

Haslund's *Toregut Rarelro* rediscovered

*Ünen süjigetü qayučin torγud kiged čing sedkiltü
sin-e torγud-ud-un qayan noyad-un uy ündüsün-ü
iledkel teüke-yin bičig* by Geleg Choldan

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At the 39th meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference in Szeged, Hungary, 1996, the present author read a paper titled «Haslund's *Toregut Rarelro* deciphered», in which the title of the mysterious manuscript Henning Haslund-Christensen, the Danish explorer of Inner Asia, had come across in the library of the Torghuud monastery north of Karashahr in 1928, was identified as a defective rendering of *torγud rgyalrab* or «the genealogy of Torghuud kings». He also identified Geril Däre Khan, the mythical founder of the Torghuud princely house, with Shih-huang-ti of the Ch'in, the first emperor of China, and On-Tas, a chief who leaves his homeland and joins Jenghiz Khan, with Toghoril Ong Khan, king of the Nestorian-Christian Kereyid tribe and former master of Chinggis Khan.¹

This time the present author has been able to identify this strange text with the original of a Torghuud chronicle, *Ünen süjigtü qayučin torγud kiged čing sedkiltü sin-e torγud-ud-un qayan noyad-un uy ündüsün-ü iledkel teüke-yin bičig*, which was printed in *uyiyurjin* Mongolian transcription in the volume *Oyirad Teüken Surbulji Bičig/Wei-la-t'e Li-shih Wên-hsien*, edited by Badai, Altanorgil and Erdeni and published by Öbör Mongγol-un Soyol-un Keblel-ün Qoriy-a/Nei Mêng-ku Wên-hua Ch'u-pan-shê in 1985.

The text in question comprises pp. 365–389 of the book, including 37 notes added by the editors. Note 1 contains the most pertinent information on the original, which says:

«The original is a volume covered with yellow silk, and the text inside is written along lines drawn on white silk. In doing so, the names of men who had titles and court ranks in the Ch'ing times are written in red, and the names of those who did not, in black. This book seems to have been preserved originally in the palace of the Torghuud khanate. After the Liberation, Comrade Badai got it from Comrade Dorji of Bayangol in Sinkiang».²

Bayangol here is the Bayangolyn Mongol Autonomous Prefecture (*Pa-yin-kuo-lêng Mêng-ku Tzŭ-chih Chou*), which occupies the northern part of the Tarim Basin in Sinkiang. Compare this to how Haslund-Christensen describes the *Toregut Rarelro* in his book, *Men and Gods in Mongolia (Zayagan)*, London, 1935, p. 305:

«Toregut Rarelro consisted of a collection of loose leaves of a kind of shantung which lay packed between two richly carved and painted slabs of wood, which in their turn were wrapped in several layers of leather and brocade. The leaves, six by fifteen and three-quarters inches in size, were written in Torgut script in black and red, and the chronicle had evidently been recorded by various persons and at different times. The writing of the introductory leaves was faded and hard to read, but one could nevertheless form the conclusion, from the tone of the introductory words, that the writer had been a lama.»

The comparison leaves little doubt that the two texts are one and the same, and that we now have the fortune of having free access to the content of the once-mysterious *Toregut Rarelro*.

The main text of *Ünen süjigtü qayučin torγud kiged čing sedkiltü sin-e torγud-ud-un qayān noyad-un uγ ündüsün-ü iledkel teüke-yin bičig*, which means «The book of tables and history of the origin of the khans and princes of the Ünen Süjügtü Old Torghuud and the Ching Sedkiltü New Torghuud», begins with the Buddhist incantation, *om sayin amuγulang boltuγai*, or «Om, may there be peace and well-being», which corresponds to Haslund's «Om, sain amorolan boltora».

Then the text tells how Gerel Dere Khan moved from India to the Chinese city of Sianfu, got hold of a golden seal with a handle of wish-fulfilling jewel there and became the very first emperor of China. One of his descendants, Naran Khan, had thirty sons. The eldest among them was Taghmang Khan. One of his sons was On Tayisa.

On Tayisa became upset for some reason, left with nine companions of his, and arrived in the country of his maternal uncle, King Miran Diba of Hami. He received many subjects from the uncle and spent a few years there. Then he left again leading his subjects and went to Mongolia to join Chinggis Khan. Chinggis Khan gave On Tayisa a daughter of his own in marriage with a rich dowry in people, and let him live at a place called Böke Mören.

After four generations, his descendant of the fifth generation Kayibang dispatched six men headed by Tushkhuur with the order, «You go to the land of the Oyirad to look at their pastures, khan and princes and come back». They went to the land of the Oyirad, and when they met Toghon Tayishi the Oyirad khan, they were asked on what business they

had come. They explained to him why they had come. Then, as their physical appearance was beautiful, he admired them, saying, «What beautiful people you are, so large-bodied! (*ta-nar yaḡun yeke turuḡ-tai sayiqan ulus bui*)». The expression *turuḡ-ud* «large-bodied men» later corrupted into the name Torghuud. Upon their return, the prince and the people decided to go over and join Toghon Tayishi. Toghon Tayishi was so pleased that he gave the prince a daughter of his own in marriage with a dowry of two-hundred-fifty families. From then on they gradually grew in number until they became one of the Four Oyirad tribes. Such being the case, the generations from Gerel Dere Khan who had first come from India through On Tayisa are clearly recorded in Chinese books of history, so says the text.

The text then goes into the genealogy of Torghuud princes. On Tayishi's son was Vang Khan.³ Vang Khan's son was Arsalang. Arsalang's son was Amughulang. Amughulang had two sons, Kayibang and Taradang. Kayibang's son was Soosoi. Soosoi's son was Bayar. Bayar had two sons, Menggei and Uzang Chechen. Menggei had ten sons by his two queens, among whom the eldest, Boyigho Örlüg, inherited the power, while the second son, Ongghoi, became the ancestor of the two jasaghs in Kokonor. Boyigho Örlüg had seven sons, the eldest among whom was Juljaghan Örlüg, and the second, Ongkhon Chabchiyachi.⁴

Juljaghan Örlüg had a son, Kho Örlüg. Kho Örlüg had six sons, the eldest among whom was Shükür Dayiching. Shükür Dayiching had four sons, Gürü, Dayu, Nama Cheren and Pungchugh Jaltsan. The fourth, Pungchugh Jaltsan, had three sons, the eldest among whom was Khan Ayuuki. The latter had a jade seal and the power of a khan bestowed on him by the Fifth Dalai Lama.

Ayuuki Khan had eight sons, Chaghdur Jab, Günjab, Sanjab, Rabtan, Gün Deleg, Khan Chereng Donrub, Galdan Danjin and Barsang Chereng. Chaghdur Jab's third son, Khan Donrub Rashi, became khan after Khan Dondugh Ghombo.⁵

Khan Donrub Rashi's fourth son was Khan Ubushi, who was granted the title Jasagh Jorightu Khan at the time of entering the service of Emperor Ch'ien-lung.⁶

Ubushi Khan had two sons, Khan Chereng Namjil and First Class Tayiji Rabtan Dorji. As the latter had no son, he adopted his elder brother's second son Namjil Dorji, who later became khan.

Chereng Namjil had three sons, Khan Khoshighuchi, Khan Namjil Dorji and Khan Dantsun Vangjil, also known as Puuchi Khan. As Khoshighuchi Khan had no son, Puuchi Khan succeeded him. As Puuchi Khan, too, had no son, Namjil Dorji succeeded him as khan. Khan Namjil Dorji's eldest son was Khan Cheden Dorji. Cheden Dorji's only son was

Khan Namjil Jurmed Chereng. Namjil Dorji's second son was First Class Tayiji Rinchin Dorji, also known as Bütüi Noyan.

Bütüi Noyan's only son was Khan Maha Bazar. Maha Bazar's only son was Khan Buyan Öljeitü. Buyan Öljeitü's eldest son was Khan Buyan Choghtu. Buyan Choghtu's eldest son was Khan Buyan Mönöke. Buyan Mönöke's only son was Khan Manchughjab. Khan Manchughjab's only son was Khan Ghombo Dejid.⁷

According to a Communist-Chinese source, Buyan Mönöke Khan died suddenly in 1917 when his son Manchughjab was only two years old. Governor Yang Tsêng-hsin ordered Khatun Serjibjid to take charge of the Torghuud affairs, but real power rested in the hand of Toyin Lama Luuzang Cheren Chümbel, Buyan Choghtu Khan's third son. In 1922 the khatun died of an illness, and the State Council of the Peking Government ordered the lama to take charge of the khanate and league affairs. In 1932 the lama was treacherously assassinated by Governor Chin Shu-jên while visiting Urumchi. Manchughjab, then 17 years old, was enthroned as the 27th khan of the Torghuud. In the summer of 1934, Sven Hedin visited the 20-year-old khan in his palace while returning from Lop Nor to Urumchi. Later the khan was imprisoned by Governor Shêng Shih-tsai for eight years until he was released on account of mental disorder in 1945.⁸

The very last khan mentioned in the Torghuud chronicle, Khan Ghombo Dejid, corresponds to Gombo Danjin listed as Manchughjab's son in the family tree appended to another Communist-Chinese work.⁹ This khan must have lived at least until the conquest of Sinkiang by the People's Liberation Army in 1950.

All despite of such late entries in the published text, the Torghuud chronicle was originally compiled in the 1870s, some seventy years before the Communist takeover of China. The chronicle has the following colophon:

«This history has been written by the monk Geleg Choldan, also known as Ejei, born in the Torghuud princely family, by combining it into a single description. May the hearts of the princely brethren be forever harmonious, the religion and the government be firm, and the happiness increase great and wide!»¹⁰

The name of the original author of the Torghuud chronicle, here spelled Toyin Gelong Geleg Choldan, also known as Ejei, born in the Torghuud princely family, is actually listed in its genealogical part in a slightly different spelling.

Shükür Dayiching's third son was Nama Cheren. Nama Cheren's eldest son was Nazar Mamud. Nazar Mamud's third son was Beyise Rabjuur. Rabjuur's eldest son was Danzung. Danzung's eldest son was

Beyile Luuzang Darjai. Luuzang Darjai's only son was Beyile Vangjil Cheren. Vangjil Cheren had five sons, the second among whom was Beyile Donrub Chereng, and the fifth, Second Class Tayiji Rabtan Donrub Pelji. Donrub Chereng's only son was Beyile Bayar Mangnai, also known as Sodnam Dobju. Bayar Mangnai's only son was Beyile Dashi Chereng. Rabtan Donrub Pelji's eldest son was Toyin Geleg Choghdan, also known as Ejei, who had studied religion in the Sgo-mang Faculty of the 'Braspungs Monastery. Rabtan Donrub Pelji's second son was Second Class Tayiji Donrub Chereng. Donrub Chereng's third son was Beyile Donrub Rashi, also known as Beyile Danjin.¹¹

Rabjuur, as mentioned here, is the same as Arabjur, founder of the Old Torghuud Banner on the Ejinei. Arabjur had gone on pilgrimage to Tibet by way of the Jüün Ghar territory. While he was in Tibet, Ayuuki fell out with Ts'ewang Arabtan, the Jüün Ghar chief. In K'ang-hsi 43 (1704) Arabjur was going home from Tibet, but his way was blocked by the Jüün Ghar. He stopped outside the Chia-yü-kuan Gate and sent messengers to Peking with a request that he be taken in as an imperial subject. The emperor took pity on him who had nowhere to go, gave him pastures at Serteng, bestowed on him the court rank *gūsai beise* and let him govern his followers. Arabjur died in K'ang-hsi 55 (1716) and was succeeded by his eldest son Danjung. Danjung had his rank promoted to *doroi beile* in Yung-chêng 7 (1729). In Yung-chêng 9 (1731) he moved his pastures to the Ejinei River. He died in Ch'ien-lung 5 (1740) and was succeeded by his eldest son Lobdzangdarja. Lobdzangdarja was appointed *jasak* in Ch'ien-lung 18 (1753). He died in Ch'ien-lung 32 (1767) and was succeeded by his eldest son Wangjal Cering. Wangjal Cering's rank was made permanently hereditary in his family by an imperial decree in Ch'ien-lung 48 (1783).¹²

Wangjal Cering was succeeded by his second son Dondob Cering in Chia-ch'ing 15 (1810). Dondob Cering was succeeded by his son Bayar Mangnai in Chia-ch'ing 17 (1812). Bayar Mangnai died in Tao-kuang 21 (1841) and was succeeded by his son Dasi Cereng. Dasi Cereng fell in a battle in T'ung-chih 12 (1873) and was succeeded by his son (!) Danjin. In Kuang-hsü 5.XII.16 (25 January 1880) the late Beile Dasi Cereng was posthumously rewarded for his loyalty with the rank *doroi giyün wang*.¹³

The original author of our Torghuud chronicle obviously knew of Dashi Chereng's violent death early in 1873. This must have taken place in the course of the Muslim Rebellion that had broken out in 1862, devastated most of Shensi and Kansu, spread into East Turkestan, and raged for sixteen years until it was put down by Tso Tsung-t'ang's Hunan Army early in 1878.¹⁴

The author, monk Geleg Choldan/Choghdan, was uncle and contemporary of both Beyile Dashi Chereng and Beyile Danjin. He must have been inspired by the tragedy of 1873 to start writing his chronicle, with the aim of reminding his clansmen of their glorious past and thus encouraging them to unite in the face of the great difficulty brought on them by the Muslim Rebellion. The original manuscript of his chronicle must have been completed in the 1870s before Beyile Dashi Chereng was posthumously honored by the imperial throne early in 1880. His new rank is not mentioned in the text.

Now we know why the chronicle, in its mythical account of the origin of the Torghuud royal house, makes special reference to the city of Sian, where Gerel Dere Khan, Shih-huang-ti of the Ch'in in disguise, supposedly reigned, and to Hami, where On Tayisa, namely Ong Khan of the Kereyid, was made to sojourn on his way to Chinggis Khan. The author, Geleg Choldan, was an Ejinei Torghuud, whose home pastures just outside the Kansu border were in close proximity to both Sian and Hami. Under such circumstances we must accept that those myths were of a very late origin, most probably produced in the nineteenth century, for they are not found in any Volga-Kalmyk chronicles.

Our Torghuud chronicle appears to have been originally compiled in the 1870s. Still its published text contains the names of successive Torghuud khans who came on the throne as late as the mid-twentieth century. This must mean that they kept up the custom of having their names entered in the palace copy of the chronicle even after it was perused by Henning Haslund-Christensen in February 1929.

Notes

- 1 Recently the present author became aware of John R. Krueger's article, «New materials on Oirat law and history, Part Two: 'The origin of the Torgouts'», *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 30–42. Krueger reported in his article that he had discovered a notebook among Haslund's things kept at the Central Asian Institute, University of Copenhagen, which contained an excerpt of the Torghuud genealogy in *todo* copied from the original *Toregut Rarelro*, and interpreted the title as a corruption of *torγud γarulγa* or «the origin of the Torghuud».
- 2 P. 387: *уγ eke bičig ni sir-a torγan γadar-tai debter, dotoraki üsüg-i čayan torγan deger-e šuyum tataju bičigsen bile. inggikü-degen čing ulus-un üy-e-dü jerge kergem-tei kümüs-ün ner-e-yi ulayan öngge-ber bičijü, jerge kergem ügei kümüs-ün ner-e-yi qar-a öngge-ber bičije. angq-a türügün-degen, enekü nom ni torγud-un qan ordon-da qadaγalaydaju bayiγsan bolultai. čilügelegdegsen-ü daray-a, badai nökör tegün-i sinjiyang-un bayayol-un dorji nökör-eče oljai.*

- 3 Here the text spells the name On Tayishi, not On Tayisa as in the story already quoted. This discrepancy seems to indicate the existence of two different traditions, legendary or genealogical.
- 4 Here the original author reveals one of his sources. After mentioning Ongkhon Chabchiyachi, he adds: «Some old history makes him Menggei's second son. Here I have written following the Yellow Volumes (*sir-a debter*)». The same source is elsewhere referred to as «the Yellow Volumes of Tables (*iledkel-ün sir-a debter*)» (p. 388). As the editors correctly observe in Note 8, this source is none other than *Jarliγ-iyar toytaγaysan γadaγadu mongγol qotong ayimaγ-un vang güng-üd-ün iledkel šastir*, the Mongolian version prepared by the Ch'ing Court of Colonial Affairs (*Tulergi golo be dasara jurgan/Li-fan-yüan*) of the Manchu-Chinese *Hesei toktobuha tulergi monggo hoise aiman-i wang gung sai iletun ulabun/Ch'in-ting wai-fang Mêng-ku Hui-pu wang kung piao chuan*, a collection of genealogical tables and biographies of the Mongol and Muslim princes commissioned by Emperor Ch'ien-lung and completed in 1789. Our author's deference to this imperially-commissioned source explains why the title of his work contains the word «tables (*iledkel*)» although no tables are included in his text. For bibliographical details concerning the source, conventionally referred to by Mongolists as *Iledkel Shastir*, see Junko Miyawaki's works: «A newly-discovered Wu-ying-tien print edition of *Meng-ku Wang Kung Piao Chuan*», *Ti-êrh-chieh Chung-kuo Yü-wai Han-chi Kuo-chi Hsüeh-shu Hui-i Lun-wên-chi*, Taipei, 1989, pp. 1023–1035; «Qi Yunshi, Chinese Altaist of the eighteenth century», *Altaica Osloensia, Proceedings from the 32nd Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Oslo, June 12–16, 1989*, Oslo, 1990, pp. 239–248; «Ki Inshi sanshû Kentei Gaihan Môko Kaibu Ôkô Hyôden kô», *Tôhögaku*, 81, 1991, pp. 102–115; «Notes on *Meng-ku Wang-kung Piao-chuan* and the compilation of *Huang-chao Fan-pu Yao-lüeh* and *Meng-ku You-mu Chi*», *Ti-liu-chieh Chung-kuo Yü-wai Han-chi Kuo-chi Hsüeh-shu Hui-i Lun-wên-chi*, Taipei, 1993, pp. 1–11.
- 5 Khan Dondugh Ghombo, whose name is spelled variously Donrub Vangbo, Dondugh Gombo, etc., was Günjab's eldest son. P. 374: *günjab. deger-e γaruγsan günjab-un qoyar köbegün-eče aq-a anu, qayan donrub vangbo. qayan čeren donrub-un qoyin-a ene qayan boluγsan. vasa donduγ gombo gedeg.* «Günjab. Günjab mentioned above had two sons, the elder of whom was Khan Donrub Vangbo. He became khan after Khan Cheren Donrub. He is also called Dondugh Gombo».
- 6 P 371: *donrub rasi-yin dörbedüger köbegün inu qayan ubusi. tngri tedkügči boyda ejen-dü boyol-du oroqu üy-e-dü jasaγ joriγtu qayan kemen ergümjilebei.* It is very interesting to note that the author refers to the 1771 return of the Volga Torghuud to the Ili and their submission to the Manchu as literally «the time of entering as slaves (*boyol*) under the Holy Master Heaven-Supported».
- 7 The table in *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, chap. 218, gives the following names of successive khans of the Turgüt tribe: Ubasi, the 15th-generation descendant of Ong Han, was granted the title *Jasak Joriktu* in Ch'ien-lung 36 (1771) and died in Ch'ien-lung 39

- (1774); Ts'ering Namjal, Ubasi's eldest son, inherited the title in Ch'ien-lung 39 (1774), and had his title made permanently hereditary in his family by an imperial decree in Ch'ien-lung 48 (1783); Hošooci, Ts'ering Namjal's eldest son, inherited the title in Ch'ien-lung 57 (1792) and died in Chia-ch'ing 11 (1806); Danjin Wangjil, Hošooci's young brother, inherited the title in Chia-ch'ing 11 (1806) and died in Chia-ch'ing 13 (1808); Namjil Dorji, Danjin Wangjil's elder brother, inherited the title in Chia-ch'ing 14 (1809) and died in the same year; Ts'eden Dorji, Namjil Dorji's son, inherited the title in Chia-ch'ing 14 (1809) and died in Tao-kuang 11 (1831); Namjal Jurmet Ts'ering, Ts'eden Dorji's son, inherited the title in Tao-kuang 11 (1831) and died in Tao-kuang 29 (1849); Maha Badzar, Namjal Jurmet Ts'ering's cousin, inherited the title in Tao-kuang 30 (1850) and died in Hsien-fêng 2 (1852); Ratna Badzar, Maha Badzar's son, inherited the title in Hsien-fêng 2 (1852) and changed his name to Buyan Öljeitu in Hsien-fêng 7 (1857); Buyan Coktu, Ratna Badzar's son, inherited the title in Kuang-hsü 1 (1875); Buyan Mungku, Buyan Coktu's son, inherited the title in Kuang-hsü 17 (1891).
- 8 Hung Yung-hsiang, «T'u-êrh-hu-t'ê han-wang yü Chung-kuo Hsi-pei K'o-hsieh K'ao-ch'a-t'uan», *Hsi-yü k'ao-ch'a yü yen-chiu*, Urumchi, 1994, pp. 426–429.
- 9 Ma Ju-hêng & Ma Ta-chêng, *P'iao-lao i-yü-ti min-tsu—17 chih 18 shih-chi-ti T'u-êrh-hu-t'ê Mêng-ku*, Peking, 1991, Appendix 2, Table 2.
- 10 P. 387: *ene teüke-yi torγud noyad-un ijaγur-tu törögsen toyin gelong geleg čoldan, aldarsıγsan ner-e ejei kemekü ber nigen jüg-tü eblen bičibeı. kejiyede töröl sadun aq-a degüü noyad-un sedkil jokilduju, šajin törö ni batudču, öljei quturγ aγuu yeke delderekü bolturγai.*
- 11 Pp. 367–370.
- 12 *Iletun Ulabun/Piao Chuan*, chap. 102, Biography of Arabjur.
- 13 Pao Kuei-ch'in ed., *Ch'ing-tai Mêng-ku Kuan-li Chuan*, Peking 1995, pp. 954–955.
- 14 Arthur W. Hummel ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period (1644–1912)*, Washington, 1943–1944, p. 765.