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Several issues on the ancient nomadic society structure in the example of “bùluò/bǔl”

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Abstract. It is incorrect to translate 部落 *bùluò*, the nomadic society unit written in the Chinese sources as “род, племя” in Russian. *Bùluò* can be the word “bǔl” that names the relatives of the mother lineage who are the blood carriers. *Bùluò* existed for a long time being a common society form until the “obog/tribe formation”, the patrimony that appreciates father lineage as the bone carriers in the X-XI centuries. As the social relations of Uhuani people, real blood relatives of the mother lineage had existed for long time. In addition to it, genetic research on the burial ground in Burkhan Tolgoi in the Eg River valley confirms that establishing the “bul” according to the mother’s lineage was among the Hunnu people. Despite the common form of the patrimony being formed completely, Chinese authors of sources continued to use the word “bǔl” with its original meaning. Therefore, we have to consider that the first nomadic society structure had two main stages as a period of “bǔl” and a period of “obog/tribe”. Nevertheless, Chinese authors named these fundamentally different units with a single word 部落 *bùluò*. The word 邑落 (*yiluo*) has meaning in Mongolian language (*ayil*), in Turkic languages as ‘summer camp’ (*jayla/yaylo*) and these are the families that were moved away from the main family group depending on the pasture condition (*yalic* cattle breeding). Moreover, the descendants who stand out of their tribe in their influence and in number of livestock and property were called as 邑落 (*yiluo*). *Khuree/khureni* (circle) that has meaning of leaving the livestock in the center of the circled space by yurts built around it. The *khuree* began to be decreased in the period of establishing patrimony tribe structure. However, it has kept as “khot ail (neighbor)”. Therefore, the *khuree* that had been inherited until the latest period comes from the nomadic pastoralism being one of a special kind of the labor organization.

Keywords: Wuhuani, *luo/urkh* (family), *yiluo/ayil*, *buluo/bǔl* (mother lineage), *obog/tribe* (father lineage), *urug/kinship*, *khot ayil* (neighborhood), *küreged* (camps, circle), *küregen* (son-in-law), burial place

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Научная статья

Некоторые вопросы структуры кочевого общества на примере понятия «bùluò/bǔl»

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Аннотация. Перевод в китайских источниках слова «部落 *bùluò*», которое обозначает одну из форм социальной организации кочевников, на русский язык как «род, племя» является неправильным. Можно считать слово «було» вариантом термина «бул», который объединяет кровных родственников по линии матери. Данная форма была основной социальной структурой древних кочевников до тех пор, пока родство не стало считаться в X–XI веках по линии отца. Как показывает социальное отношение ухуанцев, реальная кровная родственная связь по линии матери существовала в течение долгих лет. Кроме того, генетические исследования на могильнике Бурхан толгой, в долине реки Эг подтверждают, что наличие «бул» по линии матери было и среди хуннов. Несмотря на формирование в дальнейшем «родства» по отцовской линии, создатели китайских летописей использовали для обозначения этой структуры по-прежнему термин «бул». Следовательно, первая социальная структура кочевников прошла через два основных этапа «бул» и «род/овог». Однако китайцы называли эти две принципиально разные единицы одним словом «部落 *bùluò*». Термин

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«*邑落 (yiluo)*» обозначает в монгольском языке «*айл (ayil)*», в тюркских языках «летнее кочевье' (*jayla/yaayo*)». Он включает семьи, которые откочовывают от основной группы скотоводов на отдельные пастбища (Яйлажное скотоводство). Кроме того, некоторые семьи, выделившиеся из рода, с учетом их влияния, количества скота и собственности, также называли «*邑落 (yiluo)*». Термин «хурээ/курень (круг)» связан с особенностями организации хозяйственного и жилого пространства древними скотоводами. Он восходит к практике размещения стад скота на ночь внутри жилого пространства, по периметру которого размещались юрты. Со времени распространения родства по отцовской линии его значение стало уменьшаться. Однако эта социально-хозяйственная форма сохранилась в виде термина «хот айл (соседство)». Следовательно, происхождение термина «хурээ», который используется и поныне, восходит к особенностям кочевого скотоводства, существовавшим в древности, и является одной из особенностей организации хозяйственной деятельности.

Ключевые слова: Ухуань, семья, юрт, род по материнской линии, род по отцовской линии, фамилия, курень, зять, могильник

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Introduction

There is information in the Chinese resources that can give a definite understanding of the ancient nomadic society structure. For example, in “Hou Han Shu” by Fan Yea it was written about Wuhuan society as “*the intelligent one who can straighten out was elected as a senior superior (dajeni-literally, big man) but he cannot inherit the governor’s position. Every yiluo has a junior superior and hundreds of luò (together) form bù*” (Taskin, 1984. P. 63).

V. S. Taskin noted that the among the *khitan* and *kumoxi* the word “yiluo” was changed by the word 氏族 *shitszu* or 族 *tszu* but the *Wuhuan*’s society structure is same to the structure in the period from the XI to the XIII centuries that was determined by B. Ya. Vladimirtsov as family (*ayil*), kinship (*obog, obox*), tribe (*irgen*), state, region (*ulus*) and *luò* is family, *yiluo* - kinship but *bù* is a tribe or a moving *khuree* (Taskin, 1984. P. 17).

As we consider, the “Hou Han Shu” information about the society structure of Wuhuan people who belonged to the Mongolian genesis and who lived in the territory with dense grass pasture, more humidity, comparatively pleasant weather and definite cultivation could show the feature of the ancient nomads’ society structure. The basic units as 部落 *bùluò*, the big society unit and as hundreds and thousands of 落 *luò*, also as 邑落 *yiluo*, the special group were mentioned here. For example, the units were expressed with three hieroglyphs: 1. 落 *luò*, 2.

邑 *yi* and 3. 部 *bù* and 2 and 1 form together *yiluo*, 3 and 1 *bùluò* but 1 lonely expresses *luò*, the smallest unit. Therefore, the chief title of the *bùluò* was not inherited because it was appointed. *Yiluo* had a low rank chief (it means there is another high rank chief) that shows the determined structure of the *yiluo*. In addition to it, *bù* consists of several *luò* (not *yiluo*). The basic social unit *bù* has a senior chief (*yiluo* means junior chief) because it has many *luò*. These two words together formed *bùluò* that was written in the sources many times. Therefore, *bù* and *bùluò* have the same meaning. The main thing is that the *yiluo* with the junior chief was not mentioned as the unit that forms a *bùluò*. Therefore, the *yiluo* was not the *Wuhuan*’s main social structure, it was a temporary camp organization.

FanYe noted furtherly, “大人有所招呼，則刻木為信，雖無文字，而部眾不敢違犯。氏姓無常，以大人健者名字為姓。大人以下，各自畜牧營產，不相徭役... when the senior chief wanted to call somebody, he noted this on the wood by slash on the wood instead of letters, and nobody of the *bùluò* members violated the rule. The *urug/kinship* is called by its chief’s name therefore *yiluo* did not have a fixed structure. The senior chief and all people below his title had livestock breeding

without disturbance for each other" (HHS 90:2979)¹.

Based on this information V. S. Taskin considered it as the confirmation of the private property which was supported by many researchers. Wuhuan people had the possibility to have private property because their homeland had good geography features for pasture livestock breeding and cultivation. They might have private property because they were *included* in the Xiongnu paying tax and they were situated near the Chinese civilization. If the private property relations were in reality then the classes, inequality might be deepened and "tributaries" that looked after the chief's livestock might have appeared and the administration and properties might be inherited. But the information in the source shows it was conversely. Therefore, considering the separate livestock breeding as the duty before the *bùluò*'s members will not be near to the truth and livestock breeding by the senior chief, people under him cannot be the strict confirmation of the private property existence. Since the senior chief's duty was not inherited and the *kinship* (氏 *shi*) of several powerful chiefs existed only temporarily the *bùluò* is completely different from the *obog*/tribe of Mongols in the XI-XII centuries. For example, L. Bilegt noted that Mongolian *obog* mentioned in the Secret History of the Mongols "...had *turkhag* or the almost constant army, their problems are solved by the tradition-based law and also they had an aristocratic master whose duty was inherited" (Bilegt, 2006. P. 9). There are many examples of title inheritance and establishment of many *obogs* in the Secret History of the Mongols. The authority of this period was inherited from generation to generation and this is the core difference of the Wuhuans society structure. Thus, identification of the Wuhuans social unit with the later Mongols' "obog" structure is not so proper.

Explaining *lo*, *bùluò* and *yilo* separately in the example of Wuhuan and showing its difference from the Mongolian "obog" in the XI-XII centuries are required.

落luò (lo) is the smallest core unit hundreds and thousands of which composes the *bùluò*. *Luo* is translated by researchers comparatively in the same way as *household, family and house (ayil)*. We consider the unit *luo* as *household or family* because *house* has meant integration of several families as we consider. As written in the note by Fan (the *Wuhuan people wedding* interestingly):

其嫁娶則先略女通情，或半歲百日，然後送牛馬羊畜，以為娉幣。婿隨妻還家，妻家無尊卑，旦旦拜之，而不拜其父母。為妻家僕役，一二年間，妻家乃厚遣送女，居處財物一皆為辦。*"Firstly a girl is stolen and after a half year of communication with her or after 100 days cows, horses and sheep are given as gifts. After that son-in-law comes with his wife to the family of his wife's family and bows to all relatives beyond the girl's father and mother. And the son-in-law works in his wife's family for 1-2 years like a servant. After that, the wife's family (luo) gives to the new family a place to live and enough things"* (HHS 90:2979). V. S. Taskin considered the word "place to live" as same with the Mongolian word "*nutag*" and "*yurt*" or "place for move" as was explained by B. Ya. Vladimirtsov. Therefore, it is certain that the gift that includes all important life things has the goal to strengthen the new family property" (Taskin, 1984. P. 16). As written in the information mentioned above, the wife's parents determined the "place to live" in their area of living for a new family. As Lin Gan, the historian from the PRC considered that the abovementioned information shows the real remaining of the matriarch in the Wuhuan society and said: "...in that period not women but men went far to be married (just man came to the tribe of woman)" (Lin Gan, 1997. P. 42-43). He understood the *Wuhuan*'s society structure as *tribe (bùluò)-obog/kinship (yilo)-neighborhood-family (luo)*.

A family included parents, children and sons-in-law in it. For a while the daughter with her husband was separated from the *lo* in a determined "place to

¹ HHS – 後漢書 – Hòu hànshū.

live” may be within the *bùluò*’s territory. In other words, the wife’s parents determine the location of the new *kúregen* (son-in-law)’s house and the livestock within their *nutag* and this was understood by V. S. Taskin as “*nutag*” or “*yurt*”. A family left its daughters in its heart place determining the special location within the *bùluò*, but sent its sons to the unknown *bùluò*. On the Tanshihuai who established Xianbei there is an information:

年十四五，勇健有智略。異部大人抄取其外家牛羊，檀石槐單騎追擊之，所向無前，悉還得所亡者，由是部落畏服。乃施法禁，平曲直，無敢犯者，遂推以為大人。He was big and intelligent boy when he was 14-15 years old. Head of another *bu* (部) took away his parents’ cows and sheep. Tanshihuai rode to catch

the robber and attacked to them. Nobody could not fight against him and he brought all livestock back. Therefore, all *bùluò*’s members began to respect him. He thought up rules and nobody did not violate the rule. At the end he was chosen as the *bùluò* head” (HHS 90:2989).

As was written in this information there were relatives of his mother (his mother was with her parents) lineage and Tanshihuai did not become a son-in-law in any *bùluò*. It shows that boys could live his own mothers’ *bùluò* and take wife for another *bùluò* establishing *urug* (氏 *shi*) special kinships.

As was written in Mukaddimat al-Adab’s Arabian-Persian-Turkic dictionary that was broadened by Mongolian language in 1492, the Mongolian word “*el*” means “human”, but “human” in turkic language is “*kiši*” (Poppe, 1938. P. 152). Among the Inner Mongolian Horchins today, “*lo*” means large, and numerous (Munhtur, 2018). As was written here 部落 *bùluò*, 邑落 *yiluo* and 落 *luò*, the basic structure units of Wuhuan all can come from 落 *luò* that means “man”, “group of people”.

部落 *buluo*: All researchers consider the *bùluò* as a big unit that includes many *luo* and *yiluo*. N. Ya. Bichurin, V. S. Taskin and other China researchers explained as *tribe* or *camp* in *kúreged* (cir-

cle), L. I. Duman explained as “*group*” or “*temporary camp*” (Duman, 1977. P. 55). B. Batsuren made hypothesis that word *bùluò* began to be noted in the sources from the period of Xiandai people who spoke Mongolian language and therefore, it can be originally Mongolian word and considered *bölök* in the word combination *bölö kirgen* in §5, 8 and 28, the Secret history of the Mongols as the word “*buleg* (group)” in the modern Mongolian language and it can have meaning “*group of citizens*” or “*camp*” (Batsuren, 2016). P. Delgerjargal translated as *tribe/group* (Delgerjargal, 2017. P. 155). Despite V. S. Taskin criticized that “it is too general and unclear for understanding it as people who integrate with their interest, activity and other common things” (Taskin, 1984. P. 17) researchers are supporting it clearly and definitely recently. The word *group* is not a proper noun and it is gathered people without any definite organization therefore, “*bùluò*” does not have the meaning of such a group. S. Atwood determined the *bùluò*’s structure and social function in the following way. Of the two characters forming the binome, *bu* 部 was used in the sense of a body of armed men, a military (or bandit) unit under one leader. *Luo* 落 was meant in the sense of a sedentary or semi - sedentary small village or large camp. (Only later was the term applied to nomads.) The *bùluò* is indeed seen as different from Chinese administrative units, but the ethnographic descriptions associated with the earliest use of these terms highlight not the idea of kinship (vs. territoriality) or common (vs. individual) property, but the fusion of military leadership with civil leadership. Thus, the peacetime village was the wartime band; one man was both peace-time judge and wartime commander. Together, these give *bùluò* the sense of “militia settlement” or “local following (of armed men) (Atwood, 2010).

In this way we are suggesting to consider the category “*bùluò*”, the proper noun of unit with many families since Wuhuan and Xianbei periods among the nomads constantly as relatedness integration in the mother’s lineage or the children of sisters and aunts being expressed in Mongolian language with the word “*bül, böl*” and the Turkic word “*böle*”. L. Budagov and other Turk researchers do

not ignore the introduction of the word “бөле” into the Turkic language from the Mongolian language (Sevortyan, 1978. P. 218).

The word root “BU” of the Mongolian word “bul” have same meanings with words “bulug (group)”, “bugd, bult (all)” that show plural and with the words “buh bat (firm)” and *buu* (shaman). And the suffix “L” means “man” and “people” as were mentioned above. Therefore, the word “Bül” is the word combination that consists of two meaningful parts. BU (all many) + L (“el” means “human”) = BUL. It is same to the Atwood’s explanation of Bulou. However, as Wuhuan’s social examples, Bulou had clear women’s dominating right and Chinese historian Lin Gan determined the Wuhuan’s society had the matriarchal kinship structure as we mentioned above. Therefore, Bulou has the same structure with Bül in which Mongolians became relatives of mother’s lineage.

If the big unit that integrates hundreds of houses (Luo) is considered by us as *bül*, the category “obog/kinship” that considered by the researchers of the middle age as *tribe* or *obog/kinship* must be the noun of the period when there was patriarch or authority and property were inherited. However, it is possible to pay attention to the fact that the nature of two units as *bül* and *obog/kinship* differs from the primitive period with the unlimited public property domination in many progressive ways. For example, 氏 (*shi*) *urug* (in *shanyui*, *mugulyui* and *ashina* etc.) that became the nomadic state basis appeared within the Bül. This process will be considered later. As was written in the abovementioned Chinese source absence of the definite names of Bül being called by their chiefs’ names show indirectly their basis on the matriarch integrity. The name of a Bül could not be kept because the duty of the chief was not inherited and a chief was elected newly in the next generation.

Fan Ye wrote on the Wuhuan’s tradition:

貴少而賤老，其性悍塞。怒則殺父兄，而終

不害其，以母有族類，父兄無相仇報故也。

Young people are respected but old people (not elder people - S. U.) are omitted. They are brave and bastard, kills father or brother (in other yilo (obog/kinship-Taskin) but they do not harm

their mother because she has many relatives and no revenge” (HHS 90:2979). Therefore, the son-in-law’s fate here is clear.

The elder men in the Bül concede their positions for younger men and finally they killed sometimes. The saying “grandson who will kill” in Mongolian language can be connected with the period of *bül* structure. In a work also was written as:

being married to the step-mother, establishing connections with the divorced wife of a brother, coming back to the former husband's family when the new husband died are seen among them. Men listen to the idea of women when they are planning and deciding something despite the army problems... Women braid their hair when they become adults and put on a tired goutsuye that looks like Chinese gobuya... Killing a father or brother is not considered a crime. Striker is caught by ilo head and is exiled to the desert with plenty of snakes. This place is situated in the south-west from Dinling and north-east from Usunie (Taskin, 1984. P. 64-65).

Sons-in-law who came to a Bül had many wives as was shown in this information. He always asked the opinion of wives in all problems despite the army problems.

The basis of the *bul* were the sisters, their husbands and men who were brought. Mongolians call their daughters’ husband “*küregen*/son-in-law (with meaning “brought”). This name “*küregen*” seems to be derived from the event that he was brought to the “*küreged*”, the gathered families’ place. In the § 66, the Secret History of Mongols was written “...*Temüžin-(u)ji küreged-to talbižu odču...*(left Temujin and went)” that means Temujin was left in the Dai Setsen’s *küreged* and his father come back. Leaving the son in his future wife’s family or “being taken as son-in-law” is the ancient tradition that the son-in-law comes to his wife’s family to be married. Three words *küreged*, *küregen* have the same root.

Keeping the livestock in the determined number to have its constant yield for elementary need of living and also increasing its number were urgent during the ancient nomadic period because livestock breeding was the almost only source of living. Having a lot of victims in livestock because of drought and heavy snowfall has become almost common

until now when high technology and technology developed. Keeping the number of cattle in a determined number was almost impossible for ancient nomads who were under full influence of weather and climate. Therefore, accumulation, strengthening the private property, having heritage (not titles and degrees) and other distinguishing in the society was very slow in the society. It became the unchangeable basis of the elementary principle to keep livestock under the regulation of the mother lineage relations, and share the livestock yield equally for the lineage members. Nomadic livestock breeding is the field where the power of many people or *bul* organizations to protect livestock from almost constant robbery and wild animal attack. The livestock breeding technology with the complete structure and obligations that includes keeping livestock in the pasture, gaining fat and increasing its number kept the herdsmen to be in the "*bul*" organization as a society unit that is the best for their livestock breeding from its very beginning. The cooperation was

necessary for the several *bùluò* to be integrated or have relations to prevent from the external attack and to protect from the small robbery with their own power. Therefore, 部 *bù* or 部落 *bùluò*, the biggest society unit in Wuhuan is the *bul* (*bül*, *böl*) that Mongolians named the mother lineage relatives.

There is an interesting name in the source that shows that the society structure before the "obog/kinship" establishment among the Mongolian ethnos was called itself *bu* or *bul*. After the establishment of the Khitan dynasty the northern nomads were called "zubu". This name was written in only Liao dynasty sutra and researchers have considered that Mongolian tribes that were called as *dada*, *tartar* and *shivei* in the sources written before Khitan were called as "*zubu*". Particularly, the consideration that the name *tartar* in the Turkic and Uigur periods was forgotten in the Khitan period becoming *zubu* and then the name *tartar* restored after the Khitan is very doubtful. T. Osawa, a researcher from Japan considers: "It is called by the Chinese pronunciation as <Zubu>, <djübü> or <djübügü> and it will be <djübür> or <djübügür> if consonant <r> is added. This word is same to the

word <djübür> or Khorkhonog jubur in the Secret history of Mongols and "Compendium of Chronicles" in the XIII century that has meaning "valley, steppe"... <Zubu> derived from the Mongolian word <djübür> with the meaning of < valley, steppe>" (Osawa, 2011). His explanation that the word "zubu" derives from the Mongolian word "jubur" is interesting. As was written in the Turkic engravings group of Mongols called "otuz tartar" lived very sparse in the Onon and Kherlen rivers' basins in the Khitan period and there had not yet had definite general name. They were many *bu-s* that were comparatively independent and each had own name therefore *khitan* people could not differ them (there is no need to differ) and could call them as "*zuun bu (hundred bu)*" or "*zubu*". Mongolians name many things in a group as "*zuun mod (hundred trees)*", "*zuun ail (hundred families)*". Therefore, we consider the *zubu* is not a proper name of a single group of people but the word combination "*zuun bu (one hundred bu)*" as collective noun that name many *bùluò* of Mongolian nomads who lived sparse

in the steppe. The word "zubu" written in the Liao shi is not precisely connected with the ancient Mongolian word that is named valley or steppe.

Bul (*bül*, *böl*), the integration of people in the mother's lineage existed in reality over 2000 years ago as the molecule and genetics analyze of the burial in Burkhan tolgoi, Eg river basin of Bulgan aimag, Mongolia. 49 samples that were chosen among 62 graves in this burial place met the test requirements were involved in the date determination genetic analyze and it was determined that most of the graves belonged to the deceased who were formerly in the mother lineage (Keyser-Tracqui et. al., 2003) (Fig. The relatedness of the deceased in the Xiongnu burial place in Burkhan tolgoi. In section B with many graves there are branches of the deceased who belonged to the mother's lineage). As the source information and archeology items show the unit "*bulo*" or *bul* (*bül*, *böl*) existed (also urug that based on the father lineage that inherited nobleman's title was already appeared - S. U.) in reality.

There was a phenomenon to name the nomadic society structure as *buzu* 部族 in the Chinese state

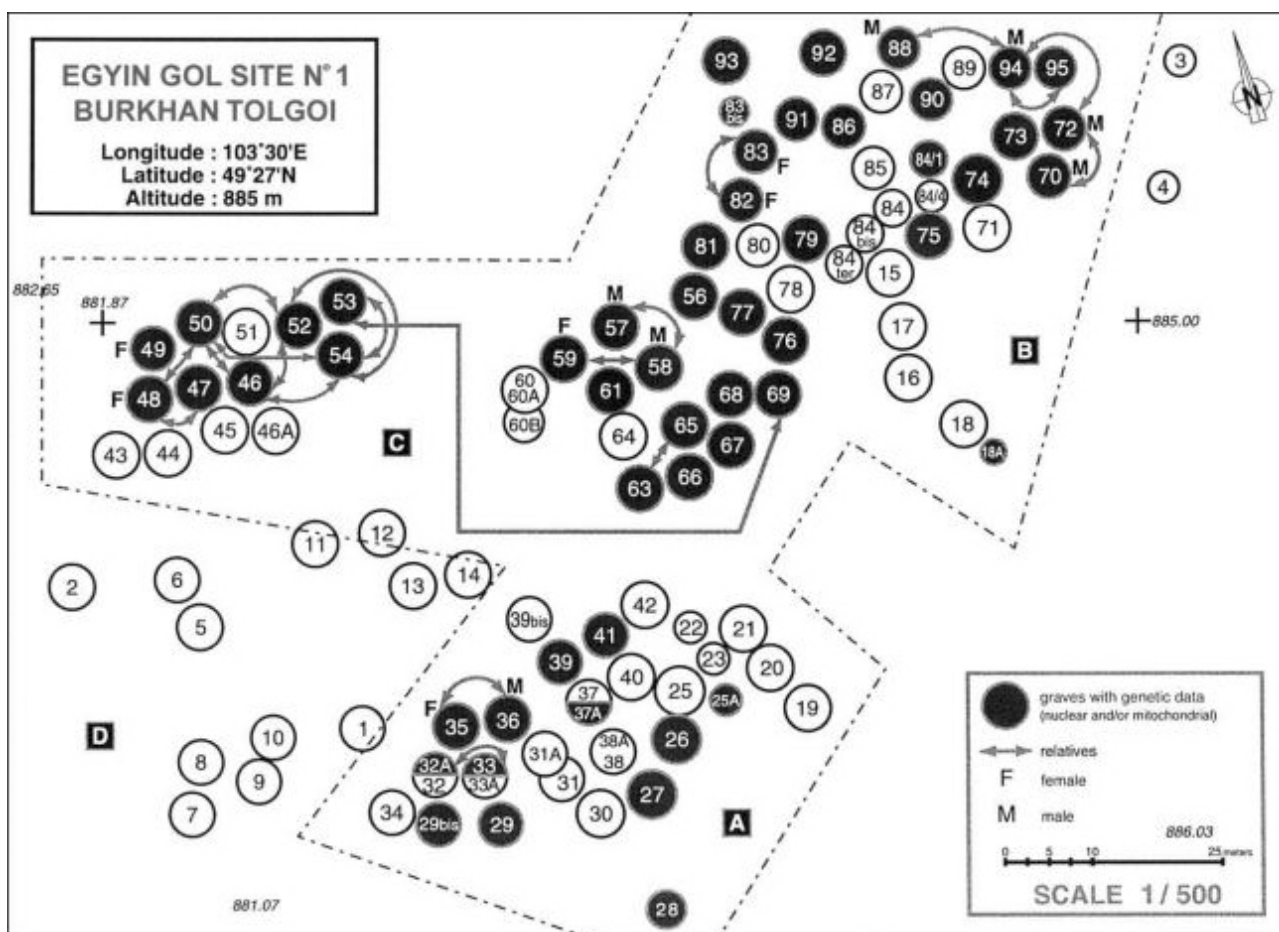


Fig. The map of the burial place that shows the relative bind that was confirmed by the mtDNA parameters (by: Keyser-Tracqui et al, 2003)

Рис. Карта могильника, на которой показаны родственные связи погребенных, подтвержденные анализами мтДНК (по: Кейзер-Тракки и др, 2003)

history works. It was during the Five Dynasties period (907-960), however, a new term came into use reflecting a new conception of barbarian society as based on descent groups: *buzu*. Combining the word *bu* "unit," "division" with *zu* 族 "descent group," this new term, which is still widely used in Chinese today, combined the idea of a "local following" or "militia settlement" with that of a clan or patrilineal descent group. It is thus remarkably close to the nineteenth - twentieth century anthropological meaning of tribe or clan as a unit held together by kin or quasi-kin ties (Atwood, 2010).

The period of *Bùluò* considered here is over as the phenomenon "kinship/obogton" noted in the Secret history of Mongols appeared.

When the (*bül*) structure based on the mother's lineage was changed by the obog/tribe relation that based on the father's relation, the livestock owning

changed from *bül* to (*khor*) *ayil* (neighborhood) owning. In this way *khuree* that met the requirements of *bül*'s owning form was disintegrated and reorganized as 邑落 *yiluo*, the best organization of the nomadic *obog/tribe* because of the private property.

邑落 *yiluo/ayil*: As we mentioned above in the information on the Wuhuan's society structure "*yilo*" with the junior chief was not the main unit of the *bùluò* (*bül*). Therefore, "*yilo*" is the temporary group of relatives based on the livestock pasture and economy depending on the season despite the family belonging to a definite *bül*. As the example of Wuhuan shows, economy that has *bùluò* structure some *luo*-s were integrated to use the pasture under the usage of a *bùluò* in the summer being managed by junior chiefs (the neighbors before the estab-

lishment of the agriculture cooperatives in the socialism period had own chiefs).

It can be considered that 邑落 *yiluo*, the Wuhuan's society structure is the ancient form of *ail* (*ayil*), a Mongolian word and the plural form of 部落 (*lo*). The summer in the Modern Turkish language is called *yai/jai* (*jai*) and summer camp is named as *yailak* (tur. *yaylak*), *jailau* (kaz. *jailau*, tat. *jeilou*), *djailoo* (kirg. *jailoo*), etc. The word "summer camp" in Persian language is called *yeilak* (بیلاق). We can consider the 邑落 *yiluo* (*ilo*) in the Chinese source that consists of the 邑 (*yi*, *jai*) with meaning of "summer" in Turkish language as *yai/jai* and the 落 (*luò*) with meaning of "family" as "summer families" or "summer camp families". Therefore, our hypothesis is that *khuree* can be divided into many temporary groups of *yilo/family* to have pasture for their livestock in the summer. In other words, the way that families were divided into several groups in the summer and autumn when livestock intensively gained power and fat was noted in the Chinese sources as "yilo".

Aul (a-ul, Tartarian word) means settlement, village in tartar, Bashkiria, Kavkaz, Kirgizia, Kazakhstan and Kalmyk as was written in the Ephron's encyclopedia, Brocgaus written from 1890 to 1907. An *aul* consists of at least 2-3 families of relatives but some rich *aul* includes about a hundred families. The abovementioned meaning appeared during the introduction of the settlement style into the nomads' lives during their big nation move. Mongolian word "ail" consists of the word root "ai" with the meaning "many" and the suffix "lo" with the meaning "man, people". Nowadays the whole village and a settled area are called "ail" in Inner Mongolia (Munhtur, 2018).

Yailag livestock breeding is the bringing away the livestock far from the settled area in the summer and the having cultivation near the settled area when the livestock is absent, in other words, it is the ancient half nomadic type of livestock breeding.

It is the *ayil* (not *urkh*) in Mongolian language and it has same origin with the Turkish word *yai/jai* (summer) and it has form 邑 (*yi*). For Mongolians

this word has another meaning (new family with own dwelling) but *ail* (*ayil*) and *ilo* (*yiluo*) have identical pronunciation and it seems to keep its first meaning. B. Ya. Vladimirtsov studied traditional Mongolian society structure and made conclusion that Mongolians had moved in the "ayil" and "khuree (*circle*)" ways until XIII century and gradually began to move in the *ail* way (Vladimirtsov, 1934. P. 37). As the research shows the *ail* structure seems to include many families and lately it began to have meaning "one family" and have the adjective "khot" before forming the word combination "khot ail". Absence of this word combination in the sources shows that it is the late name.

In this way *khuree* that based *bül's* property form disintegrated making the *ayil/yilo* form based on the private property the examined nomadic structure. Despitethe *ayil/yilo* in the period of obog/kinship structure became the basic unit of the labor organization, it kept some structure of the former *khuree*. For example, families have located in the circled way and have looked after the livestock in turn so far.

Some researchers consider *buluo* as "obog (obog/kinship)" and its Great Head (大人 *dà rén*) as *öböğ* (great grandfather) and Mongolian words *öböğ* and *obog* have almost same pronunciations and

therefore *obog* is *öböğ* identifying directly (Сэргэлэн С. Овог, Айл, Аймаг, Ил. Нийтлэл 26 // Өнөөдөр сонин. 2018/03/07). However, as Fan Ye informed the Great Head (大人 *dà rén*) of *buluo* did not inherited title but he was elected and therefore basis to consider *buluo* as "obog" is weak. Since the time when property began to be inherited by the owners of the heritage that is in Mongolian *öb* therefore "obog" can be formed from this word. And in the process the person who give his heritage called as *öböğ* (not *ebüge*) and the word *obog* began to call both *öböğ* and *ebüge* (great grandfather). It is clear that these words appeared when during the obog/kinship structure when property and authority inherited from a father to his son along the father's lineage. The inheriting made only from a father to a son therefore the nature of *obog* is relativeness relation in the father's lineage.

Ayil and urug: People tried to have relations with the rich and powerful families and as the result appeared genesis relation *urug*. One of the clear example of it was formation of the shanyui's and the aristocrats who had the permanent relations with them in the Xiongnu society. In the Fan Ye

異姓有呼衍氏、須卜氏、丘林氏、蘭氏四姓
· 為國中名族，常與單于婚姻。呼衍氏為左
· 蘭氏、須卜氏為右，主斷獄聽訟，當決輕
重，口白單于，無文書簿領焉 it was written
as the shanyui's were born in the *lán shì*, foreign
hū yǎn shì, *xū bo shì*, *qiū lín shì*. These four *urug*
were the honored where the wedding relations
were established. The *huyan urug* situated in
the east and *lan* and *xūbo* in the west determin-
ing truth, lie punishment orally and informing it
to shanyui without written form" (HHS
79:2945).

As was written here the integrations where the shanyuis were born had structures 氏 (*shi*) *urug*.

鮮卑者，亦東胡之支也，別依鮮卑山，故因
號焉。其言語習俗與烏桓同。唯婚姻先髡頭
· 以季春月大會於饒樂水上，飲讌畢，然後
配合。Language, custom of Xianbei people
were analogical with the Wuhuan's people.
They shaved their hair and beard before wed-
ding, gathered in the bank of Jaole River and
organized wedding (HHS 79:2985).

Therefore, features of Wuhuan's society mentioned above is analogical with the society of Xianbei people that were proved by the indirect information about Tanishuhuai's. The Tanishuhuai's genesis began to rule the state after their integration of the random Xianbei *búl*'s. Moreover, there is an information of that there was fight for the Rouran's throne and *Venheti* run away and came to Lyu Weicheni who had xiongnu grandfather and xianbei mother and belong to the northern nomadic *tefu* genesis/*urug* (氏) being the third generation of the obog/kinship where the tittle and property were passed from a father to his son or to an uncle.

The aristocratic genesis/*urug* (氏) formation can be seen among the Rouran's *búl*. As written in the source there was *urug mugulú* where were born Rourans kings. As written in the Wei shu:

*Ruru is the dōnghú's generation and itsgen-
esis/urug (氏) is yujiulú. Riders (from Wei) who
were robberies in the end of the former Shǐ shén
yuán (Livi 220-277) king government caught a
slave whose hair was on a par with his eye-
brows. So that he did not remember his name
and genesis/urug (氏) they gave him nickname
Mugulú. Mugulú means "mugulen (hornless)
head". Mugulú is heard analogically with
yujiulú his son and grandson made yujiulú their
urug (氏) name. Mugulú became a cavalry as
an adult and free of slavery man. During the Ilu
Mudi (308-316), the lord of Tabagachi he
condemned to death because he could not
come the mobilization place on time. He ran
away, began to live in the Gobi canyon gather-
ing over 100 escapers under the support of yīhé
tū lín bù (健). After death of Mugulú his son Chē
lù huì distinguished among people by his *búl*
(健) and determination and named people un-
der his regulation Rouran (WS 103:2289)².*

As was written in the information above *mugulú* became the *urug* (氏) name and his son became the head of the his father's *búl* and began to name his *búl* as *Rouran*. The name of *búl* was changed but Cheluhui did not established new buluo as was written in the source information. As shows this information by Wuhuan people *Rouran* buluo was established in the same way and buluo's name had not inherited and it was changed constantly. When the process of the formation of buluo called Rouran is almost same to the process of and the buluo (*búl*) name was changed constantly (*yī hé tū lín* became *rouran*) oftenas was written by Fan Ye. As the history event processes show Cheluhui's buluo (*búl*) became very powerful and its head obligation became to be inherited repeating examples about

² WS – 魏書 – Wèis.

Xiongnu's shanyui and *urug* (氏) with Wuhuan's formation nickname *Tefu*. In this way the category *urug* appeared directly with the inheritance of the titles. The ruling *urug* was not distinguishing among the lineage of relatives, but also among the other *urug* with private property and livestock.

It has to mention that despite the formation of the aristocratic *urug* among the Rourans, the buluo's relations existed strongly. For example, to make the king's brother the next king the Douulun (485-491) the official son of Yucheng king was killed with Douulun's mother. Because Douulun's mother took part in the state activity very often. Also, king Futu (506-508), the son of Nagai (492-506) had wife who was the relative of *Houyuilin urug* (氏), the divorced wife of Douulun and had six sons such as Chounu, Anagui and others. This woman gave an order to kill the shaman Divan and king Chounu, her conspirer and gave king throne to Anagui. The divorced queens took part in the state activities intensively and had a great role in determining their sons as kings (Ulziibayar & Enhbat, 2017).

Therefore, women played the main roles in the kings' *urug* as we see. As written in the source there are no any other materials about other queens despite the queens of Douulun and Futu were from the *Houyuilin urug* (氏). However, Lin Gan, the historian from PRC compared the wife choice principles of shanyuis in a definite *urug* with the wife choice principles of Rouran's kings. As he considers, Rouran's kings choose their queens in the *Houyuilin urug* (氏) (Lin Gan, 1997). This tradition had continued till XI-XII centuries. As was written in the §61, Secret history of the Mongols:

Yesügei Ba'atur, at the moment when Temüjin was nine years old, having taken Temüjin, be-took himself unto the Olqunu'ud people, kindred of Mother Hö'elün saying (SHM, 1982. P. 14-15).

It is trace of that aristocrats had had engagement between *urugs*. However, Yesügei met Dei Sečen of the Unggirad in his way, believed in his smart words and left his son as a future son-in-law and came back. The Yesügei Ba'atur followed the old tradition to bring a son as a son-in-law to the uncle lineage

bül. But he did not realized this tradition showing the weak existence of this tradition.

The buluo structure and *urug* formation process were in Turkic people who uncrowned Rouran state. There are several variables of legends in the Chinese sources, for example in the *zhōu shū*:

“訥都六有十妻，所生子皆以母族為姓，阿史那是其小妻之子也。訥都六死，十母子內欲擇立一人，乃相率於大樹下，共為約曰，向樹跳躍，能最高者，即推立之。Nedouliu 10 wives and all his children used their mothers' names as surname Ashina was his young wife's son. Nedouliu was the best among all leaders as people desired” (ZS 50:908)³.

As in Wuhuan Turkic people elected the crafty man as the Head and mother's name became the surname for children despite their father is in presence. Therefore, the buluo structure was there. It is interesting that the title was inherited and Ashina's next generations became famous. D. Gongor explained the category *urug* in the following way. *Firstly*, the core connection of the *urug* was “pregnancy and bell”, in other words, it is the mother, *secondly*, *urug* is the integration of several groups of people with blood relations that follows the mother's lineage. If in the period of matriarchy *tribe/obog* and *urug* had same meaning in the patriarchy meanings of these words differed. Therefore, *urug* is has developed three stages as “pregnancy and bell” - mother period in the matriarchy, *urug* derived from the *urug* - father period in the patriarchy and “son of son” - next generation of father in the feudalism period (Gongor, 1978. P. 47). The facts about *urug* mentioned above by us approves D. Gongor's explanation fully and separation within the buluo/bül following the father's lineage, gradually strengthened the tribe relation principles and finally it became the offspring of state establishment as Xiongnu's *shanyi* and Rouran's *yujulū* *urug* examples. Generally, all properties and competence of nomads in that period were inherited from *obog/tribe* to *obog/tribe*. Therefore, there was no any notions to inherit and own something by whole tribe (Altansukh, 2013).

³ ZS – 周書 – Zhōu shū.

Such separation of aristocrats within the *bül* establishing *urug* led to the noticeable property differences and society classes.

The permanency of such situation leads to the increase of *urug/kinship* competence, its role in the society, its influence to other people and to the state formation at the end. Particularly, as the aristocratic *urug/kinship* had big chance to be accepted and to control others it became the basis of the nomadic state. It was considered by us in the examples of *shanyi, yujiulü* and *ashine* *urug/kinships*. Controversially, if the aristocrats lost their competence and influence, they were brought to the common *bül* principles. This phenomenon may be more common than the first one and it is connected with the risky livestock breeding. Nomads have more nature and climate risks than half-nomads and half-settlers who have definite size of cultivation and livestock breeding and agriculturists. Therefore, impoverished *urug/kinship* comes to the former condition very easily.

If "*bül/buluo*" relation was restored after disintegration of the powerful nomadic state Xiongnu in other cases the state status had been passed from an aristocratic *urug/kinship* to another aristocratic *urug/kinship* keeping the society core units *bül* and *öbög/obog* (*obog/tribe*)'s nature until Chinggis khan's period as we consider. The labor organization by *torguud* people (in Mongolian) can show the some kept forms of *bül/buluo* structure and locating the dwellings in *kureged*. As anthropologist D. Tangad noted:

In the torguuds' khot ail procedure based on the relatives' relations: firstly, the mother lineage families that put their dwellings in a circle dominate in the winter and spring camps, secondly, in the summer camp preference of the mother lineage families is not obligated and it depends on the geography feature and livestock kinds decreases in family numbers and elder people families place on the high place keeping their livestock within the circle, thirdly, there were khot ails that based on their role in the society and their property amount. Many poor families lived in neighborhood and devoted their labor results for the rich people. The too poor people lived within the rich families neigh-

borhood living in the small dwellings" (Tangad, 2012. P. 218-219).

The relatives have formed a *bül/buluo* locating their dwellings around the livestock in *kureged* (circle) in the winter and spring and moved from the *kureged* to the mountain back slope in *khot ayil* (several families) locating livestock in the center of the dwellings in circled location as in the ancient time. Moreover, devotion of poor people their power for rich men forming *khot ayil* can be identified with the process when the *bül*'s *kureged* was unintegrated forming rich *ayil/yilo*. As the *bül* and *kureged* structure were derived from the deep end of the nomadic herdsman lifestyle and fully fitted to the Central Asian nature and ecology they had kept for so long period.

The strong tradition to respect mother lineage by Mongols that has kept until now is the remaining of the ancient *bül* structure. For example, in the PRC among the Deed Mongols uncle in the mother lineage has right to confiscate his niece or nephew's property, in other words he is the "nephew/niece's master" (Schram, 1954). Among Aga Buriats the uncle in the mother lineage firstly cut some hair when niece/nephew celebrate his/her first haircut and other relatives cut after him. Among the Buriats in Selenge uncles of the bride and groom have to take part in the wedding and appreciating uncle of the new daughter-in-law a lot. Among the buriats in Irkutsk there is tradition to prepare special portion of meat for niece/nephew when he/she take participate in the wedding of the uncle's son. An uncle in the mother's lineage always very respected person in a family and niece/nephew cannot touch the uncle's body when he dies. Moreover, niece/nephew "cannot eat mutton blade in the presence of his/her uncle of the mother's lineage" according to the taboo (Sayana Namsarayva, 2016. P. 119-140). *Bül* relativeness has respected until now among the Mongols which is confirmed by the proverb "*bül in which even louses divided equally*".

Bül and kureged: The bul's structure and nature has to be considered in connection with *kureged* and *khuree*, the best labor organization that was derived from the nomadic herdsman life depth. There are many different explanations on the *khuree* (circle)'s structure and function by researchers and

most of them considered it as a society structure unit. Several researchers directly matched it with *khuree*. Among them G. Sukhbaatar explains group of nomads with 3500 people who did not made town or family but it was Chinggis khan's period khuree (Sukhbaatar, 1980. P. 45). It can be the correct in one side. Rashid-Ad Din explained the khureeas many carts that were connected with each other formatting "circle". Moreover, he explained in other source: Khuree means circle. In the ancient time a tribe let locate its head in the center formatting circle around him. When enemy soldiers come people in circle fought against them in this form to protect their head in the center" (Rashid ad-Din, 1952. P. 86-87). Despite the khuree was labor organization form it developed with the tendency to protect noblemen as the result of the differences and unequal relations in the society. For example, in the Kumo Xi that became powerful in the former Wuhuan's territory in the V-VI centuries

其君長常以五百人持兵衛牙中，餘部散山谷間，無賦入，以射獵為賞。"the head's dwelling was protected by 500 soldiers perm anantly and other members located in the mountain valley randomly. They do not pay tax" (XTS 219:6173)⁴.

As this information shows the society differences in *kumo xi* were deeper than among the Wuhuan people. The formation of bodyguards confirms existence of obligation inheritance. This is the reason of the *khuree* establishment that was explained by Rashid-Ad Din. However, the khuree as the nomadic bul integration is completely different from the khuree, the late aristocratic khuree structure explained by Rashid-Ad Din and it is the way to protect livestock as their common existence source. In the process of development this form of khuree inherited in the form of high ranked society members' protection.

As D. Gongor said the khuree had existed in reality in since the Bodonchar period and in the XI-XII centuries the habit to gather together and form khuree in differen places kept despite its organization was weak. He wrote that in the period of obog/kinship or: "...when private property did not

gained its power the obog/kinship members did not want to leave the obog/kinship because the society and economy condition that form such interest could not developed enough" (Gongor, 1978. P. 76-77) the existence of khuree was possible. The khuree was the best structure during the bul structure in the society and the explanation by D. Gongor can describe this situation correctly. J. Gerelbadrakh mentioned many forms of khuree and he wrote: "nomadic tribes organized their livestock breeding in the khuree way. Every night their livestock spent in the center of the families located in the circle way. They protected livestock from the external attack in this way" (Gerelbadrakh, 2013). This is the innovated explanation of the khuree in the view of its labor organization or its structure and function.

Despite many researchers explained *bül/buluo* as *tribe* or *khure* it is correct to consider the *khuree* in the period of *bül* structure as an unusual form of labor organization that derived from the nomadic livestock breeding feature. Such khuree that kept their livestock in the center and placed themselves around the livestock was the best way of nomads to protect their livestock from sudden attack. Our understanding that people placed around the khuree's head or shaman's dwelling can be correct in one side. However, it is undoubtful that the name "khuree" was appeared as the result of the families' dwellings location in the circle form to protect the livestock, the all family life source. Keeping the livestock within the khuree at night had kept its main feature for centuries. For example, before the agricultural cooperation in Mongolia families with small number of livestock lived in the dwellings located in the circle form (elder people's dwelling located in the east and west directions) in the center of which were livestock and families guarded the livestock in their turn as the elder people talked. Furthermore, "...this way had kept until the complete victory of the movement to join to the agricultural cooperation and now it became an area where livestock breeders organize livestock production" (Tserenhand, 1985. P. 361-363). The location in the circle way and keeping livestock in the center guarding was inherited by the neighboring families.

It seems the "khuree", the gathered families for usage of winter pasture began being disintegrated

⁴ XTS – Xīn táng shū.

since the *obog/tribe* formation being carried by move form that derived from one father. Families that have their own livestock did not have possibility to be integrated in a *khuree* organization and began moving separately using proper pastures and water sources independently. When the (*bül*) structure that based on the mother`s lineage was changed by the *obog/tribe* relation that based on the father`s relation, the livestock owning passed from *bül* to (*khот*) *ayil* (neighborhood) owning. In this way *khuree* that met the requirements of *bül*'s owning form was disintegrated and reorganized as 邑落 *yiluo*, the best organization of the nomadic *obog/tribe* because of the private property.

Families in the *bül* divided as *ayil/yilo*-s in the summer and autumn, but they gathered their livestock together in the winter and spring placing their gers in *khuree* (*circle*) depending on the livestock number. However, it will be one-sided if consider that one family belonged to only one *khuree*. It is clear that a family could belong to several *khurees* depending on the pasture capability and usage. The *khuree* had administration from very beginning and had more expanded components than *ayil/yilo*-s because there were many people and big number of livestock in same place. For example, each *khuree* had to have sufficient number of horses as the *khuree*'s members` meaning of transport, as source of the nutritious meat and one kind of livestock that dig snow to emerge pasture for other kinds of livestock. The *khuree* organization in which all *family/luo* dwellings around the livestock became its guards. In addition to it the *khuree* protected livestock from wolves that attacked to the livestock intensively in the winter and spring when the lack of their food is big. Herdsmen fought with wolves in different ways as "stealing the wolves` cubs" and killing them in big numbers. After that the female wolf whose cubs were stolen gave birth their cubs in other places with great obstacles far from human kind. Fight between wolves and people have continued for all history of steppe nomads. Therefore, there is no any reason to respect and worship wolves for Mongolians. Ch. Khishigtogtokh, a re-

searcher of PRC maid conclusion that Mongolians did not have wolf respecting and totem connected with wolf (Khishigtogtokh, 2014. P. 417-419).

The *khuree* was the best and tested form to join labor and forces for nomadic livestock breeders in the *bül*/period but its meaning was extended and it became the political center protecting the noblemen`s dwelling house in the period of centralized *obog/kinship* structure establishment that consisted of *yilo*-s/families with private property that was formed gradually.

Conclusion: The social structure of the nomads had not been passive and unchangeable after Xiongnu until XI-XII centuries as many researchers consider. Mongols gradually replaced the *bul* (*bül*, *böl*) blood relations in which the mother`s lineage dominated with *obog/tribe* bone relations in which property was inherited by their sons. Despite this noticeable change, moving in *ayils* (several neighboring families) and locating dwellings in *kureged* because of the livestock breeding style had been kept for a long time. Chinese historians who could not differ two main social structures as *bül/bùluò* and *obog/tribe* called these two structures with one word "*bùluò*" caused the researchers to be confused. The nature of *bül*, the social structure can be seen in the example of the *Wuhuan* and this relation was in the period of Xiongnu as the genetic analyzes on the samples taken from the burials show. However, *yilo*, the move way has been kept in Mongolian language as *ayil* and in Turkic language as *jayla/yaylo* means a group of neighboring families that spend summer to use proper pasture. Moreover, the *urug/kinship* appeared within the *bül* can be called as *yilo*. The *kureged* structure that derives from the location of dwellings that keeps livestock in its center has been kept in the "*khот ail*" form. The reason of the long existence of *kureged* through *bül* and *obog* structures is connected with the nomadic livestock breeders` harmony with their environment that can be shown by the *torguud* people to this day.

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Contribution of the author

Ulziibayar S. carried out a research work, based on the obtained results made the generalization and prepared the manuscript for publication

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