the sole ruler of the Mongols", since the title was given by the people of "the felt-walled tents" including every Mongol.

<sup>103</sup> The *SH* account of the making of Chinggis-Qan follows immediately after the account of the execution of Jamuqa, respectively §202 and §201. Jamuqa was last seen in the camp of the Naiman Tayang-Qan, and when he was captured and sent to Temüjin, Temüjin had already "annihilated the Naiman and the Merkit" (*SH* §200). Referring to the chronology in *CCL*, Temüjin defeated the Tayang-Naiman in the autumn of 1204, and set out against the Merkits in that winter. Therefore, Jamuqa might have been captured in 1205, or no earlier than the winter of 1204/05. This timing coincides with the recording order in the *SH*, that is the execution of Jamuqa took place just a short period ahead of Temüjin's enthronement as Chinggis-Qan.

leadership in danger ---- betrayal by the kinsmen of his own clan was worse than a civil war with the other Mongol clans.

The cause of this betrayal lay in Temüjin's battle against the Tatars. In the autumn of a Dog year (1202, *CCL* year *jen-hsii*), Temüjin defeated the Alchi-Tatar and the Chaqayan-Tatar under strict military discipline (*jasaq*). As revealed in the subsequent slaughter which was decided on in the post-war meeting,<sup>104</sup> the objective of this battle was the annihilation of the Tatars, not plundering. Therefore, from a strategic point of view, it was reasonable for Temüjin to order his troops not to pick up booty on the way during the battle.

However, both *CCL/YS* and the *SH* mention that some of the close kinsmen of Temüjin, namely Altan, Quchar and Dayaritai, did not obey this *jasaq*. As a result, Temüjin sent Qubilai and Jebe to these kinsmen to carry away the picked-up booty, mainly horses, and divided it among his troops. No sooner than the spring of 1203, Altan, Quchar and Dayaritai left Temüjin and went to the place of Senggüm, the son of Toyoril, and persuaded the Kereits to subdue the Temüjin-Mongol.<sup>105</sup> They promised Senggüm that "as to the sons of Mother Hö'elün, for you we will kill the elder brother, we will do away with the younger brother".<sup>106</sup>

Was this change of attitude motivated by their resentment towards Temüjin because of his punishment of their disobedience? In an administrative sense, Altan, Quchar and Dayaritai should have obeyed Temüjin's command because they had promised to do so when they made Temüjin their leader.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, from a genealogical perspective, they might have been offended by Temüjin because as a "genealogical uncle" (Altan), the "blood uncle"

<sup>104</sup> *SH* §154.

<sup>105</sup> *SH* §166.

<sup>106</sup> Translation by Igor de Rachewiltz. *PFEH* 13 (1976), pp. 54-55.

<sup>107</sup> *SH* §123.

(Dayaritai) and a cousin from an elder branch within the Bartan-Mongol (Quchar),<sup>108</sup> they were disgraced by Temüjin.

Would Temüjin's action have been understood by these kinsmen as a great offence? Temüjin's last carelessness in being attentive to kinship seniority was around ten years earlier in a friendly feast of the Bartan-Mongol and the Jürkin-Mongol, where Temüjin's steward poured a jug of *kumis* for a concubine of the late father of Sacha-Beki, before pouring for the khatuns of the recent clan leader Sacha-Beki. This improper practice had annoyed the khatuns so that they thrashed the steward.<sup>109</sup> The steward reacted irrationally, exactly as Hö'elün had; he blamed the khatuns for thrashing him with no respect "because Yesügei-Bayatur and Nekün-Taishi are dead".<sup>110</sup> However, Temüjin and Hö'elün both kept silence regarding this.<sup>111</sup>

Their silence reflects that they might have learnt a lesson from the last offence, and that they admitted that they did not pay full attention to the complicated hierarchic seniority in their kinship practice.<sup>112</sup> Even before this incident, Temüjin himself had observed seniority well in important tribal decisions. Before Temüjin ascended as the qan of the Qabul-Mongols, he had consulted Quchar, the son of Nekün-Taishi, Altan, the son of Qutula-Qan, plus Sacha-Beki and Taichu, who were the descendants of Barqaq "from the senior line" for their opinion on the matter.<sup>113</sup> Compared with his high regard last

<sup>108</sup> Their genealogical position had been discussed in the paragraphs concerning Temüjin's ascendancy as the Qabul-Mongol qan.

<sup>109</sup> SH §130. JT p.335 has a different story that the dispute started with *kumis* containers.

<sup>110</sup> SH §130, JT p.336, the sentence exactly the same.

<sup>111</sup> JT p.336.

<sup>112</sup> The subsequent clash of Belgütei and Büri-Böke (/Bökö) in the SH should not be confused with this event. Although Büri-Böke was in charge of the Jürkin's side in this feast, he was a cousin to Temüjin from the branch of Yesügei's younger brother (SH §50, but a Taichiyut in JT p.336). He was not one of the Jürkins.

<sup>113</sup> SH §179, CCL p.54ab.

time, the punishment for disobedience this time might have embarrassed these senior kinsmen, although it was their own fault. They were disgraced, so that they even offered themselves to a non-Mongol tribe for exterminating the line of Temüjin.

The departure of Altan, Quchar and Dayaritai had caused a crisis in Temüjin's leadership and also damaged the friendship between the Temüjin-Mongol and the Toyoril-Kereit. The relevant discussion has been related in Chapter Three. Later, because of their dispute with the Kereits, Dayaritai returned to Temüjin first, sometime between the spring and the autumn of 1203.<sup>114</sup> Altan and Quchar left the Kereits and fled to the Tayang-Naiman, where they were caught and executed after Temüjin defeated Tayang-Qan.<sup>115</sup> Dayaritai was not executed, not because he returned earlier, but because of his "blood" relation to Temüjin.

As described in the *SH*, Dayaritai was a careless man. He had been punished by Temüjin twice in the battle against the Tatars, the first was because of his disobedience of Temüjin's *jasaq* during the battle, the second time he disclosed an important decision to a Tatar which caused more casualties to the Mongol troops.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, he betrayed Temüjin and went over to the Kereits in 1202/03 ---- this action was described by Temüjin's *nökers* as "without thinking". However, for his careless disclosure of information, he had been punished only by being forbidden to attend important

<sup>114</sup> The Battle of Qalaqaljit-Elet was fought in the spring of 1203, and Temüjin's assault upon Toyoril took place in the autumn of 1203. The Mongols who were in the Kereit camp conspired to overthrow Toyoril after the battle and before the assault. Toyoril dispersed them, and Dayaritai returned to Temüjin on this occasion.

<sup>115</sup> *JT* p.270. The account on *JT* p.271 relates that Dayaritai was killed together with Altan and Quchar. This is a mistake because, first, as seen in the *SH*, his life was pardoned by Temüjin, second, as seen in *YS*, his *uruq* had a manifest succession in subsequent generations. The story described in the lists of offspring in *JT* is often less reliable than which revealed in the narrative of history, except for the detail of family lines.

<sup>116</sup> *SH* §154.

discussions (Mong. *yeke eye*) of clan affairs from then on.<sup>117</sup> As to his later offence, Temüjin was thinking of executing him because of his betrayal, but finally his life was pardoned and his offspring enjoyed high prestige in the later empire.<sup>118</sup> This treatment must have made Altan and Quchar envious of him.

Dayaritai did not receive harsh punishment for his offences because he was the younger brother of Yesügei, a "blood uncle" to Temüjin. Temüjin's *nökers* interceded for Dayaritai by saying "this action would be like extinguishing one's own hearth-fire, like destroying one's own tent" because "as a reminder of your good father, only your paternal uncle is left". Also, if he was killed, his clan would terminated, and it is right to "let the smoke of their camp swirl up!"<sup>119</sup> Temüjin's hesitation to execute Dayaritai and his previous relatively light punishment to his undiscerning offences reflect that Temüjin was also in a dilemma between carrying out discipline and respecting kinship seniority: Temüjin was offended as the tribal chief, but forgave as a nephew. As history went on, this practice was repeated many times in the struggles for the qanship of the Great Mongol Empire. The life of the loser was always spared because he was a close kinsman to the winner, but all his supporters were executed. This practice is well illustrated in Möngke-Qan's succession and the conflict between Ariq-Böke and Qubilai.

As for Altan and Quchar, although they met their end like the Jürkin Sacha-Beki and Taichu, the guilt they were charged with was different. In SH §136, Sacha-Beki and Taichu admitted that they did not keep their promise to assist Temüjin and accepted their execution: "we did not keep our given words. Now you make us comply with our words!" Nevertheless, Altan and Quchar

<sup>117</sup> SH §154. This punishment shows clearly that Dayaritai had been allowed in, and had a right to the clan meeting, as a blood uncle.

<sup>118</sup> Five generations descend from Dayaritai in YS 107 *piao* 2 the Table of the Family of Princes, pp.2709-2710, in which Dayaritai appears in his modified Chinese name Ta-li-chêñ.

<sup>119</sup> SH §242.

had attempted to depose Temüjin with foreign help. This was not a matter of "keeping promise" but "treachery". Temüjin understood their intention well: although Altan and Quchar persuaded the Kereit to overthrow Temüjin, Temüjin knew that "Altan and Quchar are certainly not going to let anybody else govern my people!"<sup>120</sup> Therefore, they should not receive the same penalty as Temüjin's careless uncle or the Jürkin cousins ---- they were to be condemned because they intended to take over their kinsmen's leadership and to destroy his clan. Their failure in usurping his leadership was used by Temüjin as an example to Father Mönglik on a later occasion, showing Mönglik that "if I had known that you had such a nature, you would have been dealt with like Jamuqa, Altan, Quchar and others."<sup>121</sup>

As seen in the above examples, apparently, Temüjin believed that Altan, Quchar and Jamuqa who intended to destroy his clan by force had been justly executed and condemned. Then, how should we judge Temüjin's "conquest" of his brother clan the Taichiyuts in 1200, in which Temüjin plundered and carried off the dispersed Taichiyut people, exterminated the Taichiyut clansmen, had them blown "to the wind like hearth-ashes, even to the offspring of their offspring"?<sup>122</sup>

This question echoes the discussion in the very beginning of this subsection. Temüjin's anger towards the treacherous kinsmen confirm that the anti-Temüjin sentiments among the Mongol kinsmen since 1200 was a result of Temüjin's violation of the principle of "kin's peace" on his attack and destruction of the Taichiyut tribe, which was their closest brother branch in the Qaidu-Mongol of the Borjigin-Mongol of the Nīrūn-Mongol.

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<sup>120</sup> SH §180.

<sup>121</sup> SH §246.

<sup>122</sup> SH §146 and §148.

Later, these kinsmen elected Jamuqa of the Jadaran as the commander-in-chief of this anti-Temüjin Mongol coalition, because Jamuqa was capable enough also genealogically related to the Borjigin (although ambiguously) that he was the only available person who could challenge both Temüjin's strength and his genealogical position for an all-Mongol leadership. A civil war within the Mongols carried on, which provided the other Turkic tribes an opportunity to take advantage in the situation.

Finally, when Temüjin had the betrayed kinsmen from the Qabul-Mongol done away (except for his blood uncle) after he defeated their protectors the Turkic Toyoril and Tayang-Qan, and executed Jamuqa, the only potential competitor to his Mongol leadership, Temüjin had achieved his "unification of the Mongols" because his position at the top of all the Mongols had become unchallengeable.

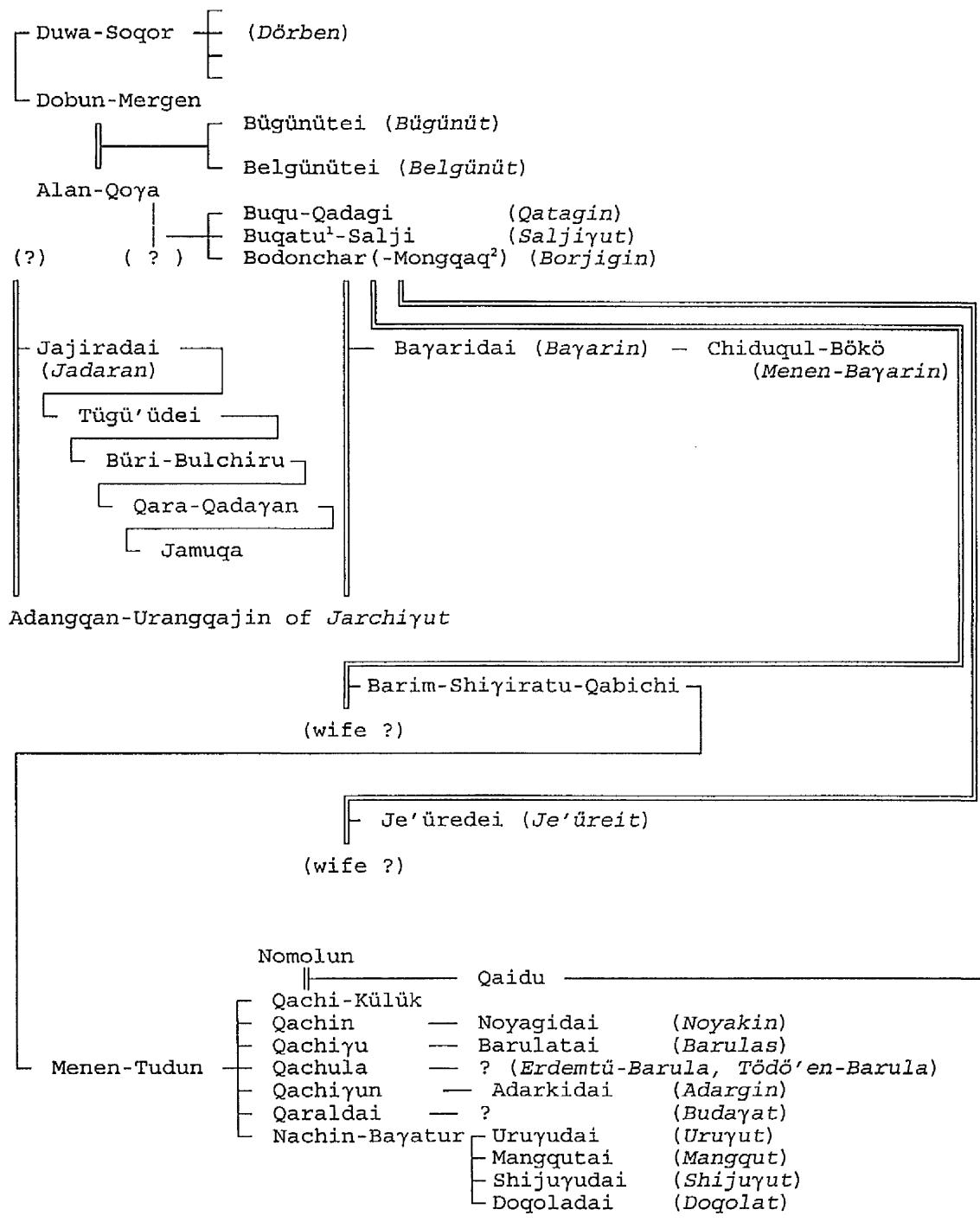
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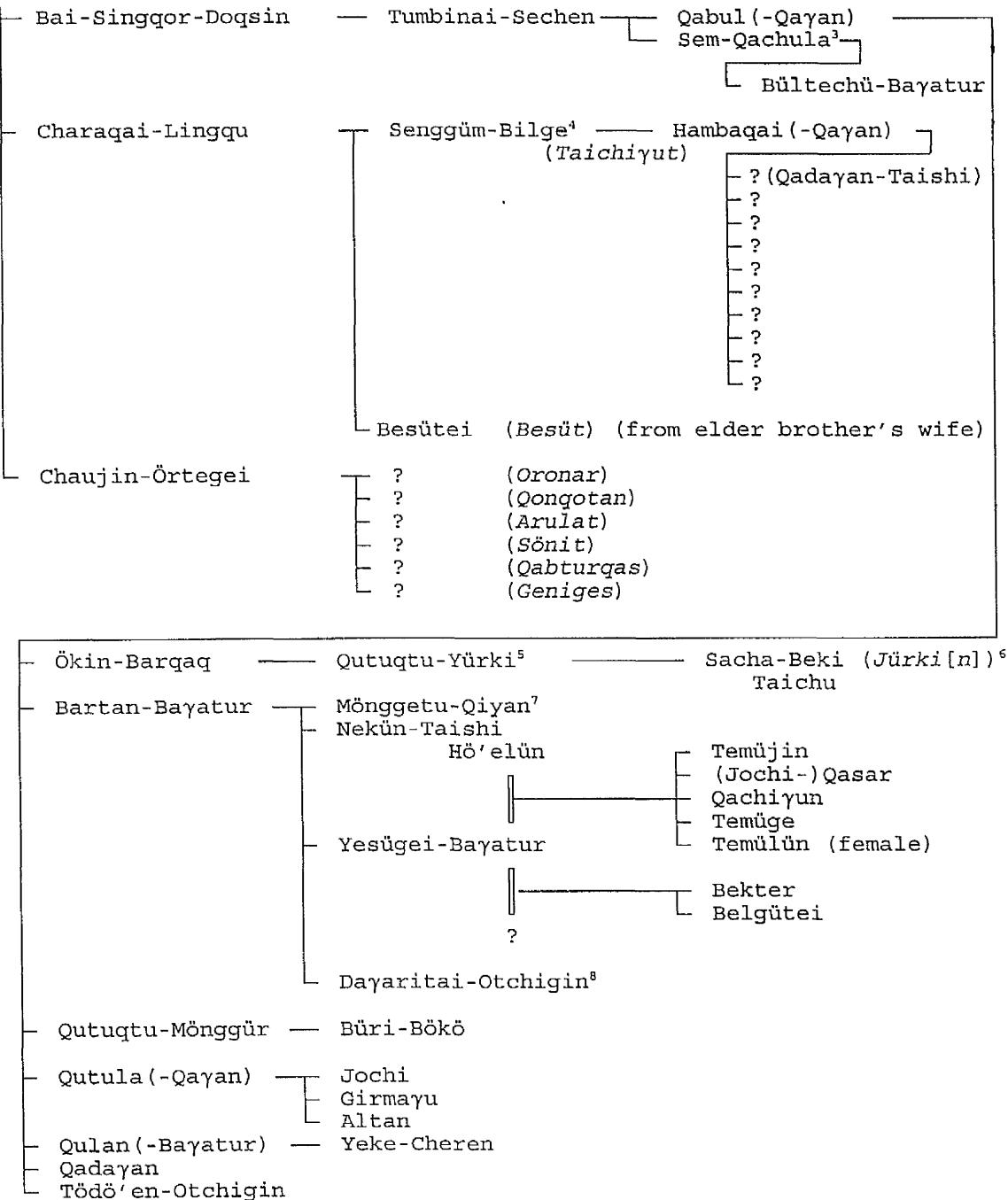
Temüjin's "unification of the Mongols", a major task in his "unification of Mongolia", was completed with a general recognition of his supremacy over the genealogically-related Mongol tribes by his kinsmen. The way to success was long. He was first abandoned by his brother branch the Taichiyuts because they were insulted by his mother. When Temüjin grew up, he had tried very hard, with a previous criminal record, to attract kinsmen by his superior position as a legitimate heir to Yesügei, also to win support by a gesture of generosity, until his sphere of influence clashed with his brother branch the Taichiyut-Mongol.

Inspired by the Je'üreit Ülük-Bayatur, Temüjin appeared to abandon his peaceful policy of making use of the genealogical affection and adopted an aggressive strategy towards his kinsmen. His neglect of the existing principle of "kin's peace" brought him rapid successes in his expansion, notably the extermination of the clans of Jürkin and Taichiyut, but at the same time, his

Table 1 The Mongol Genealogy

(SH's version, based on §7-§60, §76 with modified transcription)

<sup>1</sup> §42 Buqutu-Salji.<sup>2</sup> SH §17 mungqaq, Chinese transliteration "mēng-hē-hei". The same Chinese character "mēng" is reconstructed as "mönq" by the Index in §46 and §68.



action provoked the disapproval of the other kinsmen who abided by the principle. In this way, Temüjin turned some of his kinsmen into his enemies.

The destruction of the Taichiyut-Mongol had made some non-Qabul Mongol tribes ally together to fight against Temüjin, again and again. The situation was getting worse when Temüjin embarrassed some of his Qabul-Mongol seniors which made them hostile to him. Unable to crush Temüjin, these anti-Temüjin Mongols eventually turned to non-Mongol powers for assistance. The Kereit and Naiman involvement in these Mongol internal disputes made the situation more complicated. Nevertheless, Temüjin was able to annihilate all these rebellious kinsmen, after he had annihilated the Toyoril-Kereit and Tayang-Naiman regimes.

In the course of winning friendship from his kinsmen as well as destroying his hostile kinsmen, Temüjin had also set out against some Turkic tribes and even the Tangyut nation. By the time when he had almost succeeded in removing these obstructive Mongol kinsmen, the Turkic tribes in Mongolia had mostly been annexed or subdued. Thereupon, in the spring of 1206, Temüjin ascended the throne of Chinggis-Qan as "the fierce ruler",<sup>123</sup> and became the overlord of all "felt-walled people". To Temüjin's triumphal ascent to such a high position, his interaction with his genealogical kinsmen had contributed a great deal, beneficial or disastrous. Hence, the factor of genealogical Mongols should not be ignored, and it should receive proper attention in the study of Temüjin's road to power.

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<sup>123</sup> Suggested by Igor de Rachewiltz by relating "Chinggis" to the Turkish word *činjiz*, meaning "fierce, hard, tough". De Rachewiltz, "The title Činggis qan/qayan re-examined", p.288. It is not surprising if this title is really of Turkic origin when the Kereit Ong-Qan and Naiman Tayang-Qan were known by their non-Turkic titles.

## Chapter Five

## Quda: In-laws' Relationship beyond the Kinsmen

The in-laws' relationship is an important social connection on the Mongolian steppe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries among people from different genealogical and ethnic clans/tribes. Through marriage, a sign of intimacy and affection, two families become related and they become *quda* (in-laws) to each other. This bondage of two individuals establishes an association of two families, or two clans/tribes when the marriage bondage was formed between the tribal ruling families. Therefore, politically, this relationship has a significant impact on intertribal affairs and is worth a close examination where the career of Temüjin is concerned.

Because of the practice of exogamy, the steppe *quda* relationship often links up two unrelated families from separate genealogies. This connection, like the genealogical relation discussed in Chapter Four, carried an obligation of mutual-assistance and worked with certain principles. These obligations and principles, like their counterpart in genealogical kinship, were critical issues which influenced the process of Temüjin's incorporation of steppe tribes and the Derelkīn Mongols.

Compared with the born kinship affinity among the genealogically related clans, the making of "relatives" by in-laws connection is artificial, but the affection is still genuine. The in-laws relationship in the early stage of Temüjin's career conformed to this nature and worked as an affine connection. After Temüjin had established himself an powerful steppe leader, in-laws relationship with his family were mostly initiated in an administrative way. The "relatives'" association with his family was granted in benevolence, to submissive tribal leaders and subjects who had made great contributions.

Being associated as a *quda*, son-in-law or daughter-in-law, non-*Nīrūns*, even non-Mongols, may enter the family of Temüjin. They are allowed to participate in the decision-making gatherings as family members. The practice then has a broader implication in sharing the ruling power of the Mongol empire by enlarging the *uruq* of Temüjin. By taking from and giving girls to each other, Temüjin applied his "family members" to every corner of his empire. In an administrative sense, this network which linked up him and the ruling families of his subjects can be regarded as the framework of a *Pax Mongolica*, also the preliminary structure of the steppe empire of Chinggis-Qan. Temüjin built his steppe empire on associations, not constitutions.

The study of in-laws' linkage in this chapter starts with a clarification of the meaning and coverage of the *quda* relationship, by comparing the evidence obtained from the contemporary sources. Then the discussion proceeds to a careful investigation of the nature of its formation during this period and how it influenced the development of Temüjin's associations. This investigation explains how the traditional steppe in-laws' relationship worked. As for the second stage of Temüjin's career, the study focuses on the examples of the tribal leaders of the Uighur, Önggüt, Oirat and Qarluq and explains Temüjin's strategy of extending his authority westward up to the Qipchaq steppe. The third section of this chapter examines the in-laws' relationship on an individual basis, which reveals the ingredients of the constitution of Temüjin's Great Mongol Empire.

### I. The definition of *andāqūdāī*

Quda is a Mongolian phrase which means in-laws in general.<sup>1</sup> The noun was quoted and Persianised in *JT* as *andāqūdāī*, a phrase which consisted

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<sup>1</sup> The usage is seen in the dialogue between Dei-Sechen and Yesügei in *SH* §§62-65 and means "in-law". The way they called each other in-laws is apparently retrospective because they have no in-laws' relationship before Temüjin's marriage.

of *anda* and *quda*, two kinds of Mongolian personal linkage with an adjectival ending, which means "with a relationship as sworn brothers (*anda*) and in-laws (*quda*)".

*Anda* is a kind of individual affiliation which occurs among two well-acquainted friends on an equal level. Yesügei and Toyoril, Jamuqa and Temüjin were famous *andas* in the Mongolian legend.<sup>2</sup> This pseudo-brotherhood friendship is based on affection and mutual-assistance of the two individuals, its formation or break-up do not involve the clans or family the individuals belonged to, also the "personal obligation" in *andaship* does not extend to each other's family members.<sup>3</sup>

The *quda* relationship is also based on affection and mutual-assistance, however, it is between two families, not just individuals. A piece of advice from the Turkic Kereit Sariq-Qan explains the difference between these two relationships:

Aye, my little brothers the Mongols, never become "quda" (*qūdā*) to each other, for a man who carries that part of burden he distances. But, become "anda" (*andā*) and be *āqā wa īnī* to one another.<sup>4</sup>

The meaning of second sentence is not clear but comparing it with the former sentence, it would mean "you will enjoy a closer affiliation when you are

<sup>2</sup> Temüjin also called Quildar-Sechen of the Mangqut tribe *anda* because he stayed when the rest of his tribesmen followed the Taichiyyuts. (JT p.193, the text mistaken Quildar as an Uriyat. He was a Mangqut, see SH §171.) However, no evidence shows this calling was based on a formally sworn *anda* relationship.

<sup>3</sup> Qutula-Qan's objection to Yesügei's intention to become an *anda* to Toyoril shows that a formation of the sworn-brotherhood relationship might have taken place even when it is disapproved by one's family members or his tribal leader, which means the relationship is simply between two individuals. The Temüjin-Toyoril relationship validated after their declaration of pseudo-father-and-son to each other at Black forest also confirms the limit of the early *andaship* between Yesügei and Toyoril. The affinity did not extend to the *anda*'s family members automatically but served merely as an introductory agent. See discussions in Chapter Three.

<sup>4</sup> JT p.93.

sworn-brothers or genealogical kinsmen". The description in the first sentence suggests that a *quda* relationship is more distant than the relationship of sworn-brothers (individual bondage) or genealogical kinsmen (born bondage), and with the "relatives' obligation", one's devotion of his affection was divided to another non-genealogically related clan/tribe.

This observation of the "relatives' obligation" is confirmed by several pieces of evidence found in the sources. In the *anda* relationship, the mutual-assistance was restricted to two individuals. For instance, Toyoril benefitted from his *andaship* with Yesügei by receiving personal help in a personal cause, rescuing Börte was also personal assistance from Jamuqa in a personal affair of Temüjin. The obligation of *qudas* is as simple as the *anda*'s, however, it works on a larger scale and has greater impact because the basis of the formation of the relationship is different.

The "relatives' obligation" is observed by two in-laws' families, not just between the married couples. Essentially the association was not personal but between two families. Therefore, a family/clan/tribe might get involved into an unrelated conflict because of its *quda* family/clan/tribe, and become an enemy with the enemy of its *quda* family/clan/tribe, just because of the obligation to back up its in-laws. This limitless help-and-enmity is best illustrated in the relationship between the Qabul-Mongol, the Qonggirats and the Tatars. According to *JT*, the long-lasting and bloody enmity between the Qabul-Mongol and the Tatar tribe started with a conflict between one of Qabul-Qan's in-laws and the Tatars. In the time of the Mongol Qabul-Qan, a Tatar shaman failed to cure the illness of Sayin-Tegin, who was a Qonggirat, so that the *āqā wa īnī* of Sayin-Tegin went and killed the shaman, and a friction occurred between the Qonggirats and the Tatars. This incident was apparently irrelevant to the Nīrūn Qabul-Mongol, however, the sons of Qabul-Qan were obliged to assist the Qonggirats in this matter "on account of the *andāqūdāī* of Sayin-Tegin" because Sayin-Tegin was the brother to a wife of

Qabul-Qan (a brother-in-law to Qabul-Qan).<sup>5</sup> In this way, the enmity between the Qabul-Mongol and the Tatar tribe started, and the subsequent scene of revenge and murder was splendid and impressive.

Therefore, with the brief examination of the common ground and the differences between *anda* and *quda* relationships above, the adjective phrase *andāqūdāī* in *JT* should be understood as a description of the common feature of *anda* and *quda* bondage: both of them are formed out of affection and obligated to mutual-assistance, regardless of the difference in the size of the parties involved in the relationship.

Although the phrase represents the common feature of *anda* and *quda* relationship, according to the comparison of available pieces of evidence, when the phrase appeared in *JT*, it implies the *quda* relationship only. The following examples confirm that *andāqūdāī* implied only the in-laws' relationship between clans/tribes. *JT* p.97 relates that the Turkic \*Kurlayut (KWRLĀWT) tribe "observed the way of *andāqūdāī*" with the Derelkīn-Mongol Qonggirat and Eljigin, also the Turkic Barqut, "they claim [to be] relatives and with one another, they maintain the way of son-in-law and daughter-in-law." This connection is apparently irrelevant to sworn-brotherhood association. *JT* p.165 relates that two tribesmen of the Derelkīn Eljigin tribe had been assigned to Tolui-Qan, in the Thousand of Jedei-Noyan. Then, the Eljigin "become *andāqūdā* with the tribe of Mangqut". Tribes cannot become *andas* to each other, and it was possible for the Eljigin to have an in-laws' relationship with the Mangqut because the former belonged to the Derelkīn-Mongol and the latter belonged to the Nīrūn-Mongol. Third, the example of Sayin-Tegin and the Qabul-Mongol is clearly stated as an in-laws' relationship.

This association of affection was described once in the sources as "in the same *uruq*" (family), when the personal *anda* relationship was described

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<sup>5</sup> *JT* pp.79-80.

as "sworn-brother". When two Derelkīn Mongol Eljigin brothers made the leader of the Turkic Barqut tribe submit to Temüjin, they swore an oath together: ""Let us become like *uruq* and brother to one another! Since the Mongols do not ask each other for girls, we also do not ask. [Shall] any of us ask a girl from another tribe, to each other [with that another tribe], we observe courteously to the way of son-in-law and daughter-in-law."<sup>6</sup> As described in the last sentences, this bondage of a Derelkīn-Mongol clan with a Turkic tribe is an in-laws' relationship, therefore, the *uruq* and "brother" mentioned in the first sentence show their wish to have a degree of deep affection which is comparable to *āqā wa īnī* and *anda*.

The meaning and nature of a *quda* relationship, then, can be extracted from the above comparison based on the usage in contemporary sources. A *quda* relationship in essence is a bondage between two *families*, in which relatives' affection and relatives' obligation are observed. When the married *families* are the ruling families, the whole clan/tribes then entered the compact of affection and obligation. To fulfil the obligation would be disastrous when the family had to comply with it but even so, the principle could not be overlooked.

Since the Mongols practice exogamy, their kinsmen clans are excluded from having a *quda* relationship. The Nīrūn-Mongol tribes definitely cannot become a *quda* to each other, as discussed in Chapter Four, but the Mongol clans outside the genealogy of Nīrūn-Mongols are allowed to seek marriage with the Nīrūn Mongols. In this way, the distance of the kinsmen relationship (*āqā wa īnī*) among the Nīrūn and Derelkīn Mongol clans can be compensated for by their closeness in their relatives' relationship (*quda*). The most famous Derelkīn Mongol clan which enjoyed the most prestigious *quda*

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<sup>6</sup> JT p.165. The relationship between the Barqut tribe and the Eljigin tribe was mentioned also in JT p.154, "although they [the Eljigin] are not from their [the Barqut's] bone and branch, they claim [to be] relatives and unite, hence they ask and give girls from/to each other in marriage."

relationship with the family of Temüjin was the Qonggirats. Their connection will be discussed extensively in the following section.

## II. *quda* relationship in steppe politics

*quda* relationship can be formed between two common families or two ruling families, where the latter has its significance in politics because of the accompanying affection and obligation. This section concentrates on the marriage of important persons in order to reveal the importance of this bondage in steppe society, in a political sense.

### Traditional *quda* relationship

Temüjin and his Nīrūn ancestors made two renowned attempts to seek marriage from the ruling families of strong Turkic tribes. In the 1130s, Hambaqaï-Qan of the Taichiyut branch had arranged a marriage for his daughter with a Tatar, and he was caught and murdered on delivery.<sup>7</sup> In 1202/03, Temüjin of the Qabul-Mongol had proposed an in-law's relationship to the Toyoril-Kereit, where he was turned down because of the excessive demands in the proposal.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, their proposal to the Derelkīn Mongols received a positive response: Temüjin's marriage with Börte was agreed in a harmonious atmosphere, as seen in *SH* §§61-66. It seems that the Derelkīn Mongols were more keen on creating a connection with the Nīrūns, especially between their clans' ruling families.

These three examples reveal that marriage between the ruling families usually carries an expectation of benefit. In the marriage of Börte and Temüjin, according to the *SH*, Dei-Sechen himself stopped Yesügei on his way

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<sup>7</sup> *SH*'s version, §53.

<sup>8</sup> *SH* §165.

to another Qonggirat clan seeking for a daughter-in-law, and offered him his own daughter instead. In the light of his later reluctance to hand over the daughter when Temüjin lost all his supporters and followers, it is obvious that this marriage arrangement was generated with a political purpose. Dei-Sechen was a leader of a band of the Qonggirats, and Yesügei was a strong Mongol leader. It was assumed that Temüjin would succeed to the leading position of his father, but when Temüjin came for the bride without any supporter, he failed in meeting Dei-Sechen's "expectation".

Temüjin's attempt on the Toyoril-Kereit had a similar purpose. He asked for Toyoril's daughter who was born of the same mother of Senggüm for his eldest son Jochi, in return he would marry his daughter to Toyoril's grandson.<sup>9</sup> Supposing that the marriages proceeded, when Senggüm's son took Temüjin's daughter, Temüjin would become the father-in-law of Senggüm's son and a brother-in-law to Senggüm. This connection would mean an in-laws' relationship with the next two generations of Kereit rulers. Nevertheless, the marriage of Temüjin's daughter would have lowered the position of Senggüm when he became a brother-in-law to the children of Temüjin. This request was not mutually beneficial therefore it was not successful.

Dei-Sechen's rejection, Temüjin's proposal even Hamaqai's attempt to create a connection with the Tatars suggest that long-term mutual-benefit is an important consideration in the formal marriage among the ruling families. An association between the ruling families of powerful tribes would guarantee security and strengthen their existing status.

Besides, some of these marriages among the ruling families were arranged in a hurry, expecting an immediate benefit from their powerful *quda*

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<sup>9</sup> SH §165, Temüjin himself offered the exchange. JT p.381, Temüjin and Toyoril asked girls from each other. JT p.119, Toyoril's daughter Chayujin-Beki in this exchange was Senggüm's sister from the same mother.

tribe. After the Tatars took over the Kereit *ulus*, it was arranged that the Kereit Qurjaqus would marry Töre-Qaimish, the daughter of the Betekin leader.<sup>10</sup> Upon the creation of this in-laws' relationship, the brother-in-law of Qurjaqus then assisted the Kereit Sariq-Qan to recover the *ulus*. Several years later, the Kereit Toyoril gave his daughter to the Merkit Toqtoya when he had been forced to escape into the Qarayun gorge on the Selengge.<sup>11</sup> Before he came out from the gorge to seek revenge upon his uncle Gür-Qan, he should have enjoyed a secure life under the protection of the Merkits because he had become the father-in-law to the Merkit leader. Jaya-Gambu married his youngest, and prettiest daughter to the Tangyut ruler<sup>12</sup> when he was in exile, in return for a prestigious status in the nation.<sup>13</sup> These three examples have been discussed in Chapter One and Two, and all of them suggest that a marriage might have been arranged for immediate protection or military assistance from the in-laws.

Either for long-term association or immediate assistance, the motivation of creating a *quda* relationship among the steppe ruling families shows that the relation was based on "expectations". The obligation of mutual-assistance in *qudaship* practice works for both the bride family (Toyoril, Jaya-Gambu) and the bridegroom family (Qurjaqus, Temüjin), in which Temüjin benefited a great deal from his marriage with Börte.

Before the marriage, Temüjin had no followers after the separation of the Taichiyuts although he was heir to Yesügei. The *quda* association with the *uruq* of Dei-Sechen did not just bring him a wife, which was essential for

<sup>10</sup> JT p.91. The sentence: "dukhtar khūd-rā bi qūrchaqūs būrūq-khān dād" should read as "[The Betekin] Buiruq-Qan gave his own daughter to Qurchaqus", not "[Sariq-Qan] gave his own daughter to Qurchaqus-Buiruq-Qan" as some translations suggested, although Qurjaqus also bore the title of "Buiruq". This girl was a Betekin princess, not a daughter of Sariq-Qan.

<sup>11</sup> SH §177.

<sup>12</sup> JT p.361.

<sup>13</sup> JT p.962. Also see p.117 and p.361.

increasing family members and to start his own family line, but also a *quda* relationship to a band leader of the Qonggirat which meant the friendship of a strong and wealthy Derelkīn-Mongol tribe in eastern Mongolia. Temüjin began to attract followers after obtaining this connection: he sent for his first näker Boyorchu soon after the Qonggirat bride arrived in his camp.<sup>14</sup> Also benefitting from this marriage, Temüjin was able to revive the old friendship between Yesügei-Mongol and Toyoril-Kereit by taking the wedding present --- a precious black sable coat ---- to Toyoril, who at this time was a strong Turkic potentate on his west side.<sup>15</sup> It would not be an exaggeration to say that this marriage was the starting point of his career, for Temüjin was able to produce offspring, a Derelkīn tribe provided him a formal association, or recognition, outside of his family, and the dowry helped materially in developing further relations.

The Qonggirat tribe belonged to the Derelkīn-Mongol, therefore, they could have *qudaship* with both the Turkic tribes and the Mongol Nirūn tribes. As described by Dei-Sechen himself, they had never fought for steppe dominion since "the old days" but sent their beautiful girls to "those who have become Qayan" for marriage.<sup>16</sup> Its *quda* relationship to various tribes brought the Qonggirats a considerable prestige and respect among the steppe tribes.

The *uruq* of Dei-Sechen was the most prestigious *quda* tribe from the point of view of the Temüjin-Mongol. Persuaded by Alchi, the younger brother of Börte, Dei-Sechen finally agreed to marry Börte to the isolated Temüjin.<sup>17</sup> This relationship brought his *uruq* a great fortune when Temüjin eventually broke away from the isolation and achieved his ambitions. Dei-Sechen had a daughter, Börte, two sons, Alchi and Hoqu, and a brother called

<sup>14</sup> SH §95.

<sup>15</sup> SH §96.

<sup>16</sup> SH §64.

<sup>17</sup> JT p.159. Dei-Sechen was called Dei-Noyan in JT.

Dayaritai.<sup>18</sup> Börte gave birth to Temüjin's four senior sons, the later leaders of the Great Mongol Empire. The successor of Jochi, his second son Batu, was born of Öki who was a daughter of Alchi noyan.<sup>19</sup> Qubilai's four senior sons<sup>20</sup> were born of Chabi khatun, who was also a daughter of Alchi noyan. Chayatai's most favoured second son Mö'etüken, the one who was shot at Bāmiyān castle in Temüjin's Transoxiana expedition,<sup>21</sup> was born of Yesülün, a paternal granddaughter of this Dayaritai.<sup>22</sup>

There were many other famous in-laws' ruling families on the steppe. The marriages between the daughters of Jaya-Gambu and the sons of Temüjin,<sup>23</sup> the ruling families of the Turkic tribes Önggüt and Naiman,<sup>24</sup> and the Ikires Botu, the later leader of this clan, with the only sister and the

<sup>18</sup> *JT* p.159. Dayaritai (DĀRYTĀY), Börte (BWRTH), Alchi (ĀLCHY), Hoqu (HWQW).

<sup>19</sup> The first son of Jochi was born to a Qonggirat khatun whose family lineage is not supplied in the sources. *JT* p.710, Boyle trans., *Successors*, p.99.

<sup>20</sup> The mother of Jim-Gim (Chin. Chēn-Chin) was a Qonggirat called Tāī-khū in *JT*. Boyle annotates: "t'ai-hou was, in fact, the title given to an empress dowager". (*Successors*, p.242) Indeed this is an accurate observation and furthermore, this usage confirms that the original source which Rashīd al-Dīn used for this part of narration was dated in the reign of the Mongol Qan Toq-Temür. Jim-Gim's mother was the clever Qonggirat Chabi according to *YS* 115 *chuan* 2 p.2888 and 114 *chuan* 1 p.2871.

<sup>21</sup> *JT* p.752. My edition of *JT* relates that Mö'etüken was the first son of Chayatai but the edition which Boyle's translation is based on has an additional paragraph on the lineage of Mochi-Yebe, in which this Mochi-Yebe was Chayatai's first son, he was born to a slave girl therefore his father did not hold him of much account. See Boyle trans. *Successors*, pp.136-137.

<sup>22</sup> According to *JT* p.751, the family linkage of this Yesülün was "the daughter of Qatā-Noyan, the son of Dārītāī (\*Dayaritai), the ruler of Qonggirat. Börte-Fujin the senior khatun of Chīngīz-Khān and the father of Yīsūlūn khatun were cousins." According to the list of family members of Dei-Sechen's *uruq*, the description should be understood as Yesülün was "the daughter of Qatā-Noyan [who was] the son of Dārītāī (\*Dayaritai) [who was a brother to] the ruler of Qonggirat (ie Dei-Sechen)", or Börte could not be a cousin to the father of Yesülün in the same generation. The edition which Boyle based on describes Dayaritai as a brother of the Qonggirat ruler, *Successors*, p.135.

<sup>23</sup> *JT* p.361.

<sup>24</sup> *JT* p.366.

eldest daughter of Temüjin<sup>25</sup> are some of them, and the in-laws' relationship between the ruling family of the Merkit and the Naiman explains their joint attack against Toyoril and Temüjin at Köyiten in 1202.<sup>26</sup> Some less famous marriages mentioned in the sources include the in-laws' relationship between the Kereit Jirgin branch and Teb-Tenggeri who was a Mongol Qongqotan,<sup>27</sup> and a proper *quda* relationship between the Nirün Mangqut tribe with the Turkic Barqut tribe.<sup>28</sup>

When an in-laws' relationship is described as proper or formal in this chapter, it means the marriage was arranged according to traditional ritual and agreement. A marriage could also happen without proper arrangement. Yesügei's abduction of Hö'elün is a well-known example. Hö'elün was originally betrothed to the younger brother of the Merkit leader Toqtoya and she was abducted in the final stage of proper marriage arrangement: carrying the bride home.<sup>29</sup> Yesügei's interruption of the proper procedure inevitably irritated the Merkits and they took their revenge later in abducting Börte.<sup>30</sup> The relationship of the Merkits and Temüjin had never been in accord, this

<sup>25</sup> YS 108 *piao* 4 the Table of Princesses, p.2757-58. Botu was apparently not "the brother of the mother" of Temüjin (*JT* p.119) in a strict sense, but a close genealogical kinsmen to Hö'elün.

<sup>26</sup> SH §198 relates Töregene was the khatun of Toqtoya's eldest son Qodu, *JT* p.96 relates that she was the khatun of Dair-Usun, the leader of the Hoyas-Merkit. No matter which Merkit was her husband, a wife to a Merkit should not be of Merkit origin. YS 114 *chuan* 1 p.2870 records that she is a "Naimajin", that means of a Naiman origin. The marriage of Töregene and the Merkit prince shows a Naiman-Merkit in-law's relationship did exist during the time of Temüjin.

<sup>27</sup> *JT* p.120. The Kereit girl was called QADĀN-BHĀDR (\*Qadayan-Bayatur), a manly name.

<sup>28</sup> *JT* pp.193-194. Jedei-Noyan was born of a Mangqut and his Barqut wife. His father was killed at the Taichiyut separation from Temüjin's family. Therefore, this marriage was contemporary to the time of Temüjin.

<sup>29</sup> SH §§54-56. Hö'elün came from the Olqunuyut, a sub-clan of the Qonggirat. She was betrothed to Toqtoya's younger brother Yeke-Chiledü. See SH §54, §111.

<sup>30</sup> SH §111.

might have resulted from Yesügei's spoiling of the Merkits' association to the Qonggirats.

Other than the purely political marriages which were made for exchange of immediate protection and military assistance in crises, marriages between these leading families or eminent persons formed an affection network among themselves. The network can also be described as the inter-tribal political framework of steppe society. They served as "ears" and "eyes" for their *quada* political leaders, passing information which often caused dramatic changes in political situations.

Many historical events justify the usefulness of *quadas*' "ears" and "eyes". First, in the eve of Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, Nekün, an Ikires who lived among the Taichiyuts, passed on the news of the coming attack because his son Botu was staying with Temüjin as a *güregen* (son-in-law).<sup>31</sup> Second, on the eve of the first Mongol coalition attack, the Qonggirat Dei-Sechen among the coalition clandestinely informed Temüjin, his son-in-law, of their movements.<sup>32</sup> Third, on the eve of the second Mongol coalition attack in

<sup>31</sup> The account of this event is confusing in the sources. First, in *JT* p.328, Botu was in attendance with Temüjin; according to *SH* §120, Botu was staying with Temüjin for his *güregen* duty. Thus, there is no problem of Botu's presence in the camp of Temüjin. Second, the story in *JT* p. 328 tells that Botu(BWTWN)'s father Nekün was in the camp of the Taichiyut in the eve of the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en. He asked two Qorulas tribesmen to pass this information to the camp of Temüjin ---- apparently he was concerned about his son, not Temüjin. *CCL* p.7a and *YS* 118 *chuan* 5 p.2921 the biography of Botu relate that Botu sent the messengers to inform Temüjin. *SH* §129 mentions only two messengers "from the Ikires". The assumption of the importance of *quada*'s "eyes" and "ear" can only be confirmed when Botu was definitely staying with Temüjin, and when the information came from Nekün. An analysis of the location of these persons shows that the news was from Nekün. Temüjin received the news when he was at Dalan-Baljus. (*JT*, *CCL*) The message should have reached him at Gürelgü, the location which the *SH* supplies, before it was passed on to Dalan-Baljus. Gürelgü was an important site to Temüjin, probably the site of his base camp during his early life. His family moved to the place and lived there after he escaped from the Taichiyut camp (*SH* §89), he got married there (*SH* §94), and he camped here after he separated from Jamuqa (*SH* §122). He appeared at Gürelgü even as late as 1201 when the Mongol Gür-Qan marched against him (*SH* §141). As nomads, it was possible for him to leave temporarily to Dalan-Baljus while Botu remained in the base camp. The event then can be restored as: Nekün sent the message to his son Botu; Botu was staying in Temüjin's base camp at Gürelgü while Temüjin was away to Dalan-Baljus; from Gürelgü, Botu redirected the message to Temüjin.

<sup>32</sup> *CCL* p.32a.

1201, Qoritai informed his Qorulas son-in-law about the preparation of the campaign then the news was passed to Temüjin.<sup>33</sup> Fourth, the Kereit Toyoril had sent a messenger to ask Teb-Tenggeri, a Kereit son-in-law, to co-operate in his plan of seizing Temüjin. Unexpectedly, Teb-Tenggeri informed Temüjin about the trap and saved his life.<sup>34</sup> Another similar incident happened in the Önggüt-Naiman *qudaship*, that the Önggüts learnt about Tayang-Naiman's preparation to attack Temüjin because of their *qudaship*<sup>35</sup> but decided to pass this secret to Temüjin. This disclosure of information was of considerable value to Temüjin but it was really disastrous to the betrayed in-laws.

Since *quda* relationship is a relation between *families*, not just the married couple, the blood related family members of the bride and the bridegroom were counted as "in the same *uruq*". The affection between these relatives was manifestly precious when the general political situation changed radically. When Toyoril turned hostile to his Merkit son-in-law Toqtoya and plundered him before 1199,<sup>36</sup> he put Toqtoya to flight, killed his eldest son while the other son Chilayun was allowed to submit with his people. This special treatment is hard to explain until his maternal lineal identity is rediscovered: Chilayun was born of Toyoril's daughter who he offered to

<sup>33</sup> JT p.377.

<sup>34</sup> JT p.120. This incident can be identified with the event of "the betrothal feast" in SH §168. (cf. §204) Temüjin had stayed in the tent of Mönglik on the way to the betrothal feast, then he turned back the next morning. The SH relates that Mönglik felt suspicious of the Kereit intention therefore he advised Temüjin not to go forward. JT's version is also possibly correct because since Teb-Tenggeri was a son of Mönglik, he might have greeted him that night as well.

<sup>35</sup> The reason of Tayang-Qan's invitation to the Önggüts for a joint-attack against Temüjin is not supplied in the sources. An account in JT p.366 relates that the ruler of Naiman tribe had once married a girl from the ruling family of the Önggüt tribe and feasted at Baidaraq-Belchir. The in-laws' relationship between two ruling families might be the main reason of Tayang-Qan's invitation.

<sup>36</sup> SH §157 dates this event in 1202 a Dog Year but this attack appears in JT and CCL before the 1199 attack against the Naiman Buiruq-Qan. JT's dating is correct because a later account records that Qutu and Chilayun who submitted in Toyoril's attack upon the Merkits "left" Toyoril in his restoration war in 1199. It is illogical if they left before they were brought to submission.

Toqtoya,<sup>37</sup> therefore, he was "welcomed home" in spite of the break-up of this in-laws' relationship. Respect was also guaranteed to the father-in-laws. Jaya-Gambu who had married his three daughters to Temüjin's family was allowed to keep his own subject people under his leadership after Temüjin's destruction of the Kereit regime, when the rest of their tribesmen were distributed.<sup>38</sup>

### Submissive tribal leaders

The traditional *qudaship* practice acquired a new dimension from 1203, when Temüjin encountered a band of the Qonggirats after the battle at Qalaqaljit-Elet.

In this event, Temüjin sent Jürchedei to this band of Qonggirat with troops and his message: submit, or fight. *SH* §176 reports the result that these Qonggirats submitted without fighting, in return, Temüjin "did not touch anything of theirs." A supplementary consequence of this event is found in *JT*, which fascinatingly relates that after the submission of this largest Qonggirat group, Temüjin offered a daughter/girl (*dukhtari*) to their leader Terge-Emel in marriage. Terge-Emel said: "your daughter/girl being like a frog and turtle, in what manner should I take her?" Temüjin was enraged at this reply and had him executed.<sup>39</sup>

The significance of this event is that, began from this incident, the creation of an in-laws relationship served a new function. Normally, a marriage arrangement should have been agreed by mutual-willingness and the friendly desire of being connected from both sides. Therefore, although Temüjin was indeed offended when his marriage proposal with the Toyoril-

<sup>37</sup> *JT* p.95.

<sup>38</sup> *SH* §186.

<sup>39</sup> *JT* p.159, bi-yāsā-rasānīda.

Kereit did not work out, he did not or could not take any violent action against the Kereits. However, this time, he killed Terge-Emel upon his declining to accept his daughter/girl. This action can be explained from the perspective of tribal identity and its strength, in that the Turkic Kereit tribe was in a different class from a Derelkīn Mongol branch; nevertheless, the submissive position of Terge-Emel may be more crucial to his execution: how rude is it when a submitted subject turned down a marriage offer from his lord?

The incident of Terge-Emel is the first example of Temüjin making use of the in-laws' relationship as a bestowal. Temüjin's offer might have derived from a positive thought: "on the top of affection, let there be more affection", but he was no longer the young man who desperately needed an in-laws' association with the Qonggirats for power-building. A submissive tribal leader appeared inferior to his new lord, therefore, an in-laws' relationship between them should not be considered on an equal basis of affection and mutual assistance. From then on, granting a marriage connection as a benevolence to his subjects became a main trend in Temüjin's external policy. This strategy applied throughout his steppe conquests, and girls were bestowed on the distinguished submissive tribal leaders only. Marriage alliance during this period was used for purposes of administration and to facilitate the network of expansion.

After Temüjin became the dominant power in Mongolia, a *qudaship* with the conqueror's family appeared less and less as a matter of warm-hearted affection but more as an instrument of administration. The number of sons-in-law greatly increased in the *uruq* of Temüjin, and the idea of "becoming a son[-in-law]" characterised Temüjin's relation with the tribal leaders of the western steppe belt. Some of the tribal leaders came and requested an in-laws' relationship voluntarily and some of them were granted the relationship after they had made a distinctive contribution to Temüjin. The following survey of the in-laws' relationship between the Temüjin-Mongol and the tribes of Önggüt, Uighur, Oirat, Qarluq confirms that before the Mongol expedition into

Transoxiana, Temüjin subdued most of the western steppe tribes by peaceful means.

Temüjin did not give a daughter to the ruler of the Önggüt tribe, Alaqush-Tegin-Quri, immediately when the latter disclosed the secret movement of Tayang-Qan to Temüjin in 1203/1204. The decision to give him one was made after Alaqush handed over the passes of the border wall of Jurchen China.<sup>40</sup> The date of this reward must have been a decade later, during Temüjin's campaign in Jurchen territory beyond the border between 1211 and 1216. However, the marriage did not proceed because an in-tribe conspiracy occurred which resulted in the death of Alaqush<sup>41</sup> and the succession of Chengui, the son of an earlier Önggüt leader who was a brother of Alaqush. Later, Alaqush's paternal nephew Chengui,<sup>42</sup> or his youngest son \*Boyoqa,<sup>43</sup> married Temüjin's daughter Alaqai-Beki, who was younger than Ögetei and older than Tolui. The biography of Alaqush-Tegin-Quri in *YS* recounts that Alaqai-Beki was given in marriage after \*Boyoqa returned from Temüjin's Transoxiana expedition. If this account is reliable and taken together with the hand-over of the wall passes, the Önggüt ruling family did not receive Temüjin's favour until they had rendered many services and made great contributions to his expansion.

<sup>40</sup> *JT* p.131.

<sup>41</sup> Alaqush did not take the princess before his death. *SH* §239 recounts that Temüjin had given Alaqa(i)-Beki to the Önggüt but the exact person is not mentioned. Alaqush appeared in *SH* §202 with the title of *güregen* (son-in-law), however, this description may be an error similar to the miscorrelation of Alchi-Güregen, that is, the narrator mistakes the *güregen* relationship of the son to his father. Alchi-Güregen, see below in the discussion of his son Chigū-Güregen.

<sup>42</sup> Chēng-Kuo (\*Chengui) is a paternal nephew to Alaqush, according to *YS* 118 *chuan* 5 the biography of Alaqush-Tegin-Quri p.2924. His name appeared in *YS* as Chēng-Kuo, in *JT* Chengui (variations SHNKWY/SBKWY/SHYKWY). He was the husband of Alaqai-Beki, as related in *JT* p.132.

<sup>43</sup> *YS* 108 *piao* 4 the Table of Princesses p.2757-2758 records that the husband of Alaqai-Beki was Po-yao-hê. This Po-yao-hê (\*Boyoqa) was the younger son of Alaqush according to *YS* 118 *chuan* 5 p.2924 the biography of Alaqush-Tegin-Quri.

Barchuq of the Uighur was in a similar situation as the Önggüts for becoming an in-law to the *uruq* of Temüjin. Temüjin did not initiate an in-law's relationship with him when this Uighur ruler decided to kill the representative of the Qara-Khitai and to send envoys to Temüjin to seek his goodwill in 1209. After this, the Merkit fugitive crossed the Irtysh river and planning to enter the Uighur territory; Barchuq killed their envoy and fought them at the \*Chan river. Temüjin was happy with this effort<sup>44</sup> and when Barchuq came in person to pay his homage in 1211, upon his request, Temüjin then gave him a "princess" and made him accordingly "the fifth son".<sup>45</sup>

The statement of his request was recorded in three sources in the same speech: he wished he could "contribute after your Highest's four sons" by becoming "the fifth son".<sup>46</sup> "The fifth son" apparently implies a non-blood related father-and-son relationship with Temüjin, that is a son "in-law". These Turkic tribes had no genealogical relation with Temüjin's *uruq*, and Temüjin's sister and senior children were all married at this time. Therefore, the closest relationship they could seek was to become an inferior in-law to the conqueror.

Temüjin did not give his family girls to every leader who submitted. The Kirgiz leaders did not come in person to pay homage ---- although they had sent envoys with gifts in 1207, they did not receive an in-laws' relationship with Temüjin. Temüjin only created an in-laws' relationship with those leaders who had rendered the Mongol empire a distinguished service. In the example of this Uighur Barchuq, according to *JT*, Temüjin did not give the princess to him in 1211 but much later when Barchuq had showed his obedience in answering to Temüjin's summons in attacking Güchülük (the Qara-Khitai), Transoxiana, and the Tangyut nation.

<sup>44</sup> CCL pp.73a-74b.

<sup>45</sup> CCL p.75a, JT p.441.

<sup>46</sup> CCL p.76a. *YS* 122 *chuan* 9 p.3000, the biography of Barchuq-'Ata-Tegin. *JT* has a similar expression, p.441.

The betrothal to the Uighur leaders experienced a dramatic course comparable to the marriage with the Önggüt leaders. Although Temüjin had betrothed a daughter to Barchuq, owing to the sudden death of Temüjin, this princess remained behind while Barchuq returned to Besh-Baliq. When Ögetei ascended the throne, (at least one year after Temüjin's death) he fulfilled the promise by bestowing Altun-Beki upon Barchuq. This time, before Barchuq arrived at the court, the princess died. Ögetei then gave him Alaji-Beki instead. Before Alaji-Beki was sent over, Barchuq died. Thereafter when Barchuq's son Kesmes succeeded as the Idi-Qut, Kesmes eventually married the bride and initiated an in-laws' relationship with the Mongol ruling family, after he presented himself at the court, a confirmation of his homage.<sup>47</sup>

The Önggüt tribe inhabited along the Jurchen border and the Uighur nation situated behind the "rebellious" Tangyut country, their submission played an significant role in Temüjin's campaigns of expansion in the Jurchen and Tangyut territories. By this way, the in-laws relationship granted to them could mean a reward to their allegiance, the same as the reward to his loyal Mongol subjects. Early than Temüjin's expansion outside Mongolia, Temüjin had granted a "family girl"<sup>48</sup> to the Mongol Bayayut tribe because one *güre'en* of them had fought for Temüjin in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> JT p.141. Some details supplied here according to the description of Jūwaynī, see Boyle trans., *The History of the World-Conqueror*, pp.47-48. Cf. the discussion of the princess in note 17, ibid. Kesmes = KSMĀS.

<sup>48</sup> JT p.179, "ürügh dukhtar bi tshān dahand", variation *az ürügh*, ie from the *uruq* of Temüjin.

<sup>49</sup> There is a confusion in the reading of Persian text: "ān qawm-rā NĀM 'WTGW farmūda". NĀM 'WTGW has variations NĀM 'WRQĀKW, NĀM TKW, BKKW, 'WRQĀKWRKĀN. I cannot see any reason that the confusing word/phrase should be "corrected" as 'WTGW (Mong. ötegū), as suggested by some translations. If the word shall be interpreted as ötegū, this paragraph would have another implication in the in-laws' relationship during this period. Since the Bayayut *güre'en* which was in the eighth wing of Temüjin's troop in the battle was commanded by Onggur, I would incline to assume the reading is simply "that tribe was commanded by Onggur" ("ān qawm-rā TKW/BKKW farmūda"). The variations NĀM 'WRQĀKW and 'WRQĀKWRKĀN appear in the same group shall be separated from the NĀM TKW and BKKW group. This 'WRQĀKW or 'WRQĀKWRKĀN shall be related to the proper name of a person in a later paragraph on the same page: "in the time of Chīnggīz-Khān, there had an emir among the emirs of Left Wing,

Later Qubilai acquired a khatun called Hüshijin,<sup>50</sup> her father Boroyul was one of Temüjin's two most important *nökers*. These two examples of an in-laws' relationship with the Mongol subjects who had rendered a great service show that the prestige came after effort, and the contribution of the Oirat leader in Temüjin's expansion to the western forest won his *uruq* the most favourite Turkic *quda* relationship to the Temüjin-Mongol.

The Oirat ruling family had a relationship of *andāqūdātī* with Temüjin's *uruq*, their *uruqs* took girls from each other<sup>51</sup> and their in-laws' relationship lasted for generations. The tribe had no enmity to Temüjin or Toyoril since the old days, at least it is not found in the sources. Although their leader Quduqa-Beki did once appear in the enemy camp in the Battle of Köyiten in 1202, he might have been invited by the Naiman Buiruq-Qan as an ally to jointly conduct the magic storm.<sup>52</sup> After the storm reversed, Quduqa-Beki retreated towards the Shisgis/Shiqshit, making for "forest",<sup>53</sup> his residence.

The Quduqa-Temüjin *quda* relationship should have started after the submission of Quduqa, but here there is a textual confusion regarding the date of his submission. *JT* p.422 relates that Quduqa submitted to Temüjin's pursuing troop against Toqtoya and Güchülük in 1208. This account coincides with another paragraph in p.103, which records that Toqtoya did not resist the Mongol troop in the final battle but that the Oirats charged and exterminated

his name [is] BWQĀ-KWRGĀN (Buqa the Son-in-law). [A] girl had been given to him and he was from the Jedei-Bayayut".

<sup>50</sup> *JT* p.173, Qubilai-Qan's khatun AWSHJYN was the daughter of Boroyul-Noyan of the Derelkīn Hüshin tribe. The lady was called HWSHYJYN in *JT* p.867, who gave birth to a son called Ayachi. AWSHJYN (Üshijin) < HWSHYJYN (Hüshijin), means a female belongs to the Hüshin (> Üshin) tribe.

<sup>51</sup> *JT* p.99.

<sup>52</sup> *SH* §143, "those very same Buiruq-Qan and Quduqa, knowing how to produce a rainstorm by magic, conjured up a storm".

<sup>53</sup> *SH* §144.

him ---- apparently, the Oirats were acting on behalf of the Mongols as subjects in this attack.

The *SH* has another version of his submission. *SH* §239 recounts that Quduqa submitted to Jochi's expedition troops against the "people of the forests" and acted as their guide. When the conquest was completed, Quduqa came to pay homage and Temüjin initiated an *quda* relationship with him. Paul Pelliot suggested that the *SH* version is a conflation of Quduqa's earlier submission with the 1218/19 Mongol expedition against the forest tribes.<sup>54</sup>

Many pieces of evidence confirm that Quduqa had submitted to the Mongols before the 1218/19 Mongol expedition. First, the Tumat tribe rebelled when Temüjin "was absented for Khitai", and Temüjin sent Boroyul to subdue it in 1217.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, the forest people must have rebelled in the period of 1211 to 1216<sup>56</sup> and they must have submitted before they rebelled. Second, Quduqa was held in captivity on behalf of the Mongols by the Tumat tribe and released by the 1217 punitive troops. This seizure shows Quduqa was in the service of Temüjin before 1217.<sup>57</sup> Third, the sons of Toqtoya were finally exterminated at the \*Chan river by Sübe'etei in 1217.<sup>58</sup> The

<sup>54</sup> Annotation of De Rachewiltz, *PFEH* 26 (1982) p.64, referring to Paul Pelliot's annotation in *Notes critiques d'histoire kalmouke*.

<sup>55</sup> *JT* pp.456-458.

<sup>56</sup> *JT* p.456, Temüjin did not return from the Jurchen campaign to his *ordo* in Mongolia until 1216.

<sup>57</sup> He was captured because he tried to rescue the Bayarin Qorchi. According to *SH* §207 and §241, Temüjin had given the governorship of the "forest people" to Qorchi and allowed him to camp freely up to along the Irtysh where was the inhabitance of the forest people. Qorchi tried to take thirty fine maidens from the Tumat tribe therefore the Tumats seized him. Temüjin sent Quduqa over to deal with this matter but Quduqa was also seized by the Tumats.

<sup>58</sup> *JT* p.457, Temüjin supplied Sübe'etei with iron carts to attack the brother and sons of Toqtoya and had them crushed along the \*Chan river. As a result of this extermination, Sübe'etei captured the youngest son of Toqtoya, Qultuqan-Mergen, and delivered him to Jochi. This capture and delivery "in the last war" also found in *JT* p.95, but this delivery did not necessarily mean that Sübe'etei was under the command of Jochi. Sübe'etei and Jochi were sent separately by Temüjin with separate assignments to pursue the Merkits or to punish the Kirgiz. Sübe'etei might have sent the captive to Jochi simply because Jochi was nearby.

Mongol troops were unlikely to find these fugitives in a foreign land and arrived at the \*Chan river at the speed of storm without the help, or guidance of the locals, that is, the Oirats. Fourth, Jochi's punitive expedition against the Kirgiz was launched after the suppression of Tumat tribe because the formerly submitted Kirgiz people refused to offer military assistance to this suppression. This expedition must have happened after 1217 and it has nothing to do with the Oirats.<sup>59</sup> Summing up, the 1207/08 dating is a more likely one for Quduqa's submission.

Comparing his usefulness with the great contributions of the Uighur and Önggüt leaders, the Oirat leader had also rendered a significant service to Temüjin before they became in-laws. Exterminating Temüjin's long-lasting enemy Toqtoya was an achievement, but submitting to Temüjin without fighting would be far more substantial. The submission did not just open up the way to the west for the Mongols, Quduqa also acted as the key person in Temüjin's management of the forest people to the west of Mongolian steppe because "Quduqa knows the ways of the people of the forests".<sup>60</sup> Therefore, a close relationship between these two ruling families would be mutually beneficial.

The situation of Quduqa was slightly different from the one of the Önggüt or the Uighur leaders. The *uruq* of Quduqa had had bestowed on it much more marriage linkage than the other submissive tribal leaders, probably because of his administrative services. Only the *uruqs* of the Kereit Jaya-Gambu or the Qonggirat Dei-Sechen can compare in this degree of honour of in-laws' relationship to the Temüjin-Mongol. Quduqa had two sons and one

<sup>59</sup> JT pp.143-144, also in CCL pp.91a-92a. Jochi's expedition was aimed only at the Kirgiz and took place in 1208 (Tiger Year). After subdued the Kirgiz, Jochi went down the Kem river and brought the forest people of Ursut, Qabqanas, Telenggüt and Kesdim to submission. Jochi would not have met the Oirats upstream if he went down the Kem river, because the Oirats lived in the land of "SNGGWR river" from where rivers flowed out and formed the Kem river. JT p.99.

<sup>60</sup> SH §241. A comment by Temüjin.

daughter, they all married into Temüjin's *uruq*. Temüjin intended to take Quduqa's daughter Oyul-Qaimish himself but finally this girl was married to the later Möngke-Qan.<sup>61</sup> As for Quduqa's sons Inalchi and Törelchi, *SH* §239 recounts that Temüjin had given Checheyigen to Inalchi and Jochi's daughter Qoluiqan to his elder son Törelchi. The marriage is vice versa in *JT*, that is, Inalchi married the sister of Batu, QWLWY-'YGĀJY,<sup>62</sup> who must be Jochi's daughter Qoluiqan in *SH*, and Törelchi married Temüjin's own daughter CHYCHĀKĀN/CHYJĀKN who was the Checheyigen in *SH*. The offspring from these marriages carried on the in-laws' association, two Oirat daughters born of Checheyigen married the descendants of Temüjin: one of them married Qara-Hülegü who was the grandson of Chayatai and reigned over the Chayatai *ulus* for a period, the other married Ariq-Böke, who was the youngest son of the *otchigin* Tolui, as his senior wife.<sup>63</sup> The in-laws' relationship between the Mongol and Oirat ruling families lasted with significance for generations.

The Qarluq leader also received an in-laws' relationship from Temüjin. This relationship might have developed in an essence of peace maintenance for the political situation on the steppe belt.

When the Qarluq Arslan-Qan submitted without fighting and came to pay homage in 1211, Temüjin did him a courtesy: "I shall give him a daughter."<sup>64</sup> No significant military or administrative contribution of the Qarluq leader has been found in the sources, so this benevolence can only be satisfactorily explained by the timing of his submission.

<sup>61</sup> *JT* p.100, Oyul-Qaimish called Qubilai and Hülegü as children (*farzand*) and these two younger uncles paid great respect to her. In *JT* pp.820-821, this Oyul-Qaimish was Möngke's "another" senior wife, at first being betrothed to Tolui so that she used to call Qubilai and Hülegü "children". However, Möngke's senior wife in *YS* was a Qonggirat called Qudu[q]tai and later her sister Yesür.

<sup>62</sup> Variations of the second part of the name are 'PKCHY/'BKCHY. Unidentified. *JT* p.101.

<sup>63</sup> *JT* p.100.

<sup>64</sup> *SH* §235.

The dynasty of Kara-Khitai was terminated in 1211, the same year as Arslan-Qan's submission. The political situation along the steppe belt was strained at this time, especially for Temüjin, when the huge Kara-Khitai *ulus* had been seized by the Naiman fugitive Güchülük. The submission of Arslan-Qan was dated in *SH* §235 corresponding to the occasion when the general Qubilai was sent to fight against the Qarluqs. This "attack" as related in the *SH* appeared very unwise under such political circumstances because the Qarluqs might turn to the Güchülük Kara-Khitai when attacked by the Mongols, especially when the attack was not supported by a convincing claim. *JT* p.144 supplies another version of the description that Qubilai was sent (*firistāda būd*) to the Qarluqs to bring them submit. It would be more reasonable if we presume that Qubilai was sent as an armed envoy who bore a similar mission as Jürchedei to the Terge-Emel Qonggirat in 1203 ---- the similarity between these two submissions even extends to the granting of a daughter to the submitted leader,<sup>65</sup> and Qubilai might have been sent over because of political considerations.

The timing explains why Temüjin was keen to initiate a *quda* relationship with the Qarluq leader even when they did not contribute any service to the Mongol Empire. To Temüjin, to attract a possible ally to Güchülük to join himself was already a great achievement for the Mongol Empire. Therefore, he confirmed this connection by making the Qarluq leader his in-law.

The above examples of the submission of the Önggüt, Uighur, Oirat and Qarluq tribes reveal that the World Conqueror did not conquer every steppe tribe by force in the second stage of his expansion. All he demanded from these steppe surrenders was a gesture of submission from the tribe

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<sup>65</sup> The *uruq* of Arslan enjoyed at least three generations of in-laws' relationship with the *uruq* of Temüjin. According to *YS* 109 *piao* 4 the Table of Princesses in p.2761, Arslan's son Yeh-hsien pu-hua (\*Yesen-Buqa) married Princess T'uo-leh (\*Töre), \*Yesen-Buqa's son Hu-na-ta-êrh (\*Qunadar) married Princess Pa-pa, and \*Qunadar's son La-hai-ya-li-na married Princess \_\_\_\_ (blank).

leaders, such as paying homage to the court in person and relinquishing their "qan" title,<sup>66</sup> also concrete contributions to the Mongols either in civil or military affairs which assisted in the expansion and expressed their allegiance to the sovereignty. In return for their loyalty during crucial incidents or moment, Temüjin revived his courteous policy which was previously designed for his kinsmen and applied it on a larger scale. More than that he "did not touch" their people, Temüjin rewarded them with an in-law's relationship with his honourable *uruq*. In this way, Temüjin acquired in-laws' tribes on the Jurchen border, the west border of the Tangyut nation, even the forest area near to the Qipchaq steppe. The steppe world was then organised by and administrated via a network of in-laws' relationship with the Temüjin-Mongol superior in the centre.

### III. Individuals in the in-laws' relationship

In-laws' relationship works between two families. When these families are the ruling families, the affection and obligation work between the clans/tribes. The making or break-up of these ruling-family in-laws' relationship mostly resulted from changes in the inter-tribal political situation.

Nonetheless, the specific individuals in the relationship might experience separate treatment when the general relationship of their tribal leaders damaged. This opportunity or misfortune might come because of his/her position in the relationship or his/her personal capability. Therefore, the role of individuals in the in-laws' relationship, which reveals the details of history, is also worth examination. The immediately related in-laws to Temüjin's *uruq* are discussed below, under three sub-categories: the fathers-in-law, the *giiregen* and the daughters-in-law.

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<sup>66</sup> JT p.144, Arslan-Qan was renamed as Arslan Sartaqtai, "the Tajik (= "central Asian" in general) Arslan". A similar example of depriving a submitted leader of his prestigious title is the renaming of the Tangyut ruler and Jurchen ruler upon their defeat.

### Fathers-in-law

In some cases, Temüjin started an in-laws' relationship by allowing the allies to become his fathers-in-law. Two famous fathers-in-law who experienced special treatment when their tribes crushed were the Merkit Dair-Usun and the Kereit Jaya-Gambu.

In 1204 when Temüjin set out against the Uduyt branch of the Merkits which was the leading branch of the tribe, the leader of the Hoyas/Uyas<sup>67</sup> branch of the Merkits dedicated his daughter Qulan to Temüjin. This offer was a gesture of surrender and a request for peace, as recorded in *JT*. Temüjin liked the woman very much<sup>68</sup> therefore owing to this in-laws' affection, he did not destroy this Merkit branch but kept them in his own *ayuruq* (base camp).<sup>69</sup>

One year earlier than the incident of the Hoyas-Merkit, Jaya-Gambu of the Kereit tribe received the same favour when the Kereit ruler Toyoril was defeated. Jaya-Gambu was allowed to keep his hereditary subjects intact because of his in-laws' relationship with Temüjin's *urug*: he was one of the fathers-in-law to Temüjin, also to Temüjin's children Jochi and Tolui.

These two examples show that during the period 1203/04, Temüjin adopted a friendly policy toward his fathers-in-law even when their tribal leaders were hostile to Temüjin. These fathers-in-law were allowed to secure

<sup>67</sup> De Rachewiltz is doubtful of the spelling of Hoyas (Ho'as) and he suggests that the correct spelling should be Uwas. From a linguistic point of view, Ho'as > U'as (= Hoyas > Üas). Regarding the /h/ initial, compare with the examples of Hambaqaï (*JT*) > Ambaqaï (*SH*), Hö'elün (*SH*) > Ülün (*JT*).

<sup>68</sup> *SH* §197.

<sup>69</sup> *JT* pp.418-419. The accounts of Hoyas-Merkit's submission in *SH* and *JT* differ in timing, also the detail of the later besiege of Taiqan barricade. The offering of Qulan and Temüjin's acceptance of their surrender are the same.

their own people while the rest of their tribesmen were killed or despoiled.<sup>70</sup> The special favour granted to the fathers-in-law was restricted to non-hostile ones only. As for those who surrendered after resistance by sending girls at the last minute seeking for peace, such as the Jurchen<sup>71</sup> and the Tangyut<sup>72</sup> regimes, their rulers was not treated as respectful fathers-in-law.

However, the distrustfulness of these fathers-in-law made Temüjin aware of the difficulty in continuing this policy. The Hoyas-Merkit revolted soon after Temüjin shifted his attention,<sup>73</sup> and Jaya-Gambu too turned hostile later and separated from Temüjin.<sup>74</sup> Both of these rebellions were suppressed. Temüjin "had the Merkit distributed on all sides down to the last person".<sup>75</sup> As for Jaya-Gambu, his people were plundered and exterminated and he himself was lured, seized and killed by Jürchedei.<sup>76</sup>

Temüjin's cruelty to these rebellious fathers-in-law did not apply to their daughters, or some of their kinsmen. The Merkit Qulan and the Kereit Ibaqa-Beki were allowed to keep their status after the betrayal of their fathers. Qulan appeared in charge of the second *ordo* of Temüjin,<sup>77</sup> and although

<sup>70</sup> Compare the distribution of the Kereits in *SH* §186 and the extermination of non-Hoyas Merkits in *SH* §198.

<sup>71</sup> *SH* §248.

<sup>72</sup> *SH* §249, *CCL* p.75a.

<sup>73</sup> *JT* p.419 and *CCL* p.70ab have the same story that the Merkits settled in the base camp (*ayuruq*) soon looted the camp but the belongings were recovered by Temüjin's guarding men. These Merkits then left, moved to Qarayun Gorge on the Selengge and resided there. Temüjin sent Boroyul and Chimbai (the younger brother of Chilayun) with Right wing troop to bring them subdue. *SH* §198 does not supply the detail of the course but the result: "The Merkits who had submitted earlier rose again in rebellion from he base camp, but our servants in the camp brought them under control .... he (Temüjin) had the Merkit distributed on all sides down to the last person".

<sup>74</sup> *SH* §208.

<sup>75</sup> *SH* §198. The sources do not mention the end of his Merkit father-in-law.

<sup>76</sup> *SH* §208.

<sup>77</sup> *YS* 106 *piao* 1 "The Table of Khatuns and Concubines", p.2694.

Ibaqa-Beki had been given to Jürchedei, her status as Temüjin's khatun was not abolished.<sup>78</sup>

### Güregen: sons-in-law

The unreliability of the fathers-in-law is probably one of the reasons which made Temüjin cautious in taking girls into his family. On the other hand, he was generous in increasing the number of sons-in-law, no matter whether they were the submitted tribal leaders, or less influential individuals. Temüjin seemed to have had great confidence in his *güregen*.

An explanation of Temüjin's particular confidence in the faithfulness of his sons-in-law can be suggested by referring to the steppe marriage tradition. According to the Mongol custom, for a formal marriage, the bridegroom should stay in the bride's family for a period before he could take the bride home. This custom is clearly stated in the *SH* in its accounts of the marriage of Temüjin, also of Botu.

In the betrothal of Temüjin, Dei-Sechen said: "I will give you my daughter, and you leave your son here as my son-in-law", Yesügei replied: "I will leave my son here as your son-in-law ...".<sup>79</sup> Later when Yesügei sent Mönglik to fetch Temüjin home, Dei-Sechen spoke: "If my *quda* is longing for his son, let him go. But after he has seen [his father] he must come back immediately".<sup>80</sup> These dialogues show that the stay of bridegroom was essential as a part of the procedure of a properly arranged marriage.

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<sup>78</sup> *JT* p.303 lists Ibaqa-Beki as a senior khatun to Temüjin after the five most important khatuns, Börte, Qulan, Yesügen, Yesüi and the daughter of the Jurchen ruler.

<sup>79</sup> *SH* §66.

<sup>80</sup> *SH* §69.

In the example of Botu, he apparently had performed a long-time duty in the bride's house. He followed the family of Temüjin when Temüjin separated from Jamuqa, because he was "living in this area as *güregen*".<sup>81</sup> Later when the Taichiγuts and Jamuqa came and attacked Temüjin in 1193, Botu was still there hence his father sent him the news.

Although the exact duration of the required stay is not clear, it would not be less than a few years, as seen in the example of Botu. Living together is a good chance for the bride's family to observe the personality of their future son-in-law, also for the young man to understand his in-laws. When the duration could last for three to five years,<sup>82</sup> a nice relationship and mutual understanding must have been firmly established before the real marriage took place. Through this practice, Temüjin would have had a satisfactory acquaintance with his sons-in-law, therefore, he had confidence in those whom he knew well.

The word *güregen* specifies an identity of son-in-law, however, since the marriage linkage was multiple in real practice, a son-in-law could be also a brother-in-law to the same person. Botu of the Ikires betrothed and married Temüjin's only blood-sister Temülün,<sup>83</sup> later he took Temüjin's eldest daughter Qojin-Beki after Temülün died.<sup>84</sup> Hence Botu had the double

<sup>81</sup> SH §120.

<sup>82</sup> The details of the formalities of a formal steppe marriage shall be treated in a separate section since plenty of evidence and reference can be found. The approximate duration suggests here bases on two evidence. First, according to the *SH*, Temüjin was left in the bride's family when he was nine, then he asked for the bride when he was fifteen. Second, Jurchen's practice supplies a good cross-reference that "after married, [the son-in-law] stays in wife's family rendering the attendant services; even for passing wine and serving meals, [he] did [everything] in person. Three years, then [he] has the wife taken home." (*TCKC* 39, p.554) In this way, the required duration of the *güregen* service would not be shorter than one or two years.

<sup>83</sup> Temülün was eight years younger than Temüjin. *SH* §60, when Temüjin was nine years old, Temülün was in the cradle.

<sup>84</sup> *YS* 118 *chuan* 5 the biography of Botu p.2921, 108 *piao* 4 the Table of Princesses p.2757-2758.

identity of being Temüjin's prime brother-in-law and then his prime son-in-law. Accordingly, the meaning of *güregen* would be better defined not on the individual basis but as a son-in-law relationship to a particular *uruq*.

There are plenty of *güregens* in the sources; the survey below will concentrate on the immediate sons-in-law to Temüjin. According to the "Table of Princesses" in *YS*, Temüjin's daughter Qojin-Beki married the Ikires Botu, Alaqaï-Beki was given to the ruler of Önggüt and Tumalun married to Chigü.<sup>85</sup> Chigü who was the son of Alchi-Noyan of the Qonggirat, a nephew to Börte.<sup>86</sup>

The political marriage with the Önggüt ruling family was not arranged according to normal procedure of the marriage custom, therefore, it shall be treated as an exception and excluded from examination. As for the other two regular sons-in-law Botu and Chigü, they had been granted an extraordinary power in command and investiture. Botu had been trusted with two Thousands of the Ikires according to *SH* §202, or nine Thousands of the Left Wing and the right to appoint the leaders of his Thousands according to *JT* p.600. Chigü

<sup>85</sup> *YS* 108 *piao* 4 p.2757-2758. According to *JT* pp.301-302, Börte gave birth to five daughters: Qojin-Beki, Checheyigen, Alaqaï-Beki, Tumalun and Altalun. Altalun married a Taichu-Güregen from her mother's clan: the Olqunuyut. Not many accounts of this Taichu can be found in the sources, therefore he is omitted in this discussion.

<sup>86</sup> *JT*'s accounts about this marriage are confusing. *JT* p.160, an emir "who had been called Alchi-Noyan, his name was DÄRGH-KWRGÄN and he had a son named CHYGW-KWRGÄN (Chigü-Güregen)" (... Ú-râ alchî nûyân mîguftiand wa nâm-i û DÄRGH-KWRGÄN bûd wa pisar-î dâshtha CHYGW-KWRGÄN nâm). In a latter passage in p.161, Alchi-Noyan had a son, his name was CHYGW-KWRGÄN and DÄRGH-KWRGÄN who took Tumalun, the daughter of Temüjin (nâm-i û CHYGW-KWRGÄN wa DÄRGH-KWRGÄN ki dukhtar-i chînggîz-khân tûmälün nâm dâsh). *JT* p.603 confirms that Chigü-Güregen was the son of Alchi-Noyan, but the name DÄRGH-KWRGÄN is still confusing. For the passage on p.160, this name of DÄRGH-KWRGÄN has variations of SHNGGW-KWRGÄN/SNKKW/SHNKW (P.1619). If we replaced the DÄRGH-KWRGÄN in this passage with the variation, Alchi-Noyan may be understood as SHNGGW-KWRGÄN and his son Chigü was the DÄRGH-KWRGÄN who took Tumalun. Chigü married Tumalun is for sure as seen in *JT* p.603.

Alchi-Noyan was called Alchi-Güregen in *SH* §202 and he had been entrusted with three Thousands of the Qonggirats. I cannot find any evidence for his personal in-laws' relationship to Temüjin except for he was a maternal younger uncle to Temüjin and a paternal father-in-law to a daughter of Temüjin. This record of his *güregen* title in the *SH* might have confused with the marriage status of his son Chigü.

was entrusted with four Thousands of the Qonggirats and the right to appoint Thousand leaders.<sup>87</sup>

According to "the List of the Hundreds and Thousands of Chīnggīz-Khān" in *JT*, only six out of nearly fifty large or small unit leaders had had bestowed on them the right of investiture. These six persons are: the Uruyat Jürchedei (Kehetei), the Ikires Botu, the Bayarin Nayaya, the Oirat Quduqa-Beki, the Khitai Wu-yeh-êrh (WYĀR) and the Qonggirat Chigü. Jürchedei, Nayaya, Wu-yeh-êrh were great generals and Quduqa-Beki assisted greatly in Temüjin's northwest expansion, these four persons had won this privilege by their contribution. Compared with these four contributors, Botu and Chigü were obviously being granted the same privilege just because of their *güregen* status.

These non-Nirūn "imperial" *güregens* were not only entrusted with troops and power, they were also be treated as family members in Temüjin's *uruq* and were able to attend important meetings of Mongol tribal affairs, such as the election of a future Qan.<sup>88</sup> Temüjin's confidence in his *güregens* can be observed in the granting of these privileges, while his daughters-in-laws were also allowed to participate in politics.

#### **Daughters-in-law and the "booty" women**

The daughters-in-law who joined Temüjin's *uruq* usually came from properly arranged marriages with Derelkīn clans or Turkic tribes. Occasionally, they were khatuns of the hostile ruler and were taken after a destruction of the whole tribe.

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<sup>87</sup> *JT* p.603.

<sup>88</sup> *SH* §269.

The Qonggirat tribe which was renowned for beautiful and clever girls<sup>89</sup> supplied the most favourite daughters-in-law to Temüjin's *uruq*. Besides, the daughters-in-law from famous Turkic tribes also brought some interesting women into his *uruq*. The exalted Sorqoqtani-Beki, the khatun of Tolui and the mother of Möngke-Qan, Qubilai-Qan and Hülegü-Qan, was a daughter of a Kereit prince; Ögetei's khatun Töregene who had reigned over the Great Mongol Empire for five years after the death of her husband was of Naiman origin,<sup>90</sup> Güyük's khatun Oyul-Qaimish acted as a regent running the empire for six months after the death of her husband by carrying Shiremiün, the son of her brother-in-law Köten in her arms ---- she was of Merkit origin.<sup>91</sup> It is interesting to see that all these masterly or diplomatically intelligent khatuns were Turkic in origin. These Turkic descendants undeniably possessed a remarkable political talent. This talent seems to have been inherited by Qubilai-Qan, who did bear a physical "maternal likeness"<sup>92</sup> to his maternal family (the Kereits) also their administrative intelligence in leading the Mongol empire to its most prosperous state.

Another source of daughters-in-law, or wives, were the "booty" women obtained from warfare. Töregene, a khatun to the Merkit prince Qudu, had been given to Ögetei in 1204/05 when the Merkits were almost destroyed.<sup>93</sup> She was not disgraced but became the senior khatun of Ögetei and was in

<sup>89</sup> The beauty of Qonggirat girls, see *SH* §64, the cleverness of Chabi khatun, see *YS* pp.2871-2872. This biography of Chabi also mentions her smartness in national affairs which she had assisted in for a while when her husband just ascended the throne, but this achievement is apparently less striking when comparing with the Turkic khatuns.

<sup>90</sup> Her tribal identity has been discussed in the in-laws' relationship between the ruling families of Merkit and Naiman.

<sup>91</sup> *JT* p.96, she was the eldest khatun and gave birth to two sons Qucha (KHWĀJH) and Naoqu (NĀQW).

<sup>92</sup> *JT* p.864, when Temüjin saw the baby Qubilai, he commented that "all our children are of a ruddy complexion, but this child is swarthy like his maternal uncles. Tell Sorqoqtani-Beki to give him to a good nurse to be reared." (Boyle trans., *Successors* p.241) Qubilai's two nurses were of Naiman and Tangut origin.

<sup>93</sup> *SH* §198.

charge of the national affairs in a later period. Another pair of famous "booty" khatuns were Yesügen and Yesüi, the daughter of Yeke-Cheren of the Tatars.<sup>94</sup> They enjoyed a high regard in the Temüjin's family such that each of them was assigned a separate *ordo* when Temüjin's senior khatun Börte was placed in the first *ordo*.<sup>95</sup>

Some of these booty women were widows. Since taking a widow was a normal practice in Mongolian society, it was not strange for the widowed khatun from the defeated ruling family to be taken into the victorious ruling family. Temüjin himself took the Naiman widow Gürbesü in 1204,<sup>96</sup> a khatun or the mother of Tayang-Qan whose *jasaq* was harsh.<sup>97</sup> Botoqui-Tarqu reigned over the Tumat tribe after the death of her husband.<sup>98</sup> She had been given to the Oirat Quduqa-Beki after the suppression of the Tumat tribe in 1217.<sup>99</sup> Temüjin even possessed Yesüi by making her a widow.<sup>100</sup>

Apparently Temüjin did not have a close in-laws' relationship with the destroyed family of these booty women. Certain kinsmen of these women were allowed to enter the service of Mongol qans such as the Tatar Yeke-Qutuqt-Noyan, a brother to Yesügen and Yesüi, who had been entrusted a Thousand of the Tatars in Temüjin's Left Wing troop.<sup>101</sup> However, this appears to have been a special case applicable only when the women won the trust of Temüjin.

<sup>94</sup> SH §155.

<sup>95</sup> YS 106 *piao* 1 the Table of Khatuns and Concubines pp.2693-2697.

<sup>96</sup> SH §196. JT p.304 relates that Temüjin took her in accord of the *rasm* (Pers. "custom") and *yosun* (Mong. "custom") of the Mongols.

<sup>97</sup> SH §189. JT p.304, "The first khatun of Naiman Tayang-Qan".

<sup>98</sup> SH §240.

<sup>99</sup> SH §241.

<sup>100</sup> SH §156, Temüjin killed her husband.

<sup>101</sup> JT p.600.

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The importance of the steppe style *qudaship* as a social connection was also observed by its neighbours. The Chinese had been in long term peace-and-war contact with the steppe people, they knew well the usefulness of sending princesses to the northern steppe tribes when the tribes became strong but too tough to be crushed. This tactic of maintaining peace on the border was called *hē-ch'in* or *hē-fan*, "[making] peace [via] marriage" or "[making] peace [with] the aliens". This connection provided a peace along the border at least for a life time, but the practice was considered shameful by Chinese officials and historians because it exposed the infirm and defensive weakness of the Chinese court.

Although an in-laws' relationship between the ruling families of China and the steppe tribe was usually accompanied with material benefits to the nomads,<sup>102</sup> when the motivation of this connection is detection and check-and-balance rather than affection and assistance, its nature differs from the steppe style *qudaship*. Therefore, this Chinese style "alien marriage" should not be confused with the exogamical *andāqūdāi* practice on the steppe which has been discussed above.

From the above discussion, we may conclude that Temüjin was a very successful steppe ruler. Born as a steppe person, he knew his tradition and customs well and was able to make the most of them. He linked up the people outside of his genealogy to his clan by an affinity bondage which would work for generations, and he opened up the royal family to be shared with his in-laws. His nonviolent approach in his steppe expansion was successful by a careful management of marriage, where the marriage functions as an affectionate connection, a welcome of attachment, an offer of a friendly association, a ceasefire agreement and in the later period, a reward to the loyal.

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<sup>102</sup> The dowry, yearly presents to the steppe in-laws, and more trading opportunities for common tribesmen would improve life on the steppe.

As a result of Temüjin's making use of a tradition which was shared by every steppe tribe, most of the steppe tribes inhabiting the steppe belt from western Mongolia to the east of Qipchaq surrendered to him without fighting, notably not many massacres were perpetrated.<sup>103</sup> The steppe belt remained peaceful when the non-steppe civilisations such as the Jurchen, the Tangyut and the Sartayul (Central Asians) were subsequently being tortured by the "Mongol Devils". With this examination of Temüjin's strategy of expansion, it seems not appropriate to name Temüjin a mass murderer or bloody conqueror because of his violent treatment of the non-steppe civilisations ---- for they had not responded properly, according to his steppe way.<sup>104</sup>

Other than the in-laws' obligation between the tribes/clans in the inter-tribal political affairs, via marriage, the "proper" sons-in-law and daughters-in-law of non-Nīrūn Mongol origin entered the *uruq* of Temüjin and enriched the daily life of the Mongol ruling family. Their ability and talent influenced the running and management of their families and of the empire. The practice of exogamy and inter-tribal marriage was carried on by their offspring. When the melting pot of in-laws' affection turned the steppe people into "one *uruq*" under the Mongol rule, the elaborate network of their linkages prevented the steppe people from stepping back into the old days of tribal rivalry.

Summing up, the investigation of the significance of the in-laws' relationship in Temüjin's career reveals that steppe tradition was the backbone of Temüjin's strategy of expansion and miscellany is the essence of the empire he created. This characteristic did not exist only in its court or bureaucracy or the diversity of the ethnic and cultural component of his empire ---- it was also found inside the sovereign family. The splendour of the Mongol Empire is

<sup>103</sup> The rebellion of the forest Tumats was due to a mistreatment by Qorchi, see SH §241.

<sup>104</sup> The Sinicised Tangyut ruler eventually decided to submit to Temüjin according to his steppe way. JT p.540 recounts that he sent envoys to the Mongols requested for reconciliation, made oaths and said: "I am in fear [that if] he [would] grant me [a status] to be a son (*farzand*).". This decision came too late. Temüjin died within one month, and these Tangyut "rebels" were exterminated according to his will.

undeniably moulded on a tolerance of varieties and this is probably the secret of its greatness since it is seen everywhere, even in the household of the qan.

## Chapter Six

### The Interaction between the Steppe Tribes and Jurchen China

The steppe tribes in Mongolia have a long history of contact with the regimes in China, abundant materials are available for studying their interactions, and plenty of topics can be discussed. This chapter focuses on a rather short period of sixteen years, but the most important period for Temüjin's effort in unifying Mongolia before he began to project his influence into the neighbouring sedentary and nomadic nations.

This chapter discusses the interaction between the steppe tribes and the Jurchens which influenced the development of Temüjin's career. Two major events will be related: first, the warfare between Jurchen troops and the steppe tribes: the Tatars, the Qonggirats, the Qatagins and the Saljiyuts in 1195-1198; second, the creation of the Temüjin-Jurchen connection in 1196, and the breakdown of their connection in 1208.

These incidents created a favourable circumstance for Temüjin's expansion in Mongolia. The battles between the powerful Jurchen and the fierce Turkic and Mongol tribes in southeastern Mongolia weakened both sides. Their exhaustion allowed Temüjin to consolidate his power in central Mongolia at ease. Moreover, Temüjin's Jayut-Quri relationship to the Jurchen sovereign guaranteed peace in his south during the period when he was busy with his domestic troubles and conquering campaigns in Mongolia. These situations provided him with an uninterrupted opportunity for rapid annexation, and when the relationship between Temüjin and the Jurchen regime began to change in 1208, Temüjin was already an established "fierce qan" who possessed the whole of Mongolia. At this time, a conflict between Jurchen China would not appear as a threat to his status as a great steppe ruler but merely supplied him with an opportunity, or pretext, to further his conquest into wealthy Khitai.

The accounts consulted in this study are mainly from Chinese sources, so the chronology will usually be presented according to the Chinese calendar. A cross-reference of the dates is listed as follows:

Chin regime in northern China (1115-1234)

T'ai-Tsu	1115-1123
T'ai-Tsung	1123-1135 (Liao regime ended in 1125)
Hsi-Tsung	1135-1149
Hai-Ling Wang	1149-1161
Shih-Tsung	1161-1189
Chang-Tsung	1189-1208
Wei-Shao Wang	1208-1213 (Wan-Yen Yung-Chi)
Huan-Tsung	1213-1223
Ai-Tsung	1223-1234 (Wan-Yen Shou-Hsü)
Mo-Ti (the last emperor)	1234

The Gregorian calendar and the Chinese calendar

1194.12.31 = 11.17 of the fifth Ming-Ch'ang year	Tiger year
1195.12.31 = 11.28 of the sixth Ming-Ch'ang year	Hare year
1196.12.31 = 12.10 of the first Ch'êng-An year	Dragon year
1197.12.31 = 11.21 of the second Ch'êng-An year	Snake year
1198.12.31 = 12.02 of the third Ch'êng-An year	Horse year

I. The Jurchen campaigns against the steppe tribes

(i) The Jurchen attack upon the Tatars

The Tatar tribe had a good relationship with the Jurchen regime at least in the 1130s. They served as a subordinate to the Jurchens, and many of their

services have been discussed in Chapter One. Their subordinate relationship to the Jurchens was interrupted in 1195, according to *Chin shih* (CS). This incident was followed by a large-scale attack by the Jurchens into eastern Mongolia, which resulted in the defeat of the Tatars and provided Temüjin with a chance to have his first contact with the Jurchen authority.

### **The disagreement between the Tatars and the Jurchens**

From the perspective of the Mongols, the whole event seemed as simple as: the Tatars withdrew from their submission to the Altan-Qan ("the ruler of Chin") and since they were not strong enough to resist the Jurchens (?troops), the Tatars retreated northwards with all their possessions and belongings.<sup>1</sup>

This incident is recorded in *CCL* p.19a as follows: "the tribal leader of the Tatars [called] Meh-wu-chênh-siao-li-t'u (\*Megüjin-Se'ültü) transgressed [their] agreement with the Chin, the Chin ruler sent *ch'êng-hsiang* (Minister) Wan-Yen Hsiang to lead the troops pushing the Tatars to flight northwards." This *CCL* description coincides with the account in *SH* §133 that "the Altan-Qan of the Kitat people, because Megüjin-Se'ültü of the Tatar and others would not enter upon an agreement with him, sent a message to Ongging-Chingsang to the effect that he should prepare his troops without delay. Ongging-Chingsang (\*Wan-Yen *ch'êng-hsiang*) pushed Megüjin-Se'ültü and the other Tatars, together with their cattle and provisions, upstream along the Ulja."<sup>2</sup>

When we examine the account of this incident given by the Chinese, one of the parties which was actually involved in the battles, the scene is not that simple. The cause of the disagreement between the Tatars and the Jurchens is not supplied in three sources. It is found in *CS*.

<sup>1</sup> *JT* p.337.

<sup>2</sup> Igor de Rachewiltz trans., *PFEH* 10 (1974), p.58.

The Annals of *CS* records that in the ninth month of the fifth Ming-Ch'ang Year (1194), the court ordered the selection of thirty thousand troops for mobilisation in the next spring, also every *lu* (provincial district) and the "North Tsu-p'u" should assemble their troops at Lin-Huang in the summer of the sixth year (1195).<sup>3</sup> In the fifth month of the sixth Ming-Ch'ang year (summer 1195), a Jurchen officer, Chia-Ku Ch'ing-Ch'êng, was assigned to be in charge of border affairs at Lin-Huang. No more than a month after he arrived to take up his post,<sup>4</sup> he launched an attack to the steppe tribes in the north. This attack was obviously the result of this previous mobilisation in that the troops consisted of Chinese soldiers and "North Tsu-p'u" people.

The initial eight thousand light cavalry successfully stormed fourteen camps at "K'ao-lao lê" (Kölen Lake), then the force returned to meet their rear force, which was ten thousand strong. A "subordinate Hsieh-ch'u" who was apparently in the service of the Jurchen cavalry in this attack, carried some booty on their way back. This behaviour seemed unacceptable to Chia-Ku Ch'ing-Ch'êng, who he sent a messenger to reprimand [Hsieh-ch'u] for this. Upon the reprimand, the "North Tsu-p'u" rebelled and left the Jurchen force, plundering all the way.<sup>5</sup>

According to the suggestion of Chinese scholar Wang Kuo-Wei, the "Tsu-p'u" or "North Tsu-p'u" people in Chinese Liao and Chin accounts were the Tatars.<sup>6</sup> The problem of "North Tsu-p'u" people and Hsieh-ch'u can be analyzed as follows: In the above accounts in *CS*, the "North Tsu-p'u" had

<sup>3</sup> *CS* 10 *chi* 10 p.233.

<sup>4</sup> Chia-Ku Ch'ing-Ch'êng sent a messenger to the court to report a victory in the sixth month of this year, just a month after he took over the post. Therefore, the battle must have been fought right after his arrival, and before the victory report reached the court. *CS* 10 *chi* 10 p.236.

<sup>5</sup> *CS* 10 *chi* 10 p.236-7, *CS* 94 *chuan* 32 the biography of Chia-Ku Ch'ing-Ch'êng, p.2085.

<sup>6</sup> Wang Kuo-Wei, "Ta-tan k'ao", 39 pages, in Wang, *Mêng-ku shih-liao chiao-chu ssü-chung*. Argument see pp.2b-3a.

participated in the Kölén Lake attack in summer 1195. After this initial attack, Hsieh-ch'u returned with some booty. When he was reprimanded for his behaviour, the "North Tsu-p'u" rebelled and left.<sup>7</sup> Three years later, Hsieh-ch'u submitted to the Fu-Chou headquarters which was in charge of the campaigns against Tsu-p'u.<sup>8</sup> It seems that "Hsieh-ch'u" in these accounts must be designating a person or a tribal branch who or which related to the "North Tsu-p'u", or the "Tsu-p'u" people "to the north" of Jurchen China.

Can this disagreement between the "Tsu-p'u" people (the Tatars) and the Jurchens have been the real cause for the breach between the Tatars and Altan-Qan which resulted in Ongging-Chingsang's attack and Tatars' retreat along the Ulja? This is the only account in the Chinese sources which recounts a breach between the Jurchen authority and its northern subordinate on the eve of Ongging-Chingsang's northern campaign. When this Tsu-p'u people is identified with the Tatars and Hsieh-ch'u a leading person of a branch of them,<sup>9</sup> this event can be reasonably identified with the "disagreement" between Megüjin-Se'ültü and the Altan-Qan in the other sources.

This conflict between the commander of the Jurchen troop and the "subordinate Hsieh-ch'u" also reveals the steppe nature of Hsieh-ch'u and these Tsu-p'u people. Regarding the punishment for carrying booty, researchers who are familiar with Mongol history will soon think of a later event when Temüjin punished his senior kinsmen for their disobedience in picking up booty in the battle, which resulted in these kinsmen's dissension and departure. Victory, to the commanding general, is the purpose of the battle, but booty is a more concrete if primitive gain to his soldiers. The behaviour of Hsieh-ch'u follows the typical steppe way. "North Tsu-p'u"'s reaction to this reprimand:

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<sup>7</sup> CS 94 *chuan* 32 the biography of Chia-Ku Ch'ing-Ch'ê, p.2085.

<sup>8</sup> CS 11 *chi* 11 p.247, and CS 94 *chuan* 32 the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang, p.2090.

<sup>9</sup> I cannot find any firm evidence to prove that this Hsieh-ch'u was Megüjin-Se'ültü.

separation and plundering, shows that they agreed with Hsieh-ch'u's way and felt offended when the Jurchens forbade them to act according to this custom.

According to these accounts, the Jurchens had been preparing for a campaign since the autumn of 1194, for a purpose to attack the steppe people in the summer of 1195. Since the Tatars had been summoned to join the force, this attack was definitely not against the Tatars. Therefore, the fourteen camps at Kôlen Lake cannot have been the residence of the Tatars. However, the dissension caused by carrying booty made the Tsu-p'u people depart, and this "rebellion" made the border region fall into chaos. Chia-Ku Ch'ing-Ch'en had been blamed with these subsequent turmoil, therefore, the emperor transferred his authority to Wan-Yen Hsiang in the eleventh month of that year.

Wan-Yen Hsiang had a position in the Jurchen court as Right *ch'êng-hsiang*, therefore, he is referred to in Mongol sources in his title *chingsang*. His assignment for this frontier commander position is not clearly recorded in the sources, however, we can tell from the subsequent movements that the prime assignment of Wan-Yen Hsiang was not to launch a punitive attack against the disobedient Tatars but to carry out the originally designed large-scale campaign which was left uncompleted by the former commander Chia-Ku Ch'ing-Ch'en.

When Wan-Yen Hsiang arrived, he first subjugated the Hu-li Chiu, a band of "assorted people" (*chiu*) troubling the region between Pei-Ching (Ta-Ting)<sup>10</sup> and Lin-Huang, two important bases of the Jurchen's defence of the northern frontier. Then he set out from Lin-Huang towards Ta-yen-lê (Great

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<sup>10</sup> This Pei-Ching (lit. northern capital) was Ta-Ting *fu*, the provincial capital of Pei-Ching *lu* (district), not modern Peking. Lin-Huang was situated about two hundred and five hundred kilometres to the north of Pei-Ching (Ta-Ting *fu*), under the administration of Pei-Ching *lu* at this time. *CS* 24 *chih* 5 pp.559-561. The distance supplied in the footnotes is based on the historical map reconstructed in *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi*.

Salt Lake)<sup>11</sup> in the last month of the year, which is the first month of 1196. An account in the Annals records that in the first month of the first Ch'êng-An Year (1196), Yi-la-tu, the Jurchen *ch'iün-mu shih* (Officer of the Herds) of Great Salt Lake was defeated and killed by the Kuang-chi-la (Qonggirat).<sup>12</sup> The details of this battle are not available in the sources, but it is clear that the Qonggirats were engaged in the battle. The tribesmen had great losses in this battle, and the Jurchen generals were rewarded by the court in gold.<sup>13</sup>

However, Wan-Yen Hsiang's plan for advance was turned down in the discussion at court. The officials had different opinions on his plan, and Wan-Yen Hsiang had been summoned to return to the court to debate in person, leaving all his troops and conquests beyond the frontier. This debate in the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang can be identified with his returning in the second month of this year in the Annals. Chia-Ku Hêng, the general who was put in charge of the Fu-Chou troops since the tenth month of the previous year, which dealt mainly with the Tatars, returned with Wan-Yen Hsiang from the front. Two days later, they were ordered to return to the front.<sup>14</sup>

After a while, a general Wan-Yen An-Kuo was sent to set out towards Tuo-ch'üan-tzü (Multitude Springs).<sup>15</sup> Wan-Yen Hsiang also received a "secret decree" from the emperor which instructed him to advance. Then Wan-Yen Hsiang took the main force approaching the meeting place from the west, while a division of his troops went from the east. Before the two forces rejoined, the eastern division was reported to be unexpectedly encircled by the

<sup>11</sup> Great Salt Lake was located in the northwest of Lin-Huang at a distance of two hundred and seventy kilometres.

<sup>12</sup> CS 10 chi 10 p.238.

<sup>13</sup> CS 94 chuan 32 the biography of Wan-Yen An-Kuo, p.2094.

<sup>14</sup> CS 10 chi 10 pp.237-238, 94 chuan 32 the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang, p.2088.

<sup>15</sup> Tuo-ch'üan-tzü was located to the north northwest of Great Salt Lake at a distance of about two hundred and thirty kilometres, its distance from the Kelüren river is about a hundred and fifty kilometres.

Tsu-p'u at the Lung-Chü river (Kelüren). The encirclement of the east-route troops was dated in the first Ch'êng-An Year (1196) in the biography of one of the participating generals.<sup>16</sup>

Obviously, the "mistreatment" of Hsieh-ch'u by the Jurchen general seemed to turn a friend into a foe and created one more enemy in this campaign. Wan-Yen Hsiang hastened forward with his west-route troops overnight to rescue the eastern troops. In this rescue, the Tsu-p'u people were defeated and fled towards Rive Wo-li-cha, which is the Ulja river in *SH* §132. In this battle on the Kelüren, the Jurchens captured abundant carts and yurts and flocks and herds.<sup>17</sup>

Sometime around this period, the general Wan-Yen An-Kuo had arrived in Tuo-ch'üan-tzü and won a battle there. Unfortunately, the tribal identity of the steppe people he encountered is not mentioned in the sources. Wan-Yen Hsiang, the Ongging-Chingsang, then sent this general to pursue the defeated Tsu-p'u (Tatars). This pursuit was ambitious in the eyes of experienced generals because the provision supply for this long distance pursuit would be a problem. They reminded Wan-Yen Hsiang that it would not work, but Wan-Yen An-Kuo suggested that his ten thousand soldiers could carry live sheep, which must be seized locally, with the troops for daily sustainment.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, the pursuit proceeded.

The news of this pursuit conducted by Wan-yen An-Kuo probably reached the remote Temüjin-Mongol in a generalised form that Ongging-Chingsang was pushing the Tatars up the Ulja river.

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<sup>16</sup> CS 94 *chuan* 32 the biography of Yao-Li Po-Teh, p.2095.

<sup>17</sup> CS 94 *chuan* 32 the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang, pp.2088-2089.

<sup>18</sup> CS 94 *chuan* 32 the biography of Wan-Yen An-Kuo, p.2095, the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang, p. 2089.

### The dispersal of the retreating Tatars

According to CS, the Tsu-p'u people were pushed northwards by the pursuing force. They fled and dispersed, "eight or nine out of ten"<sup>19</sup> of them were frozen and died in heavy rains. CS does not date the dispersal, but as the reason for the Tsu-p'u's casualties shows, this pursuit and the dispersal must have happened in late winter to early spring.

Referring to the course of the retreat of the Tatars after the defeat at the Kelüren river, SH §132 relates that the Jurchen force pushed the Tatars, those under Megüjin-Se'ültü, upstream along the Ulja. These Tatars fled "together with their cattle and provisions". JT agrees that the Tatars approaching north carried all their belongings with them. SH §133 continues that Temüjin went downstream along the Ulja and broke up the Tatar's stockade at Qusutu-Shitügen and Naratu-Shitügen by the Ulja, killed Megüjin-Se'ültü and took as booty his silver cradle and his pearl blanket. This account implies that it was Temüjin who caused the dispersal of these fleeing Tatars.

That strike by Temüjin caused the dispersal of these Tatar "families" is possibly true. First of all, CS does not mention any fighting between Jurchen and Tatars in this pursuit. A ten thousand pursuing army could cause great casualties to the fleeing Tatars if they engaged in battle, and this "victory" should not have been omitted in Chinese records. Since most of the Tsu-p'u were as recorded died in the severe weather, not killed by soldiers, it seems there was no real engagement between the Jurchen troops and the Tatars. On the other hand, Temüjin was capable of launching a minor attack to make the frightened Tatars scatter, with his own force without the help of the Jürkins and Toyoril.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> CS 94 *chuan* 32 the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang, p.2089. It seems exaggerated because according to CS Annals, the Tsu-p'u rebelled several months later. If this record is not exaggerated, these dispersed Tsu-p'u might be just a division of the whole tribe.

<sup>20</sup> JT did not mention the help of Toyoril. This "help" is only mentioned in the SH.

The direction of the approaching Tatars also shows that their dispersal must have been caused by the individual force of Temüjin. The Jurchen pursuing troop must have set off from the Kelüren, where the Tatars had been defeated, and were pushing the Tatars *upstream* along the Ulja. The force of Temüjin was coming down from the direction of the Onan, and raided the Tatars *down* the Ulja.<sup>21</sup> The Tatars were aware of the Jurchen's pursuit from behind, but they might not have noticed an impending assault from the front. The Tatar non-military people were able to set up only a stockade along the river, and it was stormed by the aggressive force of Temüjin.

A reference to the tribal business of Temüjin further justifies the view that Temüjin's victory over the Tatars took place in late winter or early spring when he was staying in his winter retirement. When Temüjin heard the news of the retreating Tatars, he was negotiating with the Jürkins to settle their quarrel which started in a feast. The feast of these Qabul-Mongol kinsmen then must have taken place in late autumn or winter when the kinsmen returned to their winter campsite. The season agrees with the timing mentioned in *CS*, and in this way, the feast could be dated in late 1195.

### **Temüjin: the submitted tribal leader?**

*CS* does not state clearly whether Wan-Yen An-Kuo had fought the Tsu-p'u or not, but it asserts definitely that as a result of the pursuit, he had brought *their* tribal leader to submit.<sup>22</sup> In *JT*, Megüjin-Se'ültü was the one in charge of these Tatars retreating upstream along the Ulja, but he was killed by Temüjin as related in all three sources. If Megüjin-Se'ültü was killed, who was the tribal leader who submitted to Wan-Yen An-Kuo or the commander-in-chief, the Chingsang?

<sup>21</sup> *JT* and *CCL*, Temüjin set off from the Onan. *SH* §133, he moved downstream along the Ulja.

<sup>22</sup> *CS* 10 *chi* 10 p.238, *CS* 94 *chuan* 32 the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang, p.2089, and the biography of Wan-Yen An-Kuo, p.2094.

*SH* §134 relates that Temüjin went to the commander of the Jurchen troops to report his destruction of the Tatars. The Jurchen commander was happy and bestowed on him the appellation of Jayut-Quri, while a higher rank *chao-t'ao* could only be given by the Chin emperor. In this way, Temüjin did receive a subordinate title, or a position from the Jurchens, in other words, he submitted to the Jurchen authority as he received the appellation, at the end of this campaign.

Temüjin was proud of this title. He spoke to his kinsmen on a later occasion saying that "don't let it be said that your achievements were due to the support of me, the Chayut-Quri (= Jayut-Quri)."<sup>23</sup> However, in the eyes of Jurchen commanders, this appointment might simply mean that the disobedient Tatar tribe, a subordinate watchman and military mercenary had been replaced by Temüjin-Mongol. The Jurchens certainly needed someone to fill up the vacancy left by this former tributary and Temüjin had wished to take advantage of this chance to be associated with this big, strong and wealthy regime.

*CS* was compiled under the Mongol regime. Therefore, in this official history, the omission of the fact that Temüjin, the founder of the Great Mongol Empire, was once a subordinate to the Jurchens is understandable. A hint of his subordinate position was carelessly retained in *YS*, which was compiled in the Han-Chinese Ming dynasty. The account relates that Temüjin was paying a regular tribute (Chin. *suei-pi*) to the Jurchens, and he delivered it to the border office in person, until 1211 when the newly ascended Chin emperor Wan-Yen Yung-Chi (*Yün-Chi* in *YS*) ordered an attempt to capture this tribute payer when they arrived.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> *SH* §179. The appellation appears in *SH* §134 as Jayut-Quri.

<sup>24</sup> *YS* 1 *chi* 1 p.15. The tribute was due in the third month of the third Ta-An Year (1211) and the detail of this attempt is recorded by Sung Chinese in *Chien-yen yi-lai ch'ao-yeh tsa-chi* part B volume 19, p.585.

This 1195/6 Jurchen campaign against the Tatars severely weakened the mighty Tatars and provided an opportunity for Temüjin to become associated with the powerful Jurchen regime. It also weakened the steppe people along the Kelüren and the Ulja since the huge army from Jurchen China sustained itself with local animals, the property and wealth of local nomads. The Jurchen troops returned to their country after completing this uneasy expedition which the regime had spent two years preparing for, while the fame of Temüjin in this victory became spread across the steppe. Temüjin seems to have been the only winner in this campaign.

(ii) The Jurchen campaign against the Mongol tribes along the frontier

The 1195/96 campaign did not bring peace to the northern frontier of Jurchen China. The Tatars were not totally overwhelmed. CS relates that the Tsu-p'u rebelled again in the tenth month of the same year (1196). Wan-Yen Hsiang, who had just attended the court as Left *ch'êng-hsiang*, was sent back promptly to Pei-Ching.<sup>25</sup> In the eleventh month, a Khitai called Tê-Shou also rebelled at Hsin-Chou in the frontier zone within the Jurchen dominion. Wan-Yen Hsiang had managed to pacify the Tê-Shou rebellion with the nearest T'ai-Chou troop before the Winter Solstice. Then he returned from the border, while Wan-Yen Yi acted as his deputy in the north.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> CS 10 *chi* 10 p.240, 94 *chuan* 32 the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang p.2089.

<sup>26</sup> CS 10 *chi* 10 p.240, 94 *chuan* 32 the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang pp.2089-2090. Hsin-Chou was under the administration of Shang-Ching *lu* (district), located on its western border, which adjoined Pei-Ching *lu*. T'ai-Chou was located on the eastern border of Pei-Ching *lu*. Regarding the date of pacification, according to the biography, it was before the *chiao*, the Imperial Worship of Heaven. Some officials suggested that the emperor should postpone the impending worship to the first month of next year because of Tê-Shou's rebellion but Wan-Yen Hsiang promised to pacify the rebellion before the date of worship. (bio. of Hsiang) According to the Monograph of Rituals of CS, the Worship regularly took place four times a year, at the winter and summer solstices, and spring and autumn equinoxes. (CS 28 *chih* 9 p.693) Therefore, this impending worship should be dated at the winter solstice of 1196.

Wan-Yen Yi was properly installed in Hsiang's former commanding position in the third month of the next year. In the fifth month, he moved northward to Lin-Huang, and Wan-Yen Hsiang met him over there.<sup>27</sup> It seems that the border was still in trouble, although details are not available.

Later in the eighth month of the second Ch'êng-An Year (1197), the court summoned high rank officials to discuss the situation along its northern frontier. The court also instructed its bureaucrats to recommend individuals who were competent in military affairs, the recommendation to be submitted confidentially in five days. After this meeting of the high ranking officials, Wan-Yen Yi was removed from his office and Wan-Yen Hsiang resumed his former position.<sup>28</sup> According to the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang, he was reassigned as the commander because Wan-Yen Yi fought the "rebellious tribes in the north" *inappropriately*.<sup>29</sup> This court discussion and personnel rearrangement probably resulted from another rebellion of the steppe tribes.

Besides settling the problem of the unsuitable frontier commander, these high ranking officials also discussed the national policy towards the tribes in their north, and apparently, there was a divergence of opinion in the court. Eighty-four officials were present in this discussion. Five among the eighty-four insisted on undertaking an aggressive operation, in contrast, forty-six officials held a defensive attitude, while the remaining thirty-three suggested "to strike but also defend".<sup>30</sup>

The content of the discussion reveals that the Turkic Tatar was not the only troublesome steppe tribe. The Mongol tribes living around Buyur-Nayur

<sup>27</sup> CS 10 chi 10 p.241.

<sup>28</sup> CS 10 chi 10 pp.242-43.

<sup>29</sup> CS 94 chuan 32 p.2090, "yi chan shih lü" (Yi fought without abiding by the discipline/principle). No details of this event could be found elsewhere in CS.

<sup>30</sup> CS 10 chi 10 p.242.

and near to the Tatars, especially the Qonggirats, also attracted the attention of Jurchen officials. The Qonggirats, the in-law tribe to Temüjin-Mongol, kept on harassing the Jurchen border, although they do not seem to have been keen on fighting for steppe supremacy. Their strength was shown in their defeat of the Jurchen *ch'ün-mu shih* of Great Salt Lake.

The diversity of opinion among these frontier generals is recorded in the biography of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao in CS. In the opinion of Wan-Yen Hsiang, once the Qonggirats (Kuang-chi-la) were crushed, the Tatars (Tsu-p'u) would not have to worry about their eastern front, therefore, it would be more sensible to leave the Qonggirats untouched, in order to restrain the movement of the Tatars. On the other hand, Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao, who became the most eminent Jurchen general after 1198, insisted that both the Qonggirats and Tatars should be destroyed. "With the overwhelming power of [our] country, [it is humiliating if we] are unable to annihilate [these] little tribes, how [could you] even expect to use them to defend [ourselves]?" He volunteered to crush the Qonggirats with his troops, then marched northward to destroy also the Tatars.<sup>31</sup>

These two suggestions were both based on accurate observation of the situation in eastern Mongolia since the last campaign. Wan-Yen Hsiang thought cautiously of the tribal relations in the north: the Qonggirat were at least as strong as the Tatars, and the relationship between them was not good. He would prefer to manipulate the situation for the good of the Jurchens rather

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<sup>31</sup> CS 93 *chuan* 31 the biography of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao p.2073. This dispute might have taken place between the tenth month in 1196 and the winter of 1197. The biography relates that "at that time the Tsu-p'u also rebelled, *nei-tsü* (member of royal clan) Hsiang was [sent to be] discharging the affairs on behalf of central government (*shèng*), at Pei-Ching, [the court] decreed to discuss the matter." Wan-Yen Hsiang had been assigned to be in charge at Pei-King three times in those years, respectively in 1195, followed by the first campaign against Tatar, 1196, followed by the rebellion of Tê-Shou and 1197, followed by the second campaign against the four tribes. The most likely date of Tsung-Hao's proposal would be during or after Hsiang's second assignment according to the change of circumstance in the north. Moreover, Tsung-Hao's proposing report had been sent again [and again] (ibid) before the court accepted the proposal. Therefore, the dispute must have taken place before Hsiang's third assignment.

than to restart the warfare. The opinion of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao tells that the Tatars who had been recently weakened in the 1195/6 campaign were no longer the major trouble along the frontier. It was the Qonggirat tribe which "coerced the other tribes to enter the border frequently", and it was the tribes of Qatagin (Hê-ti-hsin) and Saljiyat (Shan-chih-k'un, \*Saljiyun = Saljiyat) which troubled the frontier in those years. The Qatagin and Saljiyat tribes, as related in CS, were "separate tribes in the north" who travelled between the Tsu-p'u and the Qonggirats. They stood independently in their own strength; they did not belong to, nor were they subject to, any other power.<sup>32</sup>

The court agreed with Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao's proposal to attack.<sup>33</sup> Wan-Yen Hsiang then set up the plan of the operation: the Jurchen troops would approach their targets from three directions, a troop from Lin-Huang under his command, a troop from Fu-Chou under Chia-Ku Hêng to attack the Tatars, and a troop from T'ai-Chou under Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao. This plan was approved by the court sometime after the ninth month and before the second month of the next year (1198).<sup>34</sup>

These three division of the Jurchen force, in which the Fu-Chou troop aimed at the Tatars, T'ai-Chou troop aimed at the Qonggirats, while the troop of Lin-Huang was stationed in the centre, covered the whole region stretched from the territory of the Tatar tribe in the west to those of the Qonggirat tribe in the east, including the tribes of Qatagin and Saljiyat who travelled between the Tatars and the Qonggirats. This was a challenging operation which aimed at four powerful steppe tribes at the same time.

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<sup>32</sup> CS 93 *chuan* 31 the biography of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao p.2073. For more description of these tribes, see Chapter Four.

<sup>33</sup> CS 93 *chuan* 31 the biography of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao p.2073.

<sup>34</sup> Wan-Yen Hsiang had been sent to Pei-Ching in the ninth month of the second Ch'êng-An year (1197) and a later event which happened after the plan had been carried out was dated in the second month of the third Ch'êng-An year (1198) ---- the submission of Hsieh-ch'u. Therefore, the plan must have been put into practice during this period.

The course of the campaign reveals that the Jurchen commanders tried to avoid military confrontations unless it was necessary. The T'ai-Chou troop made the first move in a diplomatic approach. Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao observed the tribal relations in the north and noticed that P'o-su-huo (\*Bosqur) which was a branch of the Qonggirats, and probably was the one headed by Temüjin's father-in-law Dei-Sechen,<sup>35</sup> had allied with the Qatagin tribe. Under such circumstances, the strength of Qonggirat Major should have been divided. He supposed that the Qonggirat Major was afraid of the Jurchen attack and on the other side, it was restrained by its enemy (?Tatars), therefore, the situation was unfavourable for Qonggirat Major. The Jurchen general decided to take advantage of this situation by sending forward a vanguard consisted of two hundred soldiers to bring them to submission. He instructed his vanguard that "if the Qonggirats surrendered, you may recruit their force for [a later] attack against the Qatagins. You shall also detect the location of remaining tribes, send a messenger promptly to report these. The main force will [then] approach, it will join you and will definitely have them crushed." Everything turned out as expected, the vanguard gathered a calvary force of fourteen thousand Qonggirats, waiting at the site for the next instruction.<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, the Tatars became less hostile. Presumably compelled by the threat of war and eager for trade,<sup>37</sup> in the spring of 1198, Hsieh-ch'u, that "North Tsu-p'u" or north "Tsu-p'u", came to Fu-chou, the base camp against the Tsu-p'u division, to submit. The emperor sent a messenger to Wan-Yen

<sup>35</sup> Fact uncovered by Wang Kuo-Wei, ibid. p.9b. He compared the tribal identity of Dei-Sechen in his biography in *YS: Po-ssū-hu-ērh* [clan] of the Qonggirats (*YS 118 chuan 5* p.2915) to P'o-su-huo which allied with the Qatagins at this moment, and Dei-Sechen's son Hou-hu (Huqu in *JT*) to the messenger sent by the \*Bosqur who was called Hê-huo. I am not sure about the accuracy of the later comparison but the former one seems difficult to deny.

<sup>36</sup> CS 93 *chuan 31* the biography of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao, p.2073.

<sup>37</sup> CS 11 *chi 11* pp.247-248, the second month, Hsieh-ch'u submitted ... the tenth month, Hsieh-ch'u requested to open a fair-market at Hsia-li-niao. Permission granted.

Hsiang to consult his opinion. Wan-Yen Hsiang replied that it would be convenient to accept it. Then, the submission was accepted.<sup>38</sup>

As the Qonggirat and the rebellious Tatars surrendered to the Jurchen force without fighting, the Qatagins, the \*Bosqur-Qonggirats and the Saljiyuts were isolated. The court bestowed a sword on Wan-Yen Hsiang to encourage him to set forward. Wan-Yen Hsiang then moved further north and halted, cautiously building fortifications to form a barrier. The work was completed by frontier soldiers in fifty days. This movement and the construction of the fortifications must have taken place from April to May, spring of 1198.<sup>39</sup>

The military engagement of the T'ai-Chou troop is not dated in the biography of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao. According to the event sequence in the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang, their attacks can be dated shortly after the completion of the fortifications, that is in late spring. Late spring is the most awkward period for nomads. Their flocks and herds were reduced and their horses were lean. Long before this operation, Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao had advised the court to attack the Qonggirats "during late spring when [their] horses were weak".<sup>40</sup> Horses are the main vehicle in steppe calvary attacks, or defence. Temüjin's generals also advised him not to set out against the Naiman Tayang-Qan during spring for the same reason. Now the time had come. After sending a messenger to instruct the vanguard remaining in Qonggirat Major to join his force at the Yi-mi river (Amel/Emel in *SH*), Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao set out.

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<sup>38</sup> CS 94 *chuan* 32 the biography of Wan-Yen Hsiang, p.2090.

<sup>39</sup> CS 11 *chi* 11 p.247, Hsieh-ch'u submitted in the second month of the third Ch'êng-An year. The work started after their submission, and was completed in fifty days (one and a half months). According to the cross-reference table quoted, the work must have been completed in May 1198.

<sup>40</sup> CS 93 *chuan* 31 the biography of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao, p.2073.

When his troop arrived at the T'ê-li-kê mountain (\*Telege[tü]?), they encountered the tribes of Shih-lu and Hun-t'an (unable to identify) who were under the Saljiyat command. The Jurchen troop fell upon them, put them to flight, beheaded a thousand and two hundred and captured abundant booty, including plenty of flocks and herds and carts.<sup>41</sup> According to the above description, this attack must have been an assault upon the base camp of these tribes, not a battlefield confrontation.

The messenger Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao sent to the Qonggirat Major had mistakenly gone astray into the \*Bosqur-Qonggirat, therefore, the east troop did not receive his instruction and did not come. However, Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao had successfully put pressure on his enemies when he arrived at the Huhsieh river. The Qatagin leader Pai-ku-tai (?\*Belgütei), the Saljiyat leader Hu-pi-la (\*Qubila[i]) and a representative from \*Bosqur-Qonggirat called Hê-huo (Hoqu), petitioned together for surrender. He accepted their submission and had them released by referring to the decree from the emperor.<sup>42</sup>

This generous treatment to the tribal leaders "by referring to the decree" reveals that the emperor Chang-Tsung did not intend to annihilate the steppe tribes. The purpose of this operation against four tribes was not destructive, but to demonstrate Jurchen power to its annoying neighbours. We can also tell from the petition that these tribes did not wish to engage in battle with the unexpected Jurchen force, either. The reason behind the scene could have been their fear of its strength or more important, their own infirmity during late spring.

Although the tribes of Qatagin, Saljiyat and \*Bosqur-Qonggirat surrendered together, a devastating disaster still fell upon the \*Bosqur-Qonggirat. After their surrender, the leader of Saljiyat proposed to the Jurchen troops to move towards the Emel river to attack one of his subject Ti-leh-t'u

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<sup>41</sup> CS 93 *chuan* 31 the biography of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao, pp.2073-2074.

<sup>42</sup> CS 93 *chuan* 31 the biography of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao, p.2074.

who refused to surrender. The Jurchen troops did so and fell upon them, beheaded three hundred of them and "four or five out of ten" drowned in the river. The troops captured twelve thousand of flocks and herds and also carts and tents.<sup>43</sup>

The Qatagins [with its ally the \*Bosqur-Qonggirat], afraid that the troops would proceed to their residence, abandoned their possessions, crossed the Emel and fled due west. According to the above geographical description, the Qatagin tribe was travelling between the territories of Tatars and the Qonggirats, therefore, when they went westward, they were entering the land of Qonggirat Major. Now, Tsung-Hao's vanguard and the Qonggirat calvary under their tribe leader Tê-li-hu appeared and pursued them. They attacked them at the Wa-li-pu river, over four thousand and five hundred people from the "nine tribes" (which means "miscellaneous branches") of \*Bosqur were beheaded or drowned, the number of flocks and herds captured was uncountable.

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The slaughter of the Bosqur-Qonggirats was probably the largest battle in the 1197/98 operation, killing three times more than the initial assault at Telege mountain. However, this battle was fought by only two hundred Jurchens (Tsung-Hao's vanguard) and a majority of fourteen thousand Qonggirats, and since the victims mentioned in *CS* were mainly the \*Bosqur-Qonggirats, this warfare should be more appropriately interpreted as an domestic strife between Qonggirat Major and its departed branch \*Bosqur-Qonggirat. The separation of \*Bosqur-Qonggirat from the Qonggirat Major and its alliance with the Qatagins may have offended the Qonggirat Major, and their unhappiness would have been demonstrated in a massacre of the treacherous branch. The situation is similar to the extermination of the Chinos

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

which has been discussed in Chapter Four. This attack of recruited steppe calvary against fleeing steppe people is comparable to Temüjin's attack upon the fleeing Tatars in the 1195/96 campaign. It was Temüjin's force who broke down the Tatars' last stockade, and Temüjin-Mongol had an old enmity with the Tatars.

Were these two destructions of steppe power completed not by the strength of the Jurchen force but by their clever manipulation of the existing tribal dissension for their use? How much effort did the Jurchen troops actually contribute to these two successes?

A sharp observation, a cautious calculation, an intelligent plan and strong backup were the most it had offered. First, right timing. The great victories over the Tatars happened in late winter to late spring, and the submission of the Tatars and these Mongol tribes between 1197 and 1198 also took place in spring, which was the worst time and the most infirm period for the steppe people. Second, to judge from the booty described in the sources, it seem that the Jurchen troops always fell upon the tribes unexpectedly at their base camp. This would be a fatal blow to the society of the tribes, moreover, the capture of their flocks and herds prevented the nomads from recovering soon and prevented the tribes from resuming their former prosperity, and strength, in a short period. Third, although there was a full-scale mobilisation behind the scenes, the Jurchen force approached the enemies carefully in order to minimise their losses. Wan-Yen An-Kuo taking of local live sheep as a provision supply, Wan-Yen Hsiang's fortification to create a solid barrier and Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao's recruitment of the Qonggirat calvary all show that these Jurchen generals were experts in mobilisation and strategy. Fourth, a well-informed understanding of the tribal relations on the steppe allowed the generals to "make use of the barbarian to counter barbarians" ---- the traditional Chinese policy towards the steppe tribes, therefore, the expenditure of Jurchen manpower would be minimised as much as possible.

Nevertheless, the weakening of steppe tribes by destroying their economy intensified their harassment of the Jurchen border, since they could not sustain themselves due to poverty. The disturbance along the frontier continued, and although these were minor harassments which were not threatening to the regime, they stirred up other unrest in the Jurchen frontier zone. This unrest troubled the Jurchen court until the end of their regime. The details of this unrest can be found in *CS* but they are not going to be related in this survey.

Another disadvantage of these northern campaigns was the financial difficulty resulting from the huge expense of large-scale mobilisations and expeditions. The 1195/96 campaign mobilised thirty thousand men from every corner of the country, and in the 1197/98 campaign against four tribes, although the details cannot be found in the sources, the manpower mobilised could not have been less than in the previous campaign. These military expenditures compelled the government to sell Buddhist and Taoist monk licenses and honourary religious titles in the early summer of 1197 to meet the shortfall.<sup>44</sup> The campaign damaged the economies of both the nomads and Jurchen China.

In addition, administrative problems occurred as a result of each victory or conquest. The northern frontier of Jurchen China was too extensive to be fully garrisoned. In addition to building artificial fortifications, the Jurchen government had to appoint some representatives in the north as their "eyes" and "ears". The Jurchen commanders had appointed Temüjin as Jayut-Quri after the first campaign, and probably installed an officer in \*Bosqur-Qonggirat after the second campaign.<sup>45</sup> The northern frontier was at peace under the supervision of these acting agents, however, the Jurchens did not pay enough

<sup>44</sup> *CS* 10 *chi* 10 p.241, the fourth month of the second Ch'êng-An Year.

<sup>45</sup> *CS* 93 *chuan* 31 the biography of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao p.2074, after the devastating slaughter, the \*Bosqur[-Qonggirat] petitioned to have a Jurchen officer installed in their tribe. Further development of this request cannot be found in the sources.

attention to the development of these supervisors. When one of these steppe potentates, that is Temüjin, abandoned his submissive attitude and started an invasion in 1211, no one could stop him partly because the Jurchens were ignorant of his growing strength<sup>46</sup> and partly because the above mentioned experienced commanders who had successfully dealt with the steppe tribes had all passed away: Wan-Yen Hsiang died in 1203 and Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao in 1207.<sup>47</sup>

As for the career of Temüjin, 1195-1198 was the crucial period of his internal consolidation. Personally, after he won the recognition from the Jurchen authority and the fame from the military victory, he was busy with punishing his kinsmen the Jürkin, collecting and receiving the scattered Kereits, looting the Merkits and preparing for the restoration of Toyoril. While Temüjin was increasing his strength, those powerful Turkic and Mongol tribes to the southeast of him, by contrast, were occupied and worn out in the battles with the Jurchens. Temüjin was able to extend his influence in central and northern Mongolia without interruption, and he had advanced towards the northeast and northwest freely, when the Jurchens and those tribes at his back were occupied with each other. This favourable situation was valuable to the young leader Temüjin in his energetic thirties. After this period of preparation, Temüjin was strong enough to challenge the great Naiman in 1199. As for the general situation on the steppe, the casualties among these powerful eastern tribes in 1197/98 campaign were about six thousand, while the number in the

<sup>46</sup> The reason for Temüjin's break off from the Jurchen clearly revealed that the Jurchen regime had no idea about Temüjin's triumph in Mongolia: when the Jurchen messenger asked Temüjin to accept the authority of the newly ascended emperor Wan-Yen Yung-Chi by performing homage to the ascension decree, Temüjin refused because he thought Wan-Yen Yung-Chi was timid and too incompetent to be the Chin emperor ---- he looked down upon him. The emperor was furious about this rudeness and he planned to catch Temüjin when he came to pay tribute again. (*YS 1 chi 1 p.15*) The plot was reported to Temüjin by some "assorted people" (*chiu*) who were in service of the Jurchen, and this carelessness brought the Jurchen a disastrous invasion in early autumn of that very year. (*Chien-yen yi-lai ch'ao-yeh tsa-chi* part B volume 19, p.585.)

<sup>47</sup> The death of Wan-Yen Hsiang, see *CS 11 chi 11* p.259, the death of Wan-Yen Tsung-Hao, see *CS 12 chi 12* p.281 and *93 chuan 31* p.2079.

first campaign is unknown. Their economy was devastated and was unable to recover in a short period. The once powerful eastern tribes were in decline, and a new power in central Mongolia was going to triumph.

## II. *jayut* and *quri*

Temüjin received the appellation/position of Jayut-Quri from the Jurchen commander after he caused the Tatars to disperse on the Ulja river in early 1196. He started his relationship with the Jurchen regime under this title, from then on the Temüjin-Mongol and the Jurchens had a peaceful relationship for fifteen years, maintained presumably by Temüjin's subordinate position under this title. Therefore, the function and meaning of this title inevitably attracts our attention as a linkage in an international relationship.

The meaning of this appellation had been discussed extensively by modern researchers, and their suggestions and arguments are summarised in Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* vol 1 pp.291-295. Paul Pelliot seems inclined to accept Naka Michiyo's explanation of the term Jayut, that it is the plural of Mongolian *jayun*, meaning "hundred". Hence, combined with his study of the meaning of *quri*, Jayut-Quri means "a commander (*quri*) of hundreds". This idea has been repeated in Igor de Rachewiltz's annotation of the *SH*, and he seems not to deny it.<sup>48</sup>

However, doubts regarding the view that Jayut-Quri could mean "a *quri* of hundreds" arise, when the actual situation has been considered. First, this interpretation does not fit the real strength of Temüjin at this time. (discussion on his strength, see below) Second, a rank higher than this commanding title, according to the *SH*, is *chao-t'ao*, which might have been a commandership over ten thousand men as illustrated in the example of Wan-Yen An-Kuo

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<sup>48</sup> Igor de Rachewiltz annotates *SH* §134, *PFEH* 10 (1974) p.59.

(discussion see below). If the size of the later commandership is valid, the big gap between these two ranks is difficult to explain. Third, Temüjin was proud of this title and showed off to his senior kinsmen his relationship with the powerful Jurchen. Could a title of the commander of several hundred men support such pride, when the first part is in Mongolian so that everyone of his subjects would have understood that it is merely a commander of "hundreds"? Would not the exalted position of a qan confer greater honour than that of a subordinate to a foreign power as "a *quri* of hundreds"? Fourth, in the 1196 campaign, the Jurchen pursued the retreating Tatars with a force of ten thousand. Generals had disputed over the supply of such a huge expeditionary force, however it seems that none of the generals disagreed that such an amount of professional soldiers must be despatched in order to overwhelm the fleeing Tatars. Then, could Temüjin possibly have caused this huge group of retreating Tatars to disperse with just a few hundred men, even in an unexpected raid, if Jayut-Quri means "a commander of hundreds" and the Jurchen authority was given him in accordance with his strength? Besides, this is the first time Temüjin ever tried his sword. Would Temüjin dare to attack the legendary powerful Tatars with just a few hundred men, even when the Tatars were in retreat?

It seems that the meaning of Jayut-Quri cannot be simply supplied with a suggestion based on its assumed etymology. An analysis of this term below follows the same approach towards defining Mongolian terminology which is used in Chapter Four and Chapter Five, reexamining the meaning of the usage and the function of the position at that period through an analysis of the relevant accounts in the contemporary sources.

#### **Jayut as a region**

In the accounts relating Temüjin's reception of this title, the transcription of the title reads Jaqut-Quri in *SH* §134, Ch'a-wu-hu-lu in *CCL* p.19b and JĀW'T-QWRY/JĀWWT-QWRY/JĀWT-QWRY/JĀWT-QRY in *JT*

p.338. Later the title appears in Temüjin's words to Altan and Quchar as Chayut-Quri in *SH* § 179, Ch'a-wu-hu-lu in *CCL* p.57a and JĀW'WT-QWRY/JĀW'T-QWRY/JĀWT-QWRY in *JT* p.392. So, the transcriptions of the first part of the title can then be summarised as:

1. JĀW'T/JĀWWT/JĀWT/JĀWT or JĀW'WT/JĀW'T/JĀWT in *JT*;
2. Jayut or Chayut in the *SH*;
3. Ch'a-wu in *CCL*.

A possible counterpart of this phrase in the sources is a place name from where Jaya-Gambu came to Temüjin sometime around the time when Temüjin received this title. The regional name reads JĀW'QWT or JĀRQWT/JĀH-WQWT in *JT*.<sup>49</sup> This term does not appear in Rashīd al-Dīn's narrative description but is recorded as a part of Temüjin's speech; this implies that the term was used in a customary way by the Mongols.

The location of this region can be established by a comparison with another account of the same event. In *JT* p.388, the sentence reads: "Jaya-Gambu *anda* was in the middle of JĀW'QWT region".<sup>50</sup> In the corresponding record in *CCL* p.50ab, the sentence reads: "Jaya-Gambu lived in/between *han* [?and] *sai*".<sup>51</sup> Because these two sentences are describing the same event, the *JT*'s "JĀW'QWT region" can be identified with the area of *han sai* in Chinese usage. In the classic usage of Chinese literary language, *han* is a general term denoting Chinese people and their abode, and *sai* means guarded strategic stronghold(s). The *sai* has an extended meaning when it refers to the strongholds along the frontier, where the territory inhabited by non-Chinese steppe tribes are usually mentioned as *sai-wai*, "beyond the *sai*". Therefore, "Jaya-Gambu lived in/between *han-sai*" would mean Jaya-Gambu

<sup>49</sup> *JT* p.388, variations on p.1693.

<sup>50</sup> "In the middle of the Jayut region", "dar mayān walāyat-i JĀW'QWT". I would rather translate this *walāyat* into a "region" than a "province" since there is no evidence which shows that the Jayut was a province in an administrative sense.

<sup>51</sup> This account is not found in the relevant paragraph *SH* §177.

lived in a zone between China proper, which was under Jurchen rule at that time, and the abode of steppe tribesmen. When JĀW'QWT region = between *han sai*, the JĀW'QWT region in Temüjin's words must be the buffer zone along the northern frontier of the Jurchen realm.

Another example of *jayut* as the name of a region is found also in *JT*, and this time, the usage is clearly described as Mongolian terminology. The title of a paragraph of historical description in *JT* reads: "the narration of the beginning of Chīnggīz-Khān's undertaking to the direction (*jānib*) of Khitāī and Qarā-Khitāī and Jürche[n], conquering most regions (*wilāyāt*) of that realm (*mamlakat*) which the Mongols call (that) CHĀW'QWT".<sup>52</sup> The region name of CHĀW'QWT appears in the text again, where the Mongols set out to liberate "the region (*wilāyat*) of Khitāī and Qara-Khitāī and Jürche[n], those regions (*wilāyāt*) which the Mongols call CHĀW'QWT".<sup>53</sup>

This account is quite confusing at first sight, since the *wilāyāt* of Khitai and Qara-Khitai and Jurchen appear together in Chinggis-Qan's first campaign against China. If the *wilāyāt* of Khitai and Qara-Khitai and Jurchen in this description are understood politically, the Jayut region would have covered northern China and further west to the north of Transoxiana. This does not fit the real situation, therefore, the usage of "Khitai and Qara-Khitai and Jurchen" in this description shall be considered from another perspective.

These phrases, "Khitai and Qara-Khitai and Jurchen", can be reasonably understood as an ethnic description, that is, the *wilāyāt* of Khitai and Qara-Khitai and Jurchen was the region inhabited by "Khitai and Qara-Khitai and Jurchen" people. This interpretation can be justified by the usage in the *SH*,

<sup>52</sup> *JT* p.441. CHĀW'QWT = JĀW'QWT, /ch/ and /j/ are interchangeable when the Mongolian terms were transcribed into Persian, for instance Chinggis = JNKYZ.

<sup>53</sup> Base on text on p.441. Another version of this description omits *khitāī-rā* in the following sentence, (cf p.1705) then the reading will become "... those regions (*wilāyāt*) which the Mongols call CHĀW'QWT are called *khān-zī* in the terminology of Khitāī people".

a source which was written and presented in the Mongolian language. The *SH* used "Altan-Qan" (Mong. *altan* = Chin. *chin*, means golden) to represent the Jurchen regime in China, while the term for their ethnic origin, the "Jürche(-t/d)", denotes only the Jurchen people ethnically, such as the Jurchens in their homeland in Manchuria (§274), and an ethnic Jurchen general Vuqanu (Chin. Wan-Nu) in §253. Neither of the terms "Jürche(-t/d)" was used to describe the people of northern China, which was under "ethnic" Jurchen rule at the time.

The *SH* uses the term *jaqut*, curiously coinciding with Temüjin's usage, to describe the people who inhabited northern China under Jurchen rule. As recorded in *SH* §281, Ögetei subdued the *jaqud-un irgen* and *jaqut irgen*. The terminology of *jaqut irgen* was never confused with or used equivalently to the Jurchen regime, the "Altan-Qan", or ethnic Jurchen people, the "Jürche(-t/d)".

Another mixed appearance of the usages of Khitai, Qara-Khitai and Jurchen is also found in the *SH*'s account of Chinggis-Qan's campaign against the Chin regime. *SH* §247 relates that in this campaign, the Mongols "pushing the Khitan, crushed the valiant and bold Jüyin [troops] of the Qara-Khitian and the Jurchens (*qara-kitad-un jürched-iün jüyin*)". The phrase *qara-kitad-un jürched-iün jüyin* appears again in §248, suggesting clearly that the term "Qara-Khitian" here denotes the tribesmen of the late Liao regime and the term "Jurchen" here denotes the tribesmen of the recent Chin regime. The "Khitan" would be a general term covering the people and the region ruled by the regimes of Liao and Chin, as it was used in *JT* throughout. The sentence should be understood as: the Mongols were pushing the Chinese, they crushed the valiant and bold tribal mercenary troop (*jüyin*) which was made up of the tribesmen of Khitai and Jurchen.

In Chinggis-Qan's initial campaign against the Chin regime, he did not penetrate deep into China proper and the major engagements were fought within the frontier zone. Therefore, the CHĀW'QWT region mentioned in this event would have at least covered the northern frontier zone of Jurchen China,

and this coverage coincides with the location of Jaya-Gambu in the previous account, where he took refuge temporarily.

However, *jayut* as a region might have had a wider coverage when we take the account of the *jaqud-un irgen* and *jaqut irgen* into consideration. Undeniably, these *irgen* in *SH* §281 denote the people who inhabited northern China. In this way, the term *jayut* would have also meant the Jurchen realm in general. Since /ch/ and /j/ are interchangeable in medieval Mongolian, CHĀW'QWT = JĀW'QWT. As a result of the comparison, *jayut* as a region in Mongolian terminology during the time of Temüjin would mean Jurchen China in general and its northern frontier zone in particular.

None of Jurchen administrative district is named Jayut. Jayut then seems less likely to be a loan word from the proper name of a formal jurisdictional district in the Jurchen's dominion. This Mongol terminology then could be more "Mongol" than "Jurchen" in its word formation. This outcome shows another direction in which the meaning of *jayut* can be examined.

### **Jayut as a people**

When we treat the ending of the term: -(γ)ut as a plural ending in the Mongolian language, the stem of the term would be extracted as JĀW'Q, JĀRQ/JĀH-WQ from the regional name, and JĀW'/JĀW from Temüjin's title.

As seen in the sources compiled during this period, the -(γ)ut ending may serve as a group identification of some people, such as the people of the Saljiyat tribe who were descended from a common ancestor called Salji. When *jayut* can be formed also by a stem of JĀW'Q, JĀRQ/JĀH-WQ or JĀW'/JĀW plus the Mongolian ending -(γ)ut, the term means "the JĀW's". These JĀW' people might not necessarily have shared a genealogical bondage, but they might have shared the same ground of certain identity.

This assumption may be established if we can find a people who inhabited northern China, its northern frontier zone in particular, sharing the same identity, and the descriptive title of their identity would fit the stem of this term. Some researchers suggest that they can possibly be related to the Chiu people in Chinese accounts (*?jau/jou*). Chinese researcher Shao Hsün-Chêng suggested in the 1940s that the *jayut* in Rashīd al-Dīn's history of Qubilai-Qan was the 斡/紇 in Chinese sources and that this Chinese character should be pronounced as *cha (ja)* or *ch'a (cha)*. Another Chinese researcher, Ts'ai Mei-Piao, agrees with his suggestion, and explains *jayut* as a general term for the miscellaneous tribal people under Jurchen rule.<sup>54</sup>

The question of the Chiu people (or *ja/cha* whatever) has been debated over decades in the academic field of Chinese Liao and Chin studies. Since this chapter focuses on the career of Temüjin, I would rather not advance my argument on this topic here. However, I would like to point out the fact that previous researchers have generally agreed that the *jüyin irgen* in the *SH* was the Chiu people in Chinese sources, and Paul Buell had supplied a summarised description of the people that:

the Jüyin peoples ... were not drawn from just one ethnic group but were variously comprised of Kitan, Tang'ut, Merkit, Tatar and even Jürced bodies organized as part of the Chin frontier defense system. These Jüyin were thus similar to the *foederati* of the Roman world who belonged to a variety of ethnic group but agreed to defend the Roman borders in exchange for a favored status within the *limes (receptio)*.<sup>55</sup>

However, the terms *jayut irgen* and *jüyin irgen* both appear in the *SH*. They were used in this Mongolian source separately and definitely in different

<sup>54</sup> Ts'ai Mei-Piao (Cai Meibiao), "The Evolution of the *Zha* and the *Zha* Army", argument see pp.16-17. Shao Hsün-Chêng, "La-shih-têh-ting shih-chi hu-pi-lieh han chi yi-shih", argument see the annotation (*an*) on p.79.

<sup>55</sup> Paul Buell, *Tribe, qan and ulus in Early Mongol China: Some Prolegomena to Yuan Dynasty*, p.51.

meanings, in which the *jaqud-un irgen* and *jaqut irgen* denote Chinese people in Jurchen China, and the *jüyin irgen*, the equivalent to the Roman *foederati*. The difference is so clear that I cannot accept the argument of "JĀW' people = Jüyin people" by simply deny the accuracy of the former, or either usage. Moreover, Jayut-Quri would not be a *quri* who governs the *jaqut irgen* when *jaqut irgen* means general Chinese people, and no single piece of evidence in the Chinese sources can support the idea that Temüjin exercised a governing power over the miscellaneous tribal people under Jurchen rule. More supportive analyses or careful inferences are needed for this interpretation, and unfortunately it is less than convincing at this stage.

Hence, as the meaning of *jayut* is still not clear, there is space for a third assumption in reconsidering the meaning of the term *jayut*.

#### **Jayut as an adjective to describe the *quri* title**

Another assumption of the meaning of Jayut-Quri would be "a Chinese *quri*", when *jayut* in this phrase is used as an adjective to modify the noun: *quri*, means "a *quri* of Chinese origin". In this way, the title which the Jurchen commander gave to Temüjin was *quri*, not Jayut-Quri.

This assumption sounds foolish at first sight because no supporting evidence can be found in the sources ---- but precisely because none of the existing assumptions can be fully supported by available materials, the meaning of *jayut* remains uncertain and open to debate. An analysis of *quri* as an appellation, together with an examination of the principle of giving out titles/positions by the Jurchen authority may provide a reasonable ground for this "adjective" assumption.

First, many titles of important steppe leaders were Chinese in origin. This phenomenon has been discussed in Chapter Two in the paragraphs about the Naiman Inanch-Qan. To recapitulate briefly, the Naiman Tayang-Qan bore

a title derived from Chinese *tai-ong* ("t'a-wang" in modern Mandarin) which means "grand prince" or "grand king", and the Kereit Ong-Qan bore a title derived from Chinese *ong* ("wang" in modern Mandarin) which means "prince" or "king". Some researchers even suggest that the first part of the name/title of one of Temüjin's ancestors, Senggüm-Bilge, might have derived from Khitan military commander position called "hsiang-wên", where the second part was Turkic in origin.<sup>56</sup> If this was so, accordingly, Senggüm, the heir of the Kereit *ong qan*, also bore a Chinese-style title as a military commander. These titles might have been inherited, such as the Tayang title of the Naiman rulers, therefore, they were not necessarily given by the current Chinese authority although it was possible for them to be confirmed by the authority.

The above examples share a common feature: all of these titles/positions were named in the official language of the Chinese regimes, Chinese or Khitan, none of them was in the language of the receivers, whether Turkic or Mongolian. Can this be a hint to the phrase formation of Jayut-Quri that, if *jayut* is definitely a Mongolian term and it does not exist in the Chinese or Jurchen languages, it would not be a part of the formal title given by the Jurchen regime, but an extra attachment to the formal title: *quri*?

We shall look into the origin of *quri*, to see if it will justify or deny this assumption. Quri would definitely be a Jurchen title for military commanders, if it can be identified with the position of "hu-lu". "Hu-lu" was a commanding position in the Jurchen's *tribal* institution. The introductory paragraph of the Bureaucracy Monograph of CS reads:

Chin [regime] begins to set up offices since Ching-Tsu to master the tribes for conquering purpose .... The leaders are all called "po-chi-leh", hence T'ai-Tsu succeeded the throne as "tu po-chi-leh" [and] T'ai-Tsung stayed behind as "an-pan po-chi-leh". ... Next to this [position] is called "kuo-lun hu-lu po-chi-

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<sup>56</sup> Ch'êñ Tê-Chih (Chen Dezhi), "Kereit Kingdom up to the Thirteenth Century", p.2.

leh, "kuo-lun" means noble, "hu-lu" as commander-in-chief. ... Next, above these "po-chi-leh"s, there are titles of "kuo-lun", "yi-shih", "hu-lu", "yi-lai", "a-mai", "a-shê", "tsê", "teh", as the hierarchy for promoting royal members and meritorious officials. Their tribal leaders are called "po-ch'in (/chin)", [those who were] in command of several tribes are called "hu-lu". All these [offices] are abandoned [later] when Hsi-Tsung [re-]fixed the bureaucratic constitution.<sup>57</sup>

The Chinese transcription of the Jurchen title "hu-lu" (忽魯) here is exactly the same as *CCL*'s transcription of the second part of Temüjin's title. This coincidence is significant in that both titles were non-Chinese in origin, and both of them were taken down in Chinese script around the same period during the Mongol Yüan dynasty in China. Could this similarity in transcription suggest a match between the two appellations?

The most important sources for Temüjin's career are presented in three languages: Persian for *JT*, Mongolian for the *SH* and Chinese for *CCL* and the other relevant Chinese sources. Supposing that these sources were all based on Mongolian originals, the strict and precise transliteration in the *SH* would be counted as the most reliable among the three. The second part of the title/position Jayut-Quri appears as *quri* in the *SH*. This is different to the transcription in *CCL*.

As for this difference in transcription or transliteration, we must bear in mind that the *SH* was transliterated at a later period: the early Ming, while *CCL* was translated and *CS* was compiled during the reign of Qubilai, and *JT* after these.<sup>58</sup> Pelliot remarked that "The alternation of *hu-lu*, \**quru*, and *hu-*

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<sup>57</sup> *CS* 55 *chih* 36 pp.1215-1216.

<sup>58</sup> The compilation of *CS* started in the reign of Qubilai in 1261, then resumed in 1279 after an interruption. Finally it was completed in the reign of last Yüan emperor Toyuan-Temür in 1344. Chin Yü-Fu, *Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shih*, pp.108-110. The delay of completion was

*li, quri*, is not without other examples." He supplied evidence found in these sources that the Tatar Qori-Buqa given in *SH* §59 reads Quru-Buqa in *CCL* and *JT*, and the Jürkin Taichu-Kiru (\*Quru, /k/ and /q/ share the same letter in Mongolian writing) in *CCL* appears in *JT* as Taichu-Quri.<sup>59</sup> In my personal opinion, this interchange of vowels might not have resulted from narrators' corruption of the principle of transcription, but have been owing to the colloquial variation of the original language, which was not in conformity during that period. Since *quri/quru* can be transcribed into *hu-lu* in Chinese, a match between CS's tribal commander position and *CCL*'s Jurchen title becomes possible.

The Jurchen title of *quri* was not suppressed before 1149, as understood by Pelliot. The title of *quri* undeniably existed after that, because it was seen to be given by a Jurchen commander to Temüjin several decades later. This fact cannot be denied in any way. Therefore, the last sentence of the above CS quotation, "all these [offices] are abandoned [later] when Hsi-Tsung [re-]fixed the bureaucratic constitution", should be understood as meaning that when Hsi-Tsung (reigned 1135-1149) adopted the Chinese style constitution, these tribal style principal offices/titles were avoided in the bureaucracy of central government.

Would the appellation have existed outside the Sinicized central bureaucracy of the Chin regime and have continued to function as a part of their tribal management? The multi-cultural nature of the Chin regime must be considered, and the diversity of the people under its rule would need diverse administration according to their custom and tradition, especially for those along the frontiers. The Monograph of Bureaucracy in CS records several

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caused by a prolonged discussion of the matter of legitimism, but the major task of collecting materials and drafting should be dated in the long reign of Qubilai. *CCL* was completed in the reign of Qubilai, see Yang Chih-Chiu (Yang Zhijiu) and others, *Yüan-shih-hsüeh kai shuo*, p.286.

<sup>59</sup> Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol 1, p.294.

titles which were maintained in the bureaucracy after the reform. These were officials who dealt with border affairs, and the titles were Liao (Khitan) in origin.<sup>60</sup>

Looking into the sources, at least four examples of *quri* can be found as a part of the title/name of northern tribal eminent figures during the lifetime of Temüjin. If the above reading of Taichu-Quri is correct, together with the Kereit Qulbari-Quri in *SH* §177, Jayut-Quri of the Temüjin-Mongol and the Önggüt Alaquush-Tegin-Quri, the title of *quri* seems to prevail among the steppe tribes at the turn of the thirteenth century. According to the common practice during that period, a title or a description of personality usually adds to the name of the person, after his proper name, not preceding it. For instance, Sacha-Beki, Qadayan-Taishi and Tödö'en-Otchigin. This custom helps us to narrow down the number of valid examples, when the "Qori"-s are exempted.

Taichu-Quri was one of the leaders of the Jürkin-Mongol, Temüjin was a *quri* also the leader of Qabul-Mongol, and Qulbari was a Kereit prince or an important emir<sup>61</sup> who Temüjin had demanded that Toyoril send as his messenger to explain his hostility. As for the Önggüt leader at the time of Temüjin, he is called Alaquush-Tegin-Quri in the sources.<sup>62</sup> Although Rashid al-Din records that Alaquush was his name and Tegin-Quri was his title (*laqab*),<sup>63</sup> "*tegin quri*" should not be read jointly as one title. The Turkic *tegin* title should be attached to his name Alaquush, as he is mentioned as

<sup>60</sup> *CS* 55 *chih* 36 p.1216.

<sup>61</sup> *SH* §152 records that Qulbari was among the conspirators made up of *de'ü* (princes) and *noyan* (emirs). No matter if Qulbari was a Kereit prince or an emir, he was obviously an important person in the Kereit regime since he could be invited to participate in a conspiracy against their ruler.

<sup>62</sup> Alaquush-Digit-Quri in *SH* §182 and §190, A-la-hu-ssü-ti-ch'i-huo-li in *CCL* p.65b, A-la-wu-ssü-t'i-chi-hu-li in *YS* 118 *chuan* 5 his biography, variations in *JT*'LĀQWS/'LĀQWSH-TNKZ/'WLĀQWSH/'LĀQWSH-TKYN.

<sup>63</sup> *JT* p.131.

Alaqush-Tegin in *JT* pp.127, 132 and 216. *Quri*, Alaqush's other title, was apparently obtained from a separate source.<sup>64</sup> These four persons who bore the *quri* description were all in commanding positions.

"The rulers of Khitai never gave out titles (*alqāb*) to persons at random and [always] in calculation, they still continually having the custom nowadays. Their appellations are numerous, the grading which corresponds with every tribe and every province are exactly homogenous and suitable. They give the appellation like that to people, then every person knows his own rank and limit according to that title (*laqab*). For example, suppose a hundred persons will be presented in an assembly, according to the appellation which had been given to them, it fixes that everyone is in which place and where he shall sit."<sup>65</sup> Supposing that the *quri* (= "hu-lu") title had been given out according to accurate "grading", it must have been bestowed on a tribal leader who was acting as a "commander-in-chief" or "in command of several tribes/clans". This principle fits both Temüjin's role as the general leader of the Qabul-Mongol, and Alaqush's leading position to the Önggüts.

The sources do not supply information on how Taichu and Qulbari obtained their *quri* description, but the origin of Temüjin's is clear, and the one of the Önggüt leader can be understood as a position of frontier safeguard. The Önggüts guarded the passage and the passes of a wall erected by the Jurchens, the so-called Utkū (or Öngü?) in *JT*<sup>66</sup> or Utqiya in *SH* §142, which lay between the Jurchens and the land of the tribes in their north. Temüjin had been rewarded with the *quri* title/position after he rendered a military service to the Jurchens, and Alaqush apparently was performing a guarding duty for the Jurchens. This coherence in their services strongly implies that *quri* is

<sup>64</sup> He was called just Alaqush in p.132 and p.415. Tegin, a Turkic term for "princes". *SH* use the Mongolian plural ending in the place of *tegins* therefore *digit*.

<sup>65</sup> *JT* p.169.

<sup>66</sup> *JT* p.131 'NGW, variation 'TKW/'NWK (p.1605).

possibly an official position which the Jurchens assigned to its northern subordinates, and it was more a military or sentinel position along the frontier zone than a civil administrative post in the local bureaucracy.

Summing up the above discussion, we can reach the conclusion that *quri* might have been an individual proper title, not a part of a title. When *quri* was the formal official title given by the Jurchen authority, which Alaquush also acquired, "Jayut-Quri" might not necessarily be an inseparable phrase. The *quri* appellation originates from a position in the Jurchen's tribal institution which governed several tribes/clans. It ceased to exist in the central bureaucracy after the reform of Hsi-Tsung, but continued to function in the Jurchen's tribal management, thus, Temüjin was given this title, which fitted his commanding position over his tribesmen, by the Jurchen commander after he became submissive to the Jurchen authority. As seen in the evidence of *walāyat-i JĀW'QWT* = Chinese region and *jaqut irgen* = Chinese people *Jayut*, this Mongolian terminology, might have been used adjectivally as "Chinese", then, "Jayut-Quri" might have borne the meaning of "Chinese *quri*" ---- not a *quri* who governed Chinese, but a *quri* appointed by Chinese authority.

The above discussion does not deny the possible existence of a joint phrase of Jayut-Quri. Another earlier appearance of the phrase Jayut-Quri, as a part of a tribal leader's title, can be dated back to the 1130s, according to the dating discussion in Chapter One. This account relates that Hambaqai-Qan arranged a marriage between his third son and the daughter of the leader of Ayiriyut-Buiruyut Chaqayan-Tatar. He went to the Tatars for the daughter, with the sixth son of Qabul-Qan, Tödö'en-Otchigin. The Tatars were preparing a feast and one of the Tatar leader called Möngke-Jayut-Quri (JĀWWT-QWRY) invited Tödö'en-Otchigin to join him. At midday of the tenth day of the feast, a messenger from the tribal leader of [Chaqayan] Tatars hurried to this Möngke-Jayut-Quri with a secret message. After a discussion with his emirs, this Möngke-Jayut-Quri did not capture Tödö'en-Otchigin in

order to avoid future conflict with his clan (*qabila*), namely the Qabul-Mongol.

This passage does not exist in the *JT* copy I based my research on. The above third-hand description is quoted from a Chinese translation of the Russian translation of *JT*, which is based on a Persian text which has never been published.<sup>67</sup> The reason of Hambaqai's departure to the Tatars in this story is different from the one supplied in the *SH*, in which Hambaqai was sending his daughter to the Tatars. Another interesting point is, the Tatar leader who captured Hambaqai-Qan was not the "Jayut-Quri", who was supposed to have a close relationship to the Jurchens if this appellation was given by the Jurchen authority. Since I cannot examine this story in its original Persian text, although the content is full of significance, I shall be cautious in making any further interpretation of the event.

#### **The rank of *quri* as a commanding position**

Since Chinese rulers never gave out titles at random, the rank of a commanding title reflected the strength or the importance of the receivers, or at least as he was judged by the giver, at the time when he was given the title. So, what would be the position, or rank, of *quri* in the hierarchy of Jurchen offices, when *quri* was bestowed to Temüjin in 1196 as an official title in tribal governance?

The rank of *quri* is never stated explicitly in *CS*. To judge from other evidence, *quri* might not have been a very exalted position when it was given to Temüjin. First, the position of *chao-t'ao* was mentioned in *SH* §134 as a higher rank to *quri*, and the *chao-t'ao* position can only be conferred by the Chin emperor. This description explains the fact that the *quri* title is not significant enough to be bestowed by the emperor, therefore, *quri* must have

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<sup>67</sup> *Shih chi*, vol 1 part 2, pp.25-27, translated from the 1952 Russian translation of *JT*.

been of less importance, and strength, than *chao-t'ao*. Second, another *quri* during this period, the Önggüt leader Alaqush, was commanding a tribe consisting of four thousand households.<sup>68</sup> The leader of such number of supporters could not be counted as powerful ruler. Therefore, the rank of *quri* in the Jurchen commanding hierarchy was definitely not a high one.

Indeed, Temüjin should have been given an *appropriate* position according to his strength, when this position is related to tribal governance and military services. Does the example of the Alaqush *quri* imply that Temüjin possessed only a strength of four thousand household in 1196?

This matter shall be examined from the perspective of the general principle of appellation-giving, and the special conditions in real circumstances. Looking back to our discussion in the first section of this chapter, there was a Jurchen general called Wan-Yen An-Kuo. He was a *chao-t'ao* when he took part in the 1195-96 campaign. In the pursuit, Wan-Yen An-Kuo had been put in charge of a ten thousand troop. Therefore, since the position of *chao-t'ao* is higher than the one of *quri*, Temüjin should not have possessed a strength more than his at this time. According to the principle of appellation-giving, if Temüjin had reached the standard of being in charge of ten thousand men, he would not be offered a lesser position.

This strength estimation would appear strange because Temüjin is recorded as possessing the support of at least thirteen *güre'en* to confront an enemy of thirty thousand in the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en, which was dated by the discussion in Chapter Two, in 1193. Saying Temüjin was in charge of less than ten thousand men in 1196 is peculiar, unless his strength had been sharply reduced during the post-war period, however, Temüjin did not seem to be isolated when he was merry-making with Jürkin kinsmen. Therefore, the four thousand household strength of Temüjin should be understood as the force

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<sup>68</sup> JT p.131, chahār hazār khāna.

which Temüjin had demonstrated in front of the Jurchen commander in his attack of the Tatars in 1196, not his strength in total.

In the course of his attack on the Tatars, the Jürkins did not come and Toyoril was absent from Mongolia; Temüjin assembled only his own force who happened to be staying nearby, and set out to raid the Tatars in a hurry. Temüjin might have raided the Tatars with a force equivalent to the strength of four thousand households, which was strong enough to make the fleeing Tatars disperse. The Jurchen commander did not acknowledge the huge support behind this, thus, he gave a lesser title which corresponded to what he saw, this small amount of force.

This analysis echoes the first section of this chapter and clarifies two obscure circumstances in the 1196 dispersal of the Tatars. First, the small size of Temüjin's force confirms that the Tatars who Temüjin dispersed was just a branch of them. The whole Tatar tribe possessed a strength of seventy thousand households,<sup>69</sup> which even the Jurchen pursuing force (ten thousand) would not have been able to compete with. These fleeing Tatars may have been a branch of the Tatars who encircled the Jurchen division at Kelüren, not the whole tribe of the Tatars. Since the main body of the Tatars was left untouched, they were able to "rebel" again in a couple of months.

Second, there is the ignorance of the Jurchen authority about the situation in central Mongolia. Temüjin had been given a lesser title after an easy raid, and this underestimation clearly reflected the carelessness of the Jurchen commander. He did not examine Temüjin's strength seriously therefore he did not discover Temüjin's potential to be a strong steppe leader, who was capable of looting the Merkits, taking care of the Kereit *ong*, and fighting the Buiruq-Naiman in the next three years. The Jurchen border generals might have had an accurate knowledge of the harassing Turkic and

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<sup>69</sup> JT p.76.

Mongol tribes on their frontier, however, the distant Temüjin-Mongol were apparently too far away to be well supervised.

\* \* \* \*

From the above discussion of the interactions between Jurchen China and the steppe tribes, the significance of these relationships can be summarised as follows. In the relationship of Temüjin and the Jurchen authority, no matter whether Temüjin was a Jayut-Quri or just a *quri*, by receiving this title/position, he won recognition from the Jurchen regime and a reputation among his kinsmen and the other steppe people. Although *quri* was not an exalted position, this subordinate relationship maintained peace between the Temüjin-Mongol and the Jurchen regime for fifteen years, which allowed Temüjin to concentrate on his annexations in Mongolia without worrying about this mighty neighbour. Probably because of this less important position which was not conferred according to his real strength, the Jurchen regime also did not pay much attention to the development of the Temüjin-Mongol, until Temüjin was capable of competing with the Jurchens.

As for the general situation between Jurchen China and the steppe tribes, the Jurchen regime attempted to maintain peace on the frontier by giving out benevolence. This policy worked when the tribal leaders wished so, for instance, Temüjin had created a friendly linkage with the regime in this way. However, for those who did not come voluntarily to make their submission, might remained as the backbone of the Jurchen superiority. Sometimes, it was necessary to show its strength by beating the harassing tribesmen for their "restlessness" along the frontier. The Jurchen people conquered northern China on horseback, and they still had to stay on horseback, in order to preserve their regime against the steppe tribes.

The changing of Jurchen's relationship with the tribes in their north between 1195 and 1198 provided a stable situation in which Temüjin could

enhance his power in central Mongolia. The warfare also weakened the Turkic and Mongol tribes in eastern Mongolia, as well as Jurchen China. Temüjin owed a great deal of his rapid development to this favourable situation, hence the importance of the Jurchen warfare with the steppe tribes, not only the pursuit of a branch of fleeing Tatars, should not be ignored in the study of Temüjin's rise to power.

## CONCLUSION

In summary, the above studies in Part One about early Kereit history and its impact on the history of Temüjin have arrived at the following conclusions.

In the study of Toyoril's first struggle for the Kereit qanship and its background, a sketch of Kereit history between 1130s and 1160s has been restored. Toyoril had a just claim to the Kereit throne but the succession, it appeared, would be interrupted by the Betekin group in Kereit politics; Toyoril tried to secure the throne by destroying his Betekin-related half-brothers. In fact, the Kereit princes were plotting against the potential candidate to the throne; Toyoril's three struggles against his rival brothers revealed that his brothers "harboured stinking livers" towards Toyoril as well. This internal struggle for leadership among the princes can be compared with the situation among the Taichiyuts at this time, who had never elected a general leader: therefore they remained in disorder until Temüjin annexed them.

Merkit's appearance in Toyoril's three struggles for qanship is significant, and their close relationship provided grounds for believing the *JT* version of the Börte incident, in which Börte was sent to Toyoril by his Merkit son-in-law after her abduction. Toyoril's resolution of this incident reveals the importance of maintaining peace in intertribal relationship at that period, and this could only be achieved by political wisdom.

The studies also showed that Toyoril was very careful as well, in getting rid of his rival brothers in an indirect way. His murder of two threatening half-brothers can be compared with Temüjin's getting rid of his offensive half-brother Bekter, which shows that there are some similarities in Toyoril and Temüjin's personality or situation.

As for Temüjin's ancestors, Qutula-Qan has been proved to have been a commander-in-general for both Qabul-Mongol and Taichiyut-Mongol in the campaign of revenge for Hamaqai-Qan, but he had no right to govern those

non-Qabul Mongols. Taichiyuts' participation in Yesügei's expedition to expel the Kereit Gür-Qan can be explained in terms of revenge for the death/murdering of their elder Qadayan-Taishi. This should not be treated as evidence that the Taichiyuts were under Yesügei's rule during the time of Qutula.

The location of Toyoril in these three qanship struggles is useful in reconstructing Kereit's intertribal relationship during different phases, and the estimation of the dating of certain events helps to fit the above events into the period of the 1130s to the 1160s: thus, Temüjin was born during Mongol's supremacy.

In the study of Toyoril's second dethronement, the course of events has been restored. The study confirms that the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en was associated in the history of Temüjin with Toyoril's second dethronement, and Toyoril, in reality, did not have control over all the Kereit branches, especially the courageous Jirgin and numerous Saqayit ---- this partly explains how Toyoril was dethroned so easily; on the other hand, the strength of the Naiman attacking force should not be overestimated.

Since Toyoril's return to Mongolia can be related to the occasion when Temüjin became famous in strength, this association can fix the timing of his return, and partly explains the reason for Jaya-Gambu's return to Mongolia. Since the Naiman Inanch-Qan, who dethroned Toyoril, could be the Pi-li-kê-po-wa of Chinese records, this suggests that Inanch was alive in early 1193. Jaya-Gambu must have arrived in the Tangyut nation no later than 1193, soon after the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en. Comparing these two dating with the possible duration of Toyoril's exile in the west, Toyoril would probably have been dethroned in 1192/93 and have returned to Mongolia in late spring of 1196.

This dating is valuable to the study of Temüjin's history since it gives a possible dating for the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en. Accordingly, Temüjin was defeated in this battle when he was thirty-one. Acknowledging this age

is useful in explaining the energetic development and expansion of Temüjin's power in the next decade, and the quietness (also peacefulness) before this period.

In the study of the third phase of the Kereit-Mongol relationship, the two leaders turned from friends to foes. After Toyoril was restored to his previous position because of Temüjin's protection, a split in the Naiman authority and the funding from the Merkits' wealth, the complicated political situation suggests that Toyoril had attempted to disable Temüjin after he had outlasted his usefulness, and that they came into conflict when their interest/ambition clashed other. This clash in interest *made* the marriage proposal fail, and the subsequent shifting of supporters encouraged the Kereits to take the risk of raiding Temüjin. The battle at Qalaqaljit-Elet disappointed Toyoril's supporters and the situation changed again, this time, Toyoril's strength drained away while Temüjin's was strengthened. This marked the end of the Kereit regime.

The reconstruction of many details, facts, sequence and dating of the incidents in Part One presents a lively steppe society between the 1130s and 1203, in which the Tatars, the Merkits, the Kereits, the Betekins and the Mongols were frequently in contact or conflict with each other. On a broader scale, some of these steppe tribes had encountered Jurchen China in a context either of hostility or of submissiveness. This panoramic view from the perspective of a Turkic tribe in central Mongolia also resuscitated part of Mongol history which allowed us to have a better understanding of the background and the course of Temüjin's triumph and his relationship with surrounding tribes before he attained the age of forty-two.

In Part Two, our focus pulled back to the growth of Temüjin-Mongol. With abundant evidence which was extracted from the sources, the nature and the significance of genealogical connections and in-laws' relationship among the ruling families of steppe tribes, as two important aspects of the social

framework of steppe society, have been examined. These social connections had a great impact on Temüjin's endeavour in getting recognition as a steppe ruler, either from his kinsmen or from the other steppe tribes. It also assisted greatly in Temüjin's management of steppe society after he became a generally recognised steppe ruler.

Within the Mongol tribe, Temüjin's mother had made his closest brother clan, the Taichiyuts, "lose affection" for Temüjin's family when he was small. This unfavourable situation made it necessary for Temüjin to attract the support of his Mongol kinsmen from distant clans when he grew up, and this strategy resulted first in his close association with Jamuqa and their speedy break-up, due to the fact that Temüjin had attracted many of Jamuqa's supporters to move to his side. After being elected the leader of the Qabul-Mongol with the support of these kinsmen, he did not give up this policy of attracting by courtesy until the Taichiyuts noticed that Temüjin was attempting to drain away their supporters.

Temüjin's policy of attraction could not penetrate the sphere of influence of the Taichiyuts. This forced Temüjin to change his strategy. Inspired by a Je'üreit leader, Temüjin abandoned his courteous approach and adopted an aggressive manner against his brother clan. The attack was successful, but, this transgression of social conduct was condemned by his other Mongol kinsmen. Many important and huge Mongol tribes/clans allied together to fight against this "evil kinsman", and Jamuqa, because of his genealogical connection to the Nīrūn-Mongols, was once again put at the head of these anti-Temüjin kinsmen, while some other clan leaders from the Qabul-Mongol had second thoughts. Eventually, Temüjin suppressed these opposing kinsmen and "unified" his tribe under his single leadership.

Outside the Nīrūn genealogy, there were many Derelkīn-Mongols and Turkic tribes inhabiting the steppe belt. Temüjin obtained their friendship and support by creating an affectionate relationship with their ruling families, that

is, via marriage. These in-laws then acted as Temüjin's "ears" and "eyes" across the steppe, informing Temüjin of every unfavourable movement against him in advance. Therefore, Temüjin was able to escape from several dangerous predicaments which would definitely have crushed to perish if they had been successful.

When Temüjin-Mongol became a superpower in Mongolia, the in-laws' relationship between Temüjin's family and the steppe tribal leaders changed in essence. Granting an in-laws' relationship to the tribal leaders during this period appeared to be a favour or a reward rather than an affectionate association. However, in this way, Temüjin associated himself with the tribal leaders of Önggüt, Uighur, Oirat and Qarluq, which meant that his authority extended through these marriage connections across the steppe belt as far as the border of the Qipchaq steppe ---- he brought this extensive region to submission without using force. On the other hand, the individuals who came from those Derelkîn tribes or Turkic tribes were able to become family members of Temüjin's family, and they exercised a different degree of influence in the Mongol court at a later period.

As for the powerful Jurchen regime to the south, Temüjin maintained a subordinate relationship to it. This position, although it did not reflect the real strength of Temüjin, provided Temüjin with a reputation as well as peace between the two powers. This peace in the south together with the kinship association with the Nîrûns plus the in-laws' relationship to various steppe powers supplied Temüjin with stable circumstances for expansion. Moreover, the Jurchen campaign against the Turkic or/and Mongol tribes living in the region of Buyur-Nayur weakened both sides; this provided a favourable situation for Temüjin's later expansion in eastern Mongolia and for his invasion of China.

These three kinds of relationship constituted Temüjin's network of expansion. Although the use of force was inevitable on certain occasions, the

examination in Chapter Four to Chapter Six confirms that Temüjin did not complete his conquest solely by the sword. It was convenient and more practical to take advantage of the traditional social framework in building up his strength, by associating himself with the existing powers on friendly terms, or by associating them to himself. In reality, Temüjin, or the World Conqueror Chinggis-Qan, did not conquer all parts of his empire on the horseback. No one could have achieved such a "military conquest" with the strength of only one tribe, not even Temüjin; but with the help of so many kinsmen, in-laws and the mercenary forces supplied by his in-laws, these associated "Mongols" together *created* the "Mongol" empire.

Thirdly, a chronology of important events can be set up in the light of the analyses in these two parts, and other discussions based on these three sources which cannot be found a suitable space in this thesis.<sup>1</sup> The career of Chinggis-Qan, then, can be restored, or, rediscovered, in a more reliable and detailed event sequence and dating. A brief list is supplied as follows:

- b. 1132      The Tatars formed a good relationship with the newly established Jurchen regime in northern China.
- c. 1130s     The Kereit Marqus and the Mongol Hambaqai were murdered.
- c. 1130s     The Tatars attacked the Kereit Sariq-Qan; Sariq-Qan fled to the Betekin tribe where the Kereit Qurjaqus married the Betekin princess Töre-Qaimish.
- c. 1160s     Qurjaqus-Qan died. The Kereit *ulus* was under a regency. Toyoril struggled with his rival brothers for the Kereit throne and murdered them secretly.

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<sup>1</sup> The event sequence and dating listed here all have firm bases in sources or analyses, although part of the analyses cannot be supplied within the limits of this thesis. I have completed the discussions on the first and second anti-Temüjin coalition, SH's confusion of another event with the battle of Köyiten, the pursuits of the fleeing tribal leaders (especially the dating errors in sources), Temüjin's expansion to the western steppe belt up to the Qipchaq tribe (in particular the tribal relationship out there also the relevant locations), before establishing this chronology. These discussions will be presented someday, when the situation allows.

- c. 1160s Gür-Qan attacked Toyoril, making him flee to the Merkit land.  
Toyoril married his daughter to their leader Toqtoya.
- c. 1160s Toyoril obtained Yesügei's assistance to expel Gür-Qan. Some Taichiyyuts joined the expedition because of the suspicious death of Qadayan-Taishi. Qutula-Qan's reign.
- 1162 Temüjin born.
- 1171/72 Yesügei died.
- ? The Taichiyyuts separated from Temüjin's family.
- 1177 Temüjin married.
- 1178/79 The Börte incident.
- 1179/81 Temüjin stayed with Jamuqa and both planned to invite the Qatagins and Saljiyyuts to join them.
- ? Temüjin separated from Jamuqa and was elected the qan of the Qabul-Mongol.
- ? Internal struggles for leadership among the Kereit princes. Erke-Qara fled to Naiman.
- 1192/93 Toyoril was dethroned by the Naiman Inanch-Qan.
- 1193 The Taichar incident and its consequence: the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en. Temüjin was defeated. Jaya-Gambu left Temüjin and went to the Tangyut nation.
- ?1194 Jaya-Gambu left the Tangyut nation and went into the Jayut region.
- ? Some Je'üreits came to join Temüjin.
- 1195 Temüjin was at odds with his Jürkin kinsmen.
- 1195/96 The Jurchen campaign against the northern tribes, in which they encountered the Tatars and the Qonggirats.
- 1196:-
- spring Temüjin dispersed a division of the Tatars on the Ulja river. The Jurchen commander rewarded him with a title/position which is related in the sources as Jayut-Quri.
- ? Temüjin attacked the Jürkins. Leaders escaped.
- ? Jaya-Gambu came to Temüjin, being attacked half way by mistake by the Merkits.

- late spring Toyoril returned from the west and arrived at Güse'ür-Nayur, Temüjin received him into his camp.
- autumn Temüjin and Toyoril declared pseudo-father-and-son at Black Forest.
- winter Temüjin exterminated the Jürkin line.
- 1197:-
- autumn Temüjin attacked the Merkits, plundered Toqtoya.
- ? The Jurchens brought the Qonggirat Major to submission.
- 1198:-
- winter/spring The Tatars submitted to the Jurchen. The Jurchen troops compelled the surrender of the tribal leaders of Qatagin, Saljiyat and \*Bosqor-Qonggirat. \*Bosqor-Qonggirat dispersed afterwards by other Qonggirats.
- ? Toyoril attacked the Merkits, Toqtoya fled to Barqujin.
- 1199:-
- ? Toyoril's restoration campaign against the Naiman Buiruq-Qan.
- winter The joint-force confronted the Naiman general Kökse'ü-Sabraq. Toyoril withdrew at night.
- winter Kökse'ü-Sabraq plundered the Kereits, Temüjin helped Toyoril to recover them. The Red Hills Promise.
- 1199/1200 Toyoril attempted to bribe Boyorchu, but failed.
- 1200:-
- spring Toyoril planned to capture Temüjin during the feast, but failed.
- ? Toyoril and Temüjin set out against the Taichiyuts.
- ? The first Mongol coalition against Temüjin. They were defeated at Buyur-Nayur.
- winter Jaya-Gambu plotted against Toyoril, but failed.
- winter Temüjin attacked the Tatars and defeated them at Dalan-Nemürges.
- 1201 The second Mongol coalition against Temüjin, with Jamuqa as Gür-Qan. They were defeated at Teni/Yedi-Qorqan.
- 1202:-
- spring Temüjin attacked the Alchi-Tatars and Chaqayan-Tatars.
- summer Paused to avoid heat. Then renewed the warfare.

- autumn      The Battle of Køyiten. As a result, Jamuqa came to the Kereits, Temüjin annexed the Taichiyuts.
- winter      The marriage proposal.
- ?            Senggüm and some anti-Temüjin kinsmen were plotting in the Kereit camp.
- 1202/03     Temüjin's pasture was burnt secretly.
- 1203:-
- spring      The conspiracy of the betrothal feast. Temüjin returned home half way.
- ?            The Battle at Qalaqaljit-Elet.
- ?            Jürcedei brought the Terge-Emel Qonggirats to submission.
- summer     Temüjin drank at Baljuna. Qasar came.
- autumn     Temüjin attacked the Kereits and annexed the tribe.
- 1204:-
- spring      The Naiman Tayang-Qan invited the Önggüts to attack Temüjin. Temüjin set out but had no chance of fighting.
- autumn     Expedition to attack Tayang-Qan at the Orqan river. All anti-Temüjin Mongols surrendered after this battle.
- ?            The capture and execution of Jamuqa.
- winter      Temüjin annexed the Merkit tribe.
- 1205          Temüjin invaded the Tangyut nation.
- 1206:-
- spring      Temüjin obtained the title of Chinggis-Qan.
- ?            Temüjin exterminated the Naiman Buiruq-Qan. Toqtoya and Gürchülük fled to the Irtysh river.
- 1207:-
- autumn     Temüjin attacked the Tangyuts.
- ?            Temüjin sent envoys to the Kirgiz region and they returned with their envoys.
- 1208:-
- spring      Temüjin returned from Tangyut nation.

- winter      With the guidance of Oirat leader Quduqa-Beki, Temüjin's pursuing troop arrived at the Irtysh river and destroyed Toqtoya. Güchülük escaped and went to Qara-Khitai.
- 1209      The Uighur leader submitted to Temüjin and fought the Merkit fugitives at River \*Chan.  
Temüjin attacked the Tangyuts.
- 1210:-
- autumn     Temüjin attacked the Tangyuts.
- 1211:-
- spring      The Uighur and Qarluq leaders came in person to submit.  
Temüjin granted an in-laws' relationship to them.
- autumn     Temüjin invaded Jurchen China.
- 1212-1215   Warfare in China. The Tumat tribe captured Qorchi and Quduqa.
- 1216      Temüjin returned to Mongolia in spring.
- 1217:-
- ?            Temüjin sent Sübe'etei to pursue the rest of Merkits and exterminated them at the \*Chan river.
- ?            Temüjin sent Boroyul to subdue the "rebellious" Tumats.
- 1218:-
- ?            Temüjin sent Jochi to attack Kirgiz, for their refusal to assist in the Tumat campaign.
- ?            Jebe caught and executed the Naiman Güchülük.
- 1219-1224   Transoxiana campaign.
- 1225:-
- spring      Temüjin arrived in Mongolia.
- autumn     Temüjin attacked the Tangyuts.
- 1226      Temüjin in Tangyut. Appointed Ögetei as his successor in early spring, in a secret meeting in the absence of Chayatai.<sup>2</sup>
- 1227      Temüjin died. The destruction of the Tangyut nation.

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<sup>2</sup> According to JT.

This chronicle is expected to be useful for future studies of the career of Chinggis-Qan, a revision of the textual confusions in the sources and the most important, an overall view of steppe society during these one hundred years. The main purpose of this thesis, as recounted in the introductory pages, is to examine two selected aspects in the career of Chinggis-Qan from the perspective of his Turkic partners, Mongol kinsmen or other connections. By using this approach, the situation can be revealed in a more objective way, to be presented and to be judged as it *was*. I hope the above investigations in six chapters have proved this approach sensible and reasonable, and that this approach could be adopted extensively in efforts towards researching the "lost empires".

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(Books and articles listed below are those quoted in this thesis. An extensive bibliography and excellent review of recent researches on the 13th century Mongols can be found in Denis Sinor, "Notes on Inner Asian Bibliography IV".)

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## Appendices

## Appendix I

## Arabic and Persian Transliteration used in this Thesis

## Consonants

ر	,	ص	ش
ب	b	ض	ذ
پ	p	ط	ت
ت	t	ظ	ز
ث	th	ع	'
ج	j	غ	gh
چ	ch	ف	f
ح	h	ق	q
خ	kh	ک	k
د	d	گ	g
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
ژ	zh	و	w
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	ی	y

## Vowels

ـ	ـ	ـ
ـ	ـ	ـ
ـ	ـ	ـ
ـ	ـ	ـ
ـ	ـ	ـ

## Appendix II

Cross Reference Table of Chinese Phonetic Symbols  
and Romanisation used in this Thesis

## Consonants

	p-	bilabial stop voiceless unaspirated
	p'-	bilabial stop voiceless aspirated
	m-	bilabial nasal voiced
	f-	labio-dental fricative voiceless
	t-	apical stop voiceless unaspirated
	t'-	apical stop voiceless aspirated
	n-	apical nasal voiced
	l-	apical lateral voiced
	k-	velar stop voiceless unaspirated
	k'-	velar stop voiceless aspirated
	h-	velar fricative voiceless
	chi, ch-	palatal affricate voiceless unaspirated
	ch'i, ch'	palatal affricate voiceless aspirated
	hsı, hs-	palatal fricative voiceless
	chih, ch-	retro-flex affricate voiceless unaspirated
	ch'ih, ch'	retro-flex affricate voiceless aspirated
	shih, sh-	retro-flex fricative voiceless
	jih, j-	retro-flex fricative voiced
	tzü, ts-	blade-alveolar affricate voiceless unaspirated
	tz'ü, ts'	blade-alveolar affricate voiceless aspirated
	ssü, s-	blade-alveolar fricative voiceless

## Vowels

一	yi, y-, -i-, -i	
ㄨ	wu, w-, -u-, -u	
ㄩ	yü, yü-, -ü-, -ü	
ㄚ	a, -a	
ㄛ	o, -o	
ㄜ	ê, -ê	
ㄔ	-eh	
ㄞ	ai, -ai	
ㄟ	ei, -ei	
ㄠ	ao, -ao	
ㄡ	ou, -ou	(with -i- as -iu)
ㄞ	an, -an	(with -i- as -ien)
ㄣ	êñ, -êñ	(with -i- as -in, with -u- as -un, with -ü- as -ün)
ㄤ	ang, -ang	
ㄶ	-êng	(with -i- as -ing, with -u- as -ung, with -ü- as -iung)
ㄦ	êrh	

## Appendix III

## Mongolian Transliteration used in this Thesis

## Consonants

· <b>н</b>	n
<b>г, к, к:</b>	γ, q, k, g
<b>б</b>	b
<b>п</b>	p
<b>с</b>	s
<b>ш</b>	sh
<b>т, д</b>	t, d
<b>л</b>	l
<b>м</b>	m
<b>ж, ѿ</b>	j, y
<b>ч</b>	ch
<b>р</b>	r
<b>нг</b>	-ng

## Vowels

<b>а</b>	a
<b>е</b>	e
<b>и</b>	i
<b>о, у</b>	o, u
<b>ö, ü</b>	ö, ü

## Appendix IV

### Cross-references to a Scholarly View of the Subjects which are Discussed in this Thesis

L N Gumilev remarks that "a bibliography on all the subjects mentioned could amount to a list of many hundred articles and books. But it is impossible to make a single horse out of thousands of mice": to include every discussion or suggestion which previous scholars have made in this appendix is unrealistic. Paul Ratchnevsky's life of Temüjin, *Činggis-Khan, sein Leben und Wirken*, (completed in 1978, published in 1983) could be used as a good introductory book for previous arguments, also worthy for his original findings and conclusions, "to which no review could do complete justice". (Review of the English translation of the book by Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *The International History Review* 15-3 (1993):558-559.) Except for certain presumptions regarding the thought of Temüjin or Toyoril, which could only be confirmed perhaps by themselves, the comprehensive coverage of first-hand sources ---- though his *JT* knowledge is obtained through Russian translation ---- as well as secondary researches make this work indispensable to students of this subject.

The following passages are quoted in the page numbers of the English edition of this book, since it is in many ways an improvement on the German original. References are arranged in accordance with the corresponding topics in this thesis, listed in the order of appearance, with page numbers supplied respectively.

#### *Anda* relationship

On p.20, Ratchnevsky quotes the idea of Pelliot that this relationship "was regarded by the nomads as more binding than the tie of a direct blood relationship", and adds reference to the ritual of Khitan practice in *Liao shih*,

also varied opinions of a possible obligation of communal life (Doerfer and Vladimirtsov).

#### The obligation of *güregen* to stay in the bride's family before marriage

On p.21, regarding the arranged marriage of Temüjin, he relates that this practice was common among the early Turkic-Mongol nomads; it originated in matriarchal conditions but later economic factors became important. He suggests that economic considerations were probably decisive in this case for Temüjin.

#### The Qonggirat connection

On p.17, he suggests that the marriage agreement for Temüjin had won for Yesügei a valuable alliance with the Qonggirat, while I would rather ascribe this significance to his successor Temüjin, after the marriage finally proceeded. Discussion see chapter five section II.

#### The birth year of Temüjin

On p.17, he summarizes previous suggestions that the date could be 1155, 1162 or 1167 and says that even Pelliot did not firmly commit himself to his suggested date. On p.18, he states that according to Herbert Franke, it is assumed that Temüjin was born around the mid 1160s.

#### The separation of the Taichiyuts

His description of the event on p.22 is unconvincing because he omitted to mention the quarrel between Hö'elün and his genealogical seniors. The narratives of Yesügei's death "sealed the fate of his family" and the khatuns of Hamaqai "no longer permitted Hö'elün to attend the ceremonies in veneration of their ancestors" but this needs more supporting evidence. Also, alluding to the mind of Yesügei's followers, he suggests their leaving is determined by a consideration of material gains while I argued, with evidence in Persian sources, from the viewpoint of the principle in kinship practice. Discussion see chapter four section II (i). His speculation regarding the mind

of Temüjin's clansmen needs reexamination; also Quchar's support in *JT* has been wrongly attributed to this very moment while Quchar did join Temüjin but on a later occasion.

#### Sustenance after the separation of the Taichiyuts

On p.23, he suggests that the children helped to provide the daily food with bows and hooks. My opinion is supplied in chapter four footnote 29.

#### The Bekter incident and the Taichiyut's capture of Temüjin

His suggestion of a possible connection between the Bekter incident and the Taichiyuts' capture of Temüjin is related in chapter one section II. Regarding the motivation of the murder, he suggests that Temüjin killed his half-brother because Bekter "withheld Temüjin's share" of gains (p.154), or Bekter had challenged Temüjin's authority as the head of the family (p.24), while I interpreted this as a thoughtless action from a reckless teenager (chapter one and four).

#### Child captives

On p.26, he summarized the examples of captured young boys.

#### Qutula's comment on Toyoril

On p.32, he supplied a translation of the passage in *JT* from a Russian translation, while I have translated the whole passage (with annotation), based on a slightly different understanding, from Persian in chapter one section II.

#### The Dating of Gür-Qan's attack on Toyoril

On p.33, he argued that the date of Toyoril's appeal to Yesügei for help "must have been" before 1171 if we follow the chronology of the *SH* since by that date Qutula-Qan was no longer alive. This is doubtful if it is derived from *Hsi-Hsia shu shih* in which the chronological statements "are unreliable" (his comment on the same page), or based on the *SH* which was not compiled in chronological order. Studies in the book known as the *SH* are related in a recently completed but unpublished article by the author of this thesis.

### The Börte incident

On p.35, he states that the version in *JT* is "implausible" because "it is improbable that the Merkits would, as Rashid suggests, have renounced their revenge for the abduction of Hö'elün, handing Börte over to the leader of the Keraits, the *anda* of their enemy". I cannot see that this doubt is strong enough for us to deny the authenticity of *JT*'s version, although as he comments, the stories in *JT* "contain innumerable exaggerations". (p.31) My opinion is expressed, with an extensive analysis of the Toyoril-Toqtoya relationship, in chapter one section I.

### The breach between Temüjin and Jamuqa

On pp.37-39, he relates the debate between Barthold and Vladimirtsov on Temüjin's "class" component, and he himself states that Jamuqa relied on the support of conservative elements who upheld the tribal constitution and the solidarity of the tribal princes, while Temüjin's supporters were from "other levels" of society which sought for freedom and a better life. I am afraid that, in this account, he has mistaken the master of those *ötegiü boyol* for somebody other than Temüjin, and, it is a fact that Temüjin became a qan after his conservative consultation, according to the tribal constitution, with the aristocratic princes of his own clan. Ratchnevsky also assumes that Temüjin agreed to become a *nöker* (comrade here in the Soviet sense?) to Jamuqa and the "dependents" of Temüjin's relatives were with (under) Jamuqa at this time. As for the separation, he relates that "doubtless, Temüjin was uninvolved in the break" because since he was ambitious, he could not have been satisfied with a subservient position to Jamuqa, also Temüjin made use of the chance to recruit his own following. My explanation of the motivation of their "stay together", the joint effort to attract followers, also the consequence of the separation (shift of supporters) from a genealogical perspective is stated in chapter four section II (ii).

### The background of the supporters who shifted from Jamuqa to Temüjin

On pp.39-40, he suggests that many people were attracted by Temüjin's policy of generosity therefore they joined him, and the background of many of these newcomers is *ötegü boyol*. My detailed analysis of these people and their motivation for coming from a kinship point of view is provided in chapter four section II (ii) (the motivation regarding the Bayarin Qorchi is in footnote 57). Also, the event of the Je'üreits is conflated here.

#### The motivation of the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en

On p.45, he suggests that political considerations, rather than any relationship to the horse thief, underlay Jamuqa's reaction to the incident and "as soon as" Temüjin was elected a qan, Jamuqa "decided to do battle". My argument on the nature of the attack, that it was punitive in defending a principle in kinship practice, is found in chapter one section II, chapter two section II (i) and chapter four section II (ii).

#### Boiling the enemies in cauldrons

On pp.46-47, he mentioned the reference to "boiling in a cauldron", ascribing it to Siberian folklore and Chinese practice.

#### The dating of the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en

On pp.49-50, Ratchnevsky raised an interesting question, namely that there was a ten-year blank in Temüjin's life history between 1187 to 1196, based on the dating of the Jurchen-Tatar military conflict in *Chin shih*, and a list of datings: the Börte campaign took place around 1184, Temüjin's election as a qan followed some eighteen months later and the Battle of Güre'en took place at the latest in 1187. He supplies no reference for the inference or evidence for the latter dating. My reconstruction of the dating of the Battle of Thirteen Güre'en is in chapter two section III, where the result removes the possibility of a ten-year gap between the battle and the attack against the Tatars.

### Toyoril's exile

On p.51, he asserts that *JT* relates that the exact date for the meeting by Güse'ür-Nayur was in February/March 1196. This appears curious to me because this dating does not appear in the Persian text used in this thesis. The Russian translation used by Ratchnevsky is inaccessible to me. As for the duration of Toyoril's exile, he mentions that Toyoril's absence "was a relatively long one" but gives no further discussion on this topic.

### The Jurchen campaign against the steppe tribes (1195/96)

On p.52, he described the revolt of Hsieh-ch'u in a campaign "against the Qonggirat", and says that the Jurchen troop was so "weakened by the loss" of this rebel that the Qonggirat were able to attack one Chinese unit and kill its commanding officer. The description around which I put quotation marks is not found in *Chin shih* 10, which has been mistaken in the footnote as *Yilan shih* 10. *Chin shih* does not state that the Qonggirat had attacked the Jurchen *ch'ün-mu shih*, it just says "defeated".

### Partner relationship between Toyoril and Temüjin

On p.53, he says that because Temüjin "still need" Toyoril and "for this reason alone", Temüjin helped Toyoril to be restored to his throne, and then the political initiative had passed into Temüjin's hands so that Temüjin made use of the assistance of Toyoril to realize his ambitious plans. My different focus on the beginning of the partnership between these two is supplied in chapter three section II, where the Red Hill Promise in late 1199 serves as the key factor. The conclusion that Temüjin "needed" Toyoril needs to be re-examined because it was Temüjin sustaining and protecting Toyoril since 1196, not vice versa.

### The principle of Kin's Peace

On p.54, he touches on this issue in that he writes: "attacking or executing clansmen offended against tribal custom" but there is no further discussion.

### Chronology confusions

On p.56, he relates that "The events which followed the execution of the Jurkin princes and the death of Buri are confused, their dating is doubtful and the many contradictions between the texts emphasize the problematical character of the chronology". On p.61, he relates that "the chronology of the *Secret History* is unreliable because the author considers the individual episodes of his epic to be more important than either their interrelation or correct chronological order", without further discussion. The confusions have been partly solved by an analysis of the writing style of the *SH*: my argument about the events in this period has been briefly related at the end of chapter two section II (ii), and as for the interrelation and the chronological order of the accounts in the *SH*, I have done an overall examination of the source but this remains unpublished.

### The battlefield of Baidaraq-Belchir

On pp.58-59, Ratchnevsky cites the hypothesis by Gumilev that Temüjin might have made some demands of Toyoril ---- a claim to succeed to the Kereit throne (?) ---- which made him leave the battlefield immediately, and he considers this explanation "plausible". I am in doubt of the plausibility of this suggestion because if Temüjin had made any such request, he would have kept an eye on the response of Toyoril and when he discovered that Toyoril refused and left, he would not have remained on the battlefield to wait to be slain by Kökse'ü-Sabraq. The angry words about the desertion which he uttered next morning makes it clear that he had no idea of Toyoril's departure.

### The first anti-Temüjin Mongol coalition

On p.61, he interpreted this event according to the description in *Yüan shih*: that the tribes united against Temüjin out of fear, and he states that the fear was of Temüjin's ambition to annex them. He also explains, on p.62, the nature of the coalition from the social background of the participants, in relate to "the old steppe order". My interpretation from the perspective of defending the principle of kinship practice is related in chapter four section II (iii).

The *jasaq* issued during the battle against the Tatars

On p.66, he interprets this order as a violation of the traditional way because of economic considerations and suggests that Temüjin was fully aware of the negative consequence of this order. I consider this to be a simple military order which, however, brought about an unexpected result. See chapter four section II (iii).

Temüjin's ambition for the Kereit throne

On pp.67-68, he implies that Temüjin had an ambition for the Kereit throne, to be achieved by removing Senggüm. My analysis of the marriage proposal in chapter three section III shows that if Temüjin did have ambitions in the Kereit *ulus*, the takeover would be in the next generation, not with reference to himself. On p.81, Ratchnevsky argues, basing this on his assumption of the "long-sought goal" of Temüjin, that after the defeat of Ong-Qan, Temüjin was sitting on the Kereit throne. This argument is rather odd because the Kereit people had been distributed among the Mongols, according to the *SH*. Then, the so-called Kereit throne could no longer have existed.

Kereit's reasons for turning against Temüjin

On pp.67-68, he suggests, as a reason from a personal perspective that Senggüm wanted to get rid of Temüjin as a competitor to the throne, and Toyoril wanted to get rid of his ambitious vassal. I have supplied an analysis from a broader perspective, in particular in relation to their fear of a suspicious alliance between Temüjin and the Naiman, also a shift of supporters during this crucial moment, in chapter three section III.

Baljuna

On pp.71-73, there is a good summary of the interpretations of Temüjin's situation when he was at Baljuna, which provides background information for my analysis in chapter three section III about another shift of supporters after the battle at Qalaqaljit-Elet.

### Inviting submission

On p.82, he cites the passage recorded by al-'Umari regarding the invitation to the other Mongol tribes to submit and relates that the Oirat and the Qonggirat responded to the call and joined the Mongol army. In fact, the Oirat was not a Mongol tribe and it joined Temüjin quite late after Temüjin started to expand westward; also al-'Umari's passage might have been a general description of Temüjin's peaceful expansion policy without special reference to Mongol tribes. This can be related to the discussion in chapter five section II.

### Jamuqa

On pp.87-88, Ratchnevsky relates his understanding of Jamuqa and concludes that Jamuqa lost because "the Mongol nation declared its support" for Temüjin. My very close investigation of Jamuqa's role in the career of Temüjin can be found in chapter three section III and chapter four section II (ii) and (iii).

### The meaning of Chinggis

On pp.89-90, he lists the previous suggestions of the meaning of the title and he inclines to accept the meaning of "ocean or sea" which is proposed by von Ramstedt and Pelliot. The most recent study of de Rachewiltz on this subject is quoted in the end of chapter four.

### The submission of the rulers of Uighur and Qarluq

On pp.102-103, he recounts the submission of these two tribes. However, the Uighur was not "the first people outside the Mongol nation to acknowledge Genghis Khan's suzerainty" ---- this was the Oirats. Also, he attributed the in-laws' relationship between Temüjin-Mongol and the Qarluq ruler to the latter's peaceful submission, while I have supplied an analysis of the offering of this relationship in chapter five section II from a strategic point of view.

### The personality of Temüjin

From p.145 to p.169, Ratchnevsky supplies an enjoyable account of the personality of Temüjin, also a description of certain Mongolian social values in that Temüjin was like an angel when he was generous but when it came to "his desire for power", "all other considerations and feelings were subjugated to this desire". (p.158) My overall survey of the character of Temüjin, based on his relationship with surrounding people, can be found in chapter one section II (towards his brothers), chapter three section II and III (towards his allies and competitors), chapter four section II (towards his kinsmen), chapter five section II (towards submissive tribal leaders from the steppe belt) and section III (towards his in-laws).

### The conquests, administration and legislation

From p.169 to p.186, Ratchnevsky accounts for Temüjin's conquests, administration and legislation but he never mention other means which Temüjin had made use of to achieve his conquests, except for force. My view of Temüjin's strategy in gathering support and unifying the Mongol tribes, and the peaceful policy which had successfully brought the whole steppe belt into submission, also the administration of his "steppe empire" through social relationships (with regard to customary principles and obligations) are found in chapter four and five.

O, wonder  
How many goodly creatures are there here  
How beauteous mankind is  
O brave new world  
That has such people in't

---- William Shakespeare

