The Westerly Drifting of Nomades, from the Fifth to the Nineteenth Century. Part VI. The Kirghises, or Bourouts, the Kazaks, Kalmucks, Euzbegs, and Nogays.

Author(s): Henry H. Howorth

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tions on the truthful principles of ethnology, and to that effect I have thus firmly expressed my humble opinion.

Mr. COOPER said : Some allusion having been made to the current superstitions respecting the evil eye having also prevailed at one time in Egypt, I rise to observe that the allusion is only apparently borne out by the numerous ocular amulets found in Egyptian tombs. In truth, these charms, consisting of sculptured representation of the right symbolical eye, either singly or in various geometrical multiples (four, nine, fourteen, twenty-eight, etc.), were really as much designed to invoke a blessing as to deprecate or avert an evil. The eye, the symbol of the all-watchful Heserei (Osiris), is found on the oldest monuments of the Hamitic races ; and was not, I believe, connected with any idea of phallic energy till the influence of a later Semitic cultus, derived in the eighteenth dynasty from the Ramesaic kings, and culminated under their corrupt successors, the Ptolemies.

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion on the foregoing papers and exhibitions : Professor Busk, Mr. C. Charlesworth, Dr. Carter Blake, Dr. Nicholas, Mr. A. L. Lewis, Mr. J. W. Flower, Col. Lane Fox, Rev. George Sinclair, Mr. Wake, and the President.

The following papers by HENRY H. HOWORTH, M.A.I., Esq., were taken as read :

The WESTERLY DRIFTING of NOMADES, from the FIFTH to the NINETEENTH CENTURY.—PART VI. The KIRGHISES, or BOU-ROUTS, the KAZAKS, KALMUCKS, EUZBEGS, and NOGAYS.

IN tracing the pedigree of the Turkish races, we have arrived at their first emigrations across the Volga and the Oxus, the two frontier rivers of the more typical Turkland. We have stripped Persia, Turkey, and Southern Russia, of the Turk element in their populations. We must now cross those rivers, and enter the more proper homeland of the Turks—so held, at least, in popular estimation. Our difficulties, of course, increase very much, and our conclusions are necessarily more tentative, as we journey away from the haunts of civilisation. The country we have to deal with is the stony and sandy steppe, reaching from the Volga to the Desert of Gobi, and from the Sea of Aral and the Caspian to the Ural Mountains and the Steppe of Baraba—a hungry land, a land of robbers and nomades, whose ethnology offers as confusing a subject for investigation as could be desired by the most patient unwinder of puzzles. We shall traverse a small portion of the ground covered by the first part of this paper ; and be able, perhaps, to correct a few errors, for which a wider area of observation has suggested a better answer. Our method, as previously, will consist in gradually unpeeling the various layers of populations, until we arrive at the primitive kernel of the whole.

A great portion of the area which we propose to investigate is occupied by the Khirgises, and is from them known as the Khirghiz Steppes—wastes described picturesquely by Atkinson, and more valuably by Levchine. Like most predatory and dis-integrated races, they have no connected history. They can tell of renowned chieftains, of marvellous escapes, of successful raids, of all the more striking incidents in the career of their ancestors, the natural subject matter of ballads and traditions; but of their own origin, etc., they speak as empiricists construct history.

The ethnography of these steppes has been very much confused by a not unnatural mistake. The name Kirghiz is unknown to the tribes to whom it is commonly applied in Europe. They invariably call themselves Kazaks. It is a name indigenous to a race of robbers, now inhabiting the mountains of Kaschgar Khoten, etc., generally known as Bourouts, Eastern Kirghises, Rock, Wild, or Black Kirghises, whose origin and history is different from that of the so-called Kirghises of the Great, Middle, and Little Hordes. When the Cossacks conquered Siberia, they found these real Kirghises living in the Eastern Altai, and afterwards applied the name to the neighbouring tribes of Kazaks, whose language, manners, etc., were sufficiently like theirs to pardon the classification. From the Cossacks, the name has spread into the pages of western writers. In this examination, we must distinguish them. The name Kirghiz, or Bourout, will be applied to the Kirghises proper, while the so-called Kirghises of the three hordes will be referred to as Kazaks.

The confused history of the Bourouts has been collected by Radloff, Levchine and others, and from them I shall take the following epitome. They are now most distinctly a Turkish race; that they were not always so is most certain, and will appear presently. During the supremacy of the Yuen or Mongol dynasty in China, the Opon (Ob or Obi) was the south-western, and the Jousse the north-eastern boundary of the country of the Kirghises, while the Jenissei flowed through their country (Klaproth). When the Cossacks invaded Siberia, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were living on the black and white Jousse, on the Abakan, and the neighbourhood of the Sayan Mountains; that is, they still occupied their ancient seats. Hence, they pillaged for a whole century the New Russian colonies, dividing their nominal allegiance between the Russians, the Eastern Mongols, and the Soongars. At length, just at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Russians, in concert with the Kontaisch of the Soongars, tired of their robberies, drove them out of their old country, and forced them to settle

in the mountainous country between Arizitchdzan and Kashgar, where they are now found, and are under the protection of China, Russia, and the Khans of Kokand. Radloff suggests they have been called Kara Kirghises, or Black Kirghises, from the obstinacy with which they have clung to their old idolatry. Believers still call the unconverted "kara kapir", or black infidels. They are only nominally Mussulmans; shaving the head, performing certain ablutions, and repeating occasionally some Arabic sentence, more as a charm than as attaching any meaning to it. They have neither mosques nor priests among them, and say no prayers. They are almost entirely occupied in rearing cattle and brigandage. Luxury is a misnomer to apply to any of their extravagances. Travellers remark on the monotony that exists among them; the rich being distinguished merely by a somewhat larger yurt, or more embroidered coat. They are very fond of music, and very hospitable and trustworthy to their guests, contrasting favourably with the Kazaks. In war, and to their enemies, they are described by all their neighbours as cruel, vindictive, and untameable.

In their old homes, the Kirghises were bordered on the east by the great plains reaching to the Baikal Sea, now occupied by very broken and disintegrated tribes. It seems to be very well established, that the Yakouts, who now live far to the north-east, on the Lena, who are a Turkish race, isolated entirely from the rest of the Turks, and surrounded by strangers, have only very lately arrived in their present homes. Their traditions all agree in a very recent migration down the Lena, from a country where they formerly lived as brothers of the same kin with the Bourouts. Now these Bourouts cannot be the Bouriards of Lake Baikal, who are Mongols, and not Turks. They were, no doubt, the Bourouts of whom we have just written—*i.e.*, the Kirghises. Their name, we know, agrees with tribal names found among the Turks of the Baraba Steppe, generally called the Barabinski; and many writers, notably Fischer and De Lessep, have affirmed the identity of the Yakouts and the Barabinski. The latter are very nearly related, as they used to be very close neighbours of the Kirghises; and I have no hesitation in making all three—*viz.*, the Bourouts, or Kirghises, the Yakouts, and Barabinski—fragments of an ancient race, which has been dispersed by the arrival of the Russians, or, perhaps, by the far-reaching ambition of the Soongars, a race which, on the Lena and the deserts of Baraba, has preserved for us a picture of what the Siberian, and probably all the Asiatic Turks, were, before they were sophisticated by contact with Mohammedanism. This dispersal I place not much earlier than the end of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century. The details upon which these results are founded, will be printed, I hope, elsewhere.

We will now turn to the Kazaks, on whom Levchine has written a most exhaustive work.

All accounts, traditional and native, as well as historical and foreign, agree that the Kazaks are but recent occupants of much of their present area. Everywhere in its western portion, we meet with traces of the previous occupants, the Nogays. In the eastern portion, the broken remains of the Kalmucks are the wrecks of the power whose decay opened a wide path for the aggressions of the Kazaks.

The pressure of the Kazaks has been constantly towards the south and south-west, occupying the deserted camping-grounds of the Nogays, etc. During the earlier part of the seventeenth century, the Sari Sou, which rises in the Ak Tag Mountains, and, after a very broken course, loses itself in the sands of Karakum, was their frontier towards the south-east, separating them from the Kalmucks. The Baschkirs still wandered between the upper waters of the Ural, or Jaick, and the Emba, while the Kalmucks held the country about the mouths of these rivers. The Karakalpacs and Turcomans pastured the deserts of Ust Urt and the shores of the Aral. It was only a short time before the Russian advance into Siberia that the Kazaks had overrun the old Khanate of Tura, before which their northern frontier was bounded by the Tartars of that ancient dependency of Genghiz Khan. So that, at that period, the Kazaks were confined to the central and eastern portions of their present area. Their chief Khan lived at Turkestan, and they plundered their neighbours on all sides. Their origines I shall consider with those of the Euzbeks. Here it will suffice to say, that their history as an independent power commenced with the expulsion of the Euzbeks from the country beyond the Jaxartes by the Soongars.

During the sixteenth century, our notices are very scanty and isolated. We have, in Fischer's "*History of Siberia*", an account of the conquest of Siberia by Kutchum Khan, the son of Mur-taza, and his Kazaks. We have fragmentary notices of Kazak raids upon the Nogays of the Ural; and the early English traders Jenkinson and others mention the Kazaks as inhabiting the steppes. But it is not till the beginning of the seventeenth century we get on stable ground. Abulghazi Khan relates how, in 1630, he took refuge with Ichim, the Kazak khan, who lived at Turkestan. Ichim was succeeded by Djanghir; and he again by Tiavka, looked upon by the Kazaks as their Lycurgus, whose equity and whose strong hand created something like order among the hordes. He was obeyed apparently, like his father and grandfather, by all the Kazaks. Under him, three lesser khans governed the Great, Little, and Middle Hordes. As he grew old, his hand became too weak to restrain his turbulent

subjects ; and Abulkhair and Kaip, two celebrated names in Kazak history, were associated with him. Tiavka died in 1717. Internal quarrels and dissensions immediately arose, which led to attacks from all sides on the part of long-enduring neighbours. In 1723, the Soongars took Turkestan, the residence of Abulkhair, and subjected portions of the Great and Middle Hordes, and scattered the rest of the Kazaks in all directions. In the language of one of their elders, " We fled before the Kalmucks, the Kossacks of Siberia, and of the Jaick and the Baschkirs, like hares before greyhounds." This dispersion was most disastrous in its effects ; multitudes of both the men and their flocks perished. Ill-fortune somewhat restored peace among them ; they agreed to accept Abulkhair as leader, and under him returned to their old homes, and a white horse was sacrificed as a gage of future peace. In 1732, Abulkhair, and a number of his subjects, took the oath of allegiance to Russia, which agreed, shortly afterwards, to confirm the dignity of khan in the family of Abulkhair. In 1735, at the request of the Kazak khan, the fortress of Orenburg was commenced ; and the next year, to check the turbulence of both Kazaks and Baschkirs, and to form a better frontier, the line of Orenburg forts was constructed. The Kazaks were never very obedient to their khans, and this intercourse and subservience of Abulkhair to Russia weakened his hands very much. The khans of the Middle Horde, over whom he claimed suzerainty, became very independent, and attracted many recruits. In his latter days, Abulkhair himself gradually got estranged from Russia ; he was killed by Barak, one of the khans of the Middle Horde, 1748.

Meanwhile, the Chinese overthrew and destroyed the power of the Soongars : this was in 1756 ; and their vast country, almost reduced to a desert, was annexed to China. The Kazaks of the Middle Horde, who had assisted the Chinese, were allowed to drift over this area. They had desperate struggles with the Bourouts ; but became very powerful under their Khan Ablai, although under the nominal banner of the Chinese.

When the Soongars, or Eastern Kalmucks, were overthrown, ten thousand of them joined their countrymen on the Volga ; these new comers, accustomed to freedom, incited their countrymen against the Russians, and induced their celebrated flight across the desert, when fifty thousand families attempted to run the gauntlet of the Kirghiz Steppes, and were fearfully decimated by the three hordes in succession, and lastly by the Bourouts.

Ablai Khan died in 1781, and the Middle Horde was immediately split into fragments.

Catherine the Second tried to reclaim the Kazaks by building

mosques, schools, and caravanserais, and appointing tribunals to settle their quarrels and legislate for them, but with very partial success. The measures of her minister Injelstrom, to break up the power of the greater khans, were at last successful. The Little Horde was dispersed: a portion joined the Middle, another went over to the Euzbeks, a third to the Turcomans, while a fourth division of ten thousand families crossed the Volga, and settled in the land left vacant by the Kalmucks, where they have since remained. The land of the Middle Horde has been gradually annexed to Russia. It has been found, as is very natural, that neither treaty nor promise will bind the desert robbers. Plunder they will; perhaps, plunder they must is the more rational expression. The land is too hungry, life too precarious, and property too easily stolen, for much order to reign there; and it was inevitable, and surely not very disheartening to philosophers, that Russia should continue her advance till she enclosed with her iron discipline the whole of the desert.

The history of the Great Horde was, with great propriety, separated from that of the other Kazaks by Levchine. Separated by a long distance from the Russians, and situated close to the Soongars, they naturally became more or less subject to the latter. At length, leaving the neighbourhood of the Lake Balkash, they retired towards the river Sara Sou, and thence pillaged Taschkend and Turkestan, which, in 1739, were subject to them. On the dispersion of the Soongars by the Chinese in 1756, the Great Horde drifted over their deserted country, and recognised the suzerainty of China. The Torgouts, in their flight from Russia, were cruelly assailed by one portion of the Kazaks of the Great Horde. Another portion of the Horde had fixed its camp in the neighbourhood of Taschkend, and pillaged that town and the surrounding country. In 1760, a large body of Karakalpacs, driven from the mouths of the Jaxartes by the Little Horde, joined them. In 1798, they were subjected by a rigorous Khan of Taschkend, who attacked the plunderers, and exposed pyramids of their heads to frighten the rest. He reduced them to order. A portion of them escaped to the Irtysch, and joined the Middle Horde; others dispersed in various directions. When, in 1814, the Khan of Khokand took Taschkend, these Kazaks changed masters; but many of them, who had settled down, left their fields and gardens, and escaped towards China. The Great Horde is now broken up: a portion still obeys the Khan of Khokand, a second obeys China, a third is under the dominion of Russia.

Having epitomised the tedious history of the Kazaks, from the time of their forming a distinct nationality, we must now turn to the Soongars, or Kalmucks, whose arrival led to this result.

The origin of the Kalmucks is an obscure question. Pallas is probably right when he says that the Mongols were divided into two branches before the days of Zenghiz. These were most probably the Keraites and their dependent tribes, and the Mongols proper. His strong arm kept them united for a while, and probably the unity lasted during the continuance of the dynasty of the Yuen in China. When this was destroyed, the old division arose, and Kalmucks in the west and Khalkas in the east denoted the rival parties. Abel Remusat and others have shown good reasons for identifying the Kalmucks with the Keraites, the Ouirates, and their other dependent tribes. I believe this position to be well founded; and, if so, we must place their western limit at that date at the country of the Naimans. When the power of the Naimans was destroyed, and they were scattered in the Kirghiz and Nogay deserts, as we shall show further on, the ancestors of the Kalmucks drifted westwards, and occupied the abandoned country. Here they were situated, apparently, at the fall of the Yuen dynasty, and hence, according to the relation of Emperor Kienlung (see "*Mémoires sur la Chine*"), a body of them advanced on the country about Kokonoor, or Thibet, where their descendants still remain. They were divided into three main divisions; namely, the Soongars (with whom were joined the Derbetes), the Torgouts, and Koschotes. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Soongar princes subdued or scattered the other divisions. The fugitives to Thibet were probably a portion; another portion, after a long struggle with the Soongar princes, left the country, and found its way, as we have shown in the first paper of this series, in the year 1630, to the banks of the Volga. After these events, the Eastern Kalmucks are often referred to simply as the Soongars. The growth of a central power among the Soongars, by the suppression of the independence of many tribes, coincides with the decay of the power of the successors of Timour in Turkestan, and the break-up of the old Khanate of Kaptchak. This led to two migrations. The Kalmucks pressed across the Irtysch into Eastern Kaptchak, the Desht Jitteh of the Arabs, and dispossessed the tribes of the latter. Some of these joined the Kazaks to the north; the greater portion, under the name of Euzbeks, crossed the Jaxartes, and drove thence Baber and his so-called Mongols—*i.e.*, the descendants of Timour. The Soongars rapidly acquired a vast power.

The Emperor Kanghi; in the "*Mémoires*" already quoted, tells us the first khan of the Eleuths who came to do homage was Kousihan. He was well received by the Emperor Chuntche; was treated as a king, and presented with a special seal and the title "*souré*", meaning *eminent*. One of his descendants,

Tchetchem ombon, we are told, showed great skill in clearing his country of plunderers, and received from the Chinese the titles of Patour and Tousietou. Another, called Hotohotchin, with the title of Patour Taidji, was the Kontaisch of the Kalmucks, with whom the Russians came in contact when they occupied Siberia. He was the father of the celebrated Galdan, or Kaldan. Educated as a lama, it was on the murder of his brother Sengue, who had succeeded his father, that Galdan received permission from the Grand Lama to revenge his death, and declare himself Taidji. On very slight pretexts, he attacked the other independent Taidjis; and, having united the three main hordes of the Eleuths, was practically the founder of the empire of the Soongars. Fugitives from his ambition sought assistance from China, which sent a large army against him, and defeated him: when hard pressed he poisoned himself. This was in 1697.

Tse ouang Reptan was originally a small chieftain under the King of the Eleuths. With him, Septen Patchour, the son of Galdan, took refuge, taking with him his father's body. Reptan delivered him up to the Chinese, and with him the head of Galdan. This was only the beginning of his treachery. On the retreat of the Chinese, he ravaged all the borderland, including those parts of Mongolia subject to China. His aim seemed to be to revive the old empires of Zenghiz and Timour. By fraud or force, he subdued nearly all the surrounding tribes, and beat the Chinese armies. He was apparently succeeded by Ta-tse-reng, a *protégé* of the Chinese court. A period of confusion followed, in which many pretenders arose. At length, more successful than the rest, Amoursana raised the royal standard on the banks of the Ili. Several of the chieftains, fearful of impending troubles, fled into China, and were settled by the Emperor in the country of the Khalkas. Amoursana now threw himself at the feet of the Emperor, who gave him a high title. The Emperor Khanghi says, emphatically, the perfidious Amoursana, like a wolf which has once tasted flesh, could not be quiet. The fact is, the Chinese *surveillance* invariably becomes unbearable to the dependent tribes. The ambiguous summonses to Peking to receive fresh honours, literally mean prostration at the foot of the throne. Tired of the restraint, Amoursana took up arms, and overran all the line of forts built by the Chinese to protect their frontier. The Chinese sent two large armies, which were both unsuccessful. In 1752, two new armies set out, broke up the confederation of the Mongol tribes, and we are told Amoursana fled, to return no more, to the vast solitudes of Locha (the Chinese name for the Russian possessions). The Eleuths were destroyed or dispersed, and the disintegrated remnants were administered by the Chinese. They still

remain about Lake Balkash and the adjoining mountains, and are generally known as Eastern Kalmucks.

Before the Kalmucks appeared on the Volga, Turkish tribes, more or less pure, occupied all the country from the Volga to the mountains east of Lake Balkash, a tract which formed the ancient Khanate of Kiptchak, or the Golden Horde. At this period, this tract was divided into two sections: the western portion, including all the valleys of the Jaick, the Djemba, etc., formed the so-called Great Nogaia, and was the camping-ground of the Nogays; the eastern, the Desht Jitteh, was occupied by the Kazaks and the Euzbegs, apparently subject to a common khan, who probably lived at the town of Turkestan. We must now examine the origins of the Euzbegs and the Nogays. These were but streams of the great Turkish flood, which swept over Asia with Zenghiz Khan.

At the accession of Zenghiz, the country west of the Jaick or Ural was occupied by the Kaptchaks or Comans, of whom we have already written. East of the Jaick, the steppes of the Kirghises, as far as the frontiers of Turkestan proper, were the camping ground of the Turkish horde, known as Cancalis or Canglis. Both Kaptchaks and Cancalis were subject to Mohammed, the Sultan of Kharezm, known as the Kharezm Schah. He ruled over a vast empire, formed of the *débris* of that of the Seljouks, including nearly all Persia, bounded on the south by the Indian Ocean; on the east by the Indus and the mountains of Budakschan, etc.; and on the north-east by the further frontier of Transoxiana. Here commenced another great empire, about which you have lately heard from Dr. Oppert; viz., that of Kara Kathay, occupying very nearly the centre of Asia, and including what is generally known to geographers as Turkestan; that is, it included the towns of Yarkand, Kaschgar, Euzkend, Caialik, Amalik, and Bishbalik, and was the cord which tied together the various Turkish tribes whose independent centres were those towns. All these obeyed the supreme Khan, known as the Khan of Kara Kathay. These two Khans, he of Khorazm and he of Kara Kathay, ruled over by far the most important powers of Asia at the accession of Zenghiz. North-east of Kara Kathay and east of the Great Altai Mountains, was the small independent Khanate of the Naymans. Here we must linger awhile. The Naymans, by most authors, have been classed as Mongols. I believe they were nothing of the kind, and that this mistake has led to some very false reasoning.

According to the Arabian historian, Raschid, the country of the Naymans comprehended in its full extent the Great Altai and the Caracorum mountains, as well as the mountains of Eloug Serass, lake Ardisch (Saissan), the banks of the river Ardisch

(the Upper Irtysh), and the mountains between this river and the country of the Kirghises. It was bounded on the north by the Kirghises; on the east, by the Keraïtes; on the south-west, by Ouïgouria; and on the west, by the Cancalis. One tribe of the forty-nine banners of the Mongols is, unquestionably, called Naiman; but, as assuredly two Nogay (Turkish tribes) and a Kirghiz tribe also bear the same name, so that the balance of evidence, so far, is in favour of the Turks. The first king of the Naymans mentioned by D'Ohsson is Inandje, which, he says, is a *Turkish* word, meaning believer; the second is Belga Boucou Khan. Boucou Khan, he says, is the name of a celebrated ancient king among the *Ouïgours* (Turks). He says, again, the greater part of the sovereigns of the Naymans joined to their title of Khan the epithet Goutschlouc, which means in Turkish powerful, or Bouyourouc, which means commanding; a general of the Naymans was called Gueugussu, which has also a Turkish etymology. These names are quite sufficient to prove that the Naymans were no Mongols, but Turks,—the most easterly of the Turks; (for we have already shewn their neighbours, the Keraïtes, to have been Kalmucks)—the most like the Mongols, and therefore not unlike the modern Naymans; that is, the Nogays; most probably they were the Kimakes of the Arabs.

The Nayman country is too remote from the centres of civilisation to be often noticed by historians, unless it happen, for the time being, to have some exceptional connection with them. We are not surprised, therefore, to meet with the *name* Nayman for the first time in the historians of Genghiz. It is a Mongol word, and means merely six (see D'Ohsson). We may trace the *people* somewhat further, perhaps. Thus the country occupied by the Naymans in the latter half of the twelfth century was the home of the Ouïgours, or Hoeitché, in the ninth, when the latter were well known to the Chinese. The same country was at both dates bordered on the north by the Kirghises. When the Ouïgour power was destroyed, in 847, by the Chinese, it was chiefly with the assistance of the Kirghises, who overran their country in all directions. Now Nayman is still the chief of the tribes of the Middle Horde of the Kirghiz-Kazaks; when the King of the Naymans was defeated he took refuge among the Kirghises (D'Ohsson). We shall not be unreasonable if we conclude that the Naymans are in fact the descendants of these Kirghises, and of the Hoeitché, or Ouïgours, a mixed race, whose power is perhaps to be dated from the year 847. The following facts are chiefly from D'Ohsson, vol. i. Their first appearance is when Gour Khan, uncle of Thogrul, commonly known as Oang Khan, the chief of the Keraïtes (who, until lately, has been

deemed the Prester John; (*vide* Dr. Oppert Kitai, and Kara Kitai), took refuge with Inandje, chief of the Naymans; the latter vanquished Thogrul, who took refuge with Yissougi, the father of Genghiz. He, in his turn, drove out Gour Khan, made him take refuge in Tangout, and restored Oang Khan. In 1199 Zenghiz, in alliance with Oang Khan, marched against the Naymans. Inandje Belga Boucou Khan, such was his full name, was then dead. His two sons, Tai Bouca and Bouyourouc, quarrelled; the former kept the paternal home and the plains; the latter retired with such tribes as clung to him to the mountainous country of Kiziltasch, near the Altai. Most of the sovereigns of the Naymans joined to their title of Khan that of Goutschlouc, but Tai Bouca bore the Chinese title of Taivang, or Great King; pronounced Tayang by the Mongols.

Zenghiz and Oang Khan, taking advantage of the quarrel, severely defeated Bouyourouc, who took refuge in the country of the Kem Kemdjoutes, a dependency of the Kirghises. The invaders, in turn, quarrelled; and Saira, a general of Bouyourouc, defeated Oang Khan, and overran the Keraite country. The Naymans were only driven thence by the superior address of Zenghiz.

In 1202 Bouyourouc Khan, besides his own people, headed a confederacy of the tribes *Dourban*, Tatar, Kataguin, Saldjout, and *Ovirat*, all jealous of the rising power of Zenghiz; they attacked the latter in alliance with Oang Khan, and drove them among the mountains of Caraoun Tchidoun, on the frontiers of China, but there most of them were destroyed by the cold, etc.

In 1203 the long jealousy between Zenghiz and Oang Khan ended in the complete defeat of the latter, who escaped to the land of his old enemies, the Naymans. Here he was murdered, much to the sorrow of the Khan, who, to shew his respect *more Nayman*, had his skull encased in silver, and used it as a drinking bowl on great occasions of ceremony.

In 1204 Zenghiz marched against Tayang, Khan of the Naymans, with whom were Toucta, King of the Merkites, Alin Taischi, chief of a Keraite tribe, the *Ovirates*, Djadjerats, Dourbans, Tatars, *Katakins*, and Saldjouts. The Naymans were beaten; their chief was badly wounded; the chiefs of the nation, rather than survive the defeat, rushed on the victors, and died sword in hand; the rest of the Naymans were dispersed in all directions or else reduced to slavery.

Goutschlouc, son of Tayang, fled to his uncle Bouyourouc Khan; and Toucta, chief of the Merkites, sought the same refuge, among the mountains of Ouloug *Tag*, the western spurs of the Little Altai, and south of lake Balcash. Here they were defeated by Zenghiz in 1206, and Bouyourouc killed. Goutchlouc and Toucta

fled to the country watered by the Irtysh ; *i. e.*, to the north. In 1207 the Kirghises and Kem Kemdjoutes submitted to Zenghiz. In 1208 Zenghiz marched once more against Goutschlouc and Toucta ; he defeated them on the Djem (*i. e.*, the Jenissei) ; the latter was killed ; his brothers and sons escaped to the country of the Ouigours. Goutschlouc fled to the Grand Khan of Turkestan or Kara Kathay.

In 1211 the Khan of the Ouigours, Arslan Khan chief of the Carlouks and Prince of Cayalik, and Ozar, Prince of Almalik, broke their allegiance to the Khan of Kara Kathay, and submitted to Zenghiz ; two of them, and the son and successor of the third, married relations of Zenghiz. Goutschlouc Khan had married the daughter of the Gour Khan of Kara Kathay. The weak sovereign of that once vast empire had lost the allegiance of his three greatest vassals, the King of the Ouigours, the Prince of Transoxiana, and the Sultan of Kharezm. Koutchlouc, with true Tartar fidelity, thought it a good opportunity for retrieving his fortune. He first set out to collect the *débris* of his nation, now scattered in the countries of Imil, Cayalic, and Bisch Balig. He was also joined by the Prince of the Merkites. He entered into a league with the renowned Mohammed of Khorazm, to overturn the empire of Kara Kathay, and then proceeded to Euskend, where the treasury of Gour Khan was situated. Goutschlouc was soon after severely defeated ; but, in 1211 or 1212, he surprised the great Khan and made him prisoner. Master of his person, he left him the title of sovereign, which he bore till his death, two years afterwards. Goutschlouc attacked and killed the Khans of Almalig and Caschgar, ravaged their countries, and then conquered Khotan. He tried to force the inhabitants to abjure Mohamedanism. He summoned the Cadhis to discuss the question with him ; their chief Imam defended his faith with some warmth ; the Khan, in anger, abused Mahomet ; whereupon the former cursed him. " May the earth cover thy false tongue," he said. The Imam was therefore crucified, and a rapid persecution of Mahometans commenced. In 1218 Genghiz appeared on the frontiers of the empire ; Goutschlouc was driven into Badakshan, and there beheaded ; and the empire of Kara Kathay was swallowed up in the vast conquests of the Mongols. This conquest formed afterwards the chief recruiting ground of the Mongols. Its various tribes of Ouigours, Carlouks, etc., were the best soldiers in the Mongol armies. It has long been known that the very great majority of their troops were Turks and not Mongols. When Zenghiz attacked the Khorazm Schah, the Cançalis claimed to be very near relatives of the invaders. The same relationship was claimed by the Kiptchaks on the invasion of their territory by the Mongols ; both of these were well known Turkish tribes.

On the death of Zenghiz he divided his empire among his sons, making one of them paramount. The heritage of Djoutchi, the eldest, was situated north of the sea of Aral, extending westwards as far as the Bulgarians; or, in the more graphic words of an Arab author, "To the furthest spot touched by the hoofs of a Tartar horse". These vast steppes were the home of the Kiptchaks, the Cancalis, and of the *débris* of the various tribes driven westward by the Mongols, the Naymans, Merkites, Kataguins, Carlouks, etc. The small proportion of Mongols may be judged from the fact, that each of the four sons of Zenghiz had only a corps of four thousand Mongols assigned to him, the rest of his force being Turks.

In 1235 it was decided at the great assembly of the Mongols to send an army to conquer the country west of the Volga. This army was led by Batou, son of Djoutchi Khan. It first subjected the great Bulgarians on the Volga. In 1237 it attacked the Kiptchaks or Comans; one portion of these emigrated, a second was destroyed, a third submitted (see D'Ohsson, "*Histoire des Mongols*", ii, 112). The Mongols then attacked the Bourtasses and Mokschas or Mordoines, Finnic tribes of east central Russia, the Circassians, and a people called by Raschid, Vézofiniah. Having subdued all the countries north of the Caucasus, the Mongols overran all Russia, except Novgorod; and, returning home again, once more defeated the Kiptchaks and the Tchermishes. During the next few years they carried their arms into the heart of Europe, ravaging Bohemia and Hungary and most effectually subjecting the Russian princes, who for three centuries remained their humble dependents. The story is told in detail by D'Ohsson.

On their return they fixed their capital at Serai. The empire which they founded and which was handed down to the successors of Batou is known as that of the Golden Horde.

On his return to Serai, Batou commissioned his brother Tarboug to conquer for himself an appanage in Siberia. This conquest was the foundation of the Khanate of Tura or Siberia, which lasted down to the days of the Russian advance. We, perhaps, meet with an effect of this invasion in the pages of Torfæus, iv, 303, when he relates that, during the reign of Hakon II, 1217-1263, there arrived in Norway a great number of Permians who fled from the cruelty of the Tartars.

Mangou Timour, Khan of the Golden Horde, died in 1280, and was succeeded by Tonda Mangou, who was deposed for imbecility about 1285, and was succeeded by four of his relatives as co-regents, of whom Toulou Bouca seems to have been the chief. This branch of the family were descended from Djoutchi, son of Zenghiz. At this time other cadets of the same descent had acquired

appanages under their more illustrious relatives. Among these was the renowned Noughia or Nogai, son of Tatar, son of Boucal, son of *Djoutchi*, now an old man, crafty and very powerful. D'Ohsson tells us he held a vast appanage north of the Black Sea, and including the Alans, Circassians, Russians, Poles, Vlakhes, and Bulgarians, as his dependents. In 1259 he made an invasion of Poland, in conjunction with Toula Bouca. In 1265 he married Euphrosyne, natural daughter of the Emperor Michael Palæologus.

He was now ordered by Toula Bouca to join in an expedition to the country of Kerk (Circassia? or the country of the Kirghiz?), with *his Toumans*. The two armies pillaged the country. Overtaken by severe weather, Nogai withdrew his army into winter quarters. Toula Bouca, more venturesome, or perhaps unlucky, was overtaken by cold and famine, and his army suffered severely. Taking umbrage at Nogai, he summoned him before him. The old warrior came, laid an ambushade for his master, killed him, and placed his brother Toucta on the throne. He was not long in quarrelling with the new Khan, who, irritated at some insolent conduct, sent him a spade, an arrow, and a piece of earth, which guerdon was thus explained by his councillors to Nogai: The spade means, that if you bury yourself in the bowels of the earth, I will drag you out; the arrow, if you escape to the heavens, I will make you come down again; and the piece of earth, choose a battle-field where we may fight. Nogai's answer was sharp: "Tell thy master that our horses are thirsty, and we intend to water them in the Don." The river Don passed by Serai, the capital of the Golden Horde. The two armies met in 1267 at Yacssi, and Nogai mustered twenty thousand horsemen. Toucta was severely beaten. In a second battle Nogai was deserted by his sons and others (Novairi); he was then an old man; his long eye-lashes covered his eyes. In this battle he was killed. His name must have been famous indeed, and was adopted by those over whom he ruled. Their descendants are still known as the Nogai Tartars. His sons succeeded to the government of the Hordes, but did not remain long united, and Toucta was enabled to occupy his territory and to give it as an appanage to one of his brothers. The whole story is told in great detail in the notes to the fourth volume of D'Ohsson's history of the Mongols, from Novairi, etc.

The strange commentary suggested by the fact of this double Khanate, the *imperium in imperio*, possessed by Nogai, has not been properly explained by the writers on the subject. The explanation may be found, I think, if we examine those tribes who still call themselves Nogai, and who have always been independent, both of the great Khans of the Golden Horde and the smaller Khans of Krym, Astrakhan, and Casan, who succeeded

to their power. The Golden Horde was really the army of Batou Khan, the great Mongol invader of the West. Pallas, Dr. Clarke, and other writers, all distinguish very sharply the Nogais from the other Tatars of Krym, etc. Their *physique* and faces are much more like those of the Mongols, and they also approach them in other respects. Now, the Nogai traditions collected by De Hell point to their having come into the West after the days of Zenghiz Khan. Their most distinguished tribes on the other side of the Volga were formerly the Naymans and the Mankats, (? the same as Merkites) the most eastern and the most Mongolised, if I may use the word, of the Turks. It would appear as if the followers of Nogai consisted chiefly of the *novi homines*, together with all the less settled and more predatory tribes, while the Khans of Serai were dependent on the older inhabitants, the Kiptchaks, the Western Cancalis, etc., who were acquainted with towns and more amenable to discipline.

On the death of Nogai, the tribes who were proud to be known by his name, refused, or were too weak to be ruled by his descendants, and seem to have been conquered by the Khans of Serai. This conquest was, however, very partial. The strong hand of such leaders as Bereke and Euzbeg managed easily to control the whole Khanate. On their deaths we find confusion, and especially was it so when the line of Batou Khan was extinguished. In the days of Timour, the Golden Horde was divided and broken up, and the Nogai tribes constituted themselves once more a separate and distinct horde. When the Bashkirs were conquered in the sixteenth century, the Nogai Khan still ruled over a vast extent of country: a portion of the Bashkirs were subject to him. The western writers now speak of two Nogais, Great and Little Nogaia; the former on the east, the latter on the west of the Volga.

Great Nogaia, no doubt, consisted of a great portion of the western so-called Kirghiz Steppe; on the emigration of the Euzbeks, some remnants of the old Golden Horde who were still nomads, no doubt coalesced with the Nogais, as others did with the Kazaks. These Nogais were gradually pushed out or assimilated by the Kirghises. The Karakalpacs, who live about the eastern shores of the Aral, and who consist of Mankats, Kataguns, etc. (Nogai tribal names), I believe to be remains of them; others were pushed forward by the Kalmucks in the seventeenth century, and they were transplanted by Peter the Great.

In the province of Oufa a road is still called Nogaiskaia. Near the Irtysch is a steppe called the Noghaiskaia Steppe, while the Bashkir country is filled with similar traces. The greater portion of the Nogais crossed the Volga about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan

were broken up by Ivan the Terrible, and settled in the Kuban and north of the Euxine. But even in the middle of the seventeenth century they were the dominant race north of the Caspian and the Aral (see Levchine, "History of the Kirghiz Kazaks.")

Let us now turn to the Euzbeks. The successor of Toucta on the throne of the Golden Horde was his nephew Euzbek, son of Togrouldje and grandson of Mangou Timour. He came to the throne in 1312. We are told the military chiefs were inclined to support the sons of Toucta against *him* because he was a Mus-sulman and insisted on converting them. They always replied to his overtures: "Content thyself with our obedience. What matters our religion to thee? Why should we abandon the religion of Zenghiz for that of the *Arabs*?" He escaped a plot they formed to take his life; returned with his troops; killed the sons of Touctai, with a hundred and twenty other princes of the blood; and occupied the throne. In 1314 Euzbek sent an embassy to the court of Egypt, which is described by Novairi. It took splendid presents, and a letter in which he congratulated Nassir on the fact that Mahomedanism had spread as far as China. He told him that in his dominions there were no others than Mahomedans; that on his advent to the throne he left to the northern nations the alternative of Mahomedanism or war; that he had vanquished those who would not be converted. Those who did not perish in these campaigns he made slaves of. Many of these slaves he sent to the Sultan, who, in return, sent ambassadors with presents to Euzbek (D'Ohsson, iv, 574).

These boasts were by no means vain. The Khan of Kipchak was then one of the mightiest sovereigns of Asia, ruling from the frontiers of Lithuania to those of China. Khorazm, *i. e.*, the modern Khanate of Khiva, was one of his provinces. In 1315 it was sacked by Baba, a prince of the house of Zenghiz, who was dependent on Ouldjaitou, the Khan of Persia. Euzbek sent an ambassador to the Persian Khan, who bearded that potentate with the menace that only a strong power could make. "If Baba has done this by thine orders," he said, "we counsel thee not to winter in Arran; for we shall enter that province with an army as numerous as the sand of the desert." The Persian disavowed the act, and appeased Euzbek by ordering the culprit Baba to be executed in the presence of the ambassador (D'Ohsson).

In 1313 a sister of Uzbek Khan was married to Yuri, Prince of Moscow: this led to the elevation of the latter to the throne of the Grand Principality in 1320, and eventually to Moscow, becoming the first and most important of the Russian principalities and the settled seat of the Grand Dukedom. This was not the only marriage which brought influence to the Great Khan. About the same period the Sultan of Egypt sent him an em-

bassy, praying a wife of the family of Zinghiz Khan. D'Ohsson has told the story of the embassy, and the curious bargains that were made, very picturesquely (see "Hist. des Mongols," iv, 652).

Euzbeg Khan died in 1342. To him the consolidation of the empire of Kaptchak, the great apostle of Islam in the steppes of Central Asia, the Euzbegs of Khiva and Bokharah trace the origin of their nationality, as we are told by Abulgazi; himself a Prince of the Euzbegs. Following the custom of Turkish tribes they adopted the name of their most renowned chief: thus imitating the Nogays and the Kaptchaks, the Seljuks and the Ottomans. The Euzbegs, then, are neither more nor less than the tribes which formed the Khanate of Kaptchak; that is, the Golden Horde, those, that is, which formed its eastern half and were not settled in the various towns of the three lesser Khanates of Cazan, Astrakhan, and Krym, and did not join the confederacy of the Nogays. They remained necessarily nomads from their situation. Khiva is their stronghold, where they affirm their purest blood is to be found. As we have seen, Khiva was a mere dependency of their great hero, and therefore overrun by them at an early date.

They are divided, according to Vambery, into thirty principal Taife or tribes. Among these tribes are very many, such as the Kungrat, Kaptchak, Khitai, Nayman, Kulan, Taz, Uygur, Oshur, Kandjegaly, Djelair, Kanli, Karakazak, etc., which are identical in their names with the tribes of the Kirghiz Kazaks.

It is also a curious fact, that when the Euzbegs are at a loss for a Khan, either from failure of the royal stock among them or otherwise, they have recourse to the Kazaks. These facts go strongly to prove that Euzbegs (*i.e.*, *Uz-begs*) and Kazaks (*i.e.*, *Kaz-* or *Gaz-ak*) are branches of one people, torn asunder only at the irruption of the Kalmucks, and that before that they were the common subjects of Euzbeg Khan and his successors.

We have now followed the migrations of the Turks in *Turan* since the foundation of the Golden Horde. In the next paper we shall shew how and when the vast steppes, bounded by the Volga and the Altai mountains, the Oxus and steppes of Baraba, were first occupied by the Turks, and trace their course down to the days of Zenghiz.

PART VII.—*The THUKIUE or TURKS PROPER, and the HOEITCHE or UZES.*

It is the practice among the Turkish hordes—a practice of which several examples have occurred in the present series of papers—to name a horde or congery of clans from that clan or tribe to which the ruling family belongs, and which is for the time predominant. Thus we, at one period, hear of Gusses, at