



# A Collection of Documents from the Kazakh Sultans to the Qing Dynasty

————— NODA Jin, ONUMA Takahiro

Joint Usage / Research Center for Islamic Area Studies  
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## Preface

During the conquest of the Junghar in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the Qing dynasty (1636–1912) came into contact with the Kazakh nomads of Central Asia. Their political and economical relations continued until the Kazakh steppe was completely annexed to the Russian empire in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The main objective of this research is to introduce documents that were addressed from the Kazakh leaders, known as sultan, to the Qing dynasty, and to examine their features and value as historical sources.

The introduction considers the general features of these documents and their handling within the Qing administrative system. Chapter 1 provides the text, transcription, and translation of sixteen documents written in Turki or Oyirad (Qalmaq/Kalmyk). Chapters 2 and 3 consist of two essays by the authors, who have made use of these documents. Chapter 4 provides a name-list of the Kazakh missions sent to the Qing court.

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## Introduction

### *Historical Background*

The first reports<sup>1</sup> on envoys to and from the Kazakh nomads are found in Qing official documents from around 1755, when the Qing dynasty conquered the Junghars. Thereafter, the Kazakhs began dispatching envoys with documents addressed to the Qing dynasty. Among the earliest of these, a document relating to the ‘submission’ of the Kazakhs to the Qing (Document A, Chapter 1) was of the greatest political import.<sup>2</sup> Significantly, after this submission, the Kazakhs’ diplomatic relations with the Qing dynasty, which contained negotiations, correspondences, tributes, and the title bestowals, increased.

### *Research Trends and Surveys*

The recent publication of a series of Qing archival documents concerning the Kazakhs is particularly noteworthy. The series is comprised of QZHDH (vols. 1<sup>3</sup>-2), QTQD, and QKhTsPS, publications executed mainly by the Institute of Oriental Studies in Kazakhstan. Although they include only a fraction of the correspondence sent by the Kazakh side, previous research has rarely dealt with documents from the Kazakhs to the Qing dynasty. Thus, as our first steppe, we think it useful to assess this ‘documentation’ of the Kazakhs through research on

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<sup>1</sup> The first entry of QZHDH (vol. 1) is dated QL 19 (1754).

<sup>2</sup> Also see the analyses by ONUMA in Chapter 2.

<sup>3</sup> This volume is introduced in Noda 2007b.

documents from the Kazakhs to the Russian empire.

The earliest documents from Kazakh chieftains to Russia come at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> Frequent correspondences came later, from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> The ties between the Kazakhs and the Russians drew closer in 1730, when Abulkhayr khan of the Kazakh Junior Zhuz sent a document to Anna, the Russian empress.<sup>6</sup> His subsequent sworn oath of the subjecthood (*poddanstvo*) of the Kazakhs surely led to the Russian Empire's successive annexation of the Kazakh, and the correspondence between the Kazakhs and the Russian administrative offices had increased steadily. The bulk of these documents is now housed separately in archives in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Omsk, Orenburg, Almaty (Kazakhstan), and other cities.<sup>7</sup>

In terms of approach, previous research seems to have been mainly concerned with the language in which the documents were written. Research from the Soviet era, such as the collection<sup>8</sup> compiled by Abilqasymov, describes the language of documents from the Kazakhs as an example of 'the Kazakh literary language' (Ka.<sup>9</sup> *qazaq ädebi tili*). In the latest research work, we note an article by Martin and Mawqanuli. They analyzed the format of 19<sup>th</sup> century Turkic documents, and believe the language therein should be distinguished from the 'old-Tatar official written language.'<sup>10</sup>

As our second step, we look at how the documents from the Kazakhs to the Qing were analyzed. With the exception of the above-mentioned publications, the main body of documents addressed to the Qing dynasty remains, unexamined in the First Historical Archives of China in Beijing within the collection of the

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<sup>4</sup> KRO: 3–14.

<sup>5</sup> KRO; IKRI: vol. 2. Cf. in the case of the letters addressed to the Ottoman emperor in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which are kept in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, see Saray 1984.

<sup>6</sup> KRO: 35–37, 1730.9.8 (Julian). Hereafter, 'Julian' indicates the date in the previous Julian calendar system, which was 11 days behind the Gregorian calendar in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and 12 days behind in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The document with the Russian translation was researched in Noda 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Examples are found in the following document collections: IKazSSR4; IBKh; Abilqasymov 1988.

<sup>8</sup> Abilqasymov 1988.

<sup>9</sup> Here and below, in terms of languages, when a Kazakh word or phrase, for example, is given, we indicate this by the abbreviation 'Ka.'

<sup>10</sup> Mawkanuli and Martin 2009: 22.

JMLZ (Reference Copy of Palace Memorial in Manchu in the Grand Council),<sup>11</sup> although not many Kazakh documents are available. It is worth noting that the Archive also holds the documents that are not reflected in the JMLZ catalogue.<sup>12</sup> Some Kazakh researchers in China have begun reviewing a portion of the Turkic documents, although those researchers were analyzing them from a philological point of view.<sup>13</sup> For reference, there is also some research on the cases of the Khoqand Khanate, which sent Turkic documents to the Qing court as well.<sup>14</sup>

### *Language*

In earlier times, the Kazakh sultans had sent letters to the Qing dynasty in the Oyrad language with Tod script.<sup>15</sup> Later, they began to use ‘Turkic’ language with Arabic script. It is very difficult to identify which ‘Turkic’ language that was. It may have referred to Chaghatay Turkic or Tatar.<sup>16</sup> Regardless, it seems to differ from the modern Kazakh language. The existence of interpreters of Tatar origin in Kazakh society has already been shown in the Russian empire’s rule of the Kazakhs,<sup>17</sup> and these interpreters seem also to have had a great influence on the documentation of the Kazakh relations with the Qing. This means that the

<sup>11</sup> As clearly shown, the relevant archival documents are mainly the Manchu ones.

<sup>12</sup> *Qindai bianjiang manwen dang’an mulu*. Unfortunately, we have not yet found documents from the Kazakhs in the Archives of Taibei.

<sup>13</sup> Alikeng 2006; Düysenäli 2009.

<sup>14</sup> Tang 1983; Pang 2006; Hamada 2008. Despite its use of Chinese writing, the case of Siam can also serve as a reference, see Masuda 1995.

<sup>15</sup> Onuma 2006 and Documents A and D. The use of Oyrad (Kalmyk) language by Kazakhs at that moment is confirmed by the existence of those who understood this language, Onuma 2006: 49 or Chapter 2, p. 102. The records of 1759 claimed that a *Kalmyk* staying with Ablai interpreted the document from the Qing in Oyrad and in Mongolian (*na kalmytskom i mungalskom*), MOTsA: vol. 2, 148 (30 Sep. 1759, a report by the Siberian Governor, Soimonov, to the College of Foreign affairs). On the Qing side, in 1784, an envoy from the Qing court brought an edict in Oyrad, and the court’s delegates spoke in Oyrad in the Kazakh pastures, Andreev 1998: 43–44.

<sup>16</sup> Some researchers of contemporary Tatarstan, such as Khisamova, theorize a framework of ‘the old-Tatar official writing’ (Ru. *staro-tatarskaia delovaia pis’mennost’*), and include the correspondence between Kazakh and Russia after the 18<sup>th</sup> century in this framework, see Kurbatov 2003: 407, 454. In regards to the pre-modern Tatar written language, we can refer to Khakimzianov 1991.

<sup>17</sup> Regarding the literacy of the Kazakhs in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it is reported that no one but sultans, who would have been educated by the Tatar secretaries, knew the writing, IKRI: vol. 4, 267. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for the Kazakhs under the administration of Orenburg, Tatar interpreters were appointed to serve as a bridge between the Russian administration and the local people, see Sultangalieva 2008; Sultangalieva 2009.

texts of the documents in question might reflect the features of the Kipchak (North-western) group of Turkic languages, while we also find usages similar to those of the South-eastern group languages (like modern Uyghur). Nevertheless, the issue of the language used in these documents requires further investigation.

The Qing court, on the other side, composed their correspondence with the Kazakhs in three languages: Manchu, Oyrad, and Turkic.<sup>18</sup> So, in any case, communication between the Qing empire and the Kazakhs was of course conducted without Chinese writing. As He Xingliang shows,<sup>19</sup> documents from the Qing court to the Kazakhs at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that is, toward the end of the Qing dynasty, were written in Chinese, Manchu, and Turkic that were morphologically and phonetically similar to modern Kazakh. In our research, for the above-mentioned reasons, we use the somewhat ambiguous nomenclature ‘Turki’ or ‘Turkic’, to describe the language used in the Kazakh documents.

#### *Format and Components*

It is also difficult to conclusively establish the script used in the documents in question. The script often seems poorly written and very different from the script used in documents to the Qing dynasty from the Khoqand Khanate, which typically used the *Nastaliq* script. However, the Qing side described these Arabic script Turkic documents as ‘documents in the Muslim script’ (*Ma. hoise hergen i bithe*) on the whole, regardless of whether they came from the Khoqand Khanate or the Kazakhs.<sup>20</sup>

Next, we compare the formats of Kazakh documents.

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<sup>18</sup> Such documents were composed in the Mongol bureau (*Menggu-tang*), NDD: 203808, JQ 5.9.24 (1800.11.10), a report from the Mongol bureau.

<sup>19</sup> He Xingliang analyzes documents including one in Chinese dated Guangxu 9 (1883), see He 1998. These documents were received by a Kazakh chief, who was bestowed the title by the Qing court; thus his research is very relevant to the discussion in Chapter 3 of our research.

<sup>20</sup> Ghubaydulla sultan of the Kazakh had dispatched his younger brother Jantore to Yili to offer a document written in the Muslim script (Ch. *huiziwen* 回子文), XZSL 61: 39b, DG 3.11 *xinmao* (1823.12.28), the imperial edict. Also see, Document N in Chapter 1.

a) The format of Turkic Documents to Russia<sup>21</sup>

It is clear that these kinds of documents in Turkic were highly influenced by official Russian documentation. The following are usually used in this type of document (further, Type A): ‘*arz* (petition), *bayan-nama* (report), *jawap* (answer)...etc.; sometimes, words borrowed from Russian, like ‘*rāpūrt*’ (Ru. *raport* = report), are required. Signatures (Tu. *qol*) and seals (*muhr*) are often required in documents submitted to the Russian authorities. The following illustration shows format Type A.

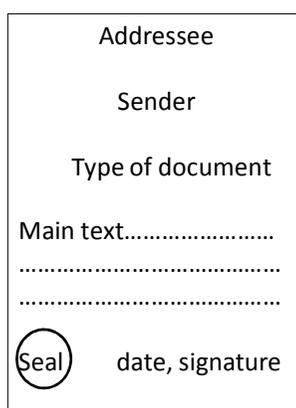


Fig. 0.1. The format and example of Turkic documents to Russia<sup>22</sup>

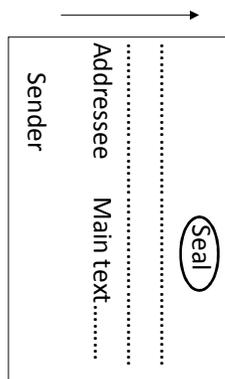
<sup>21</sup> See Kurbatov 2003.

<sup>22</sup> KRO: 36.

b) The Format of Oyirad Documents from the Kazakhs to the Qing Dynasty

This format is similar to that seen in Oyirad documents to the Russian empire.<sup>23</sup>

For specifics, see Documents A and D in Chapter 1.



**Fig. 0.2. The format of Oyirad documents to the Qing dynasty (Type B)**

c) The Format of Turkic Documents from the Kazakhs to the Qing Dynasty

We can't say conclusively that these documents had a fixed format. As examples in Chapter 1 show, we find many mistakes in wording and grammar. This might reflect the literacy of writers.<sup>24</sup> The only thing we can confirm is that the first line is typically the name of the sender, with his title as bestowed by the Qing court. This placement of the sender may have been influenced by the Oyirad document format (Type B) above. If a specific recipient is identified, it is often after the sender, and he is named by his official position, such as *jiangjun* (the Military Governor), or *amban* (the Councillor). However high his rank, there were no *taitou* (honorific elevation of words) in the Turkic documents from the Kazakhs. Seals were important components of this type of document,<sup>25</sup> while

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<sup>23</sup> The document of the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century from Darmabara of the Volga Qalmyq to Volynskii, the governor of Kazan' begins with the sentence: '*Darma bala-tan Ertimi Pitorovič tu bičig*' (The letter from Darmabala to Artemii Petrovich, Volynskii), Popov 1847: 388–389.

<sup>24</sup> A Kazakh envoy stated followings as an excuse of poor documentation, '*meni hasak bade hoise hergen sain i arara niyalma akū ofi, ere jergi turgun be arahangge getuken akū seme alambi.*' JMLZ 2907.13, 123: 1091, the memorial of Iletu.

<sup>25</sup> We should note that seals were not bestowed upon the Kazakh sultans by the Qing emperor, while the south-eastern states received seals, as did Ryūkyū (Ch. *Liuqiu*) and Siam.

signatures or the ‘*inanmaq uchun qolimni/muhrimni basdum*’ closing<sup>26</sup> found in Type A do not necessarily appear.

Fig. 0.3. The closing found in Type A documents

Because there were Tatar interpreters on the Russian side, the Russian administration did not need to receive documents in Oyrat. Documents in Turkic were sufficiently comprehensible to them. On the other hand, the Qing court required Oyrat documents, at least in the earlier times, and according to related Manchu translations, the Qing side could not fully understand the Turkic documents from the Kazakhs, so that face-to-face conversations between Qing provincial officials and Kazakh envoys were inevitable on the Qing’s north-western frontier.<sup>27</sup>

Fig. 0.4. The example of documents to the Qing dynasty<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> This means ‘for authenticity, I stamped the seal / I signed my name.’

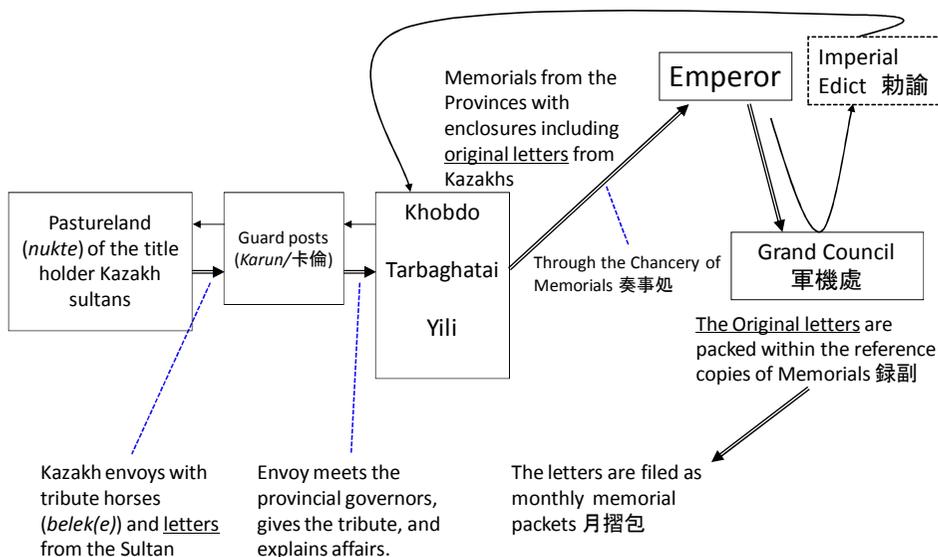
<sup>27</sup> An example is presented in Document N of Chapter 1. The Kazakh documents often contain the name of the messengers as indicated in Document K. Therefore, the document would be a certification for Kazakh missions to pass the border zone. For the certification which the Kazakhs brought to the Qing frontier, see Viatkin 1936: 254.

<sup>28</sup> QTQD: 274.

*Document Processing and Transactions*

Documents from Kazakh sultans to Qing officials or Emperors were transmitted as shown in **Fig. 0.5**. The double line arrows show the flow of Kazakh documents, and the single line arrows show the flow of Qing imperial edicts or orders. Kazakh affairs in the Qing dynasty mostly concerned the governing of the north-western frontier, i.e. Xinjiang. Thus, Kazakh-related exchanges were heavily dependant on the palace memorial system of the Qing empire.<sup>29</sup>

I discuss local communication between Qing provincial officials and Kazakh envoys in Document H of Chapter 1.



**Fig. 0.5. The flow of Kazakh correspondence according to the Qing palace memorial system<sup>30</sup>**

(NODA Jin)

<sup>29</sup> Zhuang 1979; Bartlett 1991. Concerning the correlation between the Manchu memorial system and the frontier affairs of the Qing, see Bartlett 1991: 223.

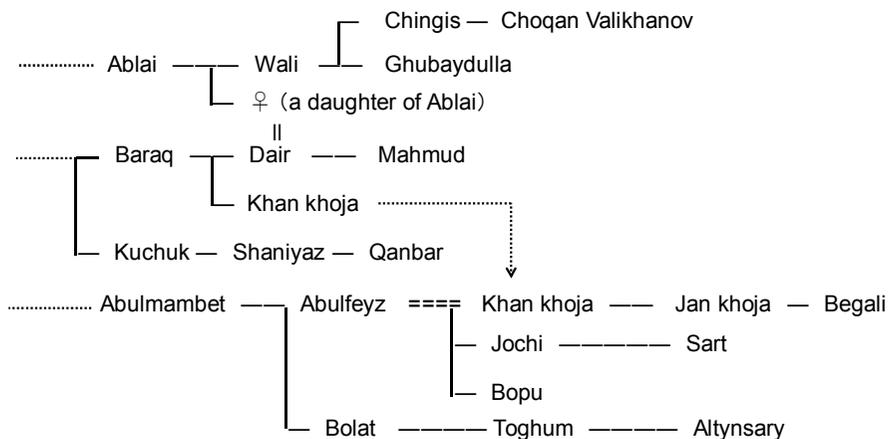
<sup>30</sup> In this figure, 'enclosure' corresponds to *fujian* (附件), the Chinese term of the classification of archival documents.

## Chapter 1

### Documents from Kazakh Sultans to the Qing Dynasty

In this chapter, we provide the text, transcription, and translation of documents that were addressed from the Kazakh sultans to the Qing dynasty in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. It has been deemed helpful or necessary to append these commentaries and their related documents.

We will introduce sixteen documents: three of them were written in Oyrad (Qalmaq) and the other thirteen in Turki. For comparison, we have also included a Turkic document, which was addressed to Russia. Some facsimiles of the documents, which have been either printed in other publications or for which we were able to obtain the reproduction permission, have also been included. For the Turkic documents, where we could not insert the facsimiles, we have provided the Arabic-script texts. The transcription system used for the Arabic-script is that developed by János Eckmann in his *Chagatay Manual*, with the following changes: *c* is *j*, *v* is *w*.



**Fig. 1.1. Simplified genealogy of the Kazakh sultans**

	Document	Date	Sender	Addressee	Language/Script
1	A	1757 (QL22)	Ablai	E. Qianlong	Oyirad/Tod
2	B	1758 (QL23)	Abulfeyz	Nusan	Oyirad/Tod
3	C	1769 (QL34)	Abulfeyz	Yunggui, YMG	Turki/Arabic
4	D	1773 (QL38)	Ablai	Iletu, YMG	Oyirad/Tod
5	E	1775 (QL40)	Abulfeyz	Kinggui, TC	Turki/Arabic
6	F	1779 (QL44)	Khan Khoja	Kinggui, TC	Turki/Arabic
7	G	1779 (QL44)	Ablai	Iletu, YMG	Turki/Arabic
8	H	1781 (QL46)	Abulfeyz	Huiling, TC	Turki/Arabic
9	I	1781 (QL46)	Dair	Iletu, YMG	Turki/Arabic
10	J	1788 (QL53)	Bopu	Yungboo, TC	Turki/Arabic
11	K	1800 (JQ5)	Jochi	Gunchukjab, TC	Turki/Arabic
12	L	1800 (JQ5)	Jochi	Booning, YMG	Turki/Arabic
13	M	1800 (JQ5)	Jochi	E. Jiaqing	Turki/Arabic
14	N	1824 (DG4)	Ghubaydullah	Harshang, TC	Turki/Arabic
15	O	1828 (DG8)	Altynsary	E. Daoguang	Turki/Arabic
16	P	1820 (JQ5)	Bopu	Speransky, SG	Turki/Arabic

※ E = Emperor; YMG = Military Governor of Yili; TC = Councillor of Tarbaghatai,

SG = Governor of Siberia.

※ NODA is responsible for Document C, D, H, I, N, O and P.

ONUMA is responsible for Document A, B, E, F, G, J, K, L and M.

### **Note: Symbols Used in the Transcriptions and Translations**

*Abc* Suggested restoration from the context

[Abc] Supplementary words

///// Indecipherable section due to damage to the original text

Abc Words on the seal

{+\*<sup>1</sup>} Insertion

## 1. Document A

**Date:** 1757 (QL 22)

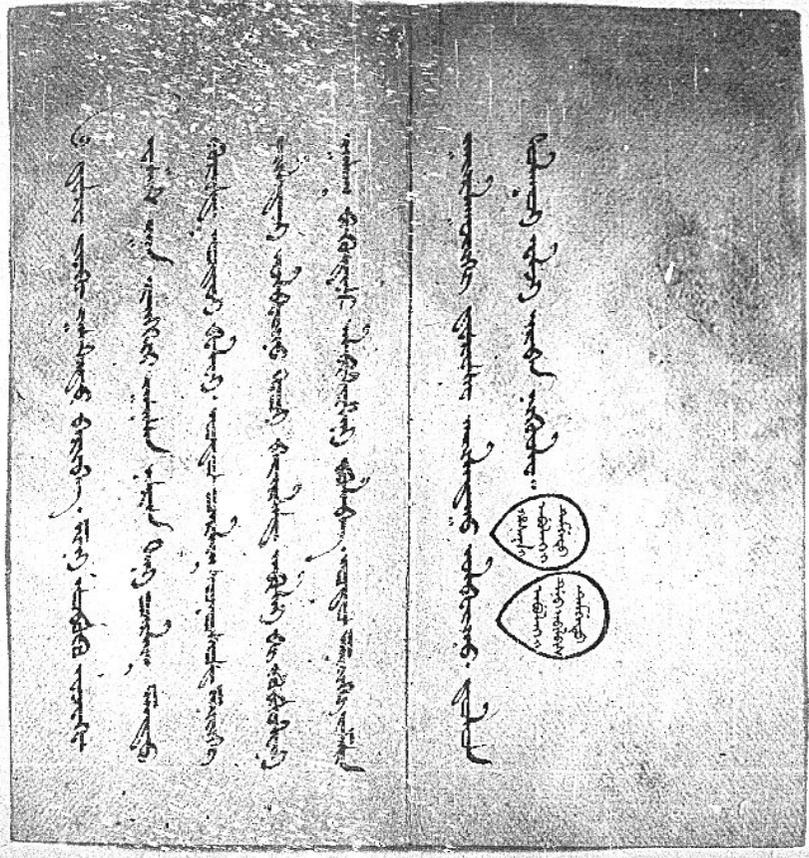
**Sender:** Ablai

**Addressee:** The Qianlong emperor

**Language/Script:** Oyirad/Tod

**Reference:** JMLZ 1643.8, 45: 2679, QL 22.6.18 (1757.8.2), the enclosure of the Manchu memorial of Jaohui<sup>1</sup>; Onuma 2006: 47–48.

### Text



<sup>1</sup> '1643.8' refers to the 'Archive Number' and '45: 2679' refers to the 'Microfilm Number.' The documents lacking the 'Archive Number' are those for which it cannot be identified for some reason.

### Transcription

- /1/ Dēre yeke Qāntandu bariba. Mini öbügü ečege  
/2/ Ešim qan Yanggir qānāsa nārān tani zarliy mandu  
/3/ kürēd ödüi belei. Odo zarliy sonosūd maniyiki  
/4/ ayiladni ülbeinü tuzi bayarlād. Abulai bi köbüüteni  
/5/ qasaγ bukudēr albatutani bolba. Odo maniyiki yamāra  
/6/ qairalaquyigi dērēse ayiladqu ülbeinü. Dolōn  
/7/ tolgoi elči arban nigüüle.. Hasak i abulai i temgetu Abulai i deo abilbis temgetu

### Translation

I present [this letter] to the Supreme Great Khan. Since the time of my grandfather and father, Eshim Khan and Janggir Khan, your edict has not reached to me. Now, hearing your edict, I am glad always to know [that you] have regard for us. I, that is Abulay, have become your son and all the Kazakhs have become your *albatu*. Now, I hope that the Above (emperor) would instruct how to have regard for us. [I dispatched] seven envoys [and four attendants], [a total of] eleven persons.

Seal of the Kazakh Ablai Seal of Ablai's younger brother Abulfeyz

### Commentary

**l. 2, Ešim qan Yanggir qān:** Eshim and Janggir (Yanggir) were Kazakh khans in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the ancestors of Ablai. They are regarded as the founders of the ‘Kazakh khanate.’ In Document A, a macron of the Tod-script was attached only on the titles of khan (*qān*) of Janggir.

**l. 4, ayiladni ülbeinü:** The verb *ayilad-* means ‘to know (honorific), understand, be aware, to report, consider.’<sup>2</sup> As the document is damaged, the inflection of *ayilad-* is unclear. While it is possible that it may be conjugated as *-ni*, it is more likely that the suffix is *-qu*, which is used for verbs in the present and future tense. The same combination (*ayiladqu ülbeinü*) existing in line 6 is one indicator of this.

**l. 5, albatu:** The word *albatu* had various meanings; it could mean ‘commoner,

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<sup>2</sup> Krueger 1978: 43.

subordinate, or slave.’ In the historical context of North Asia, *albatu* undertook duties known as *alba(n)* (military service, tribute etc.) that were imposed by the *ejen* (master, ruler, lord). The words *ejen* and *albatu* are symbolic descriptions of the tie that exists in the master-servant relationship in Mongol nomadic society.<sup>3</sup>

**Seals:** Document A is not an original but a copy. The Manchu scripts found on the two ovals at the end were also copied from two seals affixed to the original. Although the seal that is placed below reads ‘Seal of Ablai’s younger brother Abulfeyz,’ Abulfeyz was not the younger brother of Ablai, but the son of the Middle Zhuz’s khan, Abulmanbet.<sup>4</sup>

### Related Matters

Document A, which was attached to the Manchu memorial of Jaohui (Ma. *Jaohūi*, Ch. *Zhaohui*), is a copy of the ‘Memorial to the Throne offering Allegiance’ (Ch. *guicheng biaowen*) that Ablai sent to the Qianlong emperor in 1757. It was copied at the Qing military camp in Jungharia and reached the Qianlong emperor earlier than the original. The original document has not been located yet. Document A presents an introduction of the first document that was sent from the Kazakh sultans to the Qing.<sup>5</sup>

The Chinese translation of Document A that was made at the Qing court has been used by earlier studies. However, the Chinese version included classical Chinese embellishments and format changes—the *taitou* (elevating words) device for showing respect, for example. Readers of this version should take care to recognize these influences.

I provide the transcriptions and translations of the following texts: (1) Jaohui’s memorial,<sup>6</sup> (2) name-list of the Kazakh envoys,<sup>7</sup> and (3) Chinese translation.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Vladimirtsov 1934: 158–159. For an explanation of the ‘*ejen-altbatu* relationship’ in the context of the Qing diplomacy’s perspective toward Central Asia, see Chapter 2.

<sup>4</sup> This misunderstanding often appeared in the Qing records.

<sup>5</sup> For further details on Document A, see Chapter 2: 99–105.

<sup>6</sup> JMLZ 1643.8, 45: 2677–2678, QL 22.6.18 (1757.8.2).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 45: 2679.

<sup>8</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* 41: 22b–23b, QL 22.7 *bingwu* (1756.8.30). The other text is recorded in GZSL 543: 16a–b, QL 22.7 *dingwei* (1756.8.31). The punctuation marks in the text have been

(1) Memorial

*Transcription*

Wesimburengge.

Aha jao hūi fude gingguleme wesimburengge, donjibume wesimbure jalin. Hasak i abulai i takūraha elcin henjigar sebe ejen de hargašame unggire de, ceni gajiha abulai i gubci hasak be gaifi dahame dosika jalin ejen de wesimbure bithe be, giyan i henjigar sede tukiyeme jafabufi gemun hecen de isinaha manggi, ejen de wesimbuci acame ofi, ini wesimbure tot hergen i bithe be aha be songkoi sarkiyafi tuwabume wesimbuheci tulgiyen, abulai i takūraha elcisa gebu be encu afaha arafi suwaliyame donjibume wesimbuhe. Erei jalin gingguleme wesimbuhe.

Abkai wehiyehe i orin juweci aniya nadan biyai juwan ninggun de fulgiyan fi i pilehe hese. Saha sehe.

*Translation*

Memorial.

Your Servants, Jaohui and Fude, respectfully memorialize to inform [the emperor]. We have sent the envoy Henjighar and the others, who were dispatched by the Kazakh Ablai, to be granted an audience with the Ejen (Qing emperor). Ablai's memorial, which he sent to the Ejen in the hope that he would submit with all the Kazakhs, should be brought away to the Capital and directly present to the Ejen by Henjighar. Therefore, as Your Servants, we have made a copy of his Tod-script memorial and sent [this copy] so that the emperor might look at. In addition, we wrote the envoys' names dispatched by Ablai in another document. For this reason, we respectfully memorialize.

Imperial endorsement in red ink received on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the 7<sup>th</sup> month of the 22<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong (August 30, 1757): 'Noted.'

(2) Name-list of the Kazakh envoys

*Transcription*

Abulay i takūraha dalaha elcin,

Henjigar. Kara kesek argan otok i jaisang. Hadzibek i jalahi jui.

Ilhi elcin tanaši. Kara kere naiman otok i jaisang. Habambai i mukūn i deo.

Atahai. Uisun otok i jaisang. Yaralg'eb i deo.

Ūmur dai. Atagai argan otok i jaisang. Hūluki i deo.

Dureng. Turtul argan otok be dalaha tukeyin i harangga niyalma.

Aranja. Hasak be uheri dalaha atagai otok i abulai i harangga niyalma.

Beikenai. Kara kere naiman otok be dalaha abulai i deo abulbis i harangga niyalma.

Kutule hūrman бага.

Ūmbudai.

Halabai.

Dosok.

*Translation*

The primary envoy dispatched by Ablai:

Henjigar, the chief of the Qara-kesek Arghyn tribe, nephew of Hajibeg.

The vice-envoys:

Tanashi, the chief of the Qara-kerei Naiman tribe, younger clansman of Qabambay.

Atahay, the chief of the Uisun tribe, younger brother of Yaralgeb.

Umurday, the chief of the Atagai Arghyn tribe, younger brother of Huluki.

Dureng, the follower of Tukiye who leads the Tortul Arghyn tribe.

Araya, the follower of Ablai of the Atagai tribe which supervises the Kazakhs.

Beisnai, the follower of Ablai's younger brother Abulfeyz of the

Qara-kerei Naiman tribe.

Attendants:

Hurman Bagha, Umbuday, Khalabay, and Dosoq.

(3) Chinese translation

*Text*

哈薩克小汗臣阿布賚謹

奏中国

大皇帝御前。自臣祖額什木汗，揚吉爾汗以來，從未得通中国声教。今祇奉

大皇帝諭旨，加恩辺末部落，臣暨臣属，靡不懽忭，感慕皇仁。臣阿布賚願率哈薩克全部歸於鴻化，永為中国臣僕。伏惟中国大皇帝睿鑑。謹遣頭目七人及随役共十一人，賚捧表文，恭請萬安。並敬備馬匹

進献。謹

奏。

*Translation*

The Kazakh's small khan, Your Subject, Ablai respectfully memorializes to the presence of the Great Emperor of the Central Nation. Since [the days of] Your Subject's ancestors, Esim Khan and Yanggir Khan, we have not been able to obtain the voice and teaching of the Central Nation. Now, because we accept the edict of the Great Emperor and [know that you] benefited the tribes in the remote region, Your Subject (Ablai) and the followers are delighted and deeply touched by your supreme benevolence. As Your Subject, Ablai hopes with all the Kazakhs to attain the great virtue and to become the subjects of the Central Nation forever. I seek the sagacious judgment of the Great Emperor of the Central Nation. I respectfully dispatch seven chieftains and [four] attendants, a total of eleven persons, to present my memorial and reverentially wish for a boundless peace [for the emperor]. In addition, I respectfully present a horse. I respectfully memorialize for this purpose.

## 2. Document B

**Date:** 1758 (QL 23)

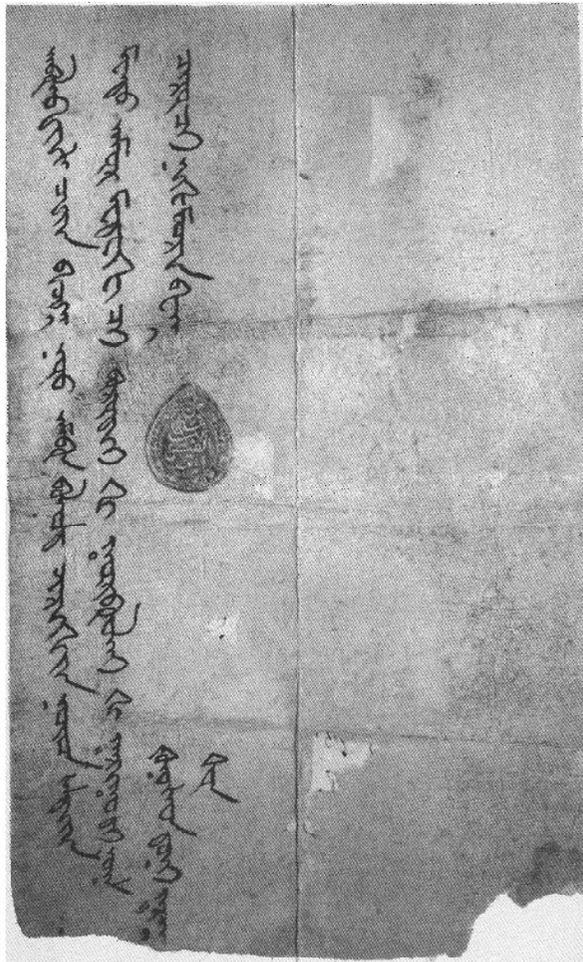
**Sender:** Ablai

**Addressee:** Nusan

**Language/Script:** Oyirad/Tod

**Reference:** JMLZ 1735.10, QL 23.12.14 (1759.1.12), the enclosure of the Manchu memorial of Dingcang; QZHDH: vol. 1, 199; QTQD 209.

Text



### Transcription<sup>9</sup>

- /1/ Aulbeyis-ziyin bičiγ. Nuū ambun bolōd čerikiyin noyon sā[yi]diyin  
/2/ mendü amur medegezi. Burudii-ki γurbuolai-ki qariγodi onā  
/3/ zeruzi nige moorin bey Abū al-Fayz bahādur sultān künüsün düni q[a]rγ[ay]-  
/4/ -tun

### Translation

The letter of Abulfeyz. The heath and peace of Nu[san] Amban and the military chiefs is well known. When the trio led by Burud returns, please provide one horse to ride and food [for them to eat] for the whole itinerary.

### Commentary

**I. 1a, Aulbeyis-ziyin bičiγ:** The sender of Document B is Abulfeyz and the seal is also his. However, the Manchu memorial of Dingcang (Ch. *Dingchang*), to which Document B was attached, described Document B as a ‘Ablai’s letter that is addressed to Nusan and the others’ (Ma. *abulai i nusan sede jasire bithe*).

**I. 1b, Nuū ambun:** *Nuū* refers to the Manchu Bannerman Nusan. In 1757, Nusan was dispatched to Ablai’s camp as the first official envoy of the Qing. After his return, he was responsible for the Qing-Kazakh trade in North Xinjiang for several months. To spell only the first syllable of a person’s name was to express respect. The word *ambun* is a translation of Ma. *amban*. Although the general meaning of *amban* was ‘councillor, high official, governor,’ it was also used as a proper title (Mr.), when affixed to the end of a name. The latter is the mode with which *ambun* is used in Document B.

**I. 2, Burud:** In general, the Oy. *Burud* (Ma. *Burut*) refers to the ‘Kirghiz’; here, however, it is a personal name. Burut, who was an Oyirad, the *aqalaqči*<sup>10</sup> of the Tortul (< Tört-oghul, Ch. *Tu’ertule*, Ma. *Turtul*) tribe. Abulfeyz dispatched Burut as his envoy to the Qing court three times (1760, 1764, and

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<sup>9</sup> The transcription and translation into the Kazakh language of Document B introduced in the QTQD and QKhMTsP. However, there are oversights of some words and some inaccurate interpretations. See QTQD: 80; QKhMTsP: 45.

<sup>10</sup> The *aqalaqči* refers to the ‘leader, head [of caravan].’ For further details, see this chapter: 45.

1769).<sup>11</sup> In 1775, Burut emigrated with his family to the Qing and was incorporated into the Oyirad Camp (Ma. *ūlet i kūwaran*) of the Provincial Banners in Yili.<sup>12</sup> His name appears in Document E.

**I. 3a, bey:** Although it is far from certain, I identify *bey* with Mo. *bükü* (all, every, whole).

**I. 3b, düni:** Unclear. From the context, I suggest a meaning of ‘with, together.’

### Related Matters

Document B is an enclosure of the Manchu memorial of Dingcang, the Grand Minister Superintendent (Ch. *banshi dachen*) of Pichan.<sup>13</sup> The transcription and translation of his memorial follows:

### *Transcription*

Wesimburengge.

Aha dingcang, šušān gingguleme wesimburengge, donjibume wesimbure jalin. Baicaci, aha meni jakan wesimbuhe bade, hasak de elcin genehe nawang juwan biyai orin juwe de abulai i ahūn i jui oros sultung se uliyasutai jugūn deri, gemun hecen de elhe be baime, jaka jafafi genehe. Yarge, masi se, akta gio ajirgan uheri emu tanggū ninju juwe morin gaifi, omšon biyai orin sunja de urumci de isinjiha de hūdašara inenggi duleke seme cembe amasi unggici ce dahūn dahūn i hūdašara be baime ofi, aha be enduringge ejen i bilume gosire gūnin de acabume urumci de asaraha hūdašara jaka hacin be onggolo nusan sei icihiyaha songkoi morin hūlašabume dooli hafan bihe cengde be, dasihire hafan gi liyang sei emgi ichihiyakini seme wesimbuhe bihe. Jorgon biyai juwan ilan de, gi liyang geli boolame benjihe bithede, ere biyai ice duin de, abulai baci hūdašame unggihe da burut kuntuhun sei juwan funcere niyalma isinjifi, nu ambasa de bure jasigan emke

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<sup>11</sup> Chapter 4: 56–57.

<sup>12</sup> JMLZ 2635.4, 106: 725, QL 40.6.2 (1770.6.29), the Manchu memorial of Kinggui (Ch. *Qinggui*); HMQN: 12b.

<sup>13</sup> JMLZ 1735.10, QL 23.12.14 (1759.1.12), the Manchu memorial of Dingcang; QZHDH: 200–202; QKhMTsP: 41–45.

be alibufi hūdašara be icihiyarao seme alambi. Be hasak i baru nu amban suwembe goidame aliyame umai jiderakū ofi, emgeri mariha. Suwe isinjime, be meni ubai baita icihiyara ambasa de dacilame alibufi amasi jorime afabuha manggi uthai hūdašambi seme cende alafi budai ulebifi umesi urgunjemb*i* seme alibume benjihebi. Baicaci, gi liyang *i* boolaha bithede, damu hasak i da burut kunduhun (sic.) se hūdašame jihe secibe, eici geli morin gajiha akū babe tucibuhakū. Meiren i janggin uksun šugingga inu urumci de genehe be dahame, aha be emu derei šugingga, gi liyang, cengde sede yabubufi aika morin gajici inu. Uthai nenehe songkoi hūdašame icihiyafi, sirame atanggi kemuni morin jidere akū babe getukeleme fonjifi, hūdašame wajifi, hasak sebe amasi jurambume unggihe babe hūdun bithe benjibukini seme yabubuhaci tulgiyen, abulai i nusan sede jasire bithe be suwaliyame gingguleme tuwabume wesimbuhe..

Abkai wehiyehe i orin ilaci aniya jorgon biyai orin jakūn de fulgiyan fi i pilehe hese, saha sehe..

### *Translation*

#### Memorial.

Your Servants, Dingcang and Šušan, respectfully memorialize to inform [the emperor]. After examination, recently, as Your Servants, we memorialized, ‘On the 22<sup>th</sup> day of the 10<sup>th</sup> month (November. 22, 1758), Nawang, who has been to [the land of] the Kazakhs as [our] envoy, departed via the Uliyastai Route for the Capital [with] Ablai’s son, Oros sultan, and others to inquire into [the empire’s] health and present gifts. On the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> month (December 25, 1758), Yarge, Masi, and the others arrived in Urumchi with geldings and mares, 162 horses in total. At that time, we tried to turn them back because the term for trade had expired. However, they repeatedly entreated us to trade [with them]. To accord with the affectionate heart of the Sacred Ejen (emperor), we want to make the former Circuit Intendant (Ch. *daoyuan*) Chengde and the Brigade Commander (Ch. *youji*) Gi Liyang responsible for the barter-trade that is conducted for the goods stored

at Urumchi and their horses, following Nusan's previous management.' On the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> month (January 11, 1759), Gi Liyang sent me a report. According to his report, 'More than 10 persons, led by Burut and Kuntuhun, who had been dispatched by Ablai to trade [with us], arrived on the 4<sup>th</sup> day of this month (January 2, 1759). They said, "We would like you to give our letter of replay to Nu[san] Amban and the others, and to manage our trade." I told these Kazakhs, "Although Nu[san] Amban waited for you for a long time, he has now returned because you did not arrive. Now that you have arrived, we will send [a letter] to the Grand Minister Superintendent to inquire [as of what we should do]. When his directions reach us, we will immediately trade [with you]"; we provided food for them. They were overjoyed.' However, after examination, according to the report of Gi Liyang, Burut and Kuntuhun, —who are the chiefs of the Kazakh—claim that they came only for trade, it is not yet clear whether they have brought horses or not. The Vice Commander-in-Chief (Ch. *fudutong*) and the member of the Imperial clan, Shugingga, also just arrived at Urumchi. Therefore, as Your Servants, we want to allow Shugingga, Gi Liyang, and Chengde to manage the trade. If they are bringing horses, then there is no problem. According to precedent, we want to allow them to manage the trade and ask whether more horses will be still to come or not. In addition, immediately after completing the trade, we let them bring a letter to report the Kazakh's return. We respectfully memorialize to hope that [the emperor] would read Ablai's letter that is addressed to Nusan and the others.

Imperial endorsement in red ink received on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> month of the 23<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong (January 26, 1759): 'Noted.'

### 3. Document C

**Date:** 1769 (QL 34)

**Sender:** Abulfeyz sultan

**Addressee:** Yunggui, Military Governor of Yili

**Language/Script:** Turki/Arabic

**Reference:** JMLZ 2339.15, 86: 3364, QL 34, the enclosure of the Manchu memorial of Yunggui and Šuhede.

#### Text

- 1/ ابولفیض وانگ
- 2/ جانکجونکه فجیک توتی ازین ازین اولوغ ازین دین حظ کلدی من
- 3/ باش اوروب الدیم یارلیغ نی اجیب قرادیم تیم قواندیم یارلیغ خط ده نریقی یریم غه برامن دیب  
بارسون او
- 4/ زبندین بر یخشی کشی نی الیب کلیب امبو برلان بتورپ بولوردیکان یارلیغ بارایکان یوجی  
کونکنی نری حو
- 5/ جوکاجک که خطم دو بیردیم منی نریقی یریم غه باردیکان خان نینک یارلیغ بارایکان انکا  
قوانیب
- 6/ باردیم کوتریب توتوم اون نجی آی نینک یکر مه بشیندا یوجی کونکنی برادرغان



### Transcription

- /1/ Abūl Fayz wāḡ
- /2/ jaṅjunigā fijik tut[t]i. Ezen ezen uluḡ ezendin ḡaṭ keldi, men
- /3/ baš urup aldīm, yarlıḡnī ajip qaradīm, tim quwandīm, yarlıḡ ḡaṭda narıqı yerim-ḡa baramın dep barsun ö-
- /4/ zindin bir yaḡşı kişini alıp kelip ambu birlān bitürüp bolur degān yarlıḡ bar ikān. Yuji goḡnī narıḡu
- /5/ Jügäjäkgā ḡaṭımdı yibärdim, meni narıqı yerimḡa bar degān ḡānniḡ yarlıḡ bar ikān, āḡa quwanıp
- /6/ bardım, köterip tut[t]um. On-ıñı ayniḡ yigirmä beşindä Yuji goḡnī baradıḡan.

Abū al-Fayz bahādur sulṭān

### Translation

Abulfeyz *wang* offered the letter to the Military Governor.

The diploma from the Great Ejen had arrived. I kowtowed and received [it] gratefully, and then opened the document to look at it. I was rather pleased. On the diploma, I found that the edict said, ‘Wishing to visit your own territory beyond, you [Abulfeyz] shall go there, and bring a good person from yours so that he can negotiate with *ambans*.’ I sent Jochi *gong* with my letter to Chughchak (Tarbaghatai), which is situated beyond [my own territory]. It was the Khan’s edict that ordered me to go to my own territory beyond. I was delighted with it and went there. I respectfully offered [this document].

On the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the 10<sup>th</sup> month [of the 34<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong], Jochi *gong* will go.

### Commentary

**I. 1, Abūl Fayz:** Abulfeyz sultan (?–1783) was the second son of Abulmambet khan of the Middle Zhuz. He held the title of ‘*wang*’ (namely ‘prince’) that was conferred by the Qing dynasty. One of his wives was the widow of Baraḡ khan and she was of the Volga-Kalmyk origin.

**I. 2a, FJYK (فجيك):** Read as ‘fjik,’ this term originated from the Mongolian word *bičik*. (In contemporary Tatar and Kazakh, ‘bitik’)

**I. 2b, Ezen:** This term applies to *ejen* in Manchu which directly refers to the Mahchu Khan.

**I. 3, yarliġ:** Literally, this implies ‘order.’ In Qing documents, it relates to *hese* in Manchu, or the edict of khan (Ch. *chi*).

**I. 4a, Yuji:** He was a Kazakh sultan, Jochi and the son of Abulfeyz. He visited the Qing court several times (see pp.64 and 158).

**I. 4b, gonġ:** This title originated from ‘*gong* 公’ in Chinese, which implies a ‘Duke.’ In Manchu, it is ‘*gung*.’ For further details on the Qing titles, see Chapter 3.

### Related Matters

Shortly before this correspondence, Abulfeyz’s father, Abulmambet had died. Concerning his death, we can find an edict stating that the condolence mission had been dispatched to the Steppes.<sup>14</sup>

Document C, the main topic of which relates to the infringement on the Qing border,<sup>15</sup> is an enclosure of the memorial submitted by Yunggui and Šuhede. The memorial was submitted in order to capture details on the Qing mission that had been sent to the pastureland where Abulfeyz lived and on his reaction to the mission. From this, it is evident that the Qing mission to the Steppes was also responsible for scouting out the frontier. By meeting with the Kazakh sultans, who were challenging the authority of the Qing empire, the Qing envoy would attempt to know what their attitude was to the Empire.

The memorial also contained the translated version of this Turkic document. The Manchu translation had been produced with *taitou* (elevating words to the head of the next line to indicate respect), and distinctly indicates the manner in which the Qing provincial officials had understood the documents sent by the Kazakh sultans.

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<sup>14</sup> GZSL 844: 27, QL 34.10 *yimao* (1769.11.4). The imperial edict cited the Yunggui’s memorial regarding the condolence (Ch. *jidian* 祭奠) mission by Ojin (Ch. *Ejin* 鄂津). For the mission by Ojin, also see JMLZ 2995.23, 129: 1252, QL 49.1.10 (1784.1.31), the memorial of Nawan.

<sup>15</sup> For details, see Document H.

(1) Manchu Translation<sup>16</sup>

*Transcription*

Murušeme ubaliyambuha abulbis i alibuha bithe i jise.  
Abulbis wang  
jiyanggiyūn de alibuha bithe  
ejen han i hese isinjiha. Hengkilefi alime  
gaiha  
hese be neifi tuwaha, gūnin urgunjehe  
genekini, beye ci emu sain niyalma  
gajifi, amban i sasa wacihiyaci ombi,  
sehe  
hese bifi. Juci, gungni cargi cuhucu de  
bithe buhe. Mini beyebe cargi baita de  
gene sehe //3366//  
han i hese bi. Tuttu bi tubade  
genembi. Gingguleme alibuha. Juwan biya i  
orin sunja de juci, gungni genembi..

*English translation of the Manchu translation*

The draft of the summarized and translated letter which Abulfeyz has sent. The letter from Abulfeyz *wang* to the Military Governor. The diploma from Ejen Khan has arrived. When [I] kowtowed, opened [the letter] and looked at the received diploma, [I] found an edict that stated, ‘Being highly delighted and wishing to go, you shall from yourself seek a good person and conclude with the Councillor.’ Jochi *gong*<sup>17</sup> presented the document to Tarbaghatai beyond. There was an edict that read, ‘Handle the affairs at that location independently.’ In that way, I will go to this place. I respectfully presented. On the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the 10<sup>th</sup> month, Jochi *gong* was to leave.

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<sup>16</sup> JMLZ 2339.15, 86: 3365–3366.

<sup>17</sup> With regard to this word, it is possible that the translator did not comprehend the Turkic postposition ‘*ni*’ correctly. Thus, in the Manchu translation, the vague word ‘*gunni*’ has appeared.

(2) Memorial<sup>18</sup>

*Transcription*

...Abulbis de wasimbuha hese be aha yunggui i baci sain getuken niyalma be tucibufi abulbis i nukte de unggifi. Ere hese be ulhibume wasimbukini kemuni takūraha niylamade getukleme afabufi. Abulbis de hese wasimbuha manggi, abulbis ai sehe muru adaramae babe gūnin werešeme tuwafi, amasi marafi yunggui de alafi. Ulame donjibume wesimbukini sebebe gingguleme dahafi. Aha //3362// yunggui uthai ilaci jergi hiya saibilaktu, araha gabsihayan i janggin hūtuk be tucibufi, hese i bithe be unggibufi, giyamun deri tarbahatai de genefi. Barbin sei baci ulha icihiyafi, abulbis i nukte de unggire jergi babe tucibume wesimbufi. Saibilaktu sebe unggire de abulbis de acaha manggi, ai gese gisun gisurehe, adarame arbušaha babe ejefi getukleme boolara bithe arafi. Neneme giyamun deri isibu, ume suweni beye isinjire be aliyara seme afabufi unggihe bihe. Ere aniya juwan biya i tofohon de, tarbahatai giyamun deri benjibuhe saibilaktu sei boolaha bithe be alime gaifi. Aha yunggui šuhede kimcime tuwaci, ejen kesi i sain gisun gisurehe be tuwaci, ini ama i baita de ejen cohome amban be takūrafi hisalabume //3363// geli hasak sa be jilame gosime ceni baita i jalin hesei takūraha amban be unggifi icihiyabure babe gisurehengge. Yargiyan i ginggun ijishūn i arbušaha...

*Translation*

...I, Your Servant, Yunggui shall select a smart person to send from me to the Abulfeyz's territory with the issued diploma to him. [We] shall entrust the dispatched messenger with the diploma and direct him to deliver as well as explain it [to Abulfeyz]. After the diploma is issued to Abulfeyz, the messenger should carefully observe what Abulfeyz will say and how he will be, and return to report to [me], Yunggui. The messenger should respectfully convey what he wants to transmit and inform. [Thus] I, Your Servant, Yunggui immediately selected the 3<sup>rd</sup> rank *hiya* (the Imperial Bodyguard), Saibilaktu

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<sup>18</sup> JMLZ 2339.15, 86: 3361–3363. QL 34.10.16 (1769.11.13).

and Vanguardsmen, Hutuk, so that they would carry the diploma of the edict. They went to Tarbaghatai through the courier station. They memorialized that they procured livestock from a place known as *Barbin*, and that they sent [it] to Abulfeyz's pastureland, and so on. After I sent Saibilaktu and the other guard, they, after their meeting with Abulfeyz, memorialized what words Abulfeyz stated and how he performed, and they composed a letter to report [their observation]. I had ordered them to send [the report] through the courier station at first instead of returning to report by themselves. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of the 10<sup>th</sup> month of this year, I received the letter that Saibilaktu and the other had sent through the Tarbaghatai courier station. When we, Your Servents, Yunggui and Shuhede, analyzed [the contents] in detail, we realized that [Abulfeyz] spoke positively regarding the imperial favour. [Additionally,] he mentioned that the Emperor had especially dispatched the Councillor to offer condolences for his father's demise, and that the Emperor cherished all Kazakhs and would dispatch the Councillor for them in order to dispose their affairs. Indeed, he [Abulfeyz] has conducted himself with loyalty and allegiance...

#### 4. Document D

**Date:** 1773 (QL 38)

**Sender:** Ablai sultan

**Addressee:** Iletu, the Military Governor of Yili and other officials

**Language/Script:** Oyirad/Tod

**Reference:** JMLZ 2546.29, 100: 2375, QL 38; QTQD: 280, the enclosure of the Manchu memorial of Iletu.

#### Text

/1/

/2/

/3/

/4/

/5/

/6/



Transcription<sup>19</sup>

- /1/ Abulai  
/2/ Jiyanggiyun ambalar du baribo ta amur  
/3/ mendöö bičig. Tandu mendöö, belge  
/4/ nige morin, ilge-deg kümün töögel nököd tai  
/5/ dörbüle, bahan qudulqu mal mini šog šogdor  
/6/ ügei hudulči hairlagtun.

[Abu]lay bin [Bah]ādur [Walī sul]tān<sup>20</sup>

Translation

The letter from Ablai to the Military Governor and Councillors to ask after your [the officials'] peace. May peace be with you. I have sent a horse as a tribute. My envoy includes four people including attendants. Please permit me to sell a small quantity of livestock.

[Ablai, the son of Vali sultan]

Commentary

**I. 3, belge:** This can alternatively be spelled as 'beleg' and corresponds to 'belek(e)' in Manchu. This term usually implies a horse that is offered as a tribute. In addition, see Document E.

Related Matters

The Kazakh envoy that brought Document D, arrived in Yili on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of the 9<sup>th</sup> month.<sup>21</sup> This document informs us that the Kazakh envoy usually presented tribute horses to the Qing provincial officials when they reached the Qing frontier towns.

Document D is an enclosure contained by the Manchu memorial of Iletu. The memorial contains the Manchu translation as well. After the Kazakhs formed official relationships with the Qing court in 1757, the

<sup>19</sup> The transcription here is slightly different from that in QTQD: 120.

<sup>20</sup> On the microfilmed frame, the seal of Ablai is chipped.

<sup>21</sup> Lin and Wang 1991: 257.

possibility of trade between the Qing and Kazakhs emerged as a diplomatic issue. In the subsequent year, trade commenced, which was regarded as a profitable proposition for both the Qing and Kazakhs by the local generals.<sup>22</sup> For example, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of the 1<sup>st</sup> month of 1774 (QL 39), a caravan of the Kazakh Suwan tribe visited Yili and brought 124 horses, 8 cows, and 637 sheep.<sup>23</sup> Based on the usual practice in Tarbaghatai, the barter took place in the following manner: a cow was exchanged for 2–4 bolts of Muslim cloth (Ch. *huibu*), a horse for 30–50 bolts and a hundred sheep for 75–80 bolts.<sup>24</sup>

*Transcription of the Manchu translation*<sup>25</sup>

...Abulai. jiyanggiyūn ambasa de alibuha. Suwe elhe saiyūn. //2374// suwende beleke emu morin. unggire niyalma tutgel duin ofi. Mini majige hūdashara ulha. sain i hūdashabume gosireo, seme arahabi...

*Translation of the Manchu translation*

...Ablai's statement addressed to the Military Governor and Councillors: Are you in peace? [I offer] you a horse as a tribute. Four people have been dispatched. I expect that you will permit me to sell my small quantity of livestock well...

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<sup>22</sup> JMLZ 1671.16, 47: 1391, QL 22.9.14 (1757.10.26), the memorial of Jaohui and others. In order to understand the trade relations between the Kazakhs and Qing empire, Lin and Wang (1991), using the archival documents, performed a detailed analysis of the items that were traded. Also see Noda 2009.

<sup>23</sup> Lin and Wang 1991: 257.

<sup>24</sup> *Ta'erbahatai shiyi*: vol.4, 7.

<sup>25</sup> JMLZ 2546.29, 100: 2373–2374, the enclosure of the Manchu memorial of Iletu, QL 38.9.19. (1773.11.3). Also see QTQD: 119.

## 5. Document E

**Date:** 1775.6.4? (QL 40.5.7?)

**Sender:** Abulfeyz

**Addressee:** Kinggui, the Councillor of Tarbaghatai

**Language/Script:** Turki/Arabic

**Reference:** JMLZ 2637.6, 106: 1094, QL 40.6.19 (1775.7.16).

### Text

- 1/ تاربوغتای جوکاجک نی
- 2/ بلیب تورغان امبونغه ابوالفیض وانکدین دعاء سلام
- 3/ دیکج سوز بوکیم لقم یلان یلیدا اتام ابوالمحمد خان نینک یورتیغه  
؟؟؟؟ 3'
- 4/ یولوقین دیب بریب ایدیم. اندین ییلقی کوز اویومکه کلدیم. قزاق
- 5/ لار کلیب ایدی. خان دین سیزکه حط کلدی. بورت الیب کله دور دیب
- 6/ حط بزکه تکمادی. اوشول خط که قراب توروب سیزکه یولوق
- 7/ عالی کجیکیب قالدوق. خان نینک اسانلکنی تلیب کیردیب، جانکجونک
- 8/ امبونلارغه کوروشوب تانوشیب کیردیب فوفی نی
- 9/ ابردیم. خان نینک ابرکان تورغوندین تورت تورغون نی توبت
- 10/ تابشوردی. خط یوق ابوالفیض وانکدین امبونغه
- 11/ برآت بلک اکی امبونغه اکی آط بلیک. فوفی طوره
- 12/ خان خوجه نینک بلیک اط امبونغه. جوجی نینک بیلیک اط امبونغه.
- 13/ سرطان آبی نینک یته ی کونی بیتلدی.

ابوالفیض بهادر سلطان

### Transcription

/1/ Tarbuġatay Jūġājāknī

/2/ bilip turġan ambunġa Abū al-Fayz wangdīn du‘ā’-i salām

/3/ degāj, söz bukim, ~~atam~~ yılan yilida atam Abū al-Muĥammad ħānniġ  
yurtiġa

- /3'/ {+\*<sup>1</sup>} *yil*}  
/4/ yoluqin dep barip edim. Andin yilqi {+\*<sup>1</sup>} küz öyümgä keldim. Qazāq-  
/5/ lar kelip aydı. ‘Hāndin sizgä haṭ keldi. Burut alip kelädür.’ dep  
/6/ aydı. Haṭ bizgä tägmädi. Uşul haṭ-kä qarap turup sizgä yoluq-  
/7/ ğalı kejkikip qalduq. Hānniñ esänlik[i]ni tilip kirdep, janjuñ  
/8/ ambunlarğa körüşup tanuşıp kirdep, Fofini  
/9/ yibärdim. Hānniñ yibärgän turğundin tört turğunni Tubet  
/10/ tabşurdi. Haṭ yoq. Abū al-Fayz wangdin ambunğa  
/11/ bir at belek, ikki ambunğa ikki aṭ belek. Fofi törä,  
/12/ Hān Hōjanıñ belek aṭ ambunğa. Jōjiniñ belek aṭ ambunğa.  
/13/ Saraṭān ayiniñ yettäy küni bitildi.

Abū al-Fayz bahādur sultān

### Translation

Abulfeyz *wang* sends his best wishes to the Councillor, who rules Tarbaghatai, Chuguchak. Then, ~~my father~~ in the year of the Snake (1773), I went to my father’s *yurt* to meet him. Then, in autumn of the year of the Horse (1774), I returned to my home. The Kazakhs came to tell me, ‘A letter came from the Khan (Qing emperor) to you. Burut has brought [the letter].’ Yet, the letter has still not reached me. We [dispatched our envoys] too late because we hoped to meet you after reading the letter. I sent Bopu to pray for the well-being of the Khan and to become acquainted with the Military Governor and Councillor. Tubet has brought four of the damasks which the Khan sent; [however,] there is no letter. Abulfeyz *wang* [has sent] one tribute horse to the Councillor and two tribute horses to the two Councillors. The tribute horse of Bopu Tora and Khan Khoja [has been sent] to the Councillor. The tribute horse of Jochi [has been sent] to the Councillor. I wrote on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the Cancer (4<sup>th</sup>) month.

### Commentary

**I. 3, Abū al-Muḥammad ḥān:** Abulmanbet. The Qing bestowed the *han* title of the ‘Right Kazakh’ (Ch. *youbu hasake*) on him.

**I. 5a, turġun:** The translation of the Mo. *torya(n)* (silk, silk-fabrics). WTQWJ suggests that it means Ch. *duanzi* (Chinese damask).<sup>26</sup>

**I. 8, Fofi:** Bopu (Tu. *Fofi~Bofi*, Ma. *Bopu*). The third son of Abulfeyz. According to the Qing record, he was 14 years old in 1775.<sup>27</sup>

**I. 9, Tubet:** Based on the memorial of Kinggui (Ch. *Qinggui*) in 1778, we have evidence that Tubet was also an *aqalaqči* of the Tortul tribe.<sup>28</sup> His name appears in Documents F [I.11] and G [I.3], too.

**I. 10, Haṭ yoq:** According to the questioning of Tubet by Iletu (Ch. *Yiletu*), the Military Governor of Yili, the letter that had not reach Abulfeyz was left in Tubet's house.<sup>29</sup>

**II. 10–11, Abū al-Fayz wangdīn ambunġa bir at belek, ikki ambunġa ikki aṭ belek:** In this part, it is not obvious what is the difference between the first *ambun*/Amban (Councillor) and the other two. However, there is a possibility that the two Ambans should be identified as the *hebei amban* and *batur amban* of Tarbaghatai. See the commentary of Document F.

**I. 12a, Hān Hōja:** Khan Khoja (?–1799) is a son of Baraq of the ‘Western Kazakh’ (Ch. *xibu hasake*). After Baraq died when the Khan Khoja was two years old, his mother became Abulfeyz's wife and Khan Khoja was treated as the eldest son of Abulfeyz. After the death of Abulfeyz in 1783, he succeeded to Abulfeyz's title of *wang* (Prince).<sup>30</sup>

**I. 12b, Jōji:** The second son of Abulfeyz. Also see Documents C, K, L, and M.

**I. 13, Saraṭān ayī:** The *seraṭān* (Cancer) month is the 4<sup>th</sup> solar month (June to July) in Dari Persian (Eastern Persian), spoken in Afghanistan. This solar calendar had been used in Central Asia occasionally. However, this part was translated into Manchu as ‘the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month’ (Ma. *sunja biyai ice nadan*).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> WTQWJ, *bubobu, bubolei* 1: 14a (Repr., 1957: 3151); Tamura 1968: 671 [no.11856].

<sup>27</sup> JMLZ 2635.3, 106: 718, QL 40.6.2 (1775.6.29), the Manchu memorial of Kinggui.

<sup>28</sup> HMQN: 85a–b, QL 43.2.5 (1778.3.3).

<sup>29</sup> JMLZ 2637.6, 106: 1091, QL 40.6.19 (1775.7.6), the Manchu memorial of Kinggui.

<sup>30</sup> Saguchi 1964: 269–270; Hua 2006: 182.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, note. 29, 106: 1089.

## 6. Document F

**Date:** 1779 (QL 44)

**Sender:** Khan Khoja

**Addressee:** Kinggui, the Councillor of Tarbaghatai

**Language/Script:** Turki/Arabic

**Reference:** JMLZ 2800.5.2, 117: 174, QL 44.8 (1779.9.10 ~ 10.9).<sup>32</sup>

### Text

1/ تابغتای زیرکین بلیب تورغا کبه آمیان  
2/ باتور آمیان نیک اسن لیکین تلای میز کوب  
3/ یلارغه بیز بابقتی سیز اسن لینکیزلارنی سواى  
4/ کلدیب ییریب ایدوک سیز قایران لاب  
5/ اون تورغون ایکی بخمال ییریب سیز  
6/ اولارنی بیز قول میز غه الدوق کوبدین کوب  
7/ قواندوق تورت چتندا تورغان بابیقتی  
8/ بیز موندین ییردوک سیز اندین ییریب سیز  
9/ یورت کراک لیک اشین کبه آمیان بلور  
10/ تورت اولوق کراک لیک اش بولسا  
11/ بابیق تویت نی یوموشاسنکیز اولار  
12/ کلیب بیزکا خبر برور خان خوجه  
13/ توره دین آمیانلارغه دعاء سلام

خان خوجه بهادر سلطان

### Transcription

/1/ Ta[r]bağatay zergin bilip turğa[n] kebä amban

/2/ batur ambannıñ esänlikin tiläymiz. Köp

/3/ yïllarğa, biz Bab[ı]qnı siz esänliñizlärni so[r]ay

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<sup>32</sup> Documents of JMLZ, which are also known as *yuezhe bao* (Monthly Memorial Packet), were originally packed in paper at every month and stored in the Ground Council. In the classification of documents, those without a date were registered as ‘*bao* of a certain month’ (*bao*, or ‘package’ in Chinese) by the cataloging staff at the First Historical Archives of China.

- /4/ keldep yibärip eduq. Siz qayranlap  
/5/ on turğun ikki baħmal yibäripsiz.  
/6/ Olarnı biz qol[ı]mızğa alduq. Köpdin köp  
/7/ quwanduq. Tört çetändä turğan Babıqñı  
/8/ biz mundın yibärdük. Siz andın yibäripsiz.  
/9/ Yurt keräklik işin kebä amban bilür.  
/10/ Tört uluq keräklik işi bolsa,  
/11/ Babıq, Tubetni yümüşäsäniz. Olar  
/12/ kelip, bizgä ħabar berür. Ĥān Ĥōja  
/13/ törädin ambanlarğa, du‘ā’-yi salām.

Ĥān Ĥōja bahādur sultān

#### Translation

I pray for the well-being of the Councillor and the Batur Amban, who rule the Tarbaghatai region. For years, we have dispatched Babuq to inquire as to your well-being. You kindly presented me with two damasks and ten napped damasks. We were very glad to accept them. From our place, we dispatched Babuq, who was at Tort Chetin. You then dispatched [Babuq] back later. The Councillor oversees the requirements of the *yurt*. For the requirements of the Tort Uluq, please return Babuq and Tubet back [to me]. When they arrive, they will give [me] news [about it]. Khan Khoja Tora sends best wishes to the Ambans.

#### Commentary

**I. 1a, Ta[r]bağatay zergin bilip:** The same style appears in Document H [I.2] (*Ta[r]bağatay zergin bilip*). It is probable that the origin of *zerg* ~ *žerg* is a translation from Ma. *jergi*, which means ‘place, part’ as well as ‘grade, rank, degree.’

**I. 1b, kebä amban:** The transcription from the Ma. *hebei amban* (Councillor, Ch. *canzan dachen*). The *hebei amban* refers to a military administrator who was stationed at the main fortified cities in Qing Inner Asia. The post of the

*hebei amban* of Targaghatai was established in 1764. When Document F reached Tarbaghatai in 1779, Kinggui was the *hebei amban*.

**I. 2, batur amban:** Although the title of the ‘Batur Amban’ of Tarbaghatai appears in several documents, its true meaning is still not clear. According to the 1766 Qing records, the Qing representative at the fortress of Yar (Ch. *Ya'er*) was called the *batu'er dachen* (Batur Amban) by the Kazakhs;<sup>33</sup> this was one of the earliest examples. In 1764, the Yar fortress was built at the riverside of the Ujar River to the west of Tarbaghatai, where the Councillor and troops were stationed. However, because of bitter cold, the location was abandoned and a new Tarbaghatai fortress (Ch. *suijing cheng*) was established at the foot of the Chuguchak Mountain in 1766. Possibly, the ‘Batur Amban’ was used as a common name for the Qing representative at Yar and Tarbaghatai; this name was customarily kept in use by the Kazakhs even after the title *hebei amban* had spread, and moreover it came to refer to the Grand Minister Superintendent (Ma. *meyen i amban*, Ch. *lingdui dachen*) of Tarbaghatai. For example, in 1778, Udai (Ch. *Wudai*), the Grand Minister Superintendent of Tarbaghatai, was dispatched to drive some Kazakhs who illegally entered the interior of the *karun*-line. Before Udai arrived on the scene, a guard of the Qing, stationed at the *karun*, noticed the Kazakhs, ‘Our Batur Amban will arrive soon’ (Ma. *meni baturu amban te uthai isinjimbi*).<sup>34</sup> In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian authorities advancing into the Kazakh steppe also identified ‘Batur Amban’ with the Grand Minister Superintendent of Tarbaghatai.<sup>35</sup>

**I. 3; 7; 11, Babïq:** Babuq was an *aqalaqçi* of the Tortul (*Tört-oghul*) tribe. His name appears in Documents H [I.11], too. According to Qing records, in 1770,

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<sup>33</sup> GZSL 757: 10a–11b, QL 31.3 *gengyin* (1766.4.29).

<sup>34</sup> JMLZ 2756.20, 114: 1200, QL 43.8.20 (1778.10.12), the Manchu memorial of Kinggui.

<sup>35</sup> Batur amban is sometimes found in the Russian documents. For example, when the Tarbaghatai protocol was concluded between the Qing and Russia in 1864, one of the delegates of the Qing side was described as follows: ‘Bolgos, the commander of the Tarbaghatai brigadier, who has the rank of the vice commander of the Korps and had the title of baturu’ (Ru. *Тарбагатайский бригадный командир, имеющий звание помощника корпусного командира и титул батуру, Болгосу*). Bolgos was known as Ma. *meyen i amban*, e.g. Ch. *lingdui dachen* (Grand Minister Superintendent). See RKO: 46.

after Burut who had been the *aqalaqči* of the Tortul tribe, emigrated to Yili, Babuq was not only appointed to the post, but also was made responsible for the liaison between the Kazakhs and the Qing agent at Tarbaghatai by Abulfeyz.<sup>36</sup> He was dispatched as Abulfeyz's envoy to Tarbaghatai in 1781 again (Document H [I.11]). The existence of Burut, Tubet, and Babuq provide some evidence that the role of the Tortul tribe's *aqalaqči* involved acting as an intermediary between the Kazakhs and the Qing.

**I. 4, qayranlap:** The word *qayran* has many meanings including 'heart, mercy, kindness' in the Altaic languages:<sup>37</sup> Mo. *qayira(n)*, Ma. *hairan*. The usage of *hayran qil-* (to grant) exists in the Turkic document which was introduced by He Xingliang. According to his explanation, the origin of *hayran* refers to 'alms, hospitality'; the meaning was later to be 'grant, reward'.<sup>38</sup>

**I. 5, baḡmāl:** WTQWJ suggests that it means Ch. *woduan* (napped-damask).<sup>39</sup>

**I. 7, Tört četän:** Unclear; however, there is a possibility that ČTN (چتن) should be identified as Tu. *četän* (fence). In any case, the *tört četän* refers to a tribal or place name concerning the Kazakhs.

**I. 9, yurt:** 'land, country, region, place (involving people).' From the context, it can be surmised that, here, the *yurt* refers to the territory of Khan Khoja himself or the whole Kazakhs vaguely.

**I. 10, Tört uluq:** It is unclear what was the precise meaning of *Tört uluq*, although 'Four Tribes' is its literal translation. However, I can infer from the contrast between use of this and use of *yurt* in this document, and the correlation with the context of Document H, that this is a possible misspelling of the *Tört-oghul* (Tortul) tribe, to which Babuq and Tubet belonged.

**I. 11, Tuyet:** This is probably a misspelling of *Tubet* (توبت). In 1780, he was dispatched to Tarbaghatai again.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> JMLZ 2635.4, 106: 724-728, QL 40.6.2 (1770.6.29), the Manchu memorial of Qinggui.

<sup>37</sup> Budagov 1871: 32.

<sup>38</sup> He 1998: 66.

<sup>39</sup> WTQWJ, *bubobu, bubolei* 1: 16b (Repr., 1957: 3156); Tamura 1968: 672 [no.11876].

<sup>40</sup> JMLZ 2816.47, 118: 34-36, QL 45.2.1 (1780.3.6), the Manchu memorial of Qinggui.

## 7. Document G

**Date:** 1779 (QL 44)

**Sender:** Ablai

**Addressee:** Iletu, the Military Governor of Yili

**Language/Script:** Turki/Arabic

**Reference:** JMLZ 2800.5.2, 117: 168–169, QL 44.9 (1779.10.10 ~ 11.7).

### Text

- 1/ قزاق نينک خانى ابولاي خان ايله نينک جنک جونک انبونغه خط اوشلادوق
- 2/ سز بز نينک ايسانليکى ميز نى سوراب سيز بز مونده ايسان امان بارمز سيز
- 3/ لارنى داغى الله تعالى کوب بيلغه ايسان قيلسون بيز نينک توبت ديکان
- 4/ کشى مزدان خط يياريب سز اول خطنى اوقوتوب سوزين ايشتيب کوب
- 5/ کوب سيوندوک آغ نيمان فارمش يوز کشى بوغده خانغه الباتو بولامان
- 6/ اينه من ديدى ديب سز شول کشى لارينکنى ييب آل ديب سز
- 7/ بز اول سوزينکيزغه راضى بولوب سيوندوک بولتور داغى سکز کشى
- 8/ قاچب بارغانين تورتوى قيز تورتوى يکيت انينک تورت قيز
- 9/ بر يکتنى قايتاريب ييارکانينکيزغه اوچ الاچته ايشتمکان کشى قالمادى
- 10/ ايشتمکانده سيونمکان کشى قالمادى بز نينک قزاق سوياکلى کشى نى قيتاريب
- 11/ بربدى ديب قيتاريب برکان کشى نينک آتى منکى باى ديکان شول
- 12/ منکى باى ديکان نى اولتورمه ديمسز اول يمان ايشلارنى کوب قيلادور
- 13/ يمان ايش قيلسه داغى اولتورمه ديمى سز يوق بو رو ايش قيلسه اولتور
- 14/ ديمى سز جواين برکاپسز اول ايزين بوغده خان نينک النين ايتاکين
- 15/ اوشلاننده آزغنه يورتوم کوب بولور بارلى يورتوم باى بولور ديب
- 16/ نيتم بار ايردى بر شهر نينک ايجنداکی البتو بولوب شهردين تاشقارى
- 17/ سى البتو بولمامى سز شهر نينک ايجنداکی داي البتوسز بز تاشقارى
- 18/ سى داغى داي البتومز قيامتغه چه آلتون ايتاکتان ايريلماسدان
- 19/ ديب اوشلانغان مز سز نينک بو ايش لارينکيزکه کوب راضى مز
- 20/ ايمدى قره ول لارينکيزغه ايتب جارلاتيب قويونکيز انيامان
- 21/ ديکان کشى لارنى قيتاريب سالسون اوزکه جاينچه باريب کليب توره
- 22/ تورغان کشى بولسه اوزى بيلسون برون دان قونوش قونوب تورغان کشى

- 23/ بولسه ضررسز بورنغى قونوشندا تورغانين يخشى بلامان بارين هيداب  
24/ چيقاساق قونوشى تار بولوب يورت يارلى بولور ديما يوق يور  
25/ تونك نينك بارين داغى هيداب چيق ديسانكيز اوزينكيز قراق  
26/ ياغنه قيتاريب سالنكيز تورديكان يرينكيزده تورسون قالماقچه  
27/ بنتيتورغان كشيمنز يوق كتك قالغانى بولسه عيب قيلمانكيز

ابولاي بن بهادر والى سلطان

### Transcription

- /1/ Qazāqñiñ hānī Abulay hān Ilāniñ jañ juñ anbunga haṭ ušladuq.  
/2/ Siz bizniñ esānlikimizni sorapsiz. Biz munda esān amān barmiz. Siz-  
/3/ lārni daḡi li-llāh ta‘alā köp yilga esān qilsun. Bizniñ Tubet degān  
/4/ kišimizdān haṭ yibāripsiz. Ol haṭnī oqtup sözin iştip köp  
/5/ köp söyündüq. ‘Aḡ naymān qarmış yüz kiši, “boḡda hānga albatu bolaman  
/6/ enāmān” dedi’ depsiz. Šol kišilāriñni yeyip al depsiz.  
/7/ Biz ol söziñiz-ğa raḡi bolup söyündük. Bultur daḡi sekkiz kiši  
/8/ qačip bargānīn törtüy qiz, törtüy yigit, anīñ tört qiz,  
/9/ bir yig[i]tni qaytarip yibārgāniñiz-ğa üç alačta işitmāgān kiši qalmadī.  
/10/ İşitgāndā söyünmāgān kiši qalmadī. Bizniñ qazāq süyākli kišini qaytarip  
/11/ beripdi dep, qaytarip bergān kišiniñ atī Mönke Bay degān. Šol  
/12/ Mönke Bay degānīni öltürmādimisiz? Ol yaman işlārni köp qiladur.  
/13/ Yaman iş qilsa, daḡi öltürmādimisiz? Yoq, bu raw[ā] iş qilsa, öltür-  
/14/ dimisiz? Jawābīn bergāysiz. Awwal ezen boḡda hānniñ altīn etākinin  
/15/ ušlaḡanda, azḡina yurtum köp bolur, yarlı yurtum bay bolur dep  
/16/ niyātim bar erdi. Bir šahrniñ içindāki albatu bolup, šahrdīn tašqarī-  
/17/ sī albatu bolmaymīsiz? Šahrniñ içindāki dāy albatu sız. Biz tašqarī-  
/18/ sī daḡi day albatumiz. Qiyāmatḡača altun etāktān ayrılmasdan  
/19/ dep ušlaḡanmiz. Sizniñ bu işlāriñizḡa köp rāḡimiz.  
/20/ Emdi qarawullarñizḡa aytip jarlatip qoyuñiz. Anyāmān  
/21/ degān kišilārni qaytarip salsun. Özgā jayınča barip kelip tura  
/22/ turḡan kiši bolsa, özi bilsun. Burundan qonuš qonup turḡan kiši  
/23/ bolsa, ḡararsız. Burunḡi qonušında turḡanīn yahşı bilāmān. Barīn häydäp

- /24/ čiqasaq, qonuşı tar bolup, yurt yarlı bolur demän yoq. Yur-  
/25/ tuñniñ barın dağı häydäp čiq desäñiz, öziñiz qazāq  
/26/ yağna qaytarıp salıñız. Turdığan yeriñizdä tursun. Qalmaqça  
/27/ bititür-ğan kişimiz yoq. Ketik qalğanı bolsa, ‘aib qılmañız.

Abulay bin bahādur Walī sultān

### Translation

The Kazakh *han*, Abulay sent a letter to the Military Governor and Councillor of Yili. You inquired after our well-being. We live here peacefully and in health. May you also have peace for many years by the blessing of God! Our man, called Tubet, brought your reply to us. We were very glad to read the letter. [The letter] stated that the one hundred Aq Naiman tribesmen, who had been captured, had said, ‘We want to become *albatu* and to submit to the Boghda Khan.’ After this, you told [us] to accommodate these persons. We were satisfied and pleased with your words. Last year, too, there were eight fugitives: four women and four young men. Among the Three Alash, everyone heard that you sent the four women and one young man back; everyone was very glad to hear this. You had formerly said that you would send our Kazakh’s tribesman back, whose name was Monke Bay. Have you still not killed this man, Monke Bay yet? He did many evil deeds. However, despite his evil deeds, have you still not killed him? If you have not, [in the contrary case,] can it be that those who do good deeds are killed [with impunity]? Can you reply to us? Formerly, when we held the hem of the golden coat of the Ejen Boghda Khan, I stated, ‘I wish to increase my few *yurt* and enrich the poor *yurts*. [While] you regard the people within the walled-town as [your] *albatu*, why do not you regard the people outside walled-town [your] *albatu*? The people within the walled-town are the *albatu*. We, the people outside walled-town, are also the *albatu*. We will never leave the hem of the golden coat.’ [Therefore,] we were very satisfied your proposal. Now, please order your post-guards to search. You should send the Aq Naiman tribesmen back. For the others who come and go at their own discretion, they ought to be

responsible for themselves. Those who have stayed in the encampment [within the Qing territory] since before are harmless (they are not worth special mention). I know well that they have stayed at the encampment from before. [Of course,] even if you did expel all of them [from the Qing territory], I would not suggest that our pastureland would become narrow and our *yurt* would become poor. If you do decide to say that you drive away anyone who belongs to your *yurt*, then please send them back to our Kazakh side by yourself. You should remain at your place. Now, there is no one who can write in the Qalmaq language. If there is rudeness [in this letter], please do forgive me.

### Commentary

**I. 1, Iläniñ jañ juñ:** At that time, Iletu (Ch. *Yiletu*) obtained the position of the Military Governor of Yili.

**I. 5, Aǵ naymān qarmış yüz kiši:** The one hundred Aq Naiman tribesmen may be identical to the one hundred Kazakhs of the Ch. *ake naiman etuoke* (Ma. *ak naiman otok*) in Qing records.<sup>41</sup> At the beginning of 1779 (the end of QL 43), they asked the Qing for permission to enter within the *karun*-line.<sup>42</sup> The Qing refused this request, and the Qing government sent letters to Abulay and Abulfeyz, asking them to accommodate these wandering tribesmen. Document G is Abulay's reply to this Qing proposal.<sup>43</sup>

**I. 9, üč alačta:** For the word *alach*, or *alash* in the present-day Kazakh language, see the commentary of Document I.

**I.11, Mönke Bay:** Personal name. There is no information on him now.

**I.14, alfin etäk; I. 18, altun etäk:** In Mongol and Turkic languages, matters and things regarding the monarch (khan) are often given the attribute of

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<sup>41</sup> In the Qing records, the sub-group under the Zhuz was called *otok* (Ch. *etuoke* < Mon. *otuy*), originally meaning a nomadic unit in Mongolia. On this point, NODA points out, 'following the 24 Otoks of the Junggar, the same word came to encompass Kazakh nomads' (Noda 2002: 17, note 7).

<sup>42</sup> The *karun* (Ch. *kalun*) in Manchu was the 'guard-post' along the Qing frontier; it corresponds to *qarawul* in Turki.

<sup>43</sup> For further details, see Onuma 2003; Chapter 2: 106, 114–116.

*altın/altun* (gold)—Mo. *altun uruy* (golden clan, or ‘Chinggisid clan’), for example. The word *etäk* means ‘edge, hem of coat or skirt.’ The word *altın/altun etäkin* also exists in Document I [ll.12–13] and the Turkic letter, which is introduced by Duysenghali, to the Councillor of Tarbaghatai in 1786; both were sent from Jochi sultan. Duysenghali interpreted that ‘*boğda ezenniñ altın etäk tutup*’ (to grasp the hem of the golden coat of the Qing emperor) was a symbolic expression that referred to submission to the Qing emperor.<sup>44</sup> Our research also suggests that this interpretation is appropriate.

**I. 20, Anyāmān:** This is probably a misspelling of *Ağ naymān*.

**II. 21–22, tura turğan kiši:** The *tura* at the end of line 21 is probably the incorrect rendering of *turğan*. Although *turğan* was rewritten at the beginning of the next line, the *tura* was not crossed out.

**II. 26–27, Qalmaqça bitür-ğan kišimiz yoq:** In the early stages of the Qing-Kazakh negotiations, the Kazakh letters addressed to the Qing were written in Oyirad. However, as time passed, Turki came to be the most commonly-used language.<sup>45</sup> This sentence of Document G, which was drafted around 25 years after the Junghar collapse, demonstrates the decline of the writing skill of the Oyirad language within the Kazakhs. On the other hand, the significant deviations of the Turkic grammar and orthography give us evidence of the Kazakh’s actual level of written Turki at the time.

**I. 27, ketik:** WTQWJ suggests that it means Ch. *cuzao* (rough, rude).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Düysenäli 2009: 53.

<sup>45</sup> Introduction: 3–4.

<sup>46</sup> WTQWJ X: *renbu* 8, *baonüelei*, 54a (Repr., 1957: 2401); Tamura 1968: 507 [no.9051].

## 8. Document H

**Date:** 1781 (QL 46)

**Sender:** Abulfeyz sultan

**Addressee:** Huiling, the Councillor of Tarbaghatai and the other officials

**Language/Script:** Turki/Arabic

**Reference:** JMLZ 2905.29, 123: 1100,<sup>47</sup> the enclosure of the Manchu memorial of Huling

### Text

- 1/ یقاری بعد ازین نیک اسن لیکین تلامیز کوب یل  
2/ لار غه تابغتای ضرکین بلیب اش بلاب تورعان  
3/ خبه آمبان اسقان آمبان مورین جاین آمبان غه قزاق  
4/ وانک ابوالفیض دین دعای سلام دیکچ سوز بو کم  
5/ تورت اوغل اوتاقنی قزاق نی قیشتایدوغان یرکا یتکور  
6/ الماس من دب اوزنیک اوران کان قیشتوغا  
7/ قویوب کاتم بو یلچه اغورلوق قلمای تورونک لار دب  
8/ تورت اغول دین کراک چقسه غونان قوی دونان قوی  
9/ دین سوراسون قیدای دین کراک چقسه  
10/ خوجه قل نیاز دین سوراسون سیز کا معلوم بولسون  
11/ دب بو خط نی بابقدین بیردیم



### Transcription

- 1/ Yuqarī Boğda ezenniñ esän-likin tiläymiz, köp yil-  
2/ larğa Ta[r]bağatay zergin bilip iş biläp turğan  
3/ ħebe amban asqan amban mörin jayın ambanğa qazāq  
4/ wañ Abū al-Fayzdīn du‘ā-yi salām degäč söz bu kim,  
5/ tört-uğul otaqnı qazāqnı qıştayduğan yergä yetkür

<sup>47</sup> Though Document G is inserted after the 1099<sup>th</sup> exposure, it should be related with the memorial which begins with the 821<sup>st</sup> one.

- /6/ alasmın dep, özniñ urangän qıştuğa  
/7/ qoyub kättim, bu yılça ağurluq qılmay turunlar dep  
/8/ tört-ağuldın keräk çıqsa Ğunanqoy Dönänqoy-  
/9/ dın surasun, qızaydın keräk çıqsa  
/10/ Hojaqıl Niyäzdın surasun, sizgä ma‘lüm bolsun  
/11/ dep bu hañni Babıqdın berdim.

Abū al-Fayz Bahādur sulṭān

### Translation

We wish peace to the Supreme Ejen. [The letter is addressed] to the Councillor, Vice Minister, and Vice Commander-in-Chief, who had ruled the region of Tarbaghatai and administered the affairs over a long period of time. From me, Kazakh *wang* Abulfeyz, I will greet [you], and subsequently convey the followings: ‘For I could not cause Kazakhs of the Tortul tribe to go to the place where to encamp in winter, [instead] I left them within the winter pastureland, which I took by myself. I told them not to do wrong. [Therefore,] if [you] blame the Kazakhs of the Tortul tribe, please ask Gunanqoy and Donanqoy. If [you] blame those of the Qyzai tribe, please ask Khojaqıl and Niyaz.’ We sent this letter through Babuq in order to inform you [of the above-mentioned matters].

### Commentary

- l. 1, zergi (ضیرگی):** This probably refers to ‘*jergi*’ in Manchu. See Document E.  
**l. 3a, asqan amban:** Vice Minister (Ma. *ashani amban*, Ch. *shilang*).  
**l. 3b, mörin jayın amban:** Vice Commander-in-Chief (Ma. *meiren i janggin amban* (Ma.), Uyg. *meyren janggin*,<sup>48</sup> Ch. *fudutong*).  
**l. 5a, tört-uğul:** The Tortul tribe of the Kazakh Middle Zhuz (Ka. төртүл).  
**l. 5b, otaq:** This relates to ‘*otok*’ in Mongol and Manchu, which implies ‘tribe’ or ‘tribal territory.’  
**l. 8a, Gunanqoy; Dönänqoy:** In Kazakh, these literally imply a three-year-old sheep (*Qunan-qoy*) and four-year-old sheep (*Donan-qoy*), respectively, as

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<sup>48</sup> This spelling is in accordance with WTQWJ.

indicated in Alikeng 2006. However, based on the Manchu memorial, these should be the names of Kazakhs from the Tortul tribe.

**I. 9, qīzay:** The Qyzai tribe, which also belongs to the Kazakh Middle Zhuz.<sup>49</sup>

**I. 11, Babīq:** This implies Babuq, also see Document F. He was an *aqalaqči* of the Tortul tribe who entered the Qing's territory through the *Baktu* (Baqit) guard post (*karun*) in order to explain the situation to Huiling.<sup>50</sup> The term 'aqalaqchi' implies 'chief' in Mongol.<sup>51</sup> In the case of the Kazakhs, this term appears to be used for describing the chief of envoy dispatched to the Qing dynasty. Later, the chief of Kazakh caravans was also known as 'aqalaqči'.<sup>52</sup>

### Related Matters

By this time, the Qing government had gradually reinforced control over Kazakh nomadism. An edict confirmed the policy that Kazakhs were prohibited from crossing the border into the territory of the Qing empire.<sup>53</sup> In addition, an edict addressed to Abulmambet stated: 'Since the Kazakhs became my [Emperor's] subjects, they must be supervised by Military Governor and Councillors and not cross the border to nomadise.'<sup>54</sup>

As an extension to this policy, Agui sent a letter to Abulfeyz, which was cited in his memorial to the Emperor.<sup>55</sup> The Manchu version of the text of Agui's assertion varies from that which was cited in the imperial edict:<sup>56</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The Qyzai and Tortul tribes were living along the Irtysh river, particularly near Semipalatinsk, Andreev 1998: 94–95.

<sup>50</sup> JMLZ 2905.29, 123: 822, QL 46.11.12 (1781.12.26).

<sup>51</sup> In Junghar, there were 'ahalakči' as well, which implies the commander of ten, Tayama 1967: 68.

<sup>52</sup> Noda 2005: 48. Qugbanghali mentioned the existence of *aqalaqchi* who served as the chief of caravans, TKhSh: 306–307. In order to refer to the Kirghiz case, see Di Cosmo 2006: 368, f.n. 27.

<sup>53</sup> PDZFL, *xubian* 15: 26b–27b, QL 27.2 *renwu* (1762.3.13), the edict to Agui.

<sup>54</sup> PDZFL, *xubian* 16: 6a–7a, QL 27.3 *wushen* (1762.4.8), the edict to Abulmambet.

<sup>55</sup> JMLZ 2225.5, 79: 2222–2223, QL 32.4.13 (1967.5.10). The Manchu text is: 'Amba enduringge ejen i tulergi aiman i albatu be bilume gosire gūnin de acabume, tuveri nimaraka amala, meni karun be gocifi. Tarbahatai i boso ergi ba be, suwende taka nuktebūfi. Niyengiyeri forgon meni karun be da bade feshelme sindara de, an i suwembe jecen i tule unggimbi.'

<sup>56</sup> GZSL 780: 34a–35b, QL 32.3 *jimao* (1967.4.13), the imperial edict. The Chinese text only read: 'After snowfall in the autumn and winter, we let the Tarbaghatai guard posts withdraw a little into the inside, order the Kazakhs to live there for a while and collect one per hundred livestock so that the officials of the guard posts can appropriate it for a tribute. In the spring, we put them [Kazakhs] back' (秋冬雪落後，請將塔爾巴哈台卡座，稍為內徙，暫令哈薩克等住牧，每牲百隻抽一，交卡上官員收取，以充貢賦。春季仍行遣回)。

‘[We] love the outer vassal subjects of the Great Sacred Ejen and accept them with love. After snowfall in winter, we withdraw our guard posts and let you [the Kazakhs] live for a while in the folds of the Tarbaghatai. When we put back our guard posts where they were, we expel you out of the border, in accordance with the custom.’ Indeed, the Kazakhs were permitted living inside the Qing territory in winter only under the condition that ‘[the Qing official] levies one per the 100 livestock on the Kazakh people who has passed the winter within the territory subjugated by the Qing.’ This was because ‘if the Kazakhs nomadise inside the Qing territory without payment of *alban* (tax) to the Qing, it should be **contrary to reason**.’<sup>57</sup> In other words, in principal, Abulfeyz was required to vacate the area of the border guard posts of the Qing dynasty, as indicated in Document C.

Document G is associated with the security of the Qing border as well as the Kazakh criminals, although, the background of the incident is vague. The memorial suspiciously mentioned that Gunanqoy and others were not those who lived quietly.<sup>58</sup> Document G indicates that Abulfeyz sultan was responsible for managing his subject tribes who were living a nomadic life in close proximity to the Qing guard posts. Erkin considers that this document is associated with leasing the pastureland.<sup>59</sup> However, the memorial of Huiling that includes the summarized translation of Document G presents a different story. According to this memorial, Babuq claimed that Abulfeyz tried to move the Tortul tribe, which was living near the Qing guard posts. However, Abulfeyz’s efforts were wasted as very Document G indicates. Babuq even made an excuse to Huiling on the unsuccessful effort of his master, Abulfeyz.<sup>60</sup>

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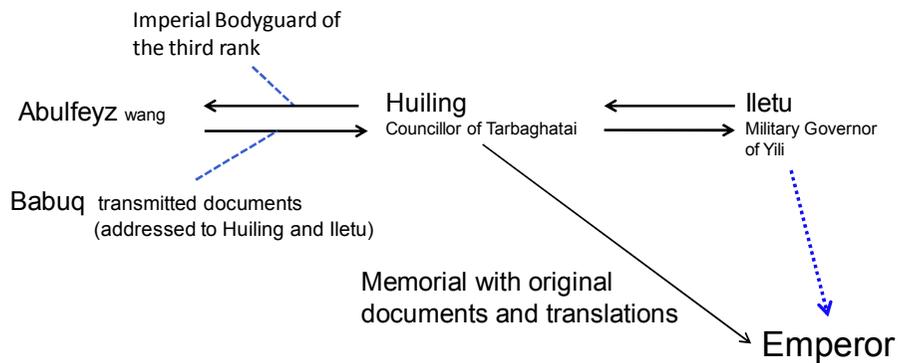
<sup>57</sup> The part of the citation is emphasized in bold type by NODA. The text is followings: ‘Suwe te meni jecen i dolo teci mende alban šulehe jafarakū oci, kooli giyan de acanarakū, be te toktobufi meni jecen i dolo tuweri hetumbume tehe suweni urse de tanggū ulha de emu alban gaimbi,’ JMLZ 2225.5, 79: 2215, QL 32.5.6. (1967.5), the memorial of Agui.

<sup>58</sup> JMLZ 2905.29, 123: 824, QL 46.12.7. (1782.1.20), the memorial of Huiling.

<sup>59</sup> Alikeng 2006.

<sup>60</sup> JMLZ 2905.29, 123: 822. Concerning the sender of the document, Babuq mentioned, ‘my Abulfeyz *wang* dispatched me’ (*meni wang abulbis mimbe takūraft*).

As the following figure shows, Huiling and Babuq were the messengers of the documents. In order to confirm what had actually transpired, it was important that Huiling interviewed the envoy: Babuq. In other words, the discussions between the Kazakh missions and Qing officials were of significance as well in the diplomatic relations between the Kazakhs and the Qing dynasty.



**Fig. 1.2. Exchange of documents between the Kazakhs and the Qing frontier officials**

## 9. Document I

**Date:** 1781 (QL 46)

**Sender:** Dair sultan

**Addressee:** Iletu, Military Governor of Yili

**Language/Script:** Turki/Arabic

**Reference:** JMLZ 2907.13, 123: 1101, the enclosure of the memorial of Iletu

### Text

- 1/ ایجن خانینک آیدای بت لارین کوندای کوز لارین کورکالی ایسی تولیک لارین بیلکالی یراق  
یردین الارنی خدمت لاریکا
- 2/ محمود سلطان اوغلی میزنی یباردوک بز نیک اولوغمیز ابولی خان ایردیلاز بز خلق الارنیک  
خدمت لاریدا یورکوچی ایردوک
- 3/ الار هم بول دنیا دین اوتی لار الار بز خلقنیک الیمیزدا اغزیمیز نی ینکل ایتکوچی  
مشکلزنی آسان ایتکوچی یخشی اغا اتامیز
- 4/ ایردیلاز الاج یورتنی آرارنیک اغزلاریکا قراغوجی ایردی بز خلق الار نیک خدمت لاریدا کوب  
یورکوچی ایردوک ایمدی
- 5/ بز خلقنک الیمیزدا یخشی اغامیز قالمادی ابولی خان اوزک لاری ترکونده ایتقان یرلیغ لاری  
ایردی ایجن خانغه
- 6/ اینی اوغلونک نی یباریب تانیشغایسیز دیب ایتب ایردیلاز بز دین سونک سیز لاریکا هم یورت  
قالور دیب ایردیلاز
- 7/ ایجن خانغه باریب ایتاک لارین برک اوشلاغای سیز دیب ایردیلاز بز خلق نیک ابولی خانیک  
یرلیغ لاریدین اوزکا
- 8/ هیچ یخشی یمان سوزمیز یوقتور ابولی خانیک ترک لاریدا ایجن خان برلان نه یرلیغ قیلغان  
بولسه لار بز هم ایجن خانک
- 9/ قازیلغان یولاریده جاچیلغان تفرقلار یدا بارمیز تاتینده جانمیز بارچه بارمیز خدمت لاریده  
بارمیز



Transcription

- /1/ Ejen hānīn ayday betlärin kündäy közlärin körgäli esi tülklärin bilgäli,  
yaraq yerdin alarnı hizmatlarigä
- /2/ Maḥmūd sulṭān oḡlumiznı yibärdük, bizniñ uluḡmiz Abulay hān erdilär, biz  
ḥalq alarnıñ hizmatlarıda yurḡuçi erdük,
- /3/ alar ham bul duniyādin öttilär, alar biz ḥalqnıñ aldımizda aḡirmiznı yeñil  
etgüci muškulmiznı esän etgüci yaḡşı aḡa-atamiz
- /4/ erdilär, alaj yurti alarnıñ aḡizlarigä qaraḡuçi erdi, biz ḥalq alarnıñ  
hizmatlarıda köb yurḡuçi erdük, emdi
- /5/ biz ḥalqıñ aldımizda yaḡşı aḡamiz qalmadı, Abulay hān özgeñläri tirkünda  
aytqan yarlıḡları erdi, ‘ejen hānğa
- /6/ ini oḡluñı yibärib tanışḡaysız,’ dep aytıp erdilär, ‘bizdin soñ sizlärigä ham  
yurt qalur,’ dep erdilär,
- /7/ ‘ejen hānğa barıp eteklärin bark uşlaḡay siz,’ dep erdilar, biz ḥalqnıñ  
Abulay hānıñ yarlıḡlarıdin özgä
- /8/ hiç yaḡşı yaman yoqtur, Abulay hānıñ tirkklärıda ejen hān birlän ne yarlıḡ  
qılğan bolsalar, biz ham ejen hānıñ
- /9/ qazılğan yollarıda jaçılğan tofraqlarıda, bārimiz tatında, jānmiz barça  
bārimiz hizmatlarıda {bārimiz}.

Tāhir sulṭān bin Baraq hān

Translation

We dispatched our son, Mahmud sultan, from the distance to see Ejen Khan’s face like the moon and eyes like the sun, and know all his knowledge. Our leader at the time was Ablai khan. Our people were serving him. He died, too. He, led our people, eased our burdens, and solved our problems as an able elder or father. The land of *Alaj* followed whatever he would say. Our people served him over a long period of time. We currently have no elder that can lead us. Ablai khan communicated his direction at his death: ‘You should dispatch your sons to Ejen Khan to be acquainted with him.’ Moreover, he said, ‘After me, the State remains with you, too. You should visit Ejen Khan

and pull him strongly by the sleeve.’ We had nothing except Ablai khan’s instruction. Whatever edict Ejen Khan commanded at the death of Ablai khan, we are also on the road dug by Ejen Khan and on the ground leveled by Khan. All of us are working in harmony, and with all of our minds, we are serving him [Ejen Khan].

Dair sultan, the son of Baraq khan

### Commentary

**I. 4a, alaj yurti.** *Alaj* has originated from ‘*alas*’ in Kazakh and is believed to be the name of the ancestor of Kazakhs.<sup>61</sup> In this context, ‘*alaj yurti*’ implies the entire territory of the Kazakhs. This same usage can also be found in the Kazakh documents addressed to Russia.<sup>62</sup> If ‘*alas*’ was the biggest category within Kazakh society in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, on taking into account the supplementary information provided in the Russian document, it is possible to assume the following structure: *Alas* > *Zhuz* > *Il*’ (*el*) > *Uru* (*ru*).<sup>63</sup> Also see p.41.

**Seal:** Remarkably, Dair regarded his father, Baraq, as a *khan* in his seal.

### Related Matters

The dispute concerning the succession of Ablai’s *han* title will be discussed in Chapter 3.<sup>64</sup> As a document from the Russian archive indicates, Dair could influence the Tortul and Karakesek tribes.<sup>65</sup> This is the reason that the *aqalaqči* of the Tortul tribe transmitted the document to the Qing frontier.

The negative reply to Dair’s letter is kept in the collection of JMLZ.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Arghynbaev et al. 2000: 110.

<sup>62</sup> Qaip khan mentioned ‘*vse Alatskie ulusy*’ in the document, which implied ‘all the Kazakhs,’ in the report to the Siberian Governor General, Gagalin, translated 1718.5.1(Julian), KRO: 45.

<sup>63</sup> The records of the 18<sup>th</sup> century reflect the usage such as ‘*Naiman-il*,’ IKRI: vol. 4, 169.

<sup>64</sup> Alatangouqier and Wu 1998 had also discussed this problem without referring to Document I, while Alikeng 2009 analyzed this document without mentioning the sender of the document.

<sup>65</sup> The document says that only ‘*diurtul* and *karakisets volost*’ (tribes) agreed to Dair’s position of khan, MOTsA: vol. 2, 208, the report from an Omsk merchant, 1785.11.16 (Julian).

<sup>66</sup> JMLZ 2907.13, 123: 1102–1107, QL 46.11.18 (1782.1.1), the memorial of Iletu.

*Transcription of the body of the reply of Iletu to Dair*

Hasak i taiji dayar de afabuha bithe i jise. Ili i jergi babe uheriyeme kadalara jiyanggiyūn, hiya kadalara dorgi amban, aliha amban i bithe, hasak i taiji dayar de afabuha...//1106//...suweni hasaksa gemu amba ejen i albatu oho, han wang fungnerengge gemu //1107// amba ejen i hese fungnembu, te bici, amba ejen abulai be han seme fungnehe, abulbis be wang seme fungnehe ofi. Ere utala aniya hasak i dorgi dalafi baita icihiyambi. Uthai abulbambit akū oho manggi, inu amba ejen i hese i ini jui bolot be han fungnehe. Suweni hasaksa webe han obuki seci, uthai han obure doro bio. Sini ama barak ai erinde adarame han oho be, mini beye fuhali sarakū. Te abulai akū oho, ini han i jergi be giyan i ini jui de sirabuci acame ofi. Jakan abulai i han i jergi be amba ejen kesi isibume ini jui walisultan de sirabuha babe, cohoto i hese i bithe wasimbufi...

*Translation*

The draft of the letter addressed to Dair of the Kazakh, the ‘*taiji*’ title holder. The letter of the Military Governor of Yili, Chamberlain, and Minister was conveyed to Dair of the Kazakh *taiji*: ‘...All of your Kazakhs are the subjects of the Great Ejen. The conferral of ‘*han*’ and ‘*wang*’ titles is all by the imperial order. So far, the Great Ejen has bestowed the title of *han* on Ablai and *wang* on Abulfeyz. During the past few years, they controlled and managed Kazakh society. Soon after Abulmambet’s death, according to the imperial order, the ‘*han*’ title was bestowed upon his son, Bolat. Do your Kazakhs have a system by which whomever you want to elect as *han* will be elected? I do not know at all when and how your father, Baraq, became *han*. Now that Ablai has passed away, **in accordance with the reason,**<sup>67</sup> his son should inherit his ‘*han*’ title. Not so long ago, the imperial favour was granted to the Ablai’s rank of *han*, and the imperial diploma was particularly issued in order to ensure that Wali sultan would inherit [the title]...’

<sup>67</sup> The text is emphasized by NODA.

## 10. Document J

**Date:** 1788.12.15 (QL 53.11.18)

**Sender:** Bopu

**Addressee:** Yungboo, the Councillor of Tarbaghatai

**Language/Script:** Turki/Arabic

**Reference:** JMLZ 3241.51, 145: 843, QL 54.‘5.6<sup>68</sup> (1789.6.28).

### Text

1/ تارېغتای نی بلیب تورغان خبه  
2/ آمبان غه قزاق تاجی بوفی دین خط  
3/ توتوق قارباش دیکان بر قزاق جایر  
4/ داقی اوچانک موالدا بر توغانی  
5/ بار ایکان سیز خبه آمبان نینک یارلغی بیلان  
6/ اونى چو بوفى محمد بهادر سلطان لغاشنورسینکیز  
7/ سیزکا بلد ورامن  
8/ جنلونک نینک الیک ~~ایچونجی یلی اون~~  
9/ ~~یرنجی آیینیک اون سکز~~  
10/ تورت نجی یلی

### Transcription

/1/ Tarbağataynı bilip turğan ħebä  
/2/ ambangä qazāq ta[y]ji Bofidin ħaṭ  
/3/ tuttuq. Qarbaš degän bir qazāq, Jāyir  
/4/ daqı Očaŋ Muwalda bir tuğanı  
/5/ bar ikän. Siz ħebä ambannıñ yarlıgı bilän  
/6/ unı ču- Bofı Muħammad Bahādur Sultān -lğašıtursınız.  
/7/ Sizgä bild- Bofı Muħammad Bahādur Sultān -ürämän.  
/8/ Janluğnıñ ellik ~~üçünji yılı on~~

<sup>68</sup> “5” in ‘QL 54.‘5.6’ represents ‘the leap 5<sup>th</sup> month’ of Chinese lunar calendar.

/9/ ~~birinji ayniñ on sekkiz~~

/10/ törtinji yili.

### Translation

The Kazakh *taiji* Bopu addressed a letter to the Councillor, who rules Tarbaghatai. A Kazakh named Qarbash is a relative of Ochang and Muwal, who live in Jayir. I am hoping that, as a favor, the Councillor will allow him to meet [Ochang and Muwal]. I notify you [of this]. The ~~18<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> month of the 534<sup>th</sup>~~ year of the Qianlong.

### Commentary

**II. 1–2, ħebä amban:** Yungboo (Ch. *Yongbao*) obtained the position of the Councillor of Tarbaghatai at this time.

**I. 2a, ta[y]ji:** The translation of Ma. *taiji*, Mo. *tayiji*, and Ch. *taiji*, which was a title bestowed on the Kazakh sultans from the Qing.

**I. 2b, Bofi:** Bopu (Ma. *Bopu*, Ch. *Bopu*) is the third son of Abulfeyz. In the same year, he also announced that he wanted to dispatch his children to the 80<sup>th</sup> birthday ceremony of the Qianlong emperor, held in 1790.<sup>69</sup>

**I. 3, Jāyir:** A name of a mountain in the Barliq Mountains, which included pastureland for the Kazakhs incorporated into the Qing territory.<sup>70</sup> Mt. Jayir (Ch. *Jiayi'er*) is situated at lat. 45°9' N and Long. 83°7' E.

**I. 4, Očaŋ Muwal:** If *Očaŋ Muwal* is a place name, then this sentence means 'he has a relative at Ochang Muwal in Jayir.' However, this means it is not consistent with the Manchu translation. Despite a grammatical problem, I interpret the *Očaŋ* and *Muwal* as personal names that correspond to *Oldzun* and *Monggol* in the Manchu translation. *Monggol* was appointed to the *zouling* (Company Captain) of the Kazakh-*niru*, which was formed in 1778.<sup>71</sup>

**II. 8-10, Janluŋ ~~üjünji yili on birinji ayniñ on sekkiz~~ törtinji yili:** The

<sup>69</sup> GZSL 1340: 7b–8b, QL 54.10 *dingsi* (1789.11.21).

<sup>70</sup> Xinjiang 1981: 149.

<sup>71</sup> Onuma 2003: 572.

*Čanluy* is a translation of the reign-name ‘Qianlong.’ Although the date was originally written as ‘the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> month of the 53<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong,’ it was later changed to ‘the 54<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong.’

**Seal:** Strangely enough, the seal of Bopu was affixed to the center of the document. In all probability, the paper, which had been given to Qarbash from Bopu, was only affixed with his seal and, the words were written on the paper at a later time.

### Related Matters

Document J was attached to the (1) Manchu memorial of Yungboo;<sup>72</sup> in addition, it encloses the (2) Manchu translation<sup>73</sup> and (3) Yungboo’s reply in Manchu.<sup>74</sup> The transliterations and translations of these are as follows:

#### (1) Memorial

##### *Transcription*

Wesimburengge.

Aha yungboo, tungfuboo gingguleme wesimburengge, donjibume wesimbure jalin. Hasak taiji bopu ak naiman otok i hasak harmas be takūrafi ahasi de bithe alibume isinjifi, ahasi acafi, fonjici, ubai barluk nukte de bisire hasak i dorgi, harmas i niyalma hūncihin hasak oldzun, monggol sere niyalma bi. Harmas be unggifi acabume tuwanabuci ogoro ogorakū babe baime bitehe alibuhabi seme alambi. Bopu i alibuha bitehe be murušeme ubaliyambufi tuwaci, uthai hasak harmas i funde imbe niyalma hūncihin be tuwanabume unggici ogoro ogorakū bebe baime arahabi. Umai gūwa baita akū. Baicaci, hasak ceni wang taiji saci temgetu gidaha bitehe be baifi, bai niyalma hūncihin be tuwame baime jihe be dahame, hono yabubuci ogoro baita. Damu ne hasak oldzun, monggol gemu akū oho. Ede ahasi i baci oldzun, monggol sei jui hoposi sebe sekgyiyeme hoton de gajifi harmas de dere acabuha. Hasak harmas

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<sup>72</sup> JMLZ 3241.51, 145: 839–841, QL 54.‘5.6 (1789.6.28), the Manchu memorial of Yungboo.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 145: 844.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 145: 845–846.

umesi hukšeme hengkilefi, bopu de emu karu afabure bithe arafi, uthai harmas de afabufi amasi nukte de unggihebi. Uttu ofi, bopu i alibuha hoise hergen i bithe, murušeme ubaliyambume tucibuhe bithe, ahasi bopu de afabuha bithe jise be, suwaliyame gingguleme tuwabume ibebuhe. Erei jalin gingguleme donjibume wasimbuhe.

Abkai wehiyehe i susai duici aniya ninggun biyai ice juwe de fulgiyan fi i pilehe hese. Saha sehe.

*Translation*

Memorial.

Your Servants, Yungboo and Tungfuboo, respectfully memorialize to inform [the emperor]. The Kazakh *taiji* Bopu dispatched the Kazakh known as Qarbash (Ma. *Harmas*) of the Aq Naiman tribe. Qarbash arrived to present a letter to us, Your Servants. When, as Your Servants, we met and asked him, he said, ‘[Bopu] presented a letter detailing such a request: “Ochang (Ma. *Oldzun*) and Muwal (Ma. *Monggol*), who are Qarbash’s relatives, are among the Kazakhs living in a pastureland called Barliq that is in this region. Can you send Qarbash [to Barliq] and allow him to meet them?”’ Reading the rough translation of Bopu’s letter, namely, on the behalf of the Kazakh Qarbash, he requested whether we might be able to send him to meet his relatives; no other matter was written of at all. After examination, [Qarbash] asked the Kazakh’s *wang* and *taiji* for a letter to which they could affix their seal; he then came to ask us about meeting his relatives. We agreed do this thing. However, Both Ochang and Mawul of the Kazakh have passed away. For this reason, Your Servants conveyed [this message] to the children of Ochang and Mawul—Hoposi and the others—and made them to come to the city [of Tarbaghatai] and meet Qarbash. Qarbash was deeply touched by this and performed a kowtow. Therefore, we drafted a reply to Bopu and sent Qarbash off to his pastureland, entrusting him with the reply. Under these circumstances, as Your Servants, we respectfully request that the emperor look at Bopu’s Turkic letter, the roughly translated letter, and the draft of Your

Servants' letter addressed to Bopu. For this reason, we respectfully memorialize.

Imperial endorsement in red ink received on the 2<sup>th</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> month of the 54<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong (July 23, 1789): 'Noted.'

(2) Manchu translation

*Transcription*

Murušeme ubaliyambume tucibuhe hoise hergen i bithe.

Hasak taiji Bopu tarbagatai de tefi baita icihiyara hebei amban de aliburengge. Meni hasak harmas i niyalma hūncihin hasak Oldzun, Monggol jair i bade bisire be dahame, mini baci harmas be niyalma hūncihin tuwaname unggihe. Hebei amban kesi isibume harmas be genere generakū babe toktobureo.

*Translation*

The roughly translated Turkic letter.

A letter from the Kazakh *taiji* Bopu to the Councillor stationed at Tarbagatai to manage affairs. Because Ochang and Muwal, who are relatives of a Kazakh Qarbash, are living in Jayir, I sent Qarbash to meet his relatives. I would like the Councillor, extending your favor to Qarbash, to decide whether or not let him go [to meet Ochang and Muwal].

(3) Draft of Yongbao's replay to Bopu

*Transcription*

Hasak taiji bopu de afabuha bithei jise.

Tarbagatai de tefi baita icihiyara hebei amban, batur amban i bithe. Hasak taiji bopu de afabuha. Taiji sini beye saiyūn. Nuktei gubci gemu saiyūn. Jakan taiji sini baci takūraha hasak harmas isinjifi, mende acafi fonjici taiji sini beye sain, nukte de umai baita sita akū. Cohome imbe takūrafi meni saimbe dacilame, hoise hergen i bithe alibume jihe. Taiji si harmas be meni barluk nukte de bisire ini niyalma hūncihin oldzun, monggol sebe tuwanabuci

ojoro ojorakū babe dacilame alibuha bithe be, be gemu urugunjeme tuwaha. Taiji si baime bithe alibufi unggihe niyalma be dahame umai ojorakū sere ba akū. Damu oldzun, monggol aifini akū oho. Meni baci ini juse be selgiyeme gajifi harmas de acabuha. Te harmas amasi marire ildun, cohome taiji side sakini seme afabuha.

*Translation*

Draft of letter addressed to the Kazakh *taiji* Bopu.

The letter of the Councillor, Batur Amban, stationed at Tarbaghatai to manage the affairs. I address the Kazakh *taiji* Bopu. Is your health good? Is all of your pastureland good? Recently, the Kazakh Qarbash, who was dispatched from your place, arrived here. When I met and asked him of you, he said that you, the *taiji*, are healthy and nothing untoward has happened in your pastureland. You dispatched him to ask after my health and to address a Turkic letter to me. I was very glad to read the letter, in which you, the *taiji*, asked whether we can allow Qarbash to meet his relatives—Ochang and Muwal—living in our pastureland called Barliq. Because you, the *taiji*, addressed a letter detailing this request and [Qarbash was] sent [by you], it would have been possible. However, Ochang and Muwal have already passed away. We conveyed the message, however, to their children, brought them [to Tarbaghatai], and allowed them to meet Qarbash. Now, as Qarbash has returned, I address [this letter to you], expressly so that you are aware of this incident.



- 1/ تاربغه تاینی بیلیب تورغان خبه امبان باتور امبان نیک  
 2/ ایسان لکین تلاب تورامیز کوب ایلارکا کوب یلارکا من  
 3/ جوجی کونک ایلداکی باو کونک جانک جونکا خط کشی ییاردیم  
 3' / قاره ول کشی قوشوب جیجان اونک  
 4/ شونی قاره ول دین اوتکازیب ییارسون اتم اول فیظ اوتکاندین  
 5/ سونک براق نیک بالسی خان خواجه آغم کا وانک لیک یولینی  
 6/ بریب ایدم ایمدی بو اتمنی یولینی جان خواجه کا برماسمن قیدا بارسه  
 6' / اتم وانک  
 7/ اول فیظ نیک یولینی یورتتی برماسمن بو سوزومنی خانکا هم بلدوردوم  
 7' / جویروق  
 8/ جانکجونکا هم بیلدوردوم سنکا هم بیلدوردوم بالشیو اجوردین دارجی دیکان  
 9/ کشیمنی ییاردیم یولداشی بلان  
 محمد جوجی بهادر سلطان

### Transcription

- /1/ Tarbağataynı bilip turğan hebä amban, batur ambannıñ  
 /2/ esänlikin tiläp turamız. Köp aylar-gä köp yıllar-gä men  
 /3/ Jöji goñ Il[ä]däki Bao goñ Janjuña hañ kişi yibärdim.  
 /3' / { \*<sup>1</sup> qarawul kişi qoşup jabjan } { \*<sup>2</sup> wañ }  
 /4/ Šunı { + \*<sup>1</sup> } qarawuldın ötkäzip yibärsun. Atam Awulfayz { + \*<sup>2</sup> } ötgändin  
 /5/ soñ, Baraqnıñ balası Hān Hwāja ağam-ga wañlık yolini  
 /6/ berip edim. Emdi bu atamnı yolini Jān Hwājaga bermäsmän. Qayda barsa,  
 /6' / { \*<sup>3</sup> atam } { \*<sup>4</sup> wañ }  
 /7/ Awulfayz { + \*<sup>3</sup> } niñ { + \*<sup>4</sup> } yolini yurtni bermäsmän. Bu sözümni Hān-gä  
 hām b[i]ldürdüm.  
 /7' / { \*<sup>5</sup> Juyruq }  
 /8/ Janjuña hām bildürdüm. Sağa hām bildürdüm. Balşubu ujurdn Darji,  
 { + \*<sup>5</sup> } degän  
 /9/ kişimni yibärdim, yoldaşı bilän.  
 Muḥammad Jöji Bahādur sultān

### Translation

I pray for the well-being of the Councillor, Batur Amban, who rules Tarbaghatai. For years and months, I, Jochi *gong*, have sent persons and letters to the Military Governor, Bao[ning] *gong*, to inquire as to his well-being. I hope that you let them pass through the *karun* with the guards [of the *karun*]. After my father Abulfeyz *wang* passed away, I yielded the *wang*'s line to my elder brother Khan Khoja, who was Baraq's [own] son. Now, however, I will not yield the [*wang*'s] line to Jan Khoja. No matter what, I will not yield the *wang*'s line and *yurt* of my father Abulfeyz. I would notify this matter to the Khan (Jiaqing emperor), the Military Governor, and you. For this reason, I dispatched Darji and Chuyruq with the attendants.

### Commentary

**I. 1, Hābe Amban:** The Councillor of Tarbaghatai at that time was Gunchukjab.

**I. 3a, Jōji:** The second son of Abulfeyz.

**I. 3b, Bao:** Booning (Ch. *Baoning*), the Military Governor at that time.

**I. 4, jabjan:** Unclear. Judging from the correspondence to *hahilame* (in a hurry) in the Manchu translation, it is the same as Tu. *čapsan* (in a hurry)?

**I. 6, Jān Hwāja:** The eldest son of Khan Khoja and the successor to his *wang* title.

### Related Matters

Documents K, L, and M concern a competition between Kazakh sultans over the succession to the *wang* title. In 1799, Khan Khoja, Abulfeyz's eldest son and the successor to the *wang* title, passed away and his eldest son, Jan Khoja, was to inherit the *wang* title. However, because Khan Khoja was originally the adopted son of Abulfeyz, Jochi, who was Abulfeyz's eldest son, applied to the Qing that Khan Khoja's *wang* title and *yurt* should be inherited by himself. Eventually, the Qing rejected Jochi's request and approved the succession of

Jan Khoja.<sup>75</sup>

(1) Manchu translation

*Transcription*

Murušeme ubaliyambume tucibuhe hoise hergen i bithe.

Tarbagatai be kadalara hebei amban, baturu ambande saimbe fonjimbi. Labdu aniya labdu biya, gung Jolci bi, ili jiyanggiyūn gung de bithe niyalma tucibufi, cembe karun karun ci tucibufi hahilame dulembume unggireo. Mini ama Abulbis wang, akū oho amala, Barak i jui hanhojo akūn de wang be anahūnjaha bihe. Te mini ama i wang be, giyanghojo de burakū. Ya bade geneci, abulbis i wang nukte be burakū. Ere gisun be amba enduringge ejen de donjibumbi. Jiyanggiyūn, hebei amban de inu donjibumbi. Erei jalin Darja, Coirok, kemuni juwe kutule be unggihe.

*Translation*

The roughly translated Turkic letter.

I inquire after the health of the Councillor, Batur Amban, who rules the Tarbagatai. For many years and many months, I, Jochi *gong*, have sent letters and persons to the Military Governor, the *gong*. I would like the guards [of the *karun*] to let them pass through the *karun* and send them in a hurry. After my father Abulfeyz *wang* passed away, I yielded the *wang*'s line to my elder brother Khan Khoja, who was Baraq's [own] son. At this time, I ask you not to yield the [*wang*'s] line to Jan Khoja. No matter what, please do not bestow upon him the *wang*'s line and *yurt* of my father Abulfeyz! I would notify this matter to the Great Sacred Ejen (Jiaqing emperor), the Military Governor, and the Councillor. For this reason, I dispatched Darji, Chuyruq, and two attendants.

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<sup>75</sup> For further details on this problem, see Saguchi 1964: 269–270; Hua 2006.

12. Document L

Date: JQ 5 (1800)

Sender: Jochi

Addressee: Booning, the Military Governor of Yili

Language/Script: Turki/Arabic

Reference: JMLZ, 167: 475, JQ 5.4.

Text

ایذاقت رسیک میرلارنے بیاب تورکان باورکونک جانکونک نیک اولک  
اولک الفذالرنیک ایسان لکین تلاب متوراجیرکونک ایلیلار لکونک  
بیلا رکان من جو جو کونک التم اول فنیظ اون یسٹم یاس پمدہ اولوغ خان نیک  
ایسان لکین چو دراب لکین پیر لکین سچ جانکونک سوندان بر  
بولد اشم بولوب عقیدد اشم بولوب ایلیم التم اول فنیظ نیک وانک لکین  
شیمان دیجان دیجان بولور تومی جان خواجہ غلام اسماعیل بر ما سمن اول برین اقل اولک  
الفذال پندور کاشیم جانک جو نیک بو خطیم فر خانکا پندور سون شہاد جو  
دری جو برقی لادیک اقل فنیظ بولد اشم یبار دیم بولد نیک بولدی جان خواجہ  
بر ما سمن برنے اور دشتور مار تلا شتیر مار بولدی بولدور مار اقل اولک جانکونک بولدی بولدی  
اور تومی کے منی اور و ملا بر سون

من جو جو کونک  
الفذال ایکنه اظ بلک بر لور



- 1/ ایللا قاتارلیک یرلارنی بیلیب تورکان باو کونک جانکجونک نیک اولکان  
2/ اولکا الغدای نیک ایسان لکین تلاب تورامیز کوب ایلارکا کوب  
3/ یلارکا من جوجی کونک اتم اول فیظ اون بیس یاشیمده اولغ خان نیک  
4/ ایسان لکین سوراب کلدیپ بیارکانیده سن جانکجونکا سوندان بری  
5/ یولداش بولوب عقیداش بولوب ایدیپ اتم اول فیظ نیک وانک لیک یولنی  
6/ نیمان دیکان یورتومنی جان خواجه غه بی لاتماسمن برماسمن اول یرین اقلی  
اولکان  
7/ الغدایکا بیلدورکانیم جانک جونک بو خطیم نی خانکا بیلدورسون شبو اجوردین  
8/ درجی جویروق لار دیکان اقلایجمنی یولداشی بلان یباردیپ بو وانک لیک یولنی جان  
خواجه غه  
9/ برماسمن بزنی اوروشتورمای تلاشتیرمای بو یورتنی بولدورمای اقلی اولکان جانکجونک  
بو هلاو و وانک لیک یولنی توبی  
10/ اوزومنی کی منی اوزومکا برسون  
11/ من جوجی کونکدین  
12/ الغدایکا ایکی اط بلاک بری یورغه
- محمد جوجی بهادر سلطان

### Transcription

- 1/ Ilä qatar-lik yerläрни bilip turgan Bao goŋ jaŋjuŋning ülkän  
2/ ülkä algadayniŋ esänlikin tiläp turamiz. Köp aylar-gä köp  
3/ yillar-gä, men Jöji goŋ atam Awulfayz on beš yašimda uluğ hänniŋ  
4/ esänlikin sorap keldep yibärgänidä, sen jaŋjuŋa sundan beri  
5/ yoldaš bolup, ‘aqılđaš bolup edim. Atam Awulfayzniŋ waŋlık yol[i]ni  
6/ Naymān degān degān yurtumni Jān Hwājağa bilātmāsmān, bermāsmān. Ol  
yerin aqlī ülkän  
7/ algaday-gä bilädürgānim. Jaŋ juŋ bu haŋimni hān-gä bildürsün. Šubu  
ujurdin  
8/ Darji, Juyruq lar degān aqalaqčimni yoldaši bilān yibārdim. Bu waŋlık  
yol[i]ni Jān Hwājağa  
9/ bermāsmān. Bizni urušturmay, talaštirmay, bu yurtni buldurmay, aqlī ülkän  
jaŋjuŋ bu halāw wa waŋlık yol[i]ni tübi

/10/ özümniki meni özümgä bersün.

/11/ Men Jöji goñdın

/12/ alğadayga ikki aţ beläk, biri yurğa.

Muhammad Jöji Bahādur sultān

### Translation

I pray for the well-being of the Military Governor and great Minister (Ch. *shangshu*), Boo[ning] *gong*, who rules the Yili region. For years and months, since I, Jochi *gong*, was dispatched by my father Abulfeyz to inquire as to the Great Khan's well-being when I was 15 years old, you, the Military Governor, and I have been companions and sympathetic friends. I will never yield the *wang*'s line of my father Abulfeyz and the control of my *yurt* known as Naiman to Jan Khoja. I hope the noble great Minister to know [the circumstances in] this region. I would like the Military Governor to inform this [matter of] my letter to the Khan (Jiaqing emperor). For this reason, I have dispatched the *aqalaqčis*, Darji and Chuyruq, with the attendants. I will never yield the *wang*'s line. To avoid competition, hostility, and the division of the *yurt*, I entreat the noble great Minister to bestow the *wang*'s line on me without a doubt. I, Jochi *gong*, [present] two tribute horses, one of which is fleet horse, to the Minister.

### Commentary

**I. 1, Bao:** Booning, the Military Governor of Yili.

**I. 2, Alğaday:** A translation of Ma. *aliha da* (Minister, Ch. *shangshu*). This is also the lineal title of Booning.

**II. 3–4, on beş yaşimda uluğ Hänniñ esänlikin sorap keldep yibärgänidä:** Jochi had been to the Qing court and was granted an audience with the Qianlong emperor in 1768 and 1772.<sup>76</sup> If he was 15 years old in 1768, it is reasonable to suppose that he was 47 years old in 1800.

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<sup>76</sup> Chapter 4: 158.

*l. 6, degän degän*: Redundancy.

*l. 8, lar*: Incorrect rendering?

*l. 9, halāw*: Unclear. Even if without *halāw wa* (هلاو و), the meaning of this sentence is clear. There is a possibility that this represents incorrect rendering.

*l. 9, tubi*: Unclear. The Manchu translation suggests that this word corresponds to *urunakū* (certainly, surely).

*l. 12, yurğa*: ‘fleet horse.’<sup>77</sup>

### Related Matters

#### (1) Manchu translation

##### *Transcription*

Ili i jergi babe uherileme kadalara aliha da jiyanggiyūn gung ni labdu aniya labdu biya elhe be baimbi. Jolci gung bi mini ama abulbis minbe tofohon se de takūrafi amba enduringge ejen de elhe be baime unggihede, jiyanggiyūn be dahame sasa yabuha bihe. Mini ama Abulbis i wang ni jugūn, Naiman otok be giyanghojo de duriburakū burakū. Ubabe aliha da de donjiburengge, jiyanggiyūn mini ere bithe be ejen de donjibureo. Erei jalin aharakci Darja, Coboruk sebe takūrafi unggihe. Ere wang ni jugūn be giyanghojo de burakū, mini dolo ume becen jaman dekdebure, nukte be ume elhe akū obureo. Jiyanggiyūn ere wang ni jugūn be urunakū mimbe bureo. Aliha da de Jolci, gung bi juwe belek morin alibuha. Emke joran.

##### *Translation*

I inquire after the health, for years and months, of the Minister and the Military Governor, [Booning] *gong*, who supervises the Yili region. When my father Abulfeyz dispatched me, when I was 15 years old, to inquire as to the Great Sacred Ejen’s well-being, I, Jochi *gong*, went together with the Military Governor. I will never yield the *wang*’s line and the Naiman *otok* of my father Abulfeyz to Jan Khoja. I would like the Military Governor to inform this

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<sup>77</sup> Budagov 1871: 372.

[matter of] my letter to the Ejen (Jiaqing emperor), which is a reason that I have informed [the circumstances in] this region to the Minister. For this reason, I dispatched the *aqalaqčis*, Darji and Chuyruq. You will never yield the *wang*'s line to Jan Khoja. Please ensure that no feud will break out between us. I entreat the Military Governor to bestow the *wang*'s line on me without doubt. I, Jochi *gong*, present two tribute horses, one of which is a fleet horse, to the Minister.



- 1/ یرنیک یوزین کون نیک کوزین بلیب اقلی اولکان اولوغ ازین بوغدا خان نیک  
2/ ایسان لکین تلاب تورامیز کوب ایلارکا کوب یلارکا من جوجی کونک آغه ایمز برلا  
ایلی یورتمیز برله  
3/ سیر یلی ازین بوغدا خانکا الباتو بولغاندین بری اولوغ ازین بوغدا خان اولینی خان  
قیلیب اول  
4/ فیظنی وانک قیلغاندین بری آزیم کوب بولوب یاریم بای بولوب یورتوم تنج  
پای سالدی بولوب  
4?/ سونک  
5/ توردی اول فیظ اوتکاندین خان خواجه اینی سی وانک بولوب ایدی خان خواجه  
اینی سی براق نیک  
6/ بالسی ایدی من جوجی کونک اول فیظنی اولکان بالسی ایدیم من جوجی کونک آتم  
اول فیظ نیک  
6?/ خان خواجه غه سیلاب اتم اول فیظنی یولیده اوزومنی خان  
خواجه اغم نی یولیده اوزومنی ک  
7/ یولنی یاشی اولکان آغم دیب بریب ایدیم ایدمی جان خواجه غه اتم اول فیظ نیک  
وانک لیک  
8/ یولنی برمایمن نیمان دیکان یورتنی اوزوم بی لاب تورامن ایدمی جان خواجه غه یورت  
نیدا برمایمن یولنیده بر  
9/ مایمن نیمان یورت منی ک ایدمی جان خواجه غه من دین اوتوب قی یورتنی بی لابدی  
من جوجی کونک آتم  
10/ اول فیظنی یولنیده برمایمن یورتنی نیدا برمایمن من جوجی کونک اون بیش یاشیم دین  
بری اولوغ خان  
11/ نیک آلتون چراینی کوروب اولغ خانک کوچ توتوب نیمان دیکان یورتومنی یخشی  
بی لاب تینکشاب تورامن  
12/ ایدمی ازین بوغده خان منی خیرانلاسا آتم اول فیظ نیک وانک یولنی منی اوزومکا  
برسون خیرانلاسون آلتون ایتا  
13/ کینکدین اتم اول فیظ توتوب ایدی ایدمی من جوجی کونک سنی آلتون ایتاکنکی  
توتوب یخشی یارغینک  
14/ بله یورتومنی بی لاب تورامن اتم اول فیظنی وانک لیک یولنی اوزومکا اتانک  
اول فیظ کا یخشی یولنی بریب  
14?/ خیران لاب بر

15/ ایدی ایمدی من سندی تلامین

محمد جوجی بهادر سلطان

Transcription

- /1/ Yerniñ yüzin, künniñ közin bilip aqlı ülkän uluğ ezen boğda hān niñ  
/2/ esānlikin tilāp turamiz. Köp aylar-gä köp yıllar-gä, men Jöji goñ  
ağa-i[ni]miz birlä, elli yurtumiz birlä,  
/3/ siyir yili ezin boğda hān-gä albatu bolğandın beri, uluğ ezin boğda hān  
Awulaynı hān qılıp, Awül-  
/4/ fayznı wañ qılğandın beri, azim köp bolup, yarlım bay bolup, yurtum tinj  
pay-saldi bolup  
/4?/ { \*<sup>1</sup> soñ }  
/5/ turdi. Awulfayz ötgāndin { + \*<sup>1</sup> }, Hān Hwāja inisi wañ bolup edi. Hān  
Hwāja inisi Barāq niñ  
/6/ balası edi. Men Jöji goñ Awulfayznı ülkän balası edim. Men Jöji goñ atam  
Awulfayznıñ  
/6?/ { \*<sup>2</sup> Hān Hwājağa saylap } { \*<sup>3</sup> Atam Awulfayznı yolıda özümni[i]ki, Hān  
Hwāja ağamnı yolıda özümnik[i]. }  
/7/ yol[i]ni yaşı ülkän ağam dep { + \*<sup>2</sup> } berip edim. { + \*<sup>3</sup> } Emdi Jān Hwājağa  
atam Awulfayznıñ wañlık  
/8/ yol[i]ni bermäymän. Naymān degān yurtni özüm bilāp turman. Emdi Jān  
Hwājağa yurtnıda bermäymän. Yol[i]nıda ber-  
/9/ mäymän. Naymān yurt menik[i]. Emdi Jān Hwājağa men din ötüp, qay  
yurtni bilāpdı. Men Jöji goñ atam  
/10/ Awulfayznı yolınıda bermäymän. Yurtinıda bermäymän. Men Jöji goñ on  
beş yaşı dın beri, uluğ hān-  
/11/ niñ altun čirayni körüp, uluğ hāng[ā] küç tutup, Naymān degān yurtumni  
yaşsi bilāp, tişap turaman.  
/12/ Emdi ezen boğda hān meni hayranlasa, atam Awulfayznıñ wañ yol[i]ni  
meni özümgä bersun. Hayranlasun. Altun eytä-  
/13/ kiñdin atam Awulfayz tutup edi. Emdi men Jöji goñ seni Altun etäk[i]ñni

tutup, yaḥṣī yargīn

/14/ billä yurtumnī bilāp turaman. Atam Awūlfayznī waṅlik yol[i]nī özümgä  
{+\*<sup>5</sup>}. Ataṅ Awūlfayzgä yaḥṣī yolnī berip

/14’/ {\*<sup>5</sup> ḥayranlap ber}

/15/ edi. Emdi men sendin tiläymen.

Muḥammad Jöji Bahādur sultān

### Translation

We pray for the well-being of the Noble Great Ejen Boghda Khan, who controls Heaven and earth. For years, since I, Jochi *gong*, became *albatu* of the Ejen Boghda Khan together with my brothers and fifty *yurts* in the year of the Ox (1757), the Great Khan has made Ablai a *han* and Abulfeyz a *wang*. Since then, a few goods (or persons) have increased, poor people have become rich, and the *yurt* has become strong and stable. After Abulfeyz passed away, Khan Khoja, due as the younger brother [in a sense of the order of succession], became the *wang*. Khan Khoja, due as the younger brother [in a sense of the order of succession], was Baraq’s son. I, Jochi *gong*, am Abulfeyz’s own son. I, Jochi *gong*, selected Khan Khoja for and yield to him the *wang*’s line of my father Abulfeyz, because he was an elder brother of mine. [Therefore,] I should have been the rightful inheritor of the *wang*’s line of my father Abulfeyz and the *wang*’s line of my elder brother Khan Khoja. At this time, I will never yield the *wang*’s line to Jan Khoja. I myself rule the *yurt* known as Naiman. At this time, I will never yield the *yurt* and *wang*’s line to Jan Khoja. The *yurt* known as Naiman is mine. At this time, which *yurt* is Jan Khoja able to rule above me? I, Jochi *gong*, will never yield the *wang*’s line of my father Abulfeyz and the *yurt*. Since I was 15 years old, I, Jochi *gong*, have gazed upon the golden face of the Great Khan, I have rendered service to the Great Khan, I have ruled the *yurt* known as Naiman steadily, and listened to [the emperor]. If the Ejen Boghda Khan is to treat me with an affectionate heart, please grant me the *wang*’s line of my father Abulfeyz. Please treats me with an affectionate heart. From the hem of your golden coat, my father Abulfeyz

held [the *wang*'s line]. Now, I, Jochi *gong*, will grasp the hem of your golden coat and rule my *yurt* according to your faultless judgment. Please bestow the *wang*'s line of my father Abulfeyz on me. Your father (Qianlong emperor) granted Abulfeyz a marvelous *wang*'s line. Now, I ask you [for it].

### Commentary

**I. 1, Yerniñ yüzin, künniñ közin bilip:** The emperor ruling China was often revered as a ruler of Heaven-earth (Ch. *tiandi*, Ma. *abka na*). The same terms were used at the beginning of the document that was introduced by Duysenghali.<sup>78</sup>

**II. 3–5, ezin boğda hān-gä albatu bolğandīn beri, ...azīm köp bolup, yarlım bay bolup, yurtum tinj pāy-saldi bolup turdi:** Similar expressions can be observed in the document introduced by Duysenghali (*boğda ezenniñ altīn etākinin tutqalī, azīmiz köpāydi, yarlımiz bay boldi, yurtumiz tinj bolup, faysallap*<sup>79</sup> *turupmiz*) and Document G [I.15] (*ezen boğda hānniñ altīn etākinin ušlağanda, azğina yurtum köp bolur, yarlı yurtum bay bolur*).

**I. 13, yarg:** Mo. *jarγu* (legal, judgement).

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<sup>78</sup> Düysenāli 2009: 53.

<sup>79</sup> فایسال لب. Duysenghali transcribed it as *baysallap*. See Düysenāli 2009: 53.

14. Document N

Date: 1824 (DG 4)

Sender: Ghubaydulla

Addressee: the Councillor of Tarbaghatai [Harshang]

Language/Script: Turki/Arabic

Reference: TsGA RK, f.338, op.1, d.401, l.100ob.

Text

10/ تقدیر

- 11/ اولوغ ایچان بدو خان نینگ نوایان اصبوغه من که عبیده الیه حان ولی خان اولوغ خان
- 12/ سوز من بوددی بیلگورغی یلدا اینم جان قدر سلطانغ ایچان حان نینگ
- 13/ بدرون کوروب جم خانلوقه منغ تیلاب یبار کلانیم دوروست اولاد اولسه
- 14/ بیلگورغی قیدلیب یباروب ایرویم روسیه بدرون نینگ اولوغ ایچان اولوغ
- 15/ آقا پادشاهغ انظومیه بدرون جم دوروست اولوقرا ن شریفان اولوب
- 16/ آلباتد بدوغانیم راست اولام دابولسه بدونمنغ قوالاب ایلی اولوغ بدرون نینگ
- 17/ حان لاری بدتلاک منغ لازیم کورماسدیب بیلگورغی یوق نوایان اصبوغه
- 18/ کوروشوب تاپیلایم دیب ایلیگورغی راست ایچدی نیلگورغی بیلگورغی
- 19/ بدرون شریخت کانه حق اولان ایشلار چون نوایان اصبوغه معلوم
- 10/ ایرادغ ایچان ماندیج بدرون خانلوق قیدلایم دوروسیه بدرون نینگ
- 11/ نوایان ماندیج یاهای بدون آمهون صدراب اولدورغ قایطایوق دیر
- 12/ طور من ایشتواق اولدور من باصدم بدونمنغ اولوغ ایچان اولوغ
- 13/ قورلوم با ۱۸۶۶

Transcription

/0/ qūpīya |

/1/ Uluğ Ejen boğda hānniñ noyan ambuğa<sup>80</sup>, biz ki Ğubaydullāh hān Walī hān oğlıdan

/2/ Sözümiz bu dur, biltürgi yılda inim Jantörä sultānni Ejen hānniñ

/3/ yüzdin körüp hām hānluğumini tilep yibārgānim durst alayda bolsa,

/4/ bilmāslık qilip yibārüp erdim. Rūsīya yurtuniñ uluğ imperātor

/5/ aq pādīshāhğa anṭumīn berip, hām durustluqda qur’ān-i šarīfin öpip

/6/ albatu bolgānim rāst alayimda bolsa, yolimini quwalap yiki uluğ yurtuniñ

/7/ hānları bu tilākūminā na-lāzīm körmās dep bilgenim yoq. Noyan ambuğa

/8/ körüşüp taykayim dep kelgānim rāst, emdi yeñä bildim, bu kelgenim

/9/ yusun šarīgatkā na-mağqūl eken, aniiñ üçün noyan ambuğa mağlūm

/10/ edāmin. Ejen hāndin bezip hānluq tilāmāymin, Rūsīya yurtuniñ

/11/ noyan māyūr hām yašāwīldan amrun šurap ordamizğa qayṭayuq dep

/12/ ṭuramiz, inanmaq üçün muhrumini başdum. Biz Ğubaydullāh Walī hān oğlı

/13/ qolum başdum.

Translation

To Your Majesty, Councillor of the Great Bogda Ejen Khan. From me, Ghubaydulla khan, the son of Wali khan. I will report the followings. Without a doubt, last year, I dispatched my younger brother, Jan-tore sultan, so that he could see the face of Ejen Khan and that the title of ‘han’ could be bestowed upon me. However, that envoy was dispatched owing to my thoughtlessness. It is true that I have already sworn an oath to the White Khan, the Great Russian Emperor, and have honestly kissed the sacred Koran, and been a subject to him [the Emperor]. However, due to seeking only my way, I did not realize that the Khans of the two powers didn’t find any reason in my above-mentioned hope. In fact, I have come here to bow deeply in front of

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<sup>80</sup> In Russian documents, *amban* was often called as ‘ambo.’ Thus, this Turkic version of *amban* can be transcribed as such.

Your Majesty, amban; however, I understand that customary laws and ‘*sharia*’ do not permit me to come here. Therefore, I would like to inform Your Majesty, *amban*, that I do not wish the position of ‘*han*,’ I wish to leave Ejen khan, and would like to request directions of the Major and Captain of Cossaks of Russia to go back to my pastureland. For auenticity, I have stamped my seal. I, Ghubaydulla, the son of Wali khan, signed.

### Commentary

**I. 0, qūpīya:** This corresponds to the Russian word ‘*kopiia*’ (copy), which implies that this document<sup>81</sup> is not an original, while TsIKKh explains that a document is original.

**I. 1, Ġubaydullāh ḥān:** The first son of Wali khan of the Middle Zhuz (1778–1860/1). Though the Russian authority did not recognize his khanship over the Middle Zhuz, he called himself as ‘*khan*’ to the Qing officials. During his last years, he was under Russian surveillance.

**I. 5a, Aq pādīšāh:** This implies the Russian emperor. (Mo. *Chagan khan*).

**I. 5b, qur’ān:** Here, Ghubaydulla referred to his swearing an oath on the Koran, which confirmed his subjecthood to the Russian emperor.<sup>82</sup>

**I. 9, šarīgat:** Originally, this implies the Islamic law. In Kazakh documents it often used as a general ‘law.’

**I. 11a, māyūr:** One of the ranks of Russian servicemen, Major (Ru. *Mayor*).

**I. 11b, yašāwīl:** A Russian rank, Capitan of Cossaks (Ru. *Iasaul*).

### Related Matters

The topic of the succession of Ghubaydulla has formerly been discussed in Noda 2006. It should be noted that the original Russian translation by the Russian official only used the term ‘*khanstvo*’ without distinguishing between the position of the traditional khan and the title of *han* of the Qing dynasty.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> For the publication of this document, I would like to express my gratitude to the Director of TsGA RK, Dr. V. Baimaganbetova and the Vice Director, Dr. N. Kropivnitskii.

<sup>82</sup> For this ceremonial custom, see Khodarkovsky 2002: 43.

<sup>83</sup> TsIKKh: vol. 2, 140–141. The concerned paragraph states, ‘I will not wish Ejen Khan to grant me the position of khan anymore’ (*ot Idzhen-khana sebe khanstvo uzhe ne proshu*).

## 14. Document O

Date: 1828 (DG 8)

Sender: Altynsary sultan

Addressee: Emperor (Daoguang)

Language/Script: Turki/Arabic

Reference: JMLZ 4058.60; 198: 1898, the enclosure of the Manchu memorial of Deingga and others.

### Text

/0/ Hasak taiji Altan šara i alibuha hoise hergen i da bithe

- 1/ اسلام علیکم بز کی آلتون شرا کونک
- 2/ الوغ بوغدا ایجان خان بولاظ خان اوغلی توغوم خان دولت نک
- 3/ بو دنیا دین و فاط بولدی خدا ننک قدر تکا الداجی یوق بولدی
- 4/ اونده خدا ننک خوشلاسی بولدی جان ساری نی ایباردیم من آلتون شرا
- 5/ بو اشلار اندین سونک سز که معلوم قلسان دیب حط بردوم
- 6/ ایمدی سیز بلینکز دیب تورامز یر یراق بول آلد بولدی سکز کشی کلدی جاری جان ساری برنی
- 6'/ اوز قولوم برله سز نک خدمت کا ایباردیم ایمدی سز بلینکز
- 7/ اینانماق اوچون حط مهروم نی باسدوم
- 7'/ خان ابولفیض وانک اغاسی
- 8/ بز نیک آرغی آتامز ابول محمد انک اوغلی بولاظ خان انک ابولی آسراب الغان بلاسی
- 9/ اوغلی توغوم خان ابوالفیض اولکان اوغلی التون ساری رحمت جان ساری باتور بای
- 10/ مونک باری ایجان بوغده ننک خدمتکا قراب تورامز
- 11/ کای تورا اورسغه بودام بولدی کای تورا قوقان غه بودام بولدی خان غه توقوز اط
- 12/ بز ایجان بو بز اتا بابامز دان بری ایجان بوغده غه قراب تورامز خان غه توقوز اط تارتو
- 12'/
- 13/ ایمدی کیسین سیز بلنکز دیب تورامز جانکجون غه بش اط تارتو



### Transcription

- /1/ Assalām ‘alaykum, biz ki Altun-šara goŋ  
/2/ Uluğ Ejen hān Bolaṭ hān oğlī Toğum hān dawlat NK  
/3/ bu dunyādīn wafāṭ boldī, hūdānīñ qudratī-gā aldajī yoq boldī,  
/4/ onda hūdānīñ hošlasī boldī, Jan-sarīnī yibārdim, men Altun-šara  
/5/ bu işlar andīn soŋ, sizgā ma‘lūm qīlsan dep haṭ berdüm,  
/6/ emdi siz biliñiz dep turamız, yer yaraq yīl ald boldī, sekiz kiši keldi, jarī  
Jan-sarī birini  
/6’/ { \*<sup>1</sup>öz qolum birlä} siz niñ hīzmat-gā yibārdim, { emdi siz biliñiz }<sup>84</sup>  
/7/ inanmaq üçün { + \*<sup>1</sup> } haṭ muhrumnī basdum.  
/7’/ { \*<sup>2</sup>hān } { \*<sup>3</sup>Abūlfayz waŋ ağası }  
/8/ biz niñ argī atamız Abūl Muḥammad { + \*<sup>2</sup> } anīñ oğlī Bolaṭ hān { + \*<sup>3</sup> }, anīñ  
Abulay asīrap<sup>85</sup> alğan balasī  
/9/ oğlī Toğum hān { Abū al-fayz } ülkān oğlī Altun-sarī Raḥmat Jan-sarī Batur  
Bay  
/10/ munīñ bāri Ejen buğdanīñ hīzmat[ī]gā qarap turamız.  
/11/ Kāy törā Orisgā budam boldī, kāy törā Qoqan ğa budam boldī, { hānga  
toquz aṭ }  
/12/ { biz ejen bu } biz ata-babamızdan beri ejen boğdağa qarap turamız, hānga  
toquz  
/12’/ aṭ tartu,  
/13/ emdi KYSYN siz biliñiz dep turamız, janjunga beš aṭ tartu.

Muḥammad Toğum Bahādur sultān

### Translation

[The original letter written in the Muslim script was sent by the Kazakh *taiji*,  
Altynsary]

Peace be upon Your Majesty. From me, Altynsary *gong*, to the Great Ejen  
Khan. Toghum khan, the son of Bolat khan of wealth has passed away. He

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<sup>84</sup> The phrase in brackets without the asterisk should be omitted.

<sup>85</sup> I owe the translation of this word to Dr. Duysenghali (Kyoto University, Japan).

died by the heavenly destiny. He should bid farewell to God. I had sent Jansary. Subsequently, I, Altynsary, dispatched the letter in order to inform Your Majesty of this. Then, I believe Your Majesty may already be aware [of the following]. The land is distant, and long times have passed. Eight people have come. I have sent the above-mentioned Jansary so that he can serve Your Majesty. For authenticity, I have stamped my seal for the document with my signature. Our ancestors, Abulmambet khan, his son Bolat khan—the elder brother of Abulfeyz *wang*—, his son, whom Ablai had fostered, Toghum khan, his elder son Altynsary, and Rahmat, Jansary, Baturbai, all of us are following the achieves of Sacred Master. Some prince (*tore*) became subjects of Russia. Some *tore* became subjects of Khoqand. [However,] we have been followers of the Sacred Master since the times of my ancestors. I offer nine horses to the Khan as a *tartu*. Now, we know that Your Majesty understands the favour. [I offer] five horses to the Governor as a *tartu*.

### Commentary

**I. 0, hasak taiji...**: This annotation in Manchu is written on the label and stuck above the Turkic text.

**I. 1, Altun-šara goṅ**: Altynsary was the first son of Toghum of the Kazakh Middle Zhuz. The edict addressed to Toghum (see Chapter 3, p.137) indicates that he was dispatched to the Qing court and might have held the title of ‘*gong*’ during his stay at the Qing court.

**I. 2, Bolaṭ ḥān oḡlī Toḡum ḥān**: Bolat was the first son of Abulmambet khan and was of influence near the city of Turkistan. His son was Toghum who held the title of ‘*han*’ in the Qing empire.

**I. 4, Jan-sari**: His name appears in the edict of Daoguang emperor as ‘*Jiangxi'er* 江錫爾.’<sup>86</sup>

**I. 8, asīrab**: The Turkic verb ‘*asīr-*’ implies ‘to adopt.’ Although, Toghum is known as a son of Bolat khan, this figure may be related to Toghum, the son of Ablai.<sup>87</sup> Interestingly, a Kazakh envoy mentioned formerly that Ablai was the ‘nephew’ (Ma. *jalahi jui*) of Abulmambet, the grandfather of Toghum.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> XZSL 106: 15a–16a, DG 6.9 *dingyou* (1826.10.19).

<sup>87</sup> KRO2: 87, the report of Ablai to the Empress Catherine II in 1778.

<sup>88</sup> QZHDH: vol. 1, 181, the memorial of the Grand Council, QL 23 (1758).

**I. 12', tartu:** This term has originated from a Turkic verb 'tart-.' According to Zibbershtein who visited the Kazakh Senior Zhuz in 1825, *tartu* was interpreted as a tribute presented to the Qing provincial Governor.<sup>89</sup> In other words, it corresponds to 'belek(e)' in Manchu. Nine is a sacred number for the Kazakhs; therefore, nine horses could be an appropriate tribute for the Emperor.

**I. 13, KYSYN:** This word may be related to 'kesi' (favour) in Manchu.

**Seal:** This is not Altynsary's seal, but his father's.

### Related Matters

This Turkic letter was highly influenced by the Russian documentation in terms of format, though it has much repetition and vague composition of phrases.

The details of the memorial enclosing Document N are presented here.<sup>90</sup>

### *Transcription*

...jakan tarbagatai i hebe i amban nayamboo i baci benjire bithe de harangga meyen i amban subtungga, karun baicame genere ildun de nimeme akūha hasak han tohoma i jui altanšara be han fungnere hese i bithe emu hacin šangnaha duin defelinggu amba suje be tukiyeme gamafi, duin biya i ice sunja de hara gol sere bade isinafi, altanšara ukundume jifi, jugūn i dalbade niyakūraha i hesei bithe, šangnaha suje be alime gaifi. Umesi ginggun ijishūn i hukšeme dergi baru forome ilan niyakūn uyun hengkin i dorolome abkai kesi de hengkilefi alaha bade altanšara mini mafari ci jalan halame amba enduringge ejen i derengge ujen kesi be mohon akū aliha bime. Te geli abkai kesi isibume cohotoi baturu amban<sup>91</sup> be tucibufi, altan šara be han fungnere hesei bithe wasimbume duin defelinggu amba suje šangnahangge, yargiyan i abkai gese den jiramin ujen kesi, ereci Julesi altan šara bi damu amba

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<sup>89</sup> Viatkin 1936: 254.

<sup>90</sup> JMLZ 4058.60, 198: 1894–1896, DG 8.4.26. (1828.6.8), the Manchu memorial of Deingga.

<sup>91</sup> Here is also the example that *meyen i amban* is called as 'batur amban' (see Document E, p.36). It seems that the usage of *batur amban* was seen also in Kazakh society.

enduringge ejen i degereke ujen kesi be ujui ninggude hukšeme, fejergi buya hasak sa be elen ciralame kadalame gelhun akū balai baita dekdeburakū muterei teile faššame yabuki, altan šara ebsi jime yabure etenggi labdu oho, morin ulaha gemu cukume macuha, hoton de geneme muterakū ofi, cohome ini deo obai be takūrafi. Tarbagatai i hoton de unggifi. Abkai kesi de hengkilebume, nayamboo de juwe beleke morin alibuha. Nayamboo i baci, altanšara de karu suje suri i jergi jaka bufi, kemuni obai be sarilafi, enculeme huwekiyebure be tuwabume cekemu suje suri boso šangnafi. Amasi nukte de unggihe seme altan šara ahasi de alibuha emu afaha hoise hergen be suwaliyame benjihebi, murušeme ubaliyambufi tuwaci, umai gūwa baita akū dalaha hūlha jangger be jafaha babe donjifi, ceni nuktei amba ajige urse gemu uhei urgunjenduhe sere jergi gisun arahabi. Uttu ofi, altan šara i alibuha hoise hergen be murušeme ubaliyambuha manju hergen i jise emu afaha be suwaliyame gingguleme donjibume wesimbuhe...

*Translation*

...According to the letter which was recently received from the Councillor of Tarbagatai, Nayamboo, [it stated,] ‘using the opportunity to watch the guard posts, Subtungga—the commandant under my [Nayamboo’s] jurisdiction—took a piece of the imperial diploma to bestow the *han* title on Altynsary, the son of the Kazakh *han*, Toghūm, who had died of a disease, and took the granted four pieces of the large silk. On the 5<sup>th</sup> day of the 4<sup>th</sup> month, he reached the place *Qara qol*.<sup>92</sup> Altynsary came for the meeting and, kneeling down by the roadside, received the imperial diploma and granted silk. Altynsary was deeply moved with loyalty and allegiance and performed the *sangui jiukou* (to kneel three times and kowtow nine times). Expressing the gratitude to the imperial favour, he mentioned, “[We], since the ancestors of

<sup>92</sup> In relation with the succession of Altynsary, a merchant of Semipalatinsk, Gaisikeev, informed the commander of the Semipalatinsk district of Altynsary’s meeting with the Qing officials. According to his information, the amban of Tarbagatai came to the pasture of Bopu sultan, which was situated along the *Karakol* river, with 100 Kalmyk soldiers on 5 May. Amban required Altynsary to write a letter confirming the receipt of gifts from the Qing emperor. Altynsary was 34 years at the time, Konshin 1900: 59–61, the report of May 1828 (Julian).

me, Altynsary, have received the noble significant favour of the Great Sacred Ejen from generation to generation without interruption. Now the imperial favour was granted again and the commandant (Ma. *batur amban*, Ch. *Lingdui dachen*) was specially dispatched. Issuing the imperial diploma and granting the four pieces of the large silk are really the warm and noble favour, which is almost heavenly. Hereafter, I, Altynsary, wish to only have the noble significant favour of the Great Sacred Ejen on my head, to control strictly enough the common subjects of Kazakhs, and to be diligent as possible without indiscriminate acts.” Altynsary came there with much force, but [his] horse and livestock were tired to become thin. Thus, he could not go to the town and specially dispatched his younger brother, Obai, toward the town of Tarbaghatai so that he caused his brother to express the gratitude to the imperial favour and to present the two tribute horses to me [Nayamboo]. I granted the pongee silk and other things. Moreover, he held the banquet for Obai, and separately caused Obai to look at the encouragement by me and granted the velvet and pongee silk cloth. Subsequently, I sent back Obai to the pastureland.’ A sheet of the letter of the Muslim script, which Altynsary had addressed to Your Servants, was translated and has arrived here. When I [Deingga] summarized and read it, there was no other thing at all. It read that the principal offender, Janggir, was extradited, and that all the various people of the pasturelands were glad together. Therefore, enclosing a sheet of the draft of the Manchu translation of the Turkic document which Altynsary had sent, I respectfully memorialized...

In 1830, an imperial edict still called Altynsary as a ‘Kazakh *han*,’ and mentioned that he intended to send a tributary mission.<sup>93</sup> However, it is unknown what had become of him since then.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> XZSL 166: 25b–26a, DG 10.3. *renzi* (1830.4.16).

<sup>94</sup> We find only a fact that Altynsary asked the permission for the succession of his title by his relative, Chotan *taiji* (Ch. *Chuotan* 綽坦) in 1855, see Saguchi 1986: 343. For the genealogy of Chotan, Qurbanghali mentioned that he was the son of Qanbar sultan, who was a sender of Document P, TKhSh: 461.

## 16. Document P

**Date:** 1820.8.25 AD (Julian calendar)

**Sender:** Bopu sultan and Qanbar sultan

**Addressee:** M. M. Speransky, the Governor General of Siberia

**Language/Script:** Turki/Arabic

**Reference:** VPR: vol. 11, 497.

Text See below, p. 84.

### Transcription

/1/ Ol uluğ manşablu aşl nasablu t̄ayn sūtnīk Sibir sar-ħaddīn

/2/ bilāgüči yenārīl gūbūrnāṭūr Miḥāyla Miḥāylīč

//////////////////// sultān

/3/ qīrgīz qazāq orṭa yüz nayman bay[yi]git ilündä turğuči sultānlar

/4/ Bofī sultān Abū al-Fayz sultān oğlı wa ham Qanbar sultān Šāhniyāz  
sultān oğlından

/5/ arṣ nāma

/6/ atamīz Abū al-Fayz sultān wa hām Šāhniyāz sultān zamānīndan uşbu  
küngājā Rūsīya yurtı birlān köriş

/7/ bolup Rūsīyanıñ taht[-i] tājīna i'tiqād iḥlāş özārinā tärklik qılıp yuruči  
erdük, uşbu

/8/ künlärdä yurtumızda neyli tentäk küčäyip här türli ḥalqdan zu[r]lıq  
zombliqlar köb boldı.

/9/ Šul taqribli sizniñ ḥazratuñızgā tubančilik ilān ma'lūm qılamız. Ol uluğ  
impirāṭūr[-i] a'zam

/10/ Aliksāndūr Pāvlič ḥazratlarinā tāba' wa rağīyat bolmaqmızni qaysi dur  
kim, burunğı ra'iyatlar-

/11/ niñ iḥlās wa i'tiqād birlān özmizniñ qol astumızda bolğuji ḥalqmızniñ  
tinčliqları üçün

/12/ ḥalqmızniñ maşlahatları birlān bizlär az yurt emāsmiz, awıl ḥisābı on miñ

bekli ziyāda bolur.

/13/ Agar bizniñ bu ھاtmizni qabul körsäñiz, bizniñ özmiz tilägan Orısdan wa hām Nu‘aydan

/14/ yaǵşı kişilärni čığargay, yurtumizniñ awıl ew hisābin aldursañız erdi, šunıñ ھاqqında

/15/ oǵulumız Şultabay sulṭānni qaşından yaǵşı qaraları birlän Aqtaylaq bi Bayǵar balası, Tu‘ası

/16/ aşarşına Seyten balası, wa hām Yisenji Baytemir balası wa ğayri yoldaşları ilän qoşup yibärdük.

/17/ ھاzratuñızdan söz išitsünlär, agarda yeñädan keräкли söz bolsa, balad til birlän

/18/ aytur, wa hām ھاt birlän yazup oltur, bu ھاt bir belgi salām ھاtmiz dur, pādšāh

/19/ ھاzratlarundan iltimās ‘arzamizni özinä başqa kā‘az birlän köristürmiz dew,

/20/ marħamatuñız-ğä köz tuṭıp ھاzmatlaruñız-ğä ṭayyār bolup turupmiz.

Pofı sulṭān bin Abū al-Fayz sulṭān

Awgustniñ 25–nči kün, 1820.

### Translation

[To] administering the frontier of Siberia the Governer General with a distinguished rank and noble genealogy, *tainyi sovetnik* (the 3<sup>rd</sup> rank of civil officials), Mikhail Mikhailovich.

From the sultans residing within the Nayman and Bayjigit tribes of the Kirghiz Kazakh Middle Zhuz, Bopu sultan, the son of Abulfeyz sultan, and Qanbar sultan, the son of Shaniyaz sultan.

Since a long time, our fathers, Abulfeyz and Shaniyaz, have been neighbours to the Russian state, and have depended upon the Russian throne and crown by loyalty and confidence. Recently, within our lands (*yurt*), the stupid events are highly increasing and every kinds of people do harm and evil seriously. In this reason, we will inform Your Majesty of the following. We obey the Great His

Majesty, Alexander I, and became his subjects as shown below. In other words, owing to royalty and faith [of us] as subjects, our people controlled by us were peaceful in the past. Thus, with the welfare of our people, we are not the people of small population. The population of our villages is over 10,000. If this letter is acknowledged, may the good persons, whom we wish, be dispatched from Russians or Nughays (Tatars), and may You let [them] know the population of our tents. In this respect, we have sent our son, Sultabai sultan, with the good commoners, including Aqtaylaq bi, Tu'asi *starshina*, Yisenji and other attendants. We look forward to an answer (*söz*) from Your Majesty. If the additional words are needed, we will state with words orally, or send [to you] by a letter. This letter was made as a sign of the greeting from our side. We would like to state that, 'We will indicate our hope to the Emperor, His Majesty, by the other letter,' and are ready to serve You, paying attention to Your favour.

25 August 1820

### Commentary

**Seal:** Although the imprint is unclear, judging from the rest, it is not Qanbar's, but Bopu sultan's which was repeatedly stamped on the lowest part of the text.

**I. 4a, Bofi:** Bopu sultan of the Kazakh Middle Zhuz, see Document J. He and other sultans had much relation with the Qing empire as well as with Russia as this document indicates. In other words, parts of Kazakh sultans promoted the 'bi-lateral diplomacy' between the two empires.<sup>95</sup> According to Qurbanghali's work, he died in around 1264 (1846/47).<sup>96</sup>

**I. 4b, Qanbar:** He was also known to the Qing dynasty due to the fact that he owed a pastureland near Tarbaghatai. According to XSL, he was the fourth son of Shaniyaz sultan.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> See Noda 2006.

<sup>96</sup> TKhSh: 456.

<sup>97</sup> XSL 12: 27.

1/ اول الع نصر بیلده اصل نسیبک طابین کس تینک آسیر سمدینه



2/ بیلگهچی نیلایل کوبورن اطور مینایلیم مینایلیم

3/ قمر کار آقا اورطویون نایمان بایکیت التونوز تور بعلی سیرطالاور

4/ بوق سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین و هم قنبر سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین

5/ عرض نامه

6/ آقا خرابوالتین سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین او شوبو کونجا هر دو سیه یورطی برلان کورسته

7/ بولور او سیه ننگ تخت ناچینه استاده و اخلاص اور رینه تر کلیل قند برور هر ایرادک او شوبو

8/ سکت لاره نور تو زده نسل نسیبک کوجایید از تروری خلک دان غنم لیت غنم بیلد لاری کوب بیلد

9/ سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین اول الوع ایسیر اطور اعظم

10/ انک اندر باقو ایچ حضرت نقرینه تابع و رعیت بولماق قمرینه قایست دو کرم برور و خجی رحمت لار

11/ ننگ اخلاص و اعتماد برلان اور از ننگ قول استوزده بولور و خجی خلقت ننگ شجاعت لاری اوچون

12/ خدمت ننگ صلح لاری برلان اور برط ایما سز اول حاجت او ننگ بلیک ریاده بولور

13/ اگر بر ننگ بر خطره نفع اول کور سسلطابوالتین بر ننگ اور از سسلطابوالتین اور کسان و هم نوقادان

14/ نختی کشته لاری چهار جا بولور تو مز ننگ اول ایتر حسابین آله و سسلطابوالتین شوننگ عقده

15/ او علم از صورتی سسلطابوالتین قاستن نختی قاره لاری برلان آقا طایلاتی بایغیر ایلاکس تو عاصم

16/ الطر شونگی سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین

17/ حضرت تو کور سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین



18/ ایتر و هم خط برلان ریاده سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین سسلطابوالتین

19/ حضرت لار نندان ایما سز عرض لاری اور ایینه باشته کاعن برلان کور سسلطابوالتین

20/ مرخصه ننگ کاکور تو تور صدمت لاری اور کاطیار برلان تور و بر

***l. 16, aṣṭaršīna***: Ru. *starshina*. This implies the senior leader of the Kazakh tribes under the sultans. It is comparable to the *aqalaqčī* which appears in the Qing archival documents. See P. 45.

#### Related matters

According to VPR, Document P was translated into Russian by a translator, Kraikin, on 30 August 1820.

The format of this document was significantly influenced by those of the Russian archival documents. Above all, it is notable that the classification of this document was placed above the main text. The contents of Document P indicate that a documented expression of loyalty to the Russian emperor was indispensable for favourable Kazakh-Russian relations. Moreover, the very correspondences by the documents were required as well. The primary purpose of Document P is common with those of documents which are introduced in our research: the letters were composed in order to establish the advantageous position of the senders, i.e. the Kazakh sultans.

## Chapter 2

### Political Relations between the Qing Dynasty and Kazakh Nomads in the Mid-18<sup>th</sup> Century: Promotion of the ‘*ejen-albatu* Relationship’ in Central Asia\*

In general, dynasties in China arranged their international world order such that they regarded themselves as ‘suzerain’ (Ch. *zongzhu*) and defined the peripheral groups/countries by terms such as a ‘dependency’ (Ch. *fanshu*), a ‘dependent country’ (Ch. *shuguo*), or a ‘tribute country’ (Ch. *chaogongguo*); this relationship was based on the Confucian worldview (hereafter ‘*zong-fan* relationship’). There were two main systems for maintaining this relationship, ‘tribute’ (Ch. *chaogong* or *jingong*) and ‘title-bestowal’ (Ch. *cefeng*). In principle, dynasties in China did not exercise substantial authority over these ‘dependencies’; hence, it was a system of diplomacy centering on the diplomatic protocols.<sup>1</sup>

Built by the Manchus, the Qing dynasty was the last dynasty in China. During its conquest of Jungharia and Eastern Turkistan (Kashgharia) in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the Qing made contact with several groups/countries in Central Asia such as the Kazakh/*Qazāq*, Kirghiz/*Qirghiz* (Ma. *Burut*), and the Khoqand khanate. Relations between these groups and the Qing have previously been discussed from various viewpoints. However, in considering their political

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\* This is the translated edition of my Japanese paper (Onuma 2006). While translating into English, I have enlarged and revised some sections. I wish to express my gratitude to David Brophy (PhD Candidate, Inner Asian and Altaic Studies at Harvard University) for reading the draft and making a number of helpful suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> For more on the ‘tribute system’ and ‘Chinese world order’ model, based on a Sinocentric ideology, see Fairbank and Teng 1941.

relations from the perspective of Qing history, most of the arguments are based on a tacit premise: the Qing dynasty acted as ‘suzerain’ and positioned Central Asian groups/countries as ‘dependencies,’ a relationship which was heavily influenced by Confucianism.<sup>2</sup>

This theory, as everyone knows, has provoked a great deal of controversy, and scholars have presented many critical opinions and revisionary views. I shall here introduce several of them from the perspective of Inner Asia.<sup>3</sup> J. Fletcher suggested that though the main factor governing relations between the Qing and Central Asia seems to be the Chinese ‘ruler-subject relationship’ (Ch. *junchen guanxi*), other factors were hidden underneath it. When the Qing emperor addressed the Khoqandian ambassadors through his Turkic interpreters in Beijing, he referred to the Khoqandian ruler as ‘my son.’<sup>4</sup> From this anecdote, Fletcher concluded that the Khoqandian ruler was not the ‘subject’ but the ‘ally’ of the Qing emperor, and the former’s position was more equal than that of ‘subject.’<sup>5</sup> L. Newby more distinctly states that the Qing emperor’s contact with the Turkic-Muslims was his claim to Chinggisid lineage and an appeal to Mongol-style universalism.<sup>6</sup> J. Millward, in his research on the Qing frontier trade with the Kazakhs, was severely critical of Fairbank’s model because the

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<sup>2</sup> This way of thinking divides the world around the Qing into the ‘southeastern crescent’ and the ‘northwestern crescent,’ according to M. Mancall; the Central Asian groups/countries are categorized as ‘dependencies’ on the ‘northwestern crescent’ and are clearly differentiated from those on the ‘southeastern crescent.’ However, this classification is based on the differences between the Qing government’s control organizations (*Libu* ↔ *Lifanyuan*), and between the cultures (Confucianism ↔ non-Confucianism) and occupations (agriculture ↔ nomadism) of the dependencies, and it is not due to a difference at the ‘*zong-fan* relationship’ phase itself. See Mancall 1968: 72–75; Banno 1973: 88–91.

<sup>3</sup> Scholars have also applied various approaches to this problem from the viewpoint of maritime history. Recently, Toyo’oka analyzed the changes in the Qing’s policy toward pirates along the Guangdong coast and toward Annam (Vietnam) during the latter period of the Qianlong reign (1736–95) and the beginning of the Jiaqing reign (1796–1820); he criticized the concept of the systems of ‘tribute’ and ‘title-bestowal,’ which held that a ‘traditional world order’ controlled the Qing’s foreign policy. He concluded that ‘the systems of ‘tribute’ and ‘title-bestowal’ functioned as a logic for [the Qing’s] self-justification rather than as a ‘world order’” (Toyo’oka 2006: 59).

<sup>4</sup> This anecdote came from an Afghani envoy to Khoqand at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century who heard it from a Khoqandian who had once been granted audience with the Qianlong emperor in Beijing. See Howarth 1880, vol. 2: 818; Newby 2005: 46–47.

<sup>5</sup> Fletcher 1968: 221–222, 366.

<sup>6</sup> Newby 2005: 42. Also see her discussion on the Qing foreign policy (Newby 2005: 5–10).

nature of this trade did not fit in with the traditional notion of a ‘tribute system.’<sup>7</sup> N. Di Cosmo, who studied local relations with Kirghiz tribesmen around Kashgar, insisted that Qing foreign policy toward the Kirghiz was not properly a tributary ‘system,’ but rather a political, ritual, economic, and military ‘environment.’<sup>8</sup>

Also, recent discussions have led to a reconsideration of the dynastic/imperial system of the Qing. Kataoka Kazutada pays attention to the position of the envoys from Central Asia in the Court Audience for New Year’s greetings. Their seats, which were placed in the same position as the ‘Mongol Outer Vassals’ (Ch. *wai fan menggu*), i.e. both on the west and east side of the Imperial throne, were far from the seats of the ‘envoys coming from foreign countries’ (Ch. *wai guo laishi*), or ‘tribute missions’ from the ‘southeastern crescent.’ According to Kataoka, the ‘Chinese Dynastic System’ and the Inner Asian ‘Khan System’ coexisted in the Qing dynasty before the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the Qing’s relations with Central Asian people should be recognized as the extension of their relations with the Mongol Outer Vassals. Therefore, he called them the ‘semi-Outer Vassals’ of the Qing.<sup>9</sup> Zhang Yongjiang categorizes the Kazakh and Kirghiz nomads into ‘nominal-Fanbu’ (Ch. *mingyi fanbu*), because the Qing’s policy toward them differed from that toward the other Central Asian groups/countries, combining moderate versions of *fanbu* and *shuguo*.<sup>10</sup>

These views on the ‘Manchu’ or ‘Inner Asian’ nature and centrifugal continuity of the Qing system are indeed thought-provoking. However, the earlier studies left unsettled the questions of how the Qing was constructing its relationship with Central Asian people in the first instance, and what kind of logic was used for sustaining it. Answering these questions will help to clarify how the newly arrived Qing power established order in Central Asia after the confusion brought about by the collapse of the Junghars, in other words, how the Qing established a new order in Central Asia.

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<sup>7</sup> Millward 1998: 48–49.

<sup>8</sup> Di Cosmo 2003.

<sup>9</sup> Kataoka 1998.

<sup>10</sup> Zhang 2001: 155–165.

In my opinion, earlier studies, especially those which approach this subject from the viewpoint of the Qing history, suffer from two major problems. The first is that they adopt the concept of the ‘*zong-fan* relationship’ as an absolute premise; namely, their analytic frameworks are fixed from the beginning. Consequently, the discussions are limited to an explanation of the regulations concerning the system of ‘tribute’ and ‘title-bestowal’ which maintained the ‘*zong-fan* relationship,’ and hence, they do not lead to a reexamination of the conceptual basis of these relations. The second is a material limitation. The studies have used mainly edited materials in Chinese, or secondary materials, despite the negotiations between the Qing and Central Asia having been conducted in non-Chinese and non-Confucian cultural arenas. Those negotiations were conducted through the medium of documents written in Manchu, Oyrad (Todo-script), and Turki (Arabic-script). Therefore, the descriptions of the edited records in Chinese, translated from these non-Chinese languages, were inevitably embellished with Chinese-Confucian elements. To put it forcibly, research on the basis of edited materials can only provide answers to the Qing dynasty’s explanation of its relations with Central Asia, in the Chinese-Confucian cultural field.<sup>11</sup>

In this study, I take the Kazakh nomads, especially the eastern Kazakhs led by Ablai (1711?–81),<sup>12</sup> a sultan (and later khan<sup>13</sup>) of the Middle Zhuz,<sup>14</sup> as the main subject for reconsideration, and aim to clarify the political relations

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<sup>11</sup> It is difficult to strictly define the limits of ‘the Chinese-Confucian cultural field.’ In this paper, which focuses attention on the problems in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the term means the Chinese heartland (the territory of the Ming dynasty) where Han-Chinese people made up the absolute majority of the population, and the dependencies on the ‘southeastern crescent’ such as Korea, Lyūkyū, Vietnam, and so on.

<sup>12</sup> As for Ablai’s early life, see Valikhanov 1985a; Sakai, 2001.

<sup>13</sup> Ablai, belonging to the collateral line of Kazakh khan, was formally selected as khan in 1771. However, since around 1758, when he successfully negotiated with the Qing, he was already being called khan in the Kazakh society (Kawakami 1980: 44). Ablai’s bestowal with the *han* title by the Qing dynasty was originally based on Ablai’s representations (Noda 2005: 37).

<sup>14</sup> The Kazakh society in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was divided into three groups: Junior Zhuz (*Kishi Juz*), Middle Zhuz (*Orta Juz*), and Senior Zhuz (*Uly Juz*) from the east to the west. Each Zhuz had one or two khans, who were selected from the sultan’s clan. The ‘Zhuz’ originally meant ‘one hundred’; however, it seems to have shifted to mean ‘a part’ of the whole Kazakh and it was a middle-size group between nation and tribe. In the Russian records, the Zhuz was often referred to as ‘Orda’ (Ru. *орда*). See Uyama, 1999: 97.

between the Qing and Central Asia by using primary documentary sources written in the Manchu, Oyrad, and Turkic languages. Further, I wish to show the fundamental logic that sustained their political relations.<sup>15</sup> The reasons for taking the eastern Kazakhs led by Ablai as an example are as follows: (1) Ablai was the first Kazakh leader who submitted to the Qing dynasty after the collapse of the Junghar, (2) he was able to construct very close relations with the Qing dynasty after his submission, and (3) various problems that required diplomatic negotiations between the two parties sometimes occurred because the Kazakhs under the Ablai lived along the Qing frontier. I believe that the eastern Kazakh is the best example for examining the political relations between the Qing and Central Asia.

I would like to explain the documentary sources that are the key to this research. This research uses many Manchu documents related to the Grand Council (*Junjichu*) which are today stored in the First Historical Archives of China. The imperially compiled chronicles such as *shilu* and *fanglüe* are composed almost entirely of Imperial edicts, that is to say, they record only policy matters that have been decided. On the other hand, the Manchu documents which were of the official administrative documents that exchanged between the Imperial Court (emperor, Ground Council, and so on) and the Qing frontier administrators (Military Governor and Councillor). By using them, we can reconstruct the process of the discussion leading to the policy that was eventually decided upon. Moreover, the *Junjichu manwen lufu zouzhe* (hereafter JMLZ), the collection of reference copies of the palace memorial from high-ranking local administrators in Manchu, includes some original documents written in the Oyrad and Turki as ‘enclosures’ (Ch. *fujian*) to the memorials. These were addressed by local leaders in Central Asia to the Qing government. A perusal of these original documents sheds light on the Central Asian negotiators’ position

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<sup>15</sup> Since there are already detailed studies of the economic relations between the Qing and Kazakhs, especially of the silk-horse trade in Yili and Tarbaghatai (Saguchi 1963: 303–339; Lin and Wang 1991: 131–430; Millward 1992), this research does not discuss it in detail. NODA has recently worked energetically to reexamine Kazakh-Qing relations from the perspective of the Kazakh history. See Noda 2003; 2005; 2006; 2007a; 2008, and Chapter 3.

unadorned by the embellishments later added to the Qing translations.

Further, it is necessary to keep in mind the administration system for the Qing's official documents. In particular, for the Imperial edict (Ch. *shangyu*), there was a distinction between *mingfa shangyu* (Open-Channel Edict) and *jixin shangyu* (Letter Edict). The *mingfa shangyu* was an edict officially announced via the Grand Secretariat (Ch. *Neige*), while the *jixin shangyu* was an Imperial order directly sent to local administrators, which was not officially announced like *mingfa shangyu*. In addition, each *shangyu* was distinguished by the use of different languages: Manchu and Chinese. When relying on the Qing imperial edict, we have to trace the audience and aim carefully. With these points in mind, I keep the documentary sources as much as possible in my consideration.

## **1. The Qing's Conquest of Junghar and the Kazakh's Motion**

In order to analyze the process through which the Qing constructed its political relations with Central Asia, first of all, we have to inquire into the situation in Central Asia prior to the Qing advance. In this section, after giving a brief outline of the Junghar rule in Central Asia, I would like to focus attention on Ablai's actions in the face of Qing power.

### *1.1. The Rise and Fall of the Junghar in Central Asia*

The Oyrads were distributed over the north side of the Tianshan Mountains in what came to be known as Jungharia (North Xinjiang); they created a dominant state built around the power of the Junghar tribe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Junghar leader Galdan (r. 1671–97), after conquering the oasis cities of Eastern Turkistan in 1680, began his western expeditions and attacked the neighboring Kazakhs and Kirghiz. In 1684, the Junghar army occupied Tashkent and Sayram, which were under Kazakh rule, and went on an expedition to Andijan in the Fergana

valley in 1685.<sup>16</sup> Tsewang Rabtan (r. 1697–1727), who carried out a coup d'état during Galdan's expedition to Outer Mongolia (1688–97), also continued the attack against the Kazakhs and Kirghiz. According to the Russian envoy Unkovskii, who stayed in Jungharia during 1722–1724, Tsewang Rabtan attacked the Kazakhs, conquered Tashkent, and took one thousand households of Kazakhs away to Jungharia. Under Tsewang Rabtan's rule were not only the Oyirad tribes but also the Kirghiz,<sup>17</sup> Uriyanghais, Telenguts, Bukharans in Yarkand (today's Uyghur), Buruts living around the Lake Issyk Kul, and Barabins (Baraba Tatar).<sup>18</sup>

The Kazaks suffered from repeated attacks by the Junghar. In the war against the Junghar, Ablai began to stand out among the Kazakhs as a brilliant leader.

According to Valihanov, Ablai's great-grandchild, when Ablai was 13 years old, he fled from Turkistan<sup>19</sup> where his clan ruled since his grandfather's time because of the murder of his father Wali. His youth was spent in precarious circumstances. However, in the war against the Junghar, he showed extraordinary courage and ingenuity, enhancing his status and reputation. Although he was once captured by the Junghar leader Galdan Tsering (r. 1727–45), he was miraculously released.<sup>20</sup> Ablai asked Russia for help and went to Orenburg with Abulmanbet, his relative and the khan of the Middle Zhuz, to pledge allegiance to Russia in 1740.

The Junghar had overpowered its neighbors; however, the death of Galdan Tsering in 1745 brought about internal conflicts over the succession.<sup>21</sup> Then, neighbors under Junghar rule launched their own independence

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<sup>16</sup> Miyawaki 1995: 203.

<sup>17</sup> These 'Kirghiz' are probably not the Kirghiz living around Lake Issyk Kul in today's Kirghizstan, who were called 'Burut' by the Junghar and Qing, but the tribesmen living on the upper reaches of the Yenisei river. They had originally paid tribute to the Russian emperor and Altan Khan of the Khalkha tribe. See Baddeley 1919: vol. 2, 93.

<sup>18</sup> Unkovskii: 187, 193–194.

<sup>19</sup> Today, the prevailing view is that it is not Turkistan but Tashkent.

<sup>20</sup> Valikhanov 1985a: 112–113. For the story about Ablai's early life in oral histories, also see Sakai 2001.

<sup>21</sup> For the dissolution of the Junghar's internal structure, see Onuma 2009: 50–53.

movements. For example, in 1751 Ablai harbored Dawachi and Amursana who had escaped from Jungharia after failing to overthrow Lama Darja (r. 1750–53).<sup>22</sup> According to Qing records, from the end of 1754 to the beginning of 1755, Ablai and the other Kazakh chieftains raided Bolutala and Yili.<sup>23</sup> In the same period, Khwaja Yusuf, the leader of Ishaqiyya (Tu. *Qara Tayliq*, or Black Mountaineers) of the ‘Kashghar Khwaja clan,’ who had been taken into custody in Yili, returned home during the turmoil among Junghar, and rebuilt the independent government of the Ishaqiyya in 1755.<sup>24</sup> Besides, the following occurred when Khwaja Yusuf returned to Eastern Turkistan from Yili, as described in the TKh:

The Kipchak-Kirghiz<sup>25</sup> had nomadized around Yili, which belonged to the infidel (the Junghars). When His Grace Khwaja Yusuf Khwajam returned from Yili, he sent a letter [to the Kipchak-Kirghiz], ‘I wish to ask for assistance for Islam.’ Because of this, the Kirghiz waited for the right moment, and then went to Khotan via Kucha on their own initiative.<sup>26</sup>

In short, some Kirghiz tribesmen around Yili left the Junghar’s control and began acting unilaterally. The Junghar’s rule in Central Asia had weakened remarkably before the Qing advance.

### *1.2. The Qing Advance and Ablai’s Actions*

Next, we will trace Ablai’s actions at the time of the Qing conquest of the Junghar and the Qing reaction to him.

In 1755, the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-95) decided upon the Junghar expedition and organized an army of fifty thousand troops, which were divided into the North Route Army (Ch. *beilu jun*) and the West Route Army (Ch. *xilu*

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<sup>22</sup> Zlatkin 1964: 435.

<sup>23</sup> Saguchi 1963: 261–262.

<sup>24</sup> Saguchi 1948: 5.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Kipchak-Kirghiz’ (*Qipchāq Qirghiz*) is the main tribe of the Kirghiz. In the Manchu records appended to *Xiyu dili tushuo*, the Kirghiz (Burut) are roughly divided into three groups: *Karatikin Burut*, *Kibcak Burut*, and *Sayak Sarbagaši Burut* (Onuma 2004b: 78–79).

<sup>26</sup> TKh, Institut de France, Ms. 3357: 102a.

*jun*). During the march, Oyirad chieftains Banjur and Naghacha, who had already surrendered to the Qing along with the Khoyid leader Amursana and went to the front with the West Route Army, requested the Qianlong emperor to designate Amursana as the Oyirad's *han*; Amursana was also the Vice-Commander (Ch. *fujangjun*) in the North Route Army. Banjur and Naghacha emphasized in their request that the Qing frontier could be effectively secured if Amursana became *han*, because he had a good relationship with Ablai.<sup>27</sup> While the Qianlong emperor rejected their request to designate Amursana as the one and only *han* of the Oyirads, he reserved his judgment on the matter of the Kazakhs, only ordering the Grand Councillors (Ch. *Junji dachen*) to confer on the problem after completing the expedition.<sup>28</sup> After the army entered Jungharia, the Qianlong emperor indicated to the Commander of the North Route Army (Ch. *Dingbei jiangjun*) Bandi to convey his message to the Kazakhs: (1) the Kazakhs must not cross the boundary or plunder the Junghar people, and (2) the Qing would surely subdue the Kazakhs if they disobeyed it.<sup>29</sup> However, the particular names of the Kazakh chieftains were not mentioned; it seems that the Qing were not greatly concerned with the Kazakhs at first.

After Amursana began his anti-Qing movement in a bid to become the one and only *han* of the Oyirads, the Qing gradually began to pay attention to the activities of the Kazakhs. The Qianlong emperor kept an eye on the alliance between Amursana and the Kazakhs as can be seen from the following quotation:

With what kind of intentions did Amursana send his comrades to [the land of] the Kazakhs? Report immediately what was the attitude of the Kazakhs toward Amursana.<sup>30</sup>

Then, the Qing started to actively pacify the Kazakhs. At the end of July, 1755, Bandi dispatched the Imperial Guard (Ch. *shiwei*) Shundene to investigate the

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<sup>27</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* 5: 24a–27a, QL 20.1. *xinmao* (1755.2.27).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 29a–b.

<sup>29</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* 11: 29a–b, QL 20.5. *xinsi* (1755.6.17).

<sup>30</sup> JMSD, *junwu*, 12.1, QL 20.6.30 (1755.8.7), the Manchu edict of the Qianlong emperor.

Kazakhs' movements, and entrusted him with the Imperial edict. According to Shundene's report, when he met Ablai in September 4, Ablai expressed the desire to submit to the Qing and to dispatch his envoy to inform them of such.<sup>31</sup> However, Ablai told the people around him the following:

If it is a fact that Amursana is coming here with soldiers, we cannot be antagonistic [to him] because he knows thoroughly our land.<sup>32</sup>

Just as the Qing expected, Amursana ran away to the Kazakh steppe, and Ablai supported him in spite of the other leaders' objections.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps, Ablai schemed to use this opportunity to expand his territory into Jungharia. All efforts by the Qing afterward at pacification met with failure.<sup>34</sup>

In 1756, the eastern Kazakhs were regarded as enemies whom the Qing should suppress, and battles broke out after the summer. According to Qing records, the Commander of the West Route Army (Ch. *Dingxi Jiangjun*), Daldangga (Ch. *Daledang 'a*), successfully defeated 'bandits' (Ma. *hūlha*) led by Amursana and Ablai's follower Hojibergen (Ch. *Huojibolegen*) in Yarla and Nura.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, the troops of the Left Vice-Commander to Subjugate Frontier (Ch. *Dingbian zuo fujangjun*), Hadaha, defeated Ablai and his one thousand Kazakh troops on the west side of Bayan Oola.<sup>36</sup> Ablai, who was wounded seriously in this battle, broke off his alliance with Amursana and confined him.<sup>37</sup>

The Qing army made steady advances. However, as winter approached, the military's provisions were almost exhausted and the Chinggunjab rebellion

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<sup>31</sup> Saguchi 1963: 263–264.

<sup>32</sup> JMSD, *junwu*, 12.1, QL 20.7.9 (1755.8.16), the Manchu edict of the Qianlong emperor.

<sup>33</sup> Kawakami 1979: 43.

<sup>34</sup> Although the Qing tried to dispatch a mission consisting of thirty people to the Kazakhs in January 1756, they could not advance further than Yili because Amursana's supporters hindered it. Then, the Qing requested the Russian government's permission to pass through the territory of Russia, but it was refused. See Zlatkin 1963: 450; Kawakami 1980: 38.

<sup>35</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* 31: 5a–7a, QL 21.9. *jisi* (1756.9.27). However, the Russian records reported victories in both battles. See Gurevich 1979: 133.

<sup>36</sup> Kawakami 1980: 40.

<sup>37</sup> Zlatkin 1963: 452–453; Kawakami 1980: 40–41.

broke out in Outer Mongolia; the Qing government, therefore, decided to withdraw from the Kazakh steppe. Before the withdrawal, Daldangga decided to mobilize five thousand soldiers from the West Route Army and five thousand soldiers from among his new allies, the Oyrads, the following spring to capture Amursana and to exterminate the Kazakhs.<sup>38</sup>

It is said that Amursana passed the winter of 1756–57 in Tarbaghatai apart from Ablai and tried to make contact with Chinggunjab.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, the other Oyrad chieftains remaining in Jungharia, who were being incorporated into the Qing Banner system, rose unanimously in revolt against the Qing.<sup>40</sup>

The Qianlong emperor responded by dispatching sixty thousand troops, divided into three Route Armies, in 1757. The Kazakhs were compelled to move away to the west under pressure from the Qing; some sought to flee to Russia for safety, and a famine also arose in the Kazakh steppe.<sup>41</sup> Facing such great difficulties, Ablai arrived at his decision to submit to the Qing dynasty.

## **2. Ablai's 'Submission' and his 'Memorial to the Throne offering Allegiance'**

### *2.1. Ablai's Allegiance to the Qing Described in the Earlier Studies*

In past studies, the Qing dynasty, according to the Confucian worldview, treated the Kazakh as the *fanshu* and adopted a traditional 'loose-rein' (Ch. *jimi*) policy to the Kazakhs.<sup>42</sup> This view is based mainly on the contents of Ablai's 'Memorial to the Throne offering Allegiance' (Ch. *guicheng biaowen*, hereafter 'Ablai's Memorial') to the Qianlong emperor in 1757 and the Imperial edict issued after receiving it. First, I present here 'Ablai's Memorial' in Chinese (hereafter **Memorial A**), which is recorded in PDZFL and used by earlier

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<sup>38</sup> Onuma 2004a: 5, 12.

<sup>39</sup> Zlatkin 1963: 454.

<sup>40</sup> Onuma 2004a.

<sup>41</sup> Gurevich 1979: 134–135.

<sup>42</sup> Saguchi 1963: 269; Cheng 2002: 318, 321–323; Li 2003: 185–186.

studies.

The Kazakh's small khan, Your Subject, Ablai respectfully memorializes to the presence of the Great Emperor of the Central Nation. Since [the days of] Your Subject's ancestors, Esim Khan and Janggir Khan, we have not been able to obtain the voice and teaching of the Central Nation. Now, because we accept the edict of the Great Emperor and [know that you] benefited the tribes in the remote region, Your Subject (Ablai) and the followers are delighted and deeply touched by your supreme benevolence. As Your Subject, Ablai hopes with all the Kazakhs to attain the great virtue and to become the subjects of the Central Nation forever. I seek the sagacious judgment of the Great Emperor of the Central Nation. I respectfully dispatch seven chieftains and [four] attendants, a total of eleven persons, to present my memorial and reverentially wish for boundless peace [for the emperor]. In addition, I respectfully present a horse. I respectfully memorialize for this purpose.<sup>43</sup>

In **Memorial A**, Ablai's submission was described in the following context: Ablai dispatched envoys and presented his tribute in order to request that he should become 'subject' (Ch. *chenpu*) of the 'Great Emperor of the Central Nation' (Ch. *zhongguo da huangdi*), leading all the Kazakhs.

Next, I quote the Qianlong emperor's statement in his edict issued after receiving Ablai's request to submit.

The Above (emperor) issued an edict toward the Grand Secretaries, '...The Kazakhs dwell more than ten thousand *li* away, and up till now have not sent envoys, nor have we summoned them. But now they call themselves [my] subject (Ch. *chen*) and pay tribute; this is of their own accord. Although I immediately should accept their submission, I will exercise only a loose-rein

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<sup>43</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* 41: 22b–23b, QL 22.7. *bingwu* (1756.8.30). For this text in Chinese, see Chapter 1: 16.

policy [over the Kazakhs]. As done over Annan, Liuqiu, and Xianluo, we convey voice and precept of our dynasty [over the Kazakhs]. We never hope to establish a county (Ch. *jun*) or a prefecture (Ch. *xian*) in their land, nor do we seek to dispatch a governor or to post an officer. Also, unlike the Khalka, we will never set up the Banner, or form the *niru*...<sup>44</sup>

In this edict, the Kazakhs submission was described as ‘they call themselves [my] subject (Ch. *chen*) and pay tribute.’ Then, the Qianlong emperor proclaimed his intention to adopt a ‘loose-rein’ policy toward the Kazakhs and to treat the Kazakhs as done over the southeastern *fangshus* such as Annan/Annam (Vietnam), Liuqiu/Ryūkyū (Okinawa), and Xianluo/Siam (Thailand). On the basis of these sources, earlier studies recognize that the Qing concluded the traditional ‘*zong-fan* relationship,’ and then the regulations of the ‘tribute system’ and ‘title-bestowal’ for maintaining this relationship were prepared gradually.

However, as I said before, the descriptions of Qing-Kazakh relations in Chinese records are not free from the Chinese-Confucian perspective. We cannot accept these records as an accurate portrayal of the relationship. Hence, I would like to reexamine Ablai’s submission to the Qing using the original non-Chinese documents that were actually exchanged in their negotiations, and clarify the process that constructed the Qing-Kazakh political relationship. However, where I was unable to find the original Manchu documents of the edicts and memorials recorded in PDZFL, I quote and translate from JNTBB (the Manchu version of PDZFL), because it reflects the words and phrases of the original Manchu documents.

## *2.2. Ablai’s ‘Memorial to the Throne offering Allegiance’*

According to the Qing records, on July 15, 1757, a certain Kazakh man, professing himself a follower of Ablai, came to the Qing’s military camp to report Ablai’s wish to pledge allegiance to the Qing.<sup>45</sup> On July 18, the other

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<sup>44</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* 41: 25a–28b, QL 22.7. *dingwei* (1757.8.31).

<sup>45</sup> Ablai explained this ‘submission’ to the Qing in terms of ‘peace’ with the Russian authorities, to

envoys of Abulfeyz, one of the Middle Zhuz's chieftain and Ablai's close relative,<sup>46</sup> came to the Qing's military camp bringing a gift of horses and apologizing. These men stated that Ablai hoped to make contact with the Qing directly. The Councillor (Ma. *hebei amban*, Ch. *canzan dachen*) Fude immediately dispatched the Regimental Commander (Ch. *canling*) Daliku (Man. *Dalikū*, Ch. *Daliku*). They met with Ablai on the bank of the Ayaghuz River on June 22.

At first, Ablai said, 'I want to consult [about my submission to the Qing] with my brothers.' Then, Daliku said, 'Our army has arrived at your borders. You must not delay.' At that moment, Ablai said, 'After all, I am a leader. I should just decide what to do. Since my ancestors' time, I have never enjoyed the benefits of the Ejen (Qing emperor) of the Central Nation (Ma. *dulimba-i gurun*, Ch. *zhongguo*). Now, I hope to submit with all the Kazakhs to become *albatu* of the Great Ejen forever.' Then, he dispatched Henjigar and six other persons to present the memorial and horses.<sup>47</sup>

Daliku did not allow Ablai to delay his allegiance. Noteworthy is Ablai's response to Daliku: 'I hope to submit with all the Kazakhs to become *albatu* of the Great Ejen forever' (Ma. *cihanggai gubci hasak be gaifi dahafi, enteheme amba ejen i albatu oki*).

The *ejen* is a Mongolian word. Although the original meaning is 'master,' it has a wide range of applications: the head of a family, chieftain of nomadic groups of various sizes, and ruler (Khan) of a nomadic nation. The word

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which Ablai had already pledged allegiance. In past studies, the framework of 'dual-tributary' has been applied to the Kazakhs in their relations with Russia and the Qing. But NODA recently presented a new concept of 'bilateral diplomacy,' noting the Kazakh's own accord. See Noda 2005.

<sup>46</sup> Although Qing records at first note that Abulfeyz was Ablai's younger brother, this was a misunderstanding. He was a son of the Middle Zhuz's khan, Abulmanbet. The Qing dynasty often confused Abulfeyz of the Middle Zhuz (*zuobu*, or 'Left Tribe') and Abilis of the Senior Zhuz (*youbu*, or 'Right Tribe'). Because of this, Abulfeyz clan later came to be recognized as *youbu* (Noda 2002: 22–23).

<sup>47</sup> JNTBB, *jinkini banjibun* 41: 39a–40a, QL 22.7 *bingwu* (1757.8.30). C.f. PDZFL, *zhengbian* 41: 21a–b.

*ejen* was borrowed into the Manchu language and it became an exclusive term meaning ‘Qing emperor’ from around the time of the establishment of *Daqing guo/Daicing gurun* in 1636.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, the word *albatu* means ‘commoner, subordinate person, slave.’ In general, an *albatu* bears various duties called *alba(n)* (military service, tribute etc.) that were imposed by the *ejen*. In relation to the khan of *ejen*, it was not only the commoner but also the chieftain of low-to-middle position, the imperial prince, and the vassal who were called *albatu*. To sum up, the relationship described by the words of *ejen* and *albatu* symbolized the master-servant relationship in Mongolian nomadic society.<sup>49</sup> I refer to it as the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ below. In fact, the Qing dynasty had introduced the logic of the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ in establishing its rule over the Mongols, regarding them as *albatu*s of the Qing emperor and insisting on the legitimacy of his rule.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, the above quotation describes that Ablai and all the Kazakhs applied to become the *albatu* of the Qianlong emperor.

Here, the next question arises: was Ablai’s submission, based on the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship,’ a one-sided interpretation of the Qing? The original document of ‘Ablai’s Memorial’ written in Oyirad is key to resolving this question.

Ablai’s first mission that left for the Qing military camp near Tarbaghatai was composed of seven envoys and four followers, headed by Henjigar. Immediately after receiving ‘Ablai’s Memorial’ from Henjigar on July 30 (QL 22.6.15), the Vice-Commander of the Right to Subjugate Frontier (*dingbian you fujangjun*), Jaohui (Ma. *Jaohūi*, Ch. *Zhaohui*), made a copy of it to send to the Qianlong emperor. Hereafter I refer to the original ‘Ablai’s Memorial’ as **Memorial B** and its copy as **Memorial C**. The latter **Memorial C** reached the Qianlong emperor on August 30 (QL 22.7.16). The former **Memorial B** was handed directly to the Qianlong emperor by Henjigar in Chengde on October 17

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<sup>48</sup> Ishibashi 1992.

<sup>49</sup> Vladimirtsov 1934: 158–159.

<sup>50</sup> Onuma 2004: 16–21. In Qing sources, there are no instances of people living in Inner China, including the non-Han people (Miao, Qiwang etc.), being described as *albatu* of the Qing emperor.

(QL 22.9.5).<sup>51</sup> Regrettably, I have not yet found **Memorial B**. However, **Memorial C**, which the Qianlong emperor first received, is attached to the Jaohui's memorial; it was drafted on August 2 (QL 22.6.18) and had the Imperial Vermillion Endorsement (Ch. *zhupi*) dated QL 22.7.16.

I present [this letter] to the Supreme Great Khan. Since the time of my grandfather and father, Eshim Khan and Janggir Khan, your edict has not reached to me. Now, hearing your edict, I am glad always to know [that you] have regard for us. I, that is Abulay, have become your son and all the Kazakhs have become your *albatu*. Now, I hope that the Above (emperor) would instruct how to have regard for us. [I dispatched] seven envoys [and four attendants], [a total of] eleven persons.<sup>52</sup>

In **Memorial C**, Ablai wrote that the Kazakhs became *albatu* of the 'Supreme Great Khan' (Qing emperor). There is no doubt that the Mongol-style master-servant relationship, i.e. '*ejen-albatu* relationship' was foremost in Ablai's mind when he expressed his submission to the Qing emperor. Besides, a comparison of the texts of **Memorial A** and **Memorial C** make it clear that **Memorial A** underwent classical Chinese embellishment; therefore, it is hard to perceive the existence of the '*ejen-albatu* relationship' at a glance.

By the way, who wrote this 'Ablai's Memorial' in Oyirad? As we know, the Kazakhs are a Turkic-speaking people. The letters from the Kazakhs to the Russians were written in Turki.<sup>53</sup> However, among the documents stored in the First Historical Archives of China, we can find some Kazakh letters written in Oyirad, as well as 'Ablai's Memorial.' These letters came about when the eastern Kazakhs adjoined the Oyirads. In Semirechie (eastern coast area of the Lake

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<sup>51</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* 43: 22a–23a, QL 22.9. *jiawu* (1757.10.17).

<sup>52</sup> JMLZ 1643.8, 45: 2679, QL 22.6.18 (1757.8.2), the Manchu memorial of Jaohui. For the text, romanization, translation of **Memorial C**, see Chapter 1, Document A.

<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, Turkic letters addressed to the Russians from the western Kazakhs showed Tatar linguistic influence. According to the research of Sultangalieva, the Tatars served the Kazakh chieftains as interpreters, translators, and secretaries. See Sultangalieva 2007.

Balkhash), the Oyrad people had lived together with the Kazakhs.<sup>54</sup> The Qing envoy Nusan, who arrived at Ablai's camp in 1757, reported that not a few Oyrad people lived in Ablai's camp as his close aides;<sup>55</sup> some of them changed their names and served as interpreters.<sup>56</sup> Also, some Kazakhs mastered the Oyrad language.<sup>57</sup> We can assume that the original 'Ablai's Memorial' was drafted by them.

We may further observe the reaction of the Qing to the request by Ablai to render his submission based on the '*ejen-albatu* relationship.' After receiving 'Ablai's Memorial,' Jaohui told Henjigar the following:

Judging from the letter that Ablai sent to the Great Ejen and the reason why you came here, it seems that Ablai realized his previous sinful act and has submitted [to the Qing] with all the Kazakhs to become *albatu* of the Great Ejen. We recognize [Ablai's] whole-hearted sincerity. Now, we send you [to the emperor]. In return, we will dispatch our envoys to Ablai together with some of the envoys whom Ablai dispatched to us. Because the expression of your Ablai is deeply respectful, we will send letters to the commanders of [the other] two routes to stop their marching through the Kazakh's boundaries.<sup>58</sup>

What is apparent in this statement is that the Qing commanders also understood that Ablai's submission connoted the '*ejen-albatu* relationship' and accepted it. They decided to send the Kazakh envoys to Beijing and the Qing envoys to Ablai's camp.

However, when **Memorial C** arrived the next day, the Qianlong emperor expressed in the edict dated August 31 (QL 22.7.17) his intention to deal

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<sup>54</sup> Miyawaki 1995: 203.

<sup>55</sup> JMLZ 1671.15, 47: 1338–1388, QL 22.9.14 (1757.10.26), the Manchu memorial of Jaohui.

<sup>56</sup> JMLZ 1665.40, 46: 1551–1559, QL 22.9.14 (1757.10.26), the Manchu memorial of Jaohui.

<sup>57</sup> The Qianlong emperor ordered Barang, one of Ablai's envoys to Beijing, to translate the Manchu edict that was issued to Ablai into Oyrad in 1767. See JMSD, *mingfa*, 35.1, QL 32.8.28 (1767.10.20).

<sup>58</sup> JMLZ 1643.12, 45: 2699–2700, QL 22.6.18 (1757.8.2), the Manchu memorial of Jaohui.

with the Kazakhs in the same way he did with the southeastern ‘dependencies’ (*fanshu*). How should we interpret this inconsistency? What is to be noted is that the above-quoted edict in PDZFL is originally an Open-Channel Edict that was officially announced from the Grand Secretariat. The edict was, moreover, written not in Manchu but in Chinese<sup>59</sup> and, at the end of this edict, the Qianlong emperor ordered: ‘translate [into Chinese] the capitulation of the Kazakh *han* Ablai (i.e. **Memorial C**) and proclaim it inside and outside (Ch. *zhongwai*) to disseminate it widely.’<sup>60</sup>

In the PDZFL, **Memorial A** is recorded on the *bingwu* day of the seventh month (August 30). This date is just before the *dingwei* day (August 31) when the translation of **Memorial A** was ordered. This arrangement was made at the time of compiling the PDZFL; in fact, the date of the completion of the translation of **Memorial A** into **Memorial C** was on or after August 31 when the Open-Channel Edict in Chinese was announced. On the same day, the Qianlong emperor issued the other edict in Manchu to Ablai. However, probably because up to this time he had not read the translation of **Memorial A**, he merely stated the following:

The commander and councillor memorialized me saying that ‘The Kazakh Ablai asked for our benevolence and addressed a sincere letter, expressing his desire to follow [us] with all the people under him. He asked for peace and dispatched envoys.’ I am really glad to read it and to know that, wisely, you sincerely follow.<sup>61</sup>

In the GZSL, which was compiled later than PDZFL, **Memorial A** is correctly attached at the end of the Open-Channel Edict on the *bingwu* day. In short, the Imperial edict positioned the Kazakhs as a ‘dependency’ and **Memorial A** embroidered by classical Chinese rhetoric was drafted to explain the Kazakhs’

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<sup>59</sup> This original document is printed in QCSD, vol. 3: 76–78.

<sup>60</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* 41: 28b, QL 22.7. *bingwu* (1757.8.30).

<sup>61</sup> JMLZ 1669.4, 47: 831–836, QL 22.7.17 (1757.8.31); JMSD, *jumwu*, 19.1, QL 22.7.17 (1757.8.31).

submission toward those who had a Chinese-Confucian cultural background; hence, the existence of the Mongol-style ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ could not be discerned from these latter documents.

In these circumstances, the political relationship between the Qing and the Kazakhs was constructed not on the basis of the Chinese-Confucian worldview but on the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship,’ which originated in the Mongol nomadic society that the Qing set up to rule over the Mongols. However, at the same time, the Qianlong emperor issued the Open Channel Edict in Chinese for the sake of the Chinese-Confucian cultural field, and in this edict, it was stated that the Qing treated the Kazakhs as the *fanshu* and leniently controlled them through the ‘loose-rein’ policy. The Qing, by adroitly changing languages and logic, consistently explained the Mongol-style relationship with the Kazakhs to those who had Chinese-Confucian cultural background.<sup>62</sup>

### **3. The ‘*ejen-albatu* Relationship’ between the Qing and Central Asia**

In this section, we first observe the mention of the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ between the Qing and the Kazakhs in the documental sources; next we see whether it existed between the Qing and the other Central Asian groups/countries.

#### *3.1. The ‘ejen-albatu Relationship’ in the Turkic Documents from the Kazakhs*

In the Qing’s Manchu documents from the period of the Xinjiang conquest, words that depict the Kazakhs as *albatu* of the Qing emperor (Ma. *ejen*) appear frequently. The question of when and how the Qing insisted on this relationship is taken up in a later section. Here, by analyzing the words and phrases related to the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ in the Turkic documents from the Kazakhs to the

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<sup>62</sup> Of course, there is no denying the fact that the systems of ‘tribute’ (*chaogong* or *jingong*) and ‘title-bestowal’ (*cefeng*) were mentioned between the Qing and the Kazakhs. However, from now on we have to regard these as systems for maintaining the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ and reconsider their new connotations and framework.

Qing, I shall further the discussion begun in the previous section.

In 1779, Ablai sent a document to the Military Governor and Councillor of Yili, in which he wrote the following:

The Kazakh *han* Abulay sent a letter to the Military Governor and Councillor of Yili. You inquired after our well-being. We live here peacefully and in health. May you also have peace for many years by the blessing of God! Our man, called Tubet, brought your reply to us. We were very glad to read the letter. [The letter] stated that the one hundred Aq Naiman tribesmen, who had been captured, had said, ‘We want to become *albatu* and to submit to the Boghda Khan.’ After this, you told [us] to accommodate these persons. We were satisfied and pleased with your words.<sup>63</sup>

The Qing had permitted the Kazakhs to enter the Qing boundary (inside of the *karun*-line) from 1766 to 1778 if they wished.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, the ‘one hundred Aq Naiman tribesmen’ may be identical with the one hundred Kazakhs of the *ake naiman etuoke* (Ma. *ak naiman otok*) in the Qing record.<sup>65</sup> At the beginning of 1779 (the end of QL 43), they asked the Qing for permission to enter the *karun*-line. In refusing their request, the Qing government sent letters to Ablai and Abulfeyz, and requested them to accommodate these wandering people.<sup>66</sup> The document quoted above is Ablai’s exact reply to the Qing request. According to this document, when the Aq Naiman tribesmen requested entry into the Qing boundary, their request was based on their status as *albatu* of the Boghda Khan (Qing emperor). Although it was written in Chagatay-Turkic, one may note that the letter borrows from Mongolic vocabulary.

The next document quoted below is a memorial to the Jiaqing emperor (r. 1796–1820) from Abulfeyz’s second son Jochi (Ma. *Jolci*, Ch. *Zhuoleqi*) who

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<sup>63</sup> JMLZ 2696.8, 110: 168, QL 44.10 *bao* (1779.11.8 ~ 12.7); Chapter 1, Document G.

<sup>64</sup> See this Chapter: 114–118.

<sup>65</sup> For the *otok* (Ch. *etuoke* < Ma. *otok* < Mo. *otuy*), see Chapter 1: 41, note 41.

<sup>66</sup> Onuma 2003: 573.

held a title of *gong* (Duke). In 1799, Khan Khoja, Abulfeyz's eldest son and successor, passed away. Then, in 1800, because Khan Khoja was Abulfeyz's adopted son, Jochi petitioned to the Qing that he should receive the *wang* title and the followers of Khan Khoja, which Khan Khoja's eldest son Jan Khoja was to inherit. Jochi wrote at the beginning of his memorial the following:

We pray for the well-being of the Noble Great Ejen Boghda Khan, who controls Heaven and earth. For years, since I, Jochi *gong*, became *albatu* of the Ejen Boghda Khan together with my brothers and fifty *yurts* in the year of the Ox (1757), the Great Khan has made Ablai a *han* and Abulfeyz a *wang*. Since then, our few goods (or persons) have increased, poor people have become rich, and the *yurt* has become strong and stable.<sup>67</sup>

Borrowing the word *ejen* (> *ezen*), Jochi asserted that the Kazakhs were *albatu* of the Qing emperor. Besides, as Jochi wrote, the Qianlong emperor had conferred titles (*cefeng*) on the Kazakh chieftains. These titles were *han*, *wang*, *gong*, and *taiji*. This 'title-bestowal' followed the titles conferred on the Mongol nobles, which differed from those conferred on the southeastern *fanshus*. We can thus recognize that the Qing viewed the relationship with the Kazakhs and with the Mongols from within the same framework. Incidentally, the Qing rejected Jochi's request, and settled on Jan Khoja's succession to the *wang* title.<sup>68</sup>

### *3.2. The Qing and the Other Central Asian Groups/Countries*

After the conquest of Jungaria and Eastern Turkistan, the Qing dynasty had contacts not only with the Kazakhs but the Kirghiz, Khoqand khanate, Pamir mountaineers, and so on. The circumstances under which they constructed their relationship with the Qing differed one from the other. I must postpone these case studies to another occasion; here, I would like to consider only the question of whether the '*ejen-albatu* relationship' involved the other Central Asian groups/

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<sup>67</sup> JMLZ, 167: 474, JQ 5.4. (1779.4.24 ~ 5.23); Chapter 1, Document M.

<sup>68</sup> For further details on this, see Saguchi 1964: 269–270; Hua 2006.

countries.

(1) Kirghiz (*Burut*)

After the Junghar conquest and Eastern Kazakh's submission, the Qing dynasty tried to make contact with the Kirghiz nomads to further stabilize their frontier. At the beginning of 1758, the Qianlong emperor issued his edict to urge the Kirghiz to submit to the Qing.<sup>69</sup> The Kirghiz tribal leader, generally called *bii* (Tu. *bī*), accepted this invitation and dispatched envoys to Beijing. According to Jaohui's report, Eshiboto (Ch. *Eshibotuo*), the son of Maitak (Ch. *Mantake*) who was a leader in Talas, said to the Qing officials:

Most of our Buruts have been thinking about becoming *albatu* of the Great Ejen for some time. However, it was impossible because Oyirads under the Junghar had occupied the space [between the Qing and Buruts] and blocked us. Now, it is with great pleasure that we can become *albatu*s and follow [the Qing emperor] at last.<sup>70</sup>

Because this record was written from the Qing perspective, it is unclear whether Eshiboto knowingly made a vow to become the *albatu* of the Qing emperors. However, at least, it is obvious that the Qing authority attached great importance to the '*ejen-albatu* relationship' when it first contacted the Kirghiz tribesmen. At the end of the year, the Kirghiz envoys in Beijing requested permission to nomadize in the area around Temurtu Noor (Issyk Kul). To this request, the Qianlong emperor expressed his view that the region could not then be regarded as the Kirghiz's pasture because the Junghar had occupied it for a long time. However, the Qianlong emperor allowed it in the end because the Kirghiz 'became my *albatu*' (Ma. *mini albatu oho*).<sup>71</sup> Moreover, when the Qing army advanced into Eastern Turkistan in 1758, Jaohui stated to the local Muslims as

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<sup>69</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* 49: 25a–27b, QL 23.1. *bingchen* (1758.3.8).

<sup>70</sup> JNTBB, *jinkini banjibun* 58: 27a, QL 23.7 *renchen* (1758.8.11). C.f. PDZFL, *zhengbian* 58: 14a.

<sup>71</sup> JNTBB, *jinkini banjibun* 62: 47a–48b, QL 23.10 *dingsi* (1758.11.4). C.f. PDZFL, *zhengbian* 62: 25b–26a.

follows:

At this time, our large army advances to kill all the enemies and overthrow the Oyrads. The Kazakhs and Burut have become *albatu* of the Great Ejen. All the people of Andijan, Namangan, and Tashkent have followed [the Qing emperor].<sup>72</sup>

The Qing authority recognized that the Kirghiz had already been bound in allegiance to the Qing emperor by the ties of *ejen* and *albatu* in the same way as were the Kazakhs.

## (2) Khoqand

After the conquest of Eastern Turkistan in 1759, the Qing dispatched an envoy to Irdana Bii (or Beg), the ruler of the Khoqand khanate.<sup>73</sup> In Jaohui's memorial in 1758, quoted above, the status of oasis cities in Western Turkistan was described by the word 'followed' (Ma. *dahaha*) as distinct from the word describing the Kazakh and Kirghiz, of *albatu*. However, in the meeting with the Qing envoy in Khoqand, Irdana stated as follows:

I have heard that the army of the Great Ejen overthrew the Junghar and subjugated the Kazakh and Kirghiz; and that Mamuthuli (Mahmud Quli), Tuluki and Mingihala of the Sayak [and] Sarybagysh tribe of the Burut<sup>74</sup> have been blessed with the favor of the Great Ejen. However, no letter had been given to me and no envoy had been dispatched from the commander (Jaohui). I was really jealous of this. For this reason, the envoy's now having been dispatched to us brings us great pleasure. Leading the people of the four cities, namely, Andijan, Margilan, Namangan, and Khoqand, under

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<sup>72</sup> JMLZ 1715.34, 50: 633–634, QL 23.8.28 (1758.9.29), the Manchu memorial of Jaohui.

<sup>73</sup> Saguchi 1963: 347; Pan 1991: 46; Newby 2005: 24-25.

<sup>74</sup> According to the Manchu appendix of the *Xiyu dili tushuo*, the Sayak Sarybagysh (Ma. *Sayik Sarbagaši*), which was mainly formed from the Sayak and Sarybagysh tribes, was one of the main Kirghiz groups of 2,000 households led by Mamuthuli. Tuluki and Mingihala were heads of the *Cak'ar Burut* under the Sayak Sarybagysh's influence (Onuma 2004b: 76).

my rule, I would like to become *albatu* of the Great Ejen.<sup>75</sup>

On the basis of this record, in short, Irdana declared his desire to ‘become *albatu* of the Great Ejen’ and expressed his intention of submission.

However, as in the case of the Kirghiz, we cannot accept Irdana’s remark just as it is, because this source is not free from the bias of the Qing’s perspective. For example, in the Turkic letter from Irdana to the Grand Minister Superintendent (Ch. *banshi dachen*) of Yarkand, Sinju (Ch. *Xinju*), in 1760, there is a passage that ‘as long as we exist, we are friendly and sincere toward the world (or nation) under the king’s protection; we never break our word.’ (Tu. *Tā-tirikmiz, shāh-i ‘ālam-panāhgha yārlik wa durustlik qilip, sözüimiz khilāfmiz bolmas*).<sup>76</sup> In the Manchu translation of this letter, which Xinju sent to the Qianlong emperor, it is written as ‘We are the *albatu* of the Great Ejen for generations to come. We will do everything to follow [the Qing emperor].’ (Ma. *Be jalan halame gemu amba ejen i albatu oho. Eiten de gemu dahame yabumbi*).<sup>77</sup> Although it is obvious that the Qing government intended to give Khoqand the position of the Qing emperor’s *albatu*, it is open to debate whether Khoqand realized it.

### (3) Pamir Mountaineers

In 1759, the Qing army arrived in the Pamir mountainous region to chase the brothers of the Afaqi line (Tu. *Aq Tayliq*, or White Mountaineers), Burhan al-Din and Khwaja Jahan, who had escaped from Eastern Turkistan. As a result, Sultan Shah of Badakhshan, who presented the head of Khwaja Jahan to the Qing, and Shah Khoshamad of Bolor dispatched their envoys to pay tributes. In February 1760, the Qianlong emperor met each envoy from Khoqand, the Kirghiz, Badakhshan, and Bolor at the Palace of Heavenly Purity (Ch. *Qianqing gong*) inside the Forbidden City and hosted Imperial banquets.<sup>78</sup> Then, the Qianlong

<sup>75</sup> JMLZ 1793.25, 55: 63, QL 24.10.13 (1759.12.2), the Manchu memorial of Jaohui.

<sup>76</sup> JMLZ 1819.15.1, 56: 2288, QL 25.4 *bao* (1760.5.15 ~ 6.12).

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 56: 2290-91.

<sup>78</sup> JNTBB, *jinkini banjibun* 84: 18a–19a, QL 25.1. *yimao* (1760.2.25); 19a–20a, QL 25.1 *bingchen* (1760.2.26); 20a–23a, QL 25.1 *dingsi* (1760.2.27). C.f. PDZFL, *zhengbian* 84: 9a–10a; 10a–11a;

emperor issued his edicts for each leader, in which he emphasized that each group had become his *albatu*.<sup>79</sup> In addition, he also said in another edict in 1762, ‘Both Badakhshan and Bolor have followed [me] and have become [my] *albatu*.’<sup>80</sup>

On the other hand, we have insufficient sources to examine the understanding of the Pamir mountaineers. However, in the Persian letter that a Badakhshani named Sultan Jalal al-Din addressed to the Councillor of Kashghar and Yarkand in 1795, he described the Qing emperor as *khāqān-i ‘azīm* (great khan of khans) and himself as his *ghulām* (youth, servant, slave).<sup>81</sup> Emphasizing one’s personal tie with the monarch by identifying oneself as his ‘servant, slave’ corresponds with the logic symbolized by the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship.’<sup>82</sup>

It follows from what has been said that the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ was applied to other Central Asian groups/countries beside the Kazakhs. I believe that this relationship was a conceptual axis within the new framework which the Qing intended for ruling post-Junghar Central Asia. However, we are not yet in a position to assert that the relationship was concluded by mutual agreement with all the Central Asian groups/countries. The examination of each circumstance needs further consideration.

In the following two sections, we will return to the Qing-Kazakh diplomatic negotiations and examine the affairs that resulted from the existence of the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship.’

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11a–13a.

<sup>79</sup> JNTBB, *jinkini banjibun* 85: 1a–7a, QL 25. 2 *bingzi* (1760.3.17). C.f. PDZFL, *zhengbian* 85: 1a–3b.

<sup>80</sup> JNTBB, *sirame banjibun* 19: 52a–54b, QL 25.2 *guichou* (1763.2.7). C.f. PDZFL, *xubian* 19: 28a–29a.

<sup>81</sup> JMLZ 160: 3571–3573, QL 60.10, *bao* (1795.11.11 ~ 12.10).

<sup>82</sup> The word *ghulām* generally means ‘youth, servant, slave’ in Persian. In Iran under the Safavid dynasty’s rule (1501–1736), *ghulām* was the name of a group that served the monarch (*shāh*) personally and produced talented persons to assume important posts in the dynasty (Maeda 1998).

#### **4. Incorporation Policy for the Kazakhs: the Qing's Sense of the Domain on the Northwestern Frontier**

The Qing government applied the '*ejen-albatu* relationship' not only to the Mongol nomads under the Banner system but also to the Central Asian groups/countries submitted during the Junghar conquest. This allows us to perceive an interesting fact: the groups situated both inside and outside the Qing's substantial territory were the *albatu* of the Qing emperor; ideologically, there was no difference between them. Here, I will discuss how this was applied in the Qing's northwestern frontier where the establishment of new order was being attempted.

The Qing government understood that it had subjected all of the Junghar territory, of which the western limit reached to the Lake Balkhash and Chu-Talas areas. However, after the Junghar's annihilation by the Qing, some Kazakh and Kirghiz tribes, who had been chased out of these areas by the Junghar and forced to migrate toward the west, managed to recover their old pastureland.<sup>83</sup> When the envoys of Abulmanbet, Ablai, Abulfeyz, Khambaba, and the other leaders arrived at the Qing Court in 1760, the Qianlong emperor said in his edict the following:

[Ablai] asked my benefit and requested, 'In the future, I would like to permit the Kazakhs to nomadize as far as Yili.' However, the Tarbaghatai region is the land where the Junghars had originally nomadized and which my large army had subjugated. The people of Kazakhs, Burut, Tashkent, Andijan and Badakhshan have submitted respectfully. Because your Kazakh pastureland is very large, each of you should remain living within [the border of] your original pastureland and should not nomadize by crossing the border. Supposing you hope to nomadize by crossing the border on the grounds that you have become my *albatu*, the Buruts are also my *albatu*!

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<sup>83</sup> Saguchi 1986: 377–381; Di Cosmo 2003: 357.

What if they also request the land to nomadize? Is there a reason why I should distribute among the people the land that my large army subjugated? Now, we are making officials and soldiers of the mainland (*neidi*) emigrate to the Yili region, one after the other. I previously refused the request of Ablai to nomadize in the Tarbaghatai region. In light of this, why should I permit you to nomadize as you wish now?<sup>84</sup>

The Qing had misgivings about that the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, who based on their position as the Qing emperor's *albatu*, wanted to go deep into and occupy the Yili and Tarbaghatai regions. The Qianlong emperor admonished the Kazakh leaders, who sought to expand their territory, that he could not grant special permission only for them and he used the Kirghiz's having the same *albatu* position as an excuse for rejecting their request.

However, the Kazakhs' 'trespasses' occurred frequently, although it was forbidden by the Imperial edict. For example, at the end of 1759, Agui (Ma. *Agūi*, Ch. *Agui*) made a report about Kazakhs in Horgos on the north side of the Yili River.

Hedere and the others requested, 'Because it is the season of heavy snow just now, can you let us [pass this winter here and] go back after the spring next year?' Because of this, we said to them, 'Considering that you came inside without permission, we should certainly punish you. However, you are already *albatu* of the Great Ejen; In addition, you came inside unawares and have merely lived here. This time I issue a document with seal affixed to you. You go back and tell your leaders, "I give you an extension of ten days. You must go away immediately. If you stay beyond this time limit, we will send troops to drive you out immediately".'<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> JNTBB, *sirame banjibun* 3: 15b–17a, QL 25.5 *gengwu* (1760.7.9). C.f. PDZFL, *xubian* 3: 8b–9b.

<sup>85</sup> JNTBB, *sirame banjibun* 8: 4b–5a, QL 25.12 *renshen* (1761.1.7). C.f. PDZFL, *xubian* 8: 3a.

The Qing agents urged the border-crossing Kazakhs to return to their original pastureland. At the same time, however, we learn from this example somewhat of the Qing's hesitation about driving them away by force because the Kazakhs were the Qing emperor's *albatu*.

In such a situation, to block the Kazakhs' moving eastward, the Qing government established *karuns* (Ch. *kalun*, guard-post) along the frontier during 1760–62. The *karun*-line ran to the northwestern side of Lake Zaisan via Yili and Tarbaghatai and connected to the other *karun*-line under the control of the Uliyastai region. Although the Qing considered the Semirechie and Chu-Talas areas as parts of the own territory, after the establishment of *karuns*<sup>86</sup> the interior of the *karun*-line was called 'karun i dolo' (Ch. *kanei*) or 'dorgi ba' (Ch. *neidi*) and the exterior was called 'karun i tule' (Ch. *kawai*). Under the Qing's regulation, 'entering the interior without permission' (Ch. *siru*) was forbidden. If the Kazakhs who committed it resisted apprehension or committed a criminal act inside the *karun*-line, they were executed on the spot.<sup>87</sup> We can say that the *karun*-line formed a 'virtual' border of the Qing dynasty.<sup>88</sup> Hence, the *albatu*s of the Qing emperor were cut off along the *karun*-line.

However, what was forbidden by the Qing was just 'entering the interior without permission.' As I discussed in another paper, until 1779, if the Kazakhs officially demanded to immigrate inside the *karun*-line, the Qing government permitted it; moreover, a *niru* (the fundamental unit of the Banner system) was formed by these incorporated Kazakhs.<sup>89</sup>

This incorporation policy toward the Kazakhs began in 1766 when forty-two Kazakh men and women of the Aq Naiman tribe asked for permission to live within the *karun*-line.<sup>90</sup> According to the Qing record, they had formerly

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<sup>86</sup> The Qing regularly dispatched troop units from the military camps in Yili and Tarbaghatai to the exterior of the *karun*-line in order to patrol Kazakh and Kirghiz pasturelands, levy 'horse tax,' and gather information (Li 1994; Onuma 2001).

<sup>87</sup> *Qingding lifanbu zeli* 34, *bianjin*.

<sup>88</sup> Saguchi 1986: 376–398.

<sup>89</sup> Onuma 2003.

<sup>90</sup> In 1762, the Qing acceded to the request of Ablai's envoy Ūmer (Ch. *Wumo'er*) who wished to immigrate with his family to Yili. However, the Qianlong emperor at the same time ordered the expulsion of the other Kazakhs who attempted to cross the *karun*-line. Besides, later investigation

lived a nomadic life together with the Oyirads. After hearing that the Qing made the remaining Oyirads reside around Yili,<sup>91</sup> these men and women sought to get the same treatment by offering their submission. Because they looked like the poor among the Kazakhs, the then Councillor of Tarbaghatai, Agui, pointed out in his memorial that accepting them was not beneficial to the Qing dynasty; however, he did not drive them away for the following reason:

Formerly, when we drove the Kazakhs who had passed beyond their boundary, they said, ‘We are also *albatu* of the Great Ejen. Our livestock is also the Ejen’s possession. What obstacle is there to your letting us live in uninhabited lands?’ At that time, the Commander and Councillor said to them, ‘We will not necessarily reject your request to come into Yili and the other place, if we can form a *niru* and impose an obligation (Ma. *alban*) as with the Oyirads.’ Therefore, if we do not accept [the Kazakhs] now, it is almost as if we are breaking our word.<sup>92</sup>

The Kazakhs, especially those along the Qing frontier, thought that nomadizing within the Qing territory was a natural right enjoyed by the Qing emperor’s *albatu*. The Kazakhs understood the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ not only as an outward principle but also as the basis for securing Qing assent to their demands. On the other hand, to accommodate the Kazakhs, the Qing’s frontier administrators imposed the conditions that the Kazakhs would be formed into *niru* and bear various obligations (Ma. *alban*) as did the Oyirad under the *niru* system. If the Kazakhs would live in the interiors of the *karun*-line as the Qing emperor’s *albatu*, it was required that they be charged with obligations.

In the end, Agui could not help consenting to this request of the Aq Naiman tribesmen. He made a proposal to distribute pasturelands at Yulduz in

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reveals that Ūmer was not Kazakh but Oyirad (Khafizova 1995: 181–182). Therefore, Ūmer’s case was an exception.

<sup>91</sup> It refers to the Oyirad Camp (Ma. *ūlet i kūwaran*) of the Provincial Banners in Yili. For further details, see Onuma 2005.

<sup>92</sup> JMLZ 2184.14, 76: 3377, QL 31.3.21 (1766.4.29), the Manchu memorial of Agui.

the Tianshan Mountains to them, and he asked the emperor for advice on measures if the other Kazakhs made the same request again. On May 25, 1766, the Qianlong emperor ordered Agui: (1) not to leave them at Yulduz far from Tarbaghatai but at the place near Yar (Ch. *Ya'er*),<sup>93</sup> (2) not to impose obligations and issue salary and provisions for the time being,<sup>94</sup> and (3) to continue the incorporation policy for the Kazakhs after this. However, in the same edict, the possibility of forming them into *niru* was also referred to because of their growing population. We thus know that the incorporation into the Banner system was still on the emperor's mind.<sup>95</sup> Finally, the Aq Naiman tribesmen were permitted to live in Barliq to the southwest of Tarbaghatai.

Moreover, in the other edict of same day, the Qianlong emperor ordered the Commander of Uriyastai, Chenggunjab (Ch. *Chenggunzhabu*), to permit the Kazakh's immigration into the Khobdo region too.<sup>96</sup> Here, what we need to pay attention to is the difference between the Qing policy for the south of Tarbaghatai and that for the north. In the south of Tarbaghatai, the Qing permitted all the Kazakhs, who hoped to move to the Qing interiors, to live in Barliq. On the other hand, in the north of Tarbaghatai, the *karun*-line was transferred eastward every autumn for the Kazakh passing the winter there. With the coming of spring, the *karun*-line was set back westward and the Kazakhs also needed to return.<sup>97</sup> In short, the *karun*-line north of Tarbaghatai was divided into two lines: the 'Summer *karun*-line' running due north and the 'Winter *karun*-line' running toward the northeast; it continued to move in a half-year cycle according to the Kazakh's seasonal migration between summer-camp and winter-camp.<sup>98</sup>

As a result of this, the Qing began to approve the residence of Kazakhs in the interior of the *karun*-line. The incorporated Kazakhs in Barliq were

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<sup>93</sup> For the Qing fortress of Yar, see Chapter 1: 36.

<sup>94</sup> This 'issue of salary and provisions' is the recompense for the imposed obligations.

<sup>95</sup> The Manchu edict at QL 31.4.17 (1766.5.25), which was quoted in JMLZ 2740.5, 113: 628–633, QL 43.4.7 (1778.5.3), the Manchu memorial of Kinggui (Ch. *Qinggui*).

<sup>96</sup> GZSL 759: 5b–6b, QL 31.4. *bingchen* (1766.5.25).

<sup>97</sup> GZSL 780: 34b–35b, QL 32.3. *jimao* (1767.4.13).

<sup>98</sup> For more details, see Saguchi 1963: 397–407. The Kazakhs, wintering in this area, had to pay one percent of their livestock as tax to the Qing government.

supervised by the Oyirad-*niru* in the Tarbaghatai region. In 1778, because the population of the incorporated Kazaks had increased to four hundred and eighty, the Qing government separated them from the Oyirad-*niru* and formed them as an independent *niru*.<sup>99</sup>

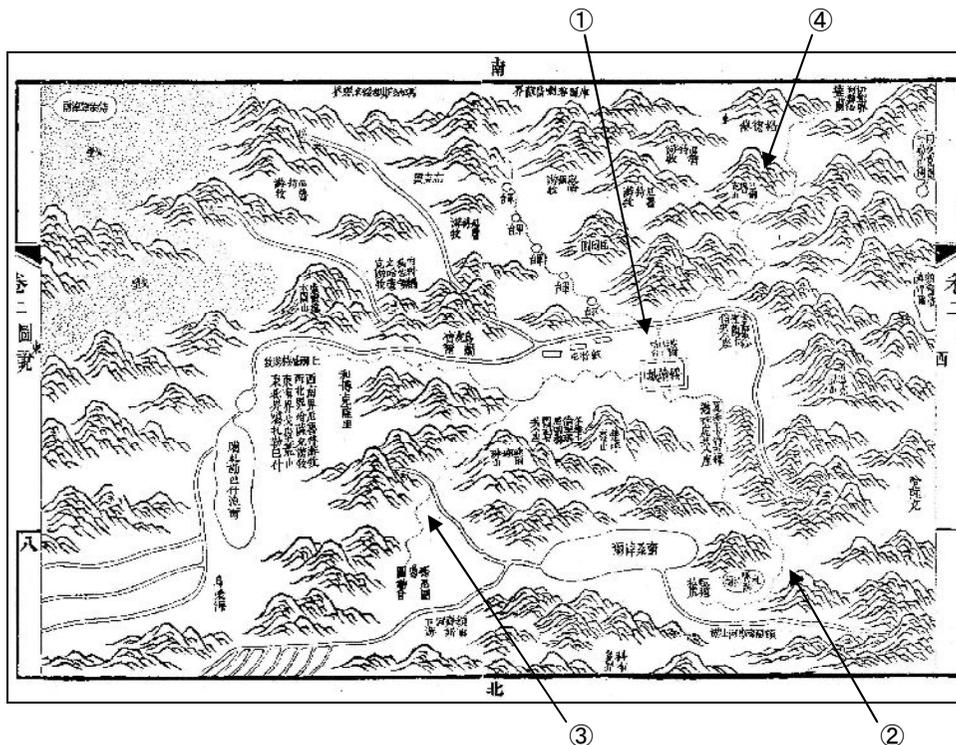


Fig. 2.1. The *karun*-lines in North Xinjiang

(source: *Xichui zongtong shilüe*, 2: 7b-8a)

Via Tarbaghatai (①: Ch. *suijing cheng*), the line running to the north (low) side shows the ‘Summer *karun*-line’ (②: Ch. *xiaji kalun*) and the one running to the northeast (lower left) side shows the ‘Winter *karun*-line’ (③: Ch. *dongji kalun*). For each name and place of the *karuns*, see Baoyin Chaoketu 2005: 85-89. The incorporated Kazakhs’ pastureland was around ‘Barliq Mountains’ (④: Ch. *Ba’erluke shan*) to the south (upper) of Tarbaghatai.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., note. 95, the Manchu memorial of Kinggui.

The Kazakh *niru* had no common soldiers (Ma. *uksin*, Ch. *pijia*); only *niru* officials—*zouling* (Company Captain), *xiaoqixiao* (Courageous Guard), and *lingcui* (Corporals)—were appointed.<sup>100</sup> Even if the system was characteristic, when we consider the Qing's dynastic system in those days, it is noteworthy that the Kazakhs, who would originally have been outside the *karun*-line, extended over both sides of the *karun*-line. By the establishment of the *karun*-lines, the concept of domain division—the inside and the outside of *karuns*—became clearer. However, the Qing regarded both groups placed inside and outside the *karun*-lines as the Qing emperor's *albatu*. According to Hori Sunao, the establishment of the *karun*-lines can be seen as the beginning of the process in which the nomadic society of Central Asia was changed from the original 'Personal principle' system to the 'Territorial principle'; the nomadic people finally lost their mobility through the demarcation of modern borders in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>101</sup> From the Qing point of view, it can be said that the 'Territorial principle,' as Hori mentioned, corresponded to the '*ejen-albatu* relationship,' and the 'Territorial principle' corresponded to the concept of domain division—the inside and outside of *karuns*—in this research. On the basis of their status as the Qing emperor's *albatu*, some Kazakh demanded the right to immigrate to the interior of the *karun*-line and the Qing government accepted them. Even if it was partly seen, this fact proved that the sense to separate the territorial domains between interior and exterior by the *karun*-line was still not absolute in the northwest frontier of the Qing, but there existed cases where 'loyalty' of the native people upheld by the '*ejen-albatu* relationship' was given greater importance in those days.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Onuma 2003: 572.

<sup>101</sup> Hori 1995: 307–308.

<sup>102</sup> However, the incorporation policy for the Kazakhs was ceased in 1779 (Onuma 2003: 573). I will discuss this background on another occasion.

## 5. The Qing's Reaction to Confrontation between the Kazakhs and Khoqand

In general, when we refer to the 'zong-fan relationship' of the Chinese dynasties, if once defined regulations were properly observed, the dynasty as 'suzerain' (*zongzhu*) recognized the emperor's benevolence as extending over the 'dependencies' (*fanshu*). Hence, unless a direct and serious menace arose, the 'suzerain' did not intervene in internal affairs, did not insist on exclusive suzerainty, and did not concern itself with the domestic concerns of the 'dependency.' With respect to the Qing's diplomatic policy, many arguments are premised on this interpretation. For example, although the Qing dynasty knew of the Satsuma's invasion and control over the Ryūkyū kingdom, the dynasty did not pry into it.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, what kind of diplomatic stance did the Qing government adopt toward Central Asia? And, at this stage, how did the 'ejen-albatu relationship' function? In this section, I analyze Qing reactions to the confrontation between the Kazakhs and Khoqand in considering this question.

According to the Manchu memorial of the Military Governor of Yili, Agui,<sup>104</sup> Ablai's mission led by Dulat Kerei (Ma. *Dulat Kere*, Ch. *Dulete Kele*) arrived in Yili on June 16, 1767, to ask for an audience with the Qianlong emperor. They carried two memorials to the emperor and one letter to the Military Governor of Yili.<sup>105</sup> These three documents had already been translated into Manchu in Tarbaghatai. One of the memorials was simply a letter of greeting with conventional phrases, but the other two letters had content that aroused concern. The existence of the original documents, probably written in Oyrat or Turki, cannot be confirmed up until now. Here, I will show the Manchu translation of the letter to the emperor.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Akamine 2004: 134–135.

<sup>104</sup> JMLZ 2230.10, 79: 3455–3466, QL 32.6.4, the Manchu memorial of Agui.

<sup>105</sup> This letter was not addressed to Agui but to Mingšui (Ch. *Mingrui*) who held the post of Yili Military Governor until April 1767.

<sup>106</sup> The Manchu translation of the letter to the Military Governor is attached to the memorial of Agui (Ibid., note.104), which carries a simplified version of the letter to the emperor.

I ask peace of the Supreme Ejen, Sacred Khan. I send you a letter to clarify the circumstances of the war from the year before last. Originally, our Kazakh is composed of three tribes: Senior Zhuz, Middle Zhuz, and Junior Zhuz. The two tribes of the Buruts and Irdana, in cooperation with each other, plundered our Senior Zhuz. We also sent our troops and plundered the Buruts the year before last. After that, we dispatched negotiators to pursue reconciliation. There is a proverb of the Muslims in Bukhara, Samarqand, and the surrounding towns that 'All persons who talk can reach harmony'; however, Irdana still attacked us. All of us are the descendants of the three sons of Janibek khan.<sup>107</sup> Two of their descendants were living in Tashkent and Pishkent. In the past year, Irdana killed a khan named Iskandar, who was my sworn brother, living in Pishkent. Moreover, Irdana killed Iskandar's two younger brothers and four sons and took his sons' wives prisoners. He cut open the belly of the pregnant wife of Iskandar and killed his children. He occupied the pasture land. They committed such sins. In addition, some of the Oyirads, who had followed Khwaja Jahan and were overthrown by you before, escaped and now follow Irdana. Irdana also recruited a small number of the escaped Burut. For these reasons, we went to subdue them. Because they made a sally before us, we killed their chief named Bazarci Batur at the very beginning, and [after that] killed many people. After being defeated by us, Irdana entered Pishkent Castle and has not come out. Although we want to seize Pishkent Castle, we have no cannon. Although we want to attack, he never comes out. If we say that it is impregnable, our surrendered pastures would not know peace. For these reasons, we request two thousand troops and cannons from the Supreme Great Ejen.<sup>108</sup>

Since 1765, Ablai had warred with the Kirghiz and Khoqand. He was soon

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<sup>107</sup> It is said that Janibek founded the 'Kazakh khanate' in cooperation with Kerei in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>108</sup> JMLZ 2240.25, 80: 2458–2461, QL 32.8 *bao* (1767.9.23 ~ 10.22).

reconciled with the Kirghiz, but the ruler of Khoqand khanate, Irdana Bii, continued the war and killed Ablai's relatives who ruled Pishkent. Although Ablai made a counterattack, he could not take the walled-city of Pishkent that Irdana besieged. As a result, Ablai requested a loan of cannons and 20,000 soldiers from the Qing dynasty.

There are some records among the Russian sources relating to these events. The Russians had already received some information in 1765 that Ablai had taken a large army and attacked Irdana.<sup>109</sup> Ablai seemed to have stayed in Tashkent for one year to fight with Irdana.<sup>110</sup> The Russians, furthermore, knew that Ablai dispatched his nephew, Dulat Kerei Sultan (Ru. *Давлетъ Кирей-солтан*), to the Military Governor of Yili to request military aid.<sup>111</sup>

In fact, the Qing also had information about this war. Agui explained in his memorial an account of the affair as follows. First of all, Irdana occupied Tashkent. Ablai and Abulfeyz then retook Tashkent and killed the *beg* appointed by Irdana. After that, Ablai dispatched an envoy and asked Irdana whether to reconcile or to continue the battle, but Irdana refused reconciliation. In addition to this, Agui questioned some Oyirad in Yili who had returned from the Kazakh steppe. They said that this war had come to a standstill, because, on the one hand, the Kazakhs were good at cavalry battles and, on the other hand, the Khoqand troops were good at siege battles; hence, they could make no progress against each other.<sup>112</sup>

Agui, considering these factors, concluded that the reason why Ablai requested reinforcements and cannons was to save face; in short, Ablai would suffer shame if he stopped the war at that point. Ablai's true motive was that he wanted a good excuse to stop the war; he wanted the Qianlong emperor to issue an edict to urge reconciliation between the Kazakhs and Khoqand. Despite this, if Irdana wished to continue the war, Ablai would undoubtedly ask the Qing dynasty for help again. On the basis of such suppositions, Agui made a proposal

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<sup>109</sup> MOTsA: vol. 2, 192 (Doc., no. 228).

<sup>110</sup> KRO: vol. 2, 685 (Doc., no. 268); Noda 2002: 27, note 55.

<sup>111</sup> KRO: vol. 2, 685 (Doc., no. 268); MOTsA: vol. 2, 194 (Doc., no. 229).

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, note.104, 79: 3457–3458.

to the emperor about the measures:

Conflicts between each other are common among the Kazakhs, Buruts, and Khoqand; we do not need to participate. On the other hand, it is inconvenient [for the Qing] that they should be in union. However, both Khoqand and the Kazakhs are tribes that are *albatu* of the Ejen. Because they have not committed a sin [against the Ejen], it is not necessary to accede to Ablai's request for soldiers at all. Therefore, I said to Dulat Kerei and the others, 'Your Kazakhs are *albatu*, who have already submitted to the Great Ejen... Irrespective of any circumstances, the beginning [of this affair] is that Irdana occupied Tashkent and appointed a *beg*. The fault lies with Irdana. That you took soldiers and attacked Irdana made sense, so we did not restrain you. However, now you have recaptured Tashkent and killed the *beg* who was appointed by Irdana. Both Kazakhs and Khoqand are *albatu* of the Ejen. Irdana did not commit a sin against the Great Ejen. Is there a way to help one *albatu* and kill another? Ablai is petitioning the Great Ejen for soldiers to subjugate Irdana now. If we give soldiers according to his request, when Irdana also requests that the Great Ejen give soldiers to subjugate the Kazakhs, can we approve it? We must never do that!'<sup>113</sup>

To be brief, Agui said that the Qing should not participate in disputes among Central Asian groups/countries and could not help Ablai since Irdana had inflicted no injury on the Qing. From this, we can confirm the fundamental rule that the 'suzerain' did not intervene in internal problems of the 'dependency.' However, at the same time, it is noteworthy that Agui used the '*ejen-albatu* relationship' as a logical basis for rejecting Ablai's request. He insisted the Khoqand as well as the Kazakhs were the Qing emperor's *albatu*, and admonished that the Qing emperor would be unable to help one *albatu*, Ablai, and subjugate the other *albatu*, Irdana.

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 79: 3459–3460.

After explaining his opinion to Dulat Kerei, Agui ordered them to return to their homeland because the Qing could not permit them to go to Beijing at this time. Dulat Kerei said that he could rewrite Ablai's memorial if necessary, and entreated to be granted an audience with the emperor. Because forgery of documents was a great crime, Agui refused this request. However, since there was no doubt of the Kazakhs' allegiance, he eventually approved the audience.<sup>114</sup>

On October 12, 1767 (QL 32.8.20), the Kazakh envoys saw the Qianlong emperor and directly handed over the memorials in Chengde.<sup>115</sup> After that, the Qianlong emperor went to the hunting field at Mulan with them and issued an edict for Ablai.

Since Irdana attacked you last year, you recaptured Tashkent and killed the *beg* appointed by Irdana. This happened in the past; I say no more. If you are still not satisfied and want to attack Irdana further, it must be that your desire for revenge was not satisfied and you still bear a grudge. You must judge the timing now and pursue your own happiness. Irdana will also certainly bear a grudge. If you continue killing each other as before, you will never see peace! Such conduct only hurts each other. Ablai, although you did not know it, Irdana recently dispatched his envoys to wish for our peace, and they will arrive soon. After arriving, I will issue an edict as follows, 'I am Ejen ruling over the world under the Heaven. I treat equally all the *albatu* who follow me with the same affection. I am never partial to the one [*albatu*].' Ablai, you must think over your interests calmly and hope to live peacefully forever.<sup>116</sup>

That is, the Qianlong emperor, from his position as the *ejen* ruling various *albatu*, advised reconciliation between the Kazakhs and Khoqand.

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 79: 3461–3464.

<sup>115</sup> GZSL 793, QL 32.8 *xinsi* (1767.10.12).

<sup>116</sup> JMSS, *mingfa*, 35.1, QL 32.8.28 (1767.10.20).

Besides this affair in 1767, there are other examples of the Qianlong emperor arbitrating confrontations in Central Asia. Upon receiving the report on a confrontation between the Kazakhs and Kirghiz in 1774, the Qianlong emperor tried to dissuade both sides from the confrontation and admonished them as follows:

Both of you are subjects (Ch. *chenpu*) of the Great Empire (Ch. *da huangdi*). I have been admonishing you of this for some time. You should understand and comply with this.<sup>117</sup>

I have not read this original edict in Manchu yet. However, while the word *ejen* was used as the counterpoint to *albatu* in the Manchu source, its translation in Chinese applied *huangdi* for *ejen* and *chenpu* for *albatu* without exception.<sup>118</sup> Therefore, the Qianlong emperor, in this situation, also intervened in the internal affairs of his *albatu*s and, using his position as Ejen, advised them to stop the confrontation.<sup>119</sup>

It was observed in this section that the Qianlong emperor, who asserted his own position as *ejen* ruling over various people, urged peace and harmony between his *albatu*s in Central Asia. Of course, we cannot say that these admonishments had substantial legal force. Such a stance, however, reminds us of the appropriate figure of the ruler in Central Eurasia; it had a role to arbitrate disputes among subjects.<sup>120</sup> I think this diplomatic attitude, which is based on the logic of the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship,’ leads us to reconsider the international

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<sup>117</sup> GZSL 953, QL 39.2 *gengzi* (1767.3.28).

<sup>118</sup> We can confirm this correspondence by the collation of the Manchu-Chinese bilingual (Ch. *hebi*) document in JMLZ or by comparing JNTBB and PDZFL.

<sup>119</sup> In 1775, Abulfeiz sent his Turkic letter to the Military Governor of Yili, Iletu, to report the reconciliation with the Kirghiz. In the letter, Abulfeiz explained, ‘Both of us, the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, are *albatu*s of the Ejen Khan; we will know peace’ (Tu. *Birimiz Qirgiz Qazaq Eden Hänniy albuti* (sic.). *Biz hüb bilür*). JMLZ 2636.13, 106: 1015, QL 40.6.2 (1775.6.29), the enclosure to the Manchu memorial of Iletu.

<sup>120</sup> Oka Hiroki pointed out the three main roles of khan in ‘North Asia’: (1) to take leadership in the great hunt and wars, (2) to distribute fairly to subjects the riches gained through war or hunting, and (3) to arbitrate relationships among subjects or chieftains when petitioned with important issues (Oka 1998: 141).

world order system of the Qing that up until now has been described as premised on the ‘*zong-fan* relationship’ of the Confucian worldview.

## **Conclusion**

In 1757, Ablai of the Kazakh’s Middle Zhuz expressed his ‘submission’ to the Qing dynasty, and the Qing accepted it. A reexamination of the circumstances of Ablai’s submission using the original documents reveals that the Qing-Kazakh political relationship did not take the form of the ‘*zong-fan* relationship’ based on the Confucian worldview but took the form of the Mongol-style ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’; the latter was originally derived from the nomadic society of Mongolia, and the Qing established it among the Mongol tribes under its rule. Moreover, the Qing extended the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ over the other Central Asian groups/countries and formed ties with them. Although there is room to discuss whether all the Central Asian groups/countries experienced the establishment of this relationship, I believe that the Qing dynasty, by using this relationship, attempted to settle the disorder in Central Asia following the collapse of the Zhungar and to build a new order.

The existence of the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ led to some problems between the Qing and the Kazakhs. Besides the ‘personal’ logic that was typical of the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship,’ the Qing introduced a concept of domain division—the inside and outside of *karuns*—into Central Asia. The establishment of *karuns* by the Qing was recognized as the first step in the introduction of the ‘Territorial Principle’ into nomadic society as well as the delimitation of borders in Mongolia. However, some Kazakhs, on the basis of their status as the Qing emperor’s *albatu*, demanded to immigrate inside the *karun*-line and the Qing accepted them. Along the Qing’s northwest frontier in those days, the idea of separating territorial domains into interior and exterior was still not absolute; there was indeed a case where the upholding of the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ was given greater importance. The Kazakh *niru* established in 1778 most clearly

symbolized that situation.

When disputes arose in Central Asia, the Qianlong emperor mediated them from his position as *ejen* and urged peace and harmony. When Ablai requested reinforcements to oppose Irdana of Khoqand in 1767, the Qing denied his request. We can thus perceive a particular diplomatic attitude behind the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ that was distinct from that of the ‘*zong-fan* relationship,’ which existed with the southeastern ‘dependencies.’ The most important point to note is that the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship,’ with the mutual understanding of the Qing emperor and administrators, provided a logical basis for implementing the Qing policy in its diplomatic communications with Central Asia. This relationship was the logical foundation that sustained the Qing reign in Central Asia/Eurasia, and thus, it played an important role in the maintenance and administration of the dynasty.

(ONUMA Takahiro)

## Chapter 3

### An Essay on the Titles of Kazakh Sultans in the Qing Archival Documents

‘Family antiques, which remain since the times of my ancestors—khans of the Kazakh Middle Zhuz—Ablai and Wali, contain several diplomas of the Chinese emperors, Qianlong and Jiaqing.’<sup>1</sup>

(Choqan Valikhanov)

#### 1. Preface

The objective of this essay is to reconsider the titles of the Kazakh sultan<sup>2</sup>s. These are a significant problem in the documents in our research. The author of this chapter has analyzed the related archival documents of both the Russian and Qing empires to reconstruct Kazakh society. The analyses of documents which were sent from Kazakh sultans to the Qing dynasty may also clarify the Kazakhs’ own knowledge of their society. We will be able to discuss only some of the documents; however, the claims of Kazakh sultans that have been found in documents are believed to reflect an aspect of their social order.

As a result, this chapter will give us a clue to understand the nature of the Kazakh-Qing relations, the titles bestowed by the Qing emperor, and the Kazakhs’ perspective on their relations with the Qing. Hereafter, I will discuss

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<sup>1</sup> Valikhanov 1985b: 300.

<sup>2</sup> The members of the Kazakh khan family (Ka. *töre*).

the Kazakh titles from two standpoints: that of the Qing and that of the Kazakhs.

## 2. Surveys of Kazakh Titles

### 2.1. Research Trends

In existing studies, Kazakh titles have been mentioned as being representative of Kazakh-Qing diplomatic relations.<sup>3</sup> Li Sheng puts Qing-Kazakh relations within the framework of ‘Suzerain-vassal’ relations, from the perspective of Qing foreign relations. According to his classification, Kazakh titles from the Qing court were a result of the Qing benefit policy.<sup>4</sup> Recently, however, research on Kazakh titles has been developed in China, especially with regard to the succession of titles.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the researchers did not pay much attention to the assertions of the Kazakh sultans themselves that were found in the documents in question.

The following titles were bestowed on the Kazakh sultans<sup>6</sup> in accordance with their relations with the Qing court: *han* (汗<sup>7</sup>), *wang* (王), *gong* (公), and *taiji* (台吉). These were not only titles but also ranks, in the descending order. However, we do not know why the Qing authorities decided to bestow these titles including such seemingly higher rank as ‘*han*.’ Consequently, the next subsection will argue the origin of Kazakh titles from the standpoint of the Qing dynasty.

### 2.2. *The beginning of relations with the Qing: the Kazakhs in the eyes of the Qing authority*

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<sup>3</sup> First of all, Saguchi Toru had analysed their relations (Saguchi 1963). The institute of the ‘titlization’ from the Qing-China viewpoint was analyzed in Khafizova 1995: 141–160.

<sup>4</sup> Li 2004: 120.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding the succession of Wali to the ‘*han*’ title, see Alatangouqier and Wu 1998. On the failure of the succession of Jochi sultan to the ‘*gong*’ title, see Hua 2006.

<sup>6</sup> A Kazakh envoy mentioned that Sultans were in the lineage (Ma. *giranggi*) of *Taiji*, see QZHDH: vol.1, 180, QL 23.11.23 (1758.3.24), the memorial of the Grand Council.

<sup>7</sup> ‘*han* 罕’ was sometimes used as well.

As is well known, the Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz began to negotiate with the Qing expeditionary troops that moved into the Eastern Turkistan in the process of the conquest of Jungharia.<sup>8</sup> Among the Kazakh chieftains, Ablai (later, the khan of the Middle Zhuz) was well known to Qing officials mainly composed of Mongol as well as Manchu bannersmen. Leading figures of the Qing army such as Chengunjab<sup>9</sup> and his son Erkshara established a connection with Ablai, confirming that the Kazakh khan family was from the Chinggisid house, that is, the same house that Chengunjab's family was from.<sup>10</sup>

Although the Chinggisid legacy was recognized among the Kazakhs, the Qing officials discerned that Ablai didn't appear to hold the title of 'khan.' In fact, he had not yet been selected as a khan in Kazakh society, according to Russian records. Nevertheless, in diplomatic relations with the Qing, Ablai attempted to represent the Kazakhs: he called himself 'khan.' A clear example of this is in Document A of Chapter 1.

In the process of negotiation between the Qing and Kazakhs, the Qing tried to explore how Kazakh society functioned. Kazakh society, depending on how the Qing authority understood, was structured as follows: *Otoks* (Ch. *etuoke* 鄂拓克) under *Bu* 部.<sup>11</sup> The *Otoks*, which originated from Junghar society, was categorized with the Kazakh tribes (Ka. *ru*). In the earliest example, the name-list of the Kazakh envoys in 1757 refers to some *Otoks*: e.g. '[the chief delegate] Henjigar, the *jaisang* of the Qara-kesek Argyn *Otok*.'<sup>12</sup> '*Jaisang*' here means the chief of the tribe; the term owes its origin to the Junghar as well. Therefore,

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<sup>8</sup> The negotiations between the Qing and the Kazakhs, which involved Russia have been analyzed by Noda 2007a.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. *Chengunzhabu* 成衮札布, the aristocrat of the Khalkha Mongol.

<sup>10</sup> JMYD 90(1) military affairs bundle of the 6<sup>th</sup> month volume: 194, imperially endorsed on QL 6.12 (1757.7.27), the memorial of Chengunjab and others; JMYD 91(1) military affairs bundle of the second volume of the 7<sup>th</sup> month: 454–455, imperially endorsed on QL 22.7.29 (1757.9.5), the Manchu memorial of Chengunjab and Shuhede.

<sup>11</sup> On the confusion of the Qing over *bu* (literally, 'part') and native *Zhuz*, see Noda 2002; Noda 2003. According to the statement of the Kazakh envoy in 1758, the Kazakhs translated *Zhuz* into 'joo' in Oyirad. This may correspond to 'zuun' (hundred) in the written Oyirad language. See QZHDH: vol.1, 180–180 (QTQD: 66–68); XSL: vol. 12, 3; Noda 2007b: 168–169.

<sup>12</sup> JMLZ 1643.8, 45: 2680, QL 22.6.18 (1757.8.2), the memorial of Jaohui and Fude. Also see Related Matters of Document A, Chapter 1: 15.

possibly, the Qing understood Kazakh society as being close to that of its neighbour—the former ruler of the Kazakhs—the Junghars. Later, Qing historical sources began to describe Kazakh society as being composed of sultans with *aqalaqchis*<sup>13</sup> in each *Otok*.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, the Qing empire was aware that the Kazakhs had a similarly structured society as the Oyrat Mongols, i.e. the Junghars. The Qing side recommended to the Kazakh envoy that the Kazakhs should send a tributary envoy to the Emperor if they wished to be conferred titles. On this occasion, the Qing official explained: ‘The Khalkha Mongols have served the Emperor, holding the titles (Ma. *colo*) such as *han*,’<sup>15</sup> but the Kazakh envoy didn’t reply to this recommendation on the spot.<sup>16</sup>

From then on, Ablai was interested in the titles bestowed by the Qing, and he asked the officials about the types of titles. He hoped for the conferral of the title *han* or *wang*, stating that: ‘if the Great *ejen* (the Qing emperor) loves, reflects me and calls me *wang*, it will go good. If *han*, it will be better.’<sup>17</sup> In line with Ablai’s hope, the Qing court suggested its approval of the bestowal in the edict that responded to the submission of the Kazakhs.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, we should note that the Qing dynasty did not apply the Mongolian *Jasay* system directly to the Kazakhs as the edict negatively said: ‘If I think of Ablai and others, they are

<sup>13</sup> See Document H in Chapter 1. Concerning Kazakhs’ own term, a Qing official, Nusan, reported that Kazakhs called the controller of *otoks* as ‘*batur*,’ JMYD 92 (2) military affairs bundle of the first volume of the 10<sup>th</sup> month: 233, the memorial of Jaohui and Fude.

<sup>14</sup> *Ta’erbahatai shiyi*: vol.4, 26. Besides, XZS (vol. 11) shows the list of the *otoks*.

<sup>15</sup> Aristocrats of the Khalkha Mongols had the title-ranks such as *qinwang* (the prince of the first rank), *beile*, and *beizi*. *Qinwang* also holds the title ‘*han*.’

<sup>16</sup> JMYD 91(1) military affairs bundle of the second volume of the 7<sup>th</sup> month: 94, imperially endorsed on QL 22.7.16 (1757.8.30), the memorial of Jaohui about the incidents in the 6<sup>th</sup> month 13<sup>th</sup> day.

<sup>17</sup> JMYD 92(2) military affairs bundle of the first volume of the 10<sup>th</sup> month: 233–234, imperially endorsed on QL 22.10.7 (1757.11.18), the memorial of Jaohui and Fude.

<sup>18</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* 41: 22b–24a, QL 22.7 *dingwei* (1757.8.31), the edict to the Kazakh *han Abulai* 阿布賽. Concerning the Kazakh khanship, the same edict says: ‘Ablai is now holding khan. I will issue the edict to enfeoff. This means just the enfeoffment of *han*, and Ablai is called *han* only because you [Kazakhs] call in this way as you please’ [*Abulai te uthai han kai, bi uthai kesi isibume fungnecibe, inu han fungnere dabala, damu ere han serengge, bai suweni dorgi cisui tukiyehengge*], JNTBB, *zhengbian* 41: 45a. The edict also refers to the submission of Kazakhs to the Qing, stating: ‘I treat the Kazakh as the vassal [*harangga*] as Annan, Liuqiu, Siam, and others,’ JNTBB, *zhengbian* 41: 49b. Also see Chapter 2, p.98; Onuma 2006: 45–46.

in the distance as an outer-vassal. If, according to the *Jasay* of the inner land, I bestow the title, expectedly you will be worry about your duty.<sup>19</sup> The same phrases have been repeated in other edicts.<sup>20</sup>

Therefore, considering the Mongol case, the Qing court decided to bestow titles upon the Kazakh sultans, obliging them to dispatch a delegation to the capital every two or three years in rotation,<sup>21</sup> which followed the annual travel to Beijing, i.e. the *nianban* system. Although the Kazakh sultans were not directly made to conform to the *Jasagh* system, it is obvious that the Qing government tried to apply the similar policy both to the Mongols and the Kazakhs. The regulation for Mongols (Ch. *Menggu lüli*) was sometimes applied to judicial cases that involved the Kazakhs, as well.<sup>22</sup> With regard to the titles, the Qing court, keeping in mind the Mongolian titles, ratified the title of *khan*, which had already existed among the Kazakhs.<sup>23</sup> In short, the Qing frontier officials needed to appease the Kazakhs because the Qing army was confronting the Junghars. This is explained by the results of the negotiation between the Qing and Russia over the treatment of the Kazakhs.<sup>24</sup>

The Kazakhs, in turn, requested the Qing emperor to bestow titles on them because their chieftains, such as Ablai, who were in contact with the Qing troops, were hoping to establish their superiority within Kazakh society.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> GZSL 548: 9b–10a, QL 22.10 *jiazi* (1757.11.16). The Chinese text is ‘念阿布賚等，遠在外藩，若照內地扎薩克，授以爵秩，恐爾等有拘職守.’ The Manchu text differently mentioned: ‘Ablai, you are the people who live at the edge of [our] territory. If I appoint you according to the cases of the inner *jasay*, in the distance you will be worried all the more’ (*Abulai suwe serengge gemu jecen i ergi de tehe niyalma, suwembe aika dorgi jasak i adali fungnehe bahabure oci, jugūn goro de suwe elemangga jobombi*), JNTBB, *zhengbian* 44: 54a.

<sup>20</sup> The edict to Abilis 阿比里斯 concerning his *han* title, GZSL 575: 5a–5b, QL 23.11 *jihai* (1758.12.16); The edict to Abulmambet 阿布勒巴木比特 concerning his *han* title, GZSL 580: 19b–20b, QL 24. 2 *renxu* (1759.3.9).

<sup>21</sup> Saguchi 1963: 293. These tributary missions of the Kazakhs were under the control of the Eastern Tuskistan Pure Functionaries Bureau (*Laiyuanqinglisi* 徠遠清吏司) of *Lifanyuan* (Court of Colonial Affairs).

<sup>22</sup> An example is found in the related Chinese memorial of Buyantai and others concerning criminal Kazakhs, NDD: 158760, DG 24.3.2 (1844.4.19). The memorial mentioned that the criminals should be judged surveying ‘*Menggu li* [sic].’

<sup>23</sup> On the development of the ‘Kazakh khanate’ after the Mongol Empire, see Sultanov 1982.

<sup>24</sup> Noda 2007a.

<sup>25</sup> As supporting evidence of Ablai’s attitude, a Kazakh envoy called himself ‘the subject of Ablai, who was a man of the Atyghai tribe and controlled Kazakhs’ (*hasak be uheri dalaha atagai otok i*

Formerly, in negotiations with Russia, the representatives had been Kazakh *khans*. Kazakh sultans also represented their tribes if they held the Qing title ‘*han*,’ which was quite similar to *khan* that was significant in the eye of the Russian empire. The significance that the Kazakh sultans found in the titles conferred by the Qing court can be confirmed by Documents I and N of Chapter 1.

### *2.3. Kazakhs Titles in their Relationships with the Qing*

The titles of the Kazakh sultans are related to those conferred on the Mongols and Muslims in Xinjiang (Ma. *hoise*, Ch. *huizi*). However, the classification by *Xiyu tuzhi*<sup>26</sup> distinguishes the bestowal of titles on the Eastern Turkistan Muslims from the vassalages of the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz. We know that Mongolia and Xinjiang were included in the category of *wai fan* (outer vassals) of the Qing empire. In this regard, it is remarkable that the Kazakhs were also sometimes recorded in the Qing documents as outer vassals. For example, a memorial shows that a command to Abulfeyz *wang* refers to the Kazakhs as ‘the outer vassal subjects of the Great Sacred Master’ (*amba enduringge ezen i tulergi aiman i albatu*).<sup>27</sup> Though researchers have tried to define the position of the Kazakhs in the Qing empire,<sup>28</sup> a consistent answer has not been found till so far. For instance, when we focus on only the official ranks (*pinji* 品級), the Kirghiz should be distinguished from the Kazakhs and Khoqand, although *Xiyu tuzhi* put all three in the same category. Therefore, any definition in this context is more or less meaningless. According to the official regulations, there were few articles to regulate the Kazakhs. For example, the fourth volume of the *Qingding huijiang zeli* (Imperial Commissioned Collection of the Substatutes of Muslim Xinjiang)

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*abulai i harangga niyalma*), JMLZ 1643.8, 45: 2680, QL 22.6.18 (1757.8.2), the memorial of Jaohui and Fude.

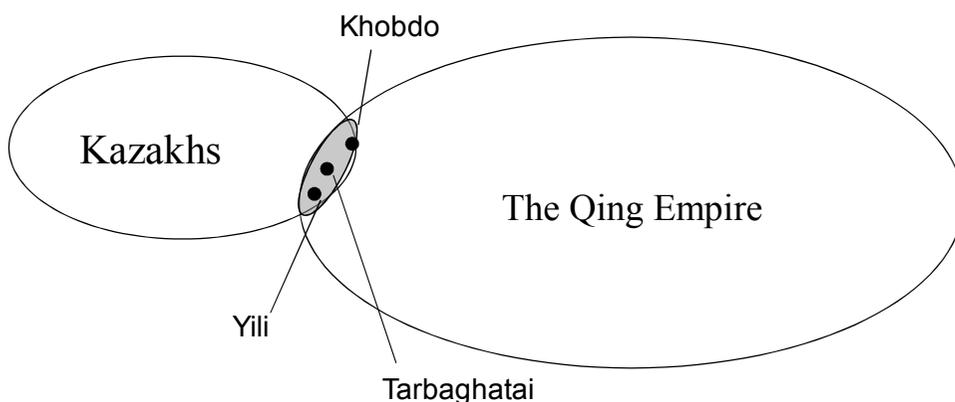
<sup>26</sup> Gazetteer of the Western Regions, compiled in 1782.

<sup>27</sup> JMLZ 2225.05, 79: 2222, QL 32. 4.13 (1767.5.10), the memorial of Agui. Parts of the text are emphasized in bold type by NODA (the same, in the following). For the conception of ‘*albatu*,’ see Chapter 2. Another memorial also regarded the Kazakhs as *tulergi aiman* (outer vassals), Hua 2006: 200.

<sup>28</sup> For ‘peripheral states of *wai fan*’ (Ja. *Gaihan no gai'enkoku*), including Khoqand, Kirghiz, Hunza, and Gurkhas, see Kataoka 1998: 256. In another case, Kazakhs and Kirghiz are regarded as ‘*Mingyi fanbu*’ (nominal dependent tribes), see Zhang 2001.

supplementary regulated the ‘envoy to court’ (Ch. *chaojin*) and the ‘tribute horse’ (Ch. *gongma*) of the Kazakhs who held titles bestowed by the Qing court. However, there was no regulation concerning the bestowal of titles itself.<sup>29</sup>

It can be concluded that the Qing bestowed titles on Kazakh sultans in a haphazard fashion, i.e. without creating regulations. This might be directly connected to the ambiguous location of the Kazakhs. That is, the Kazakhs, whose pasturelands were within the territory of the Qing empire as well as outside of the Qing’s domain, were treated as ambiguous subjects of the Empire.



**Fig. 3.1. Overlapping space of the Kazakhs and Qing territory**

### **3. Titles of the Kazakh Sultans**

#### *3.1. In the context of Kazakh diplomacy*

Based on the Documents C, D, and H of Chapter 1, documents were dispatched by Kazakh sultans when problems arose between the Qing and the Kazakhs. These documents reflected the phases of Kazakh-Qing diplomatic relations. Concrete affairs were as follows: 1) problems of the pastures and the border, 2) crime and repatriation (the related documents were transmitted to the Board of

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<sup>29</sup> Only for the Kirghiz (Ch. *Bulute*), *Da Qing huidian shili* (Collected Statutes and precedents of the Qing, Jiaqing-chao) regulated orders of their ranks from the Qing authority.

Punishments), 3) trade,<sup>30</sup> and 4) ceremonial affairs, such as the tribute horse and titles. Document C discusses the problem of the border zone, which the Kazakhs were prohibited to enter with their herds of livestock. Document D clearly indicates Ablai's wish to trade in Qing frontiers. Document H is concerned with criminal affairs.

How was the correspondence between the Qing and Kazakh significant for Kazakh sultans?<sup>31</sup> In the exchange of documents, the sender or receiver on the Kazakh side was usually a sultan on whom a title had been bestowed. This meant that these documents guaranteed the responsibility of the title holders toward the administration of their tribesmen. That is to say, the title holders, as registered subjects of Qing authority, were responsible for the solutions of the problems mentioned above. On the other side, the Kazakh sultans made use of the authority of the Qing court, as provided by the imperial edict. The diploma with the imperial edict served as a symbolic 'certification,' as seen in the following case: Begali sultan, the son of the *wang* title holder, Jan khoja, recognized that the diploma (*bumaga*) which Jan khoja received from the Qing court assured that the Nazar clan of the Nayman tribe were subjects of his family.<sup>32</sup>

Interestingly, the original diploma was kept by a descendant of Jan khoja sultan, and it was cited later by Qurbanghali Khalidi, an *imam* of Tarbaghatai.<sup>33</sup> Reproduced below is the text of the edict in Turkic.

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<sup>30</sup> I will not discuss trade affairs between the Qing and the Kazakhs in detail here. For details, see QKhTsPS; Lin and Wang 1991.

<sup>31</sup> Ranks of the Qing dynasty which demonstrated superiority among the Kirghiz are discussed in Di Cosmo 2003, 364. Though he emphasizes the Qing's intervention in the affairs of Kirghiz, it is necessary to take into consideration Russian factors in the case of the Kazakhs.

<sup>32</sup> GAOmO: f.3, op.1, d.1463, ll.31–32, 1835.3.15 (Julian), the report from Maslasov to the office (*prikaz*) of the Ayaguz district. With regard to the form of these kinds of documents, Valikhanov said that the height was two *arshin* (142 cm) and that the width was one *arshin* (71 cm), Valikhanov 1985b: 303.

<sup>33</sup> TKhSh: 465–466. About Qurbanghali, see Qurbān-‘Ali Khālidī 2005. According to the text of TKhSh, this Turkic document, called ‘*şarı kāğadlı manşūr ḥaṭ*’ (a diploma of the yellow paper) was issued in JQ 4.11.23 (1799.12.19), and was inherited by *Rustem* 嚙斯他木 sultan, on whom was bestowed the *wang* title, in accordance with the edict cited in XZSL 472: 20b, DG 29.9 *wuwu* (1849.11.8). According to Qurbanghali's account, On one side of the document there is ‘Chinese text and Turkic translation’ (*ḥitayça yazıp türkīya tarjma qilinmiş*). The Qing emperor stamped his

Text: Ҳамīда шифāt са‘ādatlikniḡ dōrtinči yili on birinči ayniḡ yigirmi üči, ḡudāniḡ farmāni bilä waqt zamānni AYDALAKAN<sup>34</sup> ḡänniḡ yarlıḡi qazāq ḡānhwājaga tüšürgān čuli, İlāniḡ jaḡ-juḡ ḡebā ambanlariniḡ yeridin seniḡ atan ḡānhwājani aḡirib öldi dep ma‘lüm qilip keldi. Mān aḡlab nihāyatī raḡm qilip šafaqat qıldim, seniḡ atan ḡānhwāja waḡ maḡsabgā ulašqandin seniḡ atanḡiḡ joḡ oḡli bolḡaçqa keşik<sup>35</sup> tikürüp<sup>36</sup> seniḡ ḡāḡ .....<sup>37</sup> tinč turḡanıni mān nihāyatī obdan körüp raḡm qilip turup edim, čuli ḡaraf ...b yarlıq nišān tüšürüp tört tof jung tawār šaḡlap yibārdim. Jaḡjuḡga tafšurup šundin amban čiqariḡ köči köyd[ürä] ..... ŠYDğa kötārip түmengi qazāqlariḡ ni obdan qadaḡalaḡin<sup>38</sup> seniḡ atanḡa köči köydürä-duḡanıḡ tašida ..... Jan-ḡwāja seḡa ulaštura..... buyuriḡa rāsāt köḡli bilä yurtniḡ ra‘yalarini obdan qadaḡalab ..... maḡsabgā ula..... keşikim ni ..... aḡrip ölgāni ubal raḡm qilḡudik, mān uzalap keşik tikürüp İlāniḡ .....YYSWN bilä ‘araq kāḡad kullān qoy qatarlıq nemälärni alip barip..... bersüḡlär .... yaḡin aymaqlar bilä aflik boluḡlar, bōläk aymaqdin qajib kelḡān qaçaqini yašunmaḡlar ..... işiḡ bolsa, rāsāt köḡlüḡ bilä İlā jangjung Tarbaḡatayniḡ ḡebā ambanıḡa aḡlatip māḡa ma‘lüm qilsun, ašli ‘ayān astap yaqanlıq qilāmın demesin, rāsāt lāhana bar işda māniḡ keşikimni bašiḡga kötārip yurtniḡ işiḡa köḡlüḡni qoyup ŠYDKB i‘zāz ikrām bilä yursaḡ, mān seḡa taḡi muwāuzelāp raḡm qilip keşik yetkürāmin emāsmu, Jan-ḡwāja sen //466// yarlıq nišān ḡatni, šaḡlaḡān tawārlarıni qoluḡga alqāndin šoḡ hana bar yerde rāsāt köḡlüḡ bilä juḡup jedellāp yurup abd al-abd meniḡ keşikimḡa yetmāk ni KYČH KYN<sup>39</sup> i‘zāz ikrām bilä bul JWQWM<sup>40</sup> tüšürgān.

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square seal of the red colour on the document, and the text was placed below the seal, TKhSh: 466.

<sup>34</sup> Possibly, the miswording of ‘aḡlaḡān.’

<sup>35</sup> It is originated from the Manchu ‘kesi.’

<sup>36</sup> Correctly, ‘yetkürüp.’

<sup>37</sup> Here, dots mean the lacking part in the text by Qurbanghali.

<sup>38</sup> The verb ‘qadaḡala-’ corresponds to the Manchu ‘kadalambi.’

<sup>39</sup> It is originated from the Manchu word *kicekini*, ‘to wish you to strive.’

<sup>40</sup> It is originated from the Manchu word *cohome*, ‘particularly.’

Translation of the main parts of the text<sup>41</sup>: On the 23<sup>rd</sup> day, 11<sup>th</sup> month of the 4<sup>th</sup> year of [the reign of the emperor of] the glorious quality and felicity (Ma. *saicungga fengšen*, Ch. *Jiaqing*). The Khan, who was the authority of the times by the order of God, had issued the diploma (*yarligh*) to Khan khoja of the Kazakh. On this occasion, from the territory of the Military Governor of Yili and the Councillors of Tarbaghatai, it was informed that your father, Khan khoja, has fallen ill and passed away. I understood, pitied so much, and condoled [him]. After the ‘*wang*’ rank (*mansab*) was bestowed upon your father, Khan khoja, because you are the elder son of your father, the favour was brought about....I excessively preferred that [Khan khoja] was left in peace, and I have mercy on [him]. Then....I issued the diploma (*yarligh*) with the seal, granted the goods of four pieces of woollen fabrics, and sent them. [I] commit it to the Governor, and from his place, an amban will be dispatched in order to make a call of condolence.... Put on [your head] and control your subordinate Kazakhs enough. Apart from letting make a call of condolence....according to the order, with the honest mind, [you should] control the people of the territory.... I would like to lament the unhappiness [that Khan khoja] had fallen ill and passed away, and broaden my favour so that it will reach [you]. ....[You] take things such as the liquor, papers,<sup>42</sup> and sheep.... you shall be in peace with the near tribes, and shall not hide the fugitive who escaped from other tribes.... If you have any problem, with the honest mind, you shall inform the Military Governor of Yili or Councillor of Tarbaghatai, and let me know. You shall seek the basic benefits .... If you put my favour on your head and concentrate on the affairs of the territory and live with respect and honour, I surely treat you equally too, love you, and let the favour reach you. After you, Jan khoja, take the diploma with the seal and the granted goods, you shall live your life with the honest mind in the place where there are things, and shall try hard to reach my eternal favour. This

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<sup>41</sup> The text presented here contains many defects, which Qurbanghali himself mentioned in TKhSh.

<sup>42</sup> This may be the *zhiqian* (paper made to resemble money) or *jiven* (elegiac verse), which was also mentioned in TsIKKh: 106, 1782.1.22 (Julian), the report of Ogarev to the College of Foreign affairs.

was specially issued with respect and honour.

A significant point of the imperial edict is that the Qing emperor requires the Kazakh title holder to control the people under him. In other words, title holders could make use of the diploma to indicate the reliability of the authority granted to them. Similar requirements of the emperor's can be confirmed in the edicts in other languages. The first example presented here is an edict in Chinese on XZSL, concerning the succession of the 'han' title by Altynsary.<sup>43</sup> The text is as follows:

Text: 詔諭哈薩克汗阿勒坦沙拉。昨伊犁將軍代奏，爾遣爾弟台吉江錫爾呈遞摺內，知悉爾父托霍木身故。朕心憫惻悼惜之至。自爾曾祖以至爾祖父，世世深沐國恩。茲爾父身故，特由遐荒遣爾弟恭請朕安。呈進貢馬。及聽如何辦理。請示於伊犁將軍。情詞甚屬恭順。朕心不勝嘉悅。此汗爵肇自爾曾祖。延及爾祖爾父。爾既係托霍木長子。即加恩著爾襲封。鈐用御寶。降給詔旨。並賞給大緞四匹。到時敬領。爾自此感戴朕恩。於爾屬下哈薩克人眾。妥為管束。友愛子弟。嚴緝盜賊。和睦鄰夷。遇事俱遵伊犁將軍指示而行。常承鴻恩於無替。勉之慎之。毋許怠荒。特詔。

Translation: The imperial edict to the Kazakh *han* Altynsary. Formally, the Military Governor of Yili substitutally memorialized the following. You dispatched your younger brother, Jan-sary *taiji*. According to the report submitted by him, I realized that your father, Toghum, had died. I extremely lament over [his death]. From your great-grandfather to your grandfather, they enjoyed the grace of the State for generations. Now that your father had died, you specially dispatched your brother from the distance in order to ask after my peace, and presented the tribute horse. And you asked the advice of the Military Governor of Yili on how to do. The situation shows [your] great allegiance. My mind cannot help being pleased. The *han* title is originally

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<sup>43</sup> XZSL 106: 15a–16b, DG 6.9. *dingyou* (1826.10.19). Also see Document O in Chapter 1.

[inherited] from your great-grandfather to your grandfather and your father. You are, now, Toghum's elder son. Therefore, it is possible to bestow favours [on you] to allow you to inherit the title. [I] impress my imperial seal and issue the imperial edict. Moreover, I award the four pieces of the large satin. Then you heartily receive [it]. For it, you shall be moved and show respect for my imperial grace. The Kazakh people, under your subjection, should be controlled elaborately. [You] should love young people, capture criminals strictly, and get along well with neighbours. If matters happen, you should follow the advice of the Military Governor of Yili and do [as he advises]. [You shall] take the deep grace eternally, so strive for it and be careful of it. Do not loaf. Special edict.

As an example of the edict in Manchu, we can refer to a memorial that cites the edict addressed to Toghum.<sup>44</sup>

Abkai hesei forgon be aliha hūwangdi i hese. Hasak i han tohoma de wasimbuha. Ili i jiyanggiyūn ambasa i baci safi jui altanshara isinjifi alibuha hoise hergen be wesimbuhebi. Tohoma sini alibuha bithe be tuwaci, sini ama bolot aifinici beye wajiha, suweni nuktei urse gemu cihangga simbe sini ama i han i hergen be sirabumbi. Amba enduringge ejen i hese akū ofi, gelhun akū han seme tukiyehekū. Geli amba enduringge ejen i tumen jalafun i amba urgun i doru i sini ajige jui altan-šara be //1902// takūrafi dorolome hargašabume unggihe, kesi be bimbi seme arahabi. Tohome sini mafan ama ci gemu umesi ginggun ijishūn, mini kesi be aliha. Te sini ama bolot beye waifi, mini hese akū ofi, suweni albatusa simbe gelhun akū han seme tukiyehekū, mini elhe be baime, morin jafame geli geren simbe han obuki sehe babe mini hese be baihangge. Yala hing sere ginggun unenggi, labdu saišacuka sini ere han sere hergen, daci sini mafa ama i bisirengge. Te sini ama bolot akū oho be dahame, sai giyan i sini amai han i hergen be sirabuci

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<sup>44</sup> JMLZ 4058.60, 198: 1901–1903, DG 8.4.26 (1828.6.8). Concerning Toghum, see Document O.

acarange. Sini jui altan-šara be niyalma takūrafī, tuwašatabume, sain i řehu de isinjifi, mini gengiyen be hargašaha, kesi isibume erimbu wehei jingse, juwe yasai tojin funggala šangnaha juwe tanggū ya menggun šangnaha, sarilaha, hacinggai efin tuwabuha. Te tohome sinde šangnara šulehe gecuheri sijigiyan i mutun i jergi jaka hacin be, gemu sini jai altan šara de afabufi gamabuha, isinaha manggi, si alime gajjaci tulgiyen, tohome si //1903// damu ereci Julesi ele mini ujen kesi be hukšeme, sini fejergi urse be ciralame jafatame kadalame, ekisaka jargame banjime. Mini mohon akū jiramin kesi alire be saikan kicekini, cohome wasimbuha.

Translation: The edict of the Emperor receiving Heaven and accepting its Revolution was issued to the Kazakh *han*, Toghūm. ‘The Military governor of Yili and Councillors have memorialized the letter of the Muslim script, which was brought about by your son, Altynsary. According to the letter sent by you, Toghūm, your father, Bolat, has already passed away and all the people of your pastureland (*nukte*) wish that you inherit the *han* title of your father. Destiny of the Sacred Master had gone, so [the people] were not ready to call you *han*. Then, for the celebration of the feast of the Great Sacred Master’s myriad years’ life, you dispatched your elder son, Altynsary, to celebrate and to have an audience saying, “may the favour be [with me, the Emperor].” You, Toghūm, have shown allegiance since your grandfather’s time. You received my favour. Now that your father, Bolat, has passed away, my Destiny has gone. Your subjects (*albatusa*) were not ready to call you *han*. Thus, they asked after my peace, presented horses, and wished that you became *han*, seeking my order. Just, you behaved earnestly and sincerely, and did much praiseworthy. Originally, your grandfather was holding this title named *han*. Because now your father, Bolat, died, it is duty to inherit your father’s *han* title. [Thus,] I dispatched your elder son, Altynsary, with companions to guard him. He reached *Re-he*,<sup>45</sup> and looked up to my

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<sup>45</sup> *Bishu shanzhuang* at today’s Chengde.

brightness. I bestowed favour, and conferred the jewellery stone with the button and the double-eyed peacock feather. I granted 200 *yuanbao* silver, feasted, and let him enjoy all kinds of pleasure. Now, I let your son, Altynsary, take with him the satin embroidery robe and the other things that are supposed to be granted to you, Toghum. After his arrival, you, Toghum, accept it; be grateful for the significant favour from now on. You shall strictly manage and control the people subject to you, and properly judge and handle them. I hope you to keep in mind carefully that you received my warm eternal favour.’ Specially issued.

The Manchu version of the edict seemingly reflects most what the Qing court intended. That is, the text contains what the Qing dynasty regarded to be legitimate. This issue will be discussed again below. In the comparison of the edicts, we found common formulae and content in the imperial edicts to the Kazakh sultans. However, there was a difference in the sort and quantity of the grants from the Emperor to the sultans.<sup>46</sup>

The correspondence enabled both the Kazakh sultans and the Qing authority to make use of the Kazakhs’ stratum structure, at the top of which were situated the title holders. Nonetheless, the Qing did not observe the stratum structure all the way to the bottom, like they did in the case of the Khalkha Mongols.<sup>47</sup> Anyhow, as the imperial edict cited above shows, the Qing authority considered peace (Ma. *hūwaliyasun*) among the Kazakh tribes to be quite important. It is repeatedly emphasized that the representatives of tribes, that is, the title holder sultans, are responsible for maintaining ‘peace.’<sup>48</sup>

The titles, which were bestowed in the earlier times of the Kazakh-Qing diplomatic relations, were supposed to be inherited generation by generation: *han* (for Ablai and Abulmambet), *wang* (for Abulfeyz) and *gong* (for the sons of Ablai

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<sup>46</sup> A document from the Qing officials to Ghubaydulla is introduced as an example of those documents with the formula, Khafizova 1995: 146. Khafizova pointed out that such documents, from the Qing to Kazakh sultans, were written in Turkic of ‘the Kashgar dialect.’

<sup>47</sup> Oka 1998.

<sup>48</sup> For the order, which the Qing dynasty aimed to preserve, see Hua 2006: 188.

and of Abulfeyz).

### 3.2. *The problems of heredity*

In this subsection, I discuss three cases of the succession of the title. Before the detail discussion, it is indispensably to confirm when the titles were succeeded. We find that the first example was caused by the death of Abulmambet. The memorial of the Military Governor of Yili, Yonggui, mentioned that Abulfeyz reported his father's death according to the custom of the *Jasay*.<sup>49</sup> In response to the report, the Qing court dispatches the condolence mission and deliver the diploma with the edict which allows to a Kazakh sultan inherit his father's title.

In case of the death of Abulfeyz, his elder son (Ma. *ahūngga jui*), Khan khoja, in turn informed of it the Qing frontier official. Then, the Qing mission brought again the diploma related to the succession of the title of *wang* to Khan khoja.<sup>50</sup>

The edicts issued with regard to the succession of Kazakh titles had the formula. In case of Wali, the edict said 'Bestowing favour, I admit you the succession of your father's *han* title.'<sup>51</sup> To Khan khoja: 'I bestowed favour to grant your father's *wang* title,'<sup>52</sup> and to Altynsary: 'Bestowing favour, I admit you the succession.'<sup>53</sup> Thus, it is obvious that the bestowal of titles, at least for the Qing dynasty, should be the symbol of the imperial favour.

#### 1) Dair sultan's claim after the death of Ablai khan (1780)

Ordinarily, the succession of Ablai's *han* title was explained as such: Ablai's elder son, Wali, would informe the Qing court of Ablai's death and would require the succession of the title.<sup>54</sup> However, besides Wali, a collateral relative and

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<sup>49</sup> JMLZ 2331.33, 86: 2031, QL 34.8.7 (1769.9.6).

<sup>50</sup> JMLZ 2995.23, 129: 1248–1258, QL 49.1.10 (1784.1.31), the memorial of Nawan. In the memorial, the diploma was called, '*wang fungnere hese i bithe*.'

<sup>51</sup> Ch. 著加恩承襲爾父汗爵, GZSL 1134: 5b, QL 46.6 *dingchou*.

<sup>52</sup> Ch. 加恩將爾父王爵, GZSL 1189, QL 48.9 *jiachen*.

<sup>53</sup> Ch. 即加恩著爾襲封, XZSL 106: 15b, DG 6.9 *dingyou*.

<sup>54</sup> For example, the related Manchu documents were analyzed by Alatangouqier and Wang 1998. For Wali's petition and report, we have the Manchu translation, JMLZ 2915.27, 123: 2901, the

son-in-law of Ablai, Dair sultan, also sent his envoy to Yili and claimed that Dair would inherit Ablai's title. In this claim, which is in Document I of Chapter 1, Dair emphasized the succession of 'yurt' (the territory) and his loyal service to 'Ejen hān' (the Qing emperor). According to Dair's claim, he supposed the two aforementioned elements were the grounds of his claim to the title of *han*.

In addition to Document I, we have the Manchu document, which was memorialized by the Military Governor of Yili, Iletu. This document refers to the detailed statement of Dair's delegate:

We [the Kazakhs] had originally three *khans*. The one was Baraq, Dair's father, the one was Abulmambet, and Ablai<sup>55</sup>... Now, we do not have an elder figure other than Dair within the pastureland (*nukte*) of Kazakh. According to what Ablai said during his lifetime, 'Dair is my son-in-law<sup>56</sup> and stand over our children. So after my death, I would like to ask Dair to look after the affairs of the pastureland (*nukte*).' Now, since Wali is too young to administer the land, the masses of our Kazakh hope that the inheritance of the *han* title passes from Ablai to Dair.<sup>57</sup>

In this way, Dair tried to authorise his own claim, behaving as if he had received the will of Ablai.

Nonetheless, the Military Governor of Yili denied his claim, asking him: 'we do not know when and how your father, Baraq, became *han*.' In this document to Dair, the Governor preached about the legitimacy of Wali, stating: 'his [Ablai's] *han* title should be inherited by his child, in accordance with the reason' (*ini han i jergi be giyan i ini jui de sirabuci acame*).<sup>58</sup> Consequently, an

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memorial of Iletu, QL 47.1.28 (1782.3.11).

<sup>55</sup> This sentence is possibly related to the Kazakh notion concerning the three main lineages, which were later called 'bu' in Chinese by the Qing authority, See Noda 2002; Noda 2003.

<sup>56</sup> Dair's wife was the daughter of Ablai's first wife.

<sup>57</sup> JMLZ 2907.13, 123: 1089–1091, QL 46.11.18 (1782.1.1), the memorial of Iletu. Also see Alatangouqier and Wang 1998: 56. The statement cited in the memorial was in a slightly different tone from that in Document I.

<sup>58</sup> JMLZ 2907.13, 123: 1093.

edict was issued concerning the inheritance of the *han* title by Wali.<sup>59</sup> In this context, the reason for legitimacy was that the title should be hereditary. The same rule of succession is found in the case of the Khalkha Mongols. The text of the imperial order of the investiture (Ch. *ce ming*) shows that the Qing court emphasized the order of young and old, and the blood relationship; the phrase ‘to inherit from generation to generation without interruption’ (*jalan halame lašalarakū sirambi*) was included in the text.<sup>60</sup> The explanation by ZTYLSY mentions the titles of the Kazakhs: ‘They have hereditary (Ch. *shixiang chengxi*) titles such as *han*, *wang*, *gong*, and *taiji*.’<sup>61</sup> As Hua Li has argued, the principal of inheritance, which was authorized within the Qing empire, can be confirmed in the case of Jochi.<sup>62</sup>

In fact, Dair’s request was presented to the Russian empire as well, though, once more, his hopes were not realized. A request was sent to the Governor of Orenburg,<sup>63</sup> stating that Ablai should not occupy the position of khan. Another request was sent to the Commander of the Siberian corps, confirming that Baraq was important to the Great Zhuz and the city of Tashkent; this request stated: ‘After Baraq, Ablai was on the position of khan (*khanstvo*)... After my father, I [Dair] should become not sultan, but khan. Now, after Ablai, I should be the first candidate.’<sup>64</sup> This is the same claim as that in Document I.

From this case, it is evident that the legitimacy of the Kazakh aristocratic authority was based on genealogy, as shown in the petitions to both the Qing and the Russian empires. However, the lineage of Baraq khan, which, in the Russian sources, seemed considerably influential, was not the basis of legitimacy on the Qing side. As a result, the claim in Document I was not

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<sup>59</sup> GZSL 1134: 5b–6a, QL 46.6 *dingchou* (1781.7.26), the imperial edict to Wali. Then, the Enthronement ceremony of Wali was held. For his elevation ceremony, see TsIKKh: 106. For a record of the ceremony from viewpoint of the Qing officials, see Alatangouqier and Wang 1998: 55.

<sup>60</sup> The three documents are presented in Aoki 1952. Also see Related Matters of Document N.

<sup>61</sup> ZTYLSY: 164–165.

<sup>62</sup> Hua (2006: 188) cited the memorial of the Councillor of Tarbaghatai, Booning, which includes the statement of Booning addressed to Jochi: ‘The title of father’s would be inherited by his son’ (*Ama i hafan i hergen be gemu jui de sirabumbi*), Hua 2006: 191.

<sup>63</sup> 1781.6.21 (Julian), Andreev 1998: 37.

<sup>64</sup> 1781.6.29 (Julian), the petition addressed to Ogarev, cited in Erofeeva 2003: 78–79.

accepted.

## 2) The report from Ghubaydulla in 1824

Since I have already discussed the problem of the succession of Ghubaydulla,<sup>65</sup> I only provide a supplementary analysis of Document N here. Ghubaydulla sultan was the son of Wali khan of the Middle Zhuz (d. 1821). After his father's death, he informed the Russian authority of it, and tried to dispatch a mission to St. Petersburg to acquire inheritance of the position of '*khan*,' which had been officially recognized by the Russian court.<sup>66</sup> However, the Russian Foreign minister, Nessel'rode, advised the Siberian Governor-General, Kaptsevich, to put off the selection of the new khan.<sup>67</sup> Thereafter, the Russian authority brought a new administrative system to the Steppes, and stopped recognizing the position of khan among the Kazakhs. Though Ghubaydulla's wish was not realized, his intension to inherit the khan position was evident on his seal: '*Ghubaydulla khan, the son of Wali khan.*'<sup>68</sup>



Fig. 3.2. Seal of Ghubaydulla

Ghubaydullah, then informed the Qing court of his father's death. In response, the Qing sent the envoy for the ceremony of the succession to the Steppes. However, the Russian side exerted pressure on his succession, and Ghubaydulla was finally compelled to inform the Qing envoy that he could not accept the succession of the *han* title.

On this occasion, Ghubaydulla gave the original of Document N to the Qing envoy. However, the envoy denied receiving a document of such negative content.<sup>69</sup> At the root of the Russian politics was the fear of the authority of the

<sup>65</sup> For details, see Noda 2006.

<sup>66</sup> VPR12: 661, 1821.6.28 (Julian), the correspondence from Kaptsevich to Nessel'rode.

<sup>67</sup> VPR12: 282, 1821.8.29 (Julian).

<sup>68</sup> TsGARK: f. 338, op. 1, d. 637, l. 224ob. Ghubaydulla's intension is also pointed out in Erofeeva 2001: 88–89.

<sup>69</sup> The Qing officials were reluctant to accept the document, stating that the oral statement still held validity, TsGARK: f.338, d.401, ll.116–116ob., the report of the Omsk provincial director,

khanship in Kazakh society. Although the *han* title of the Qing court was not exactly equal to the native khanship among the Kazakhs, the Russian administration considered it to be equal to the khanship (*khanstvo*).<sup>70</sup> Therefore, the Russian government made an effort to prevent Ghubaydulla from receiving the *han* title which was close to the native ‘khan’ of the Kazakhs.<sup>71</sup>

Although some researchers have already referred to Ghubaydulla’s succession,<sup>72</sup> earlier research has not touched on Ghubaydulla’s very Turkic text. This text should reflect Ghubaydulla’s standpoint and the situation that he faced. Thereafter, Ghubaydulla, who was largely under the influence of the Russian empire, could not help but report to the Russian administration whenever he received correspondence from the Qing side.<sup>73</sup>

### 3) The case of Altynsary (Ch. *Aletanshala*)’s succession in 1826

After the *han* title holder, Toghum, died, the Qing court decided to dispatch a condolence mission for him.<sup>74</sup> The following year, Toghum’s successor, Altynsary, received the condolence mission from the Councillor of Tarbaghatai and obtained the grant from the Court.<sup>75</sup> It is important that this exchange between the Qing authority and Altynsary was carefully watched by the Russian side, which paid attention to the authority of the khanship. Altynsary, whose authority was limited to the Altai tribe of the Kazakh Middle Zhuz, was not prevented from holding a title of the Qing empire. The Russian officials considered the lineage of Altynsary to be different from that of Ablai khan. An official even reported: ‘such cases, in which the titles were bestowed [by the Qing] upon Kazakhs, were usual.... There, we can only see the aim of the Qing

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1824.7.21 (Julian).

<sup>70</sup> TsIKKh2: 107, the report of Wali to the Commander of the Siberian fortress line, Ogarev, 1782.1.23 (Julian).

<sup>71</sup> Noda 2006: 50.

<sup>72</sup> Gurevich 1979; Aseev 2001; Moiseev 2001.

<sup>73</sup> GAOmO: f. 3, op. 1, d. 1363, l. 4ob., the report of Ghubaydulla, 1834.6.22 (Julian). Ghubaydulla stated that he had sent the letter that he received from the Qing (*Khitay yurtu*) in the previous year.

<sup>74</sup> XZSL 106: 15b, DG 6.9 *dingyou* (1826.10.19).

<sup>75</sup> Konshin 1900: 56–62, the report from a Tatar to Desentloran, the Omsk provincial director in 1827 and the report from the Semipalatinsk district office in 1827. The quantity of the grants was discussed by Khafizova, over which Altynsary expressed his complaint, Khafizova 1995: 217.

dynasty to put Kazakhs, who were moving nearby [the Qing's territory], under [their] seeming control.<sup>76</sup>

Altynsary went to the area near Tarbaghatai to receive the Qing envoy. A meeting was held in the fifth month of 1828,<sup>77</sup> in which the *han* title was bestowed on Altynsary. At the time, Altynsary was required to send a letter in return, which became Document O<sup>78</sup> dispatched to the Qing court. Though Altynsary had already lost his power in the Steppes, his statement of subjugation to the emperor (*ejen-ğa qarap*) was accepted by the Qing court. Altynsary succeeded, at least formally, in the inheritance of the *han* title.

From these three cases, we conclude that the text of the documents of the Kazakh sultans echoed their requirements of authority. The negotiations over the titles were conducted based on the expectations of both sides; the Qing and the Kazakhs. The titles bestowed by the Qing—above all, the title '*han*'—were reminiscent of the traditional position of khan; this sometimes seemed to threaten Russian dominance over the Kazakh Steppes, and so Russia tried to abolish the khanship among the Kazakhs.<sup>79</sup>

#### **4. The Subjugation of the Kazakhs to the Empires**

##### *4.1. The Concept of the 'Subjecthood' to Russia*

The subjecthood of the Kazakhs to Russia was expressed in Turkic documents as Turkic '*baš sal-*' or '*ra'ıyat*' and '*tāba*' originated from Arabic. The earliest examples are found in the document from Abulkhayr khan to Anna, the Russian

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<sup>76</sup> Konshin 1900: 60–61. The citation is the report by the Omsk provincial director.

<sup>77</sup> DG 8.4.

<sup>78</sup> It was called 'the answering Turkic document for the prostration to the imperial grace' (*abka i kesi de henkilehe babe karu alibuha hoise hergen i bithē*), NDD: 198394, DG 6.6, the memorial of Nayanboo (Ch. *Nayanbao*).

<sup>79</sup> Here, we should be careful of the difference between the traditional '*hān*' in Turkic, the Qing title '*han*' that originated from the Chinese, and the Russian word '*khan*' (хан).

empress.<sup>80</sup> The Russian side interpreted the phrase ‘*baš saldim*’ (I bowed) into ‘wanting to be under the subjecthood of Her Majesty the Empress’ (*zhelaia byt’ u e.i.v. v poddanstvo*).<sup>81</sup> In other cases, the Russian authorities also preferred the words ‘*poddanstvo*’ or ‘*poddannyi*,’ which mean ‘subjecthood’ or ‘being subject.’

Later, step by step, these borrowed words, ‘*poddannyi*’ and ‘*vernopoddannyi*’ (a subject) were replaced even in the Turkic documents of the Russian side. For example, when the Kazakhs swore loyalty to the Russian empire in 1810, they took the following oath: ‘With this oath document, we swore the entering of the **subjecthood** by the Koran’ (*bu ‘ahd-nāma buyunča bodanğa tüšün qur’ān arqili anı ettilär*).<sup>82</sup>

#### 4.2. To the Qing Dynasty

Unlike in the Russian case, we find the word ‘*hizmat*’ (service) in documents addressed to the Qing authority. This term referred to the state of submission or loyalty to the Qing emperor. In the verb form, the Kazakh documents used the word ‘*qara-*’ (to follow). We can refer to Document O, in which Altynsary sultan stated: ‘We are following *Ejen boghda*’ (Mo. *bogd*, Sacred Master).<sup>83</sup> To indicate that the Kazakhs were subjects of the Khoqand khanate and Russia, this document used the term ‘*bodam*.’ This corresponds to the Russian word ‘*poddannyi*.’ It is noteworthy that Ghubaydulla stated, with regard to the subjecthood to Russia: ‘I have already been the *albatu* [of the Russian emperor]’ (*albatu bolğanim*).<sup>84</sup>

Needless to say, the Kazakh sultans on whom titles were bestowed should have been subjects (Ma. *albatu*, Ch. *chenpu*) of the Qing.<sup>85</sup> This is, for

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<sup>80</sup> KRO: 35–36, the document in 1730.9.8 (Julian). Also see Document P. This topic was discussed in Noda 2008.

<sup>81</sup> In the first version of the translation, this was translated into ‘*podvlastnyi*’ (being under the control).

<sup>82</sup> TsGA RK: f. 345, op. 2, d. 159, l. 11, the document in 1810.1 (Julian). In modern Kazakh language, *bodan*, whose origin should be Russian ‘*poddannyi*’ still means ‘being subject.’ For the allegiance of Kazakhs to Russia, see Khodarkovsky 2002: 51–56.

<sup>83</sup> Document O in Chapter 1.

<sup>84</sup> Document M in Chapter 1.

<sup>85</sup> The imperial edict cited in the memorial of JMLZ requests the sultan, Toghum, to ‘control the people who are subject to him (*fejergi urse*).’ See above, p. 138.

instance, clearly reflected in Document A. When Ablai submitted to the Qing authority, he expressed his subjecthood as ‘*albatu*’ in Oyirad. As Chapter 2 explains,<sup>86</sup> it is true that the Qing dynasty developed so-called ‘*ejen-albatu*’ relations with the Kazakhs. However, judging from the cases in Documents N and O, the Kazakh sultans were far from correctly understanding ‘*ejen-albatu*’ relations. Rather, ‘*albatu*’ held a relatively simple meaning to the Kazakh sultans; the usage of the word might be limitedly in relation to manners in the documentation. Thus, the word *albatu* lost its original meaning and its usage became confused, as shown in Document N. It is important, I think, to note the difference in the suppositions of the Empire and the awareness of the Kazakhs themselves.

## **5. Comparison with the System under the Russian Empire**

Since the influence of Russia over the Kazakhs was rather significant than that of the Qing, it is indispensable to compare the ways in which the two Empires structured relations with the Kazakhs.

### *5.1. ‘Official’ posts of the Kazakh sultans in Russia*

On the Russian side, after the khanship (Ru. *khanstvo*) of Nurali, the son of Abulkhayr, was attested by the Russian empress,<sup>87</sup> the Russian government began to require elected khans to be authorized by the Russian court. The authorization was often accompanied by ceremonial grants such as documents and swords.<sup>88</sup> The following figure illustrates the relevant text of the inscription on the sword that was bestowed on Ablai in 1758.

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<sup>86</sup> Also see Chapter 2, p. 124; Onuma 2006: 47. In short, the *ejen* as a master imposes the tax obligation (*alban*) on the *albatu* as his slave. It is said that the Kazakhs regarded themselves as *albatu* of the Qing emperor since Jochi sultan mentioned *albatu* in his letter (Onuma 2006: 52; Document M in Chapter 1). The document from Kazakh sultans, however, did not always use *albatu*, as indicated by Documents I and O.

<sup>87</sup> KRO: 443, 1749.2.26 (Julian).

<sup>88</sup> For example, Nurali was granted the diploma under the empress’s name from the Senate, the sable leather cloak and hut, and the sword with the inscription, IKRI: vol.4, 268, the record of 1795.

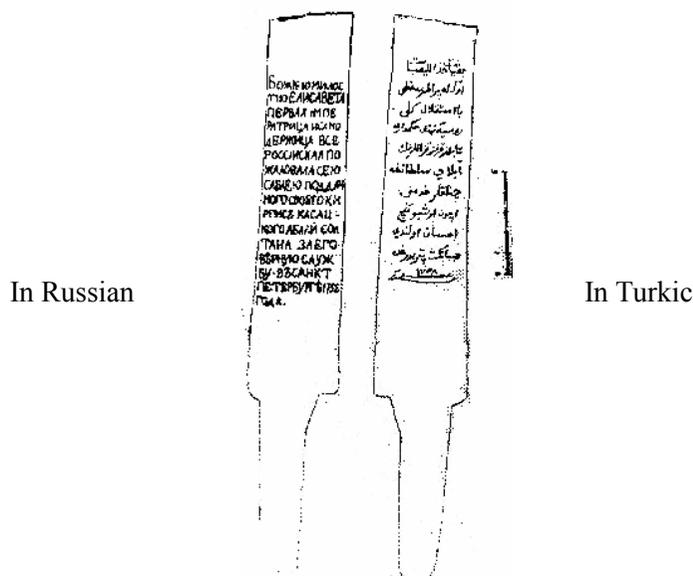


Fig. 3.3. Inscription on the sword<sup>89</sup>

Although Ablai of the Middle Zhuz had denied the authorization of his khanship by the Russian empress, his son, Wali khan, even expressed that he [Wali] had been put on the position of khan (*hānliq martabasına bolğan*) by the empress.<sup>90</sup> In the beginning, the results of the elections among the Kazakh people were in accord with the authorizations by Russia. The Russian government, however, gradually began to interfere with the selection of the khans and finally abolished the khanship in the Kazakh steppe in 1822–24, in accordance with new regulations (for the Middle Zhuz case, *ustav o sibirskikh kirgizakh* was introduced).

<sup>89</sup> MOTsA: vol.2, 127. On this sword, see TsIKKh: 157, the instruction of the College of Foreign affairs to Tevkelev and Rychkov, 1758.5.6 (Julian). In the text of the inscription, we can find the phrase ‘my subject, Ablai-sultan of the Kirghiz-Kazakh’ (*tāba‘miz qirgiz qazāqlarniñ Ablay sulṭān*).

<sup>90</sup> GAOmO: f.1, op.1, d.249, l.133ob., the document from Wali to the Russian authority in 1788. The petition of Sherghazy khan of the Junior Zhuz in 1819 described the position of khan as ‘*hānliq daraja*,’ MIKSSR: 331, 1819.9, the petition of Sherghazy to the College of Foreign affairs.

From then on, many Kazakh sultans were appointed *agha-sultan* or *starshii sultan* (elder sultan) in the Middle Zhuz, or *sultan-pravitel'* (sultan-administrator) in the Junior Zhuz. This too was in accordance with the new Russian regulations. As Qurbanghali's work shows,<sup>91</sup> some considered that these new positions resembled Qing titles. In fact, to the Russian government, these newly introduced positions were actually posts, and the post-holders were part of the Russian administration. Moreover, there was a great difference between the Russians and Kazakhs in the recognition of the titles. On one side, the Kazakhs had not insisted on whether 'khan' was a title or a post. On the other, Russia began to regard the khan as the position that Russia itself authorized. When the 1822 regulation was prepared, the Russian empire even came to consider that the khan could be abolished as argued above. The case of Ghubaydulla (see Document N) is much concerned with the difference in the recognition of the titles.

### *5.2. Salary from the Russian authority*

In the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian government awarded a pension (Ru. *zhalovaniia*) in order to attract the Kazakh chieftains. After the reform in 1822–24, the situation changed. In Western Siberia, members of the Kazakh khan family who obtained official posts could receive pensions or salaries from the Russian government. In this way, the Kazakh sultans became involved in the Russian administrative system as imperial officials.<sup>92</sup>

Unlike the Russian administration, the Qing dynasty continued to bestow titles upon Kazakh sultans that were to be granted to the outer vassals of the Empire. The attached diploma (*hese i bithe*), satin embroideries (Ma. *gecuheri*, Ch. *mangduan*), the peacock feather,<sup>93</sup> silver ingots, fabrics (usually granted by four pieces of silk, 'duin defelinggu amba suje'), and other products only held the symbolic significance.<sup>94</sup> Several lineages of the Kazakh sultans

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<sup>91</sup> TKhSh: 465.

<sup>92</sup> Bezvikonnaia 2005: 100–103.

<sup>93</sup> For the sort of the peacock feather conferred on Kazakh tribute envois, see Chapter 4.

<sup>94</sup> The goods were conferred on Kazakh sultans upon their succession, as a sign of condolence, see

continued to experience the bestowal of the title till the Qing's last time.<sup>95</sup>

### **Concluding Remarks**

From considering the documents on the Kazakh titles that were bestowed by the Qing dynasty, I can present the classification of periods as follows.

1) Early period: There were frequent exchanges of documents between the Qing authority and Kazakh title holders. Both sides required the 'title-bestowal system' in the process of the establishment of relations.

2) Middle period: The Qing archival documents tell of quarrels that happened over the succession of titles among Kazakh sultans (cases of Dair, Jochi, and so on). The Qing side conducted investigations on the lineage of the Kazakh khan family in order to select the appropriate or 'legitimate'—in the limited sense, that is, for the Qing empire—candidate.<sup>96</sup> As argued above, the legitimate successors that the Qing authority decided on did not always represent their kinsmen.

3) Last period: Although titles continued to be inherited until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the title-bestowal system was becoming a mere formality. This was partly because the influence of the Russian empire began to prevail in the Steppes, and partly because the pastures of the Kazakhs were, apparently, too large for the Qing administration to control. The broadness of the Steppes also resulted in the split of the Kazakh pasturelands between the two Empires, the greater part of which was annexed to the Russian empire, as a matter of course. For the Qing empire, it meant that the Kazakhs were living their nomadic lives either within or outside of the territory of the Empire.

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Khafizova 1995: 216–217.

<sup>95</sup> See Li 2004: 136–140.

<sup>96</sup> We can refer to the case of the succession of ranks by Kirghiz, see Di Cosmo 2003: 364.

Lastly, I would like to consider the significance of the research on the titles in question. First, as the arguments above show, there was an obvious difference in Kazakhs relations with the Qing and their relations with Russia. However, it is noteworthy that the Kazakh pasturelands were geographically situated on the crossing fringes of the orders of the two Empires. This is a reasonable explanation for the ambiguous position of the Kazakhs. Further research on the titles bestowed by the Qing empire will give us clues to a clearer understanding of the relationship between the Kazakhs and the neighbouring Empires.

Also, needless to say, the titles were an important factor in the change of Kazakh-Qing relations. When the Kazakhs were confronted by the Russian empire, however, their Qing titles could not support them against the Russian expansion into the Steppes. I believe that the problem remains in the reason why the title-bestowal system of the Qing empire was not an effective protective device for the Kazakh sultans. For it, we need to continue comparing the two phases of the situation: the Kazakhs from the viewpoint of the Qing and those from the Russian perspective.

(NODA Jin)

## Chapter 4

### Kazakh Missions to the Qing Court

In the period after 1757, Kazakh sultans occasionally dispatched their ‘tribute missions’ to the Qing court in Beijing or Chengde. Li Sheng has collected data on when and how many times the Kazakh missions had arrived at the Qing court from the *shilu* (Veritable Records).<sup>1</sup> However, detailed information on the members of each mission was not recorded in the *shilu*.

This chapter is mainly based on the category of archival records known as *Manwen hasake dang* (Records on the Kazakhs in Manchu, hereafter MHD)<sup>2</sup> held in the First Historical Archives of China. Through this study, I would like to clarify the mission’s dispatchers and members.

#### *Source*

First, I would like to introduce MHD, which includes the following four book-style archives (no. 3068–3071).

- (1) *Hasake mingce: qianlong nianjian* [Booklet of the names of the Kazakhs during the Qianlong reign] (hereafter HMQN), 26.2 × 21.7, Ca. 1785, repaired in 1961.

HMQN is a record of the dispatchers and members of the Kazakh missions during the period 1761–1785, which was compiled in Manchu, except for the

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<sup>1</sup> Li 2003: 196–203.

<sup>2</sup> MHD is listed in the *Junjichu manwen dangbu mulu* (cat. no. 193/3–47–3). See Elliot 2001: 27–30.

Chinese title on the cover. HMQN was compiled from five individual parts: (a) *Hasak sa dahanjiaha ci ebsi, han wang gung fungnehe. Ceni jusei dorgici, gemun hecen de dosifi genggiyen be hargašaha gebui jergi ton i cese* (After the Kazakhs submitted, the [titles of] *han*, *wang*, and, *gong* were bestowed on them. Booklet of the names and number of their sons<sup>3</sup> who entered the capital to observe [imperial] sagacity), 1a–3b, (b) *Hasak han wang sei takūraha elcisa de jingse funggala šangnaha gebu jergi ton i cese* (Booklet of the names and the number of envoys who were dispatched by the Kazakh *han* and *wang* and who were honored with Buttons and Feathers [by the Qing dynasty]), 4a–22b, (c) *Cese* (Booklet),<sup>4</sup> 23a–81b, (d) *Tarbagatai ci benjihe cese, jingse funggala hadabuha hasak i gebu jergi ton i cese* (Booklet sent from Tarbagatai containing the names and the number [of Kazakhs] who were honored with Buttons and Feathers), 82a–88a, and (e) *Ili i jiyanggiyūn baci siran siran i icihiyafi benjihe bithe de jingse funggala hadabuha hasak i gebu jergi ton i cese* (Booklet of the names and number of Kazakhs who were honored with Buttons and Feathers that were recorded in documents sent from the Military Governor of Yili), 89a–97b, edited in the 7<sup>th</sup> month of the 49<sup>th</sup> Qianlong year.

- (2) *Hasake dang: qianlong sishiba nian zhi wushi nian* [Record of the Kazakhs from the 48<sup>th</sup> year to the 51<sup>st</sup> year of the Qianlong regna] (hereafter HD1), 29.4 × 26.8.

HD1 includes the five memorials in Manchu drafted by high officials—Agui, Fulungga, and Heshen—in the Qing court during the period 1783–1786; each memorial contains lists in Chinese pertaining to return gifts given to the Kazakh dispatchers and envoys. The copyist's name was Shocheng (Ma. *Šoceng*).<sup>5</sup>

- (3) *Hasake dang: qianlong wushi'er nian zhi wushiliu nian* [Record of the Kazakhs from the 52<sup>nd</sup> year to the 56<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong regna] (hereafter HD2), 29.6 × 26.8.

<sup>3</sup> In most cases, the Kazakh mission included the son or the brother of the Kazakh sultan who was the dispatcher. When the Ablai mission, led by Otorchi, arrived in 1777, the Qianlong emperor stated that after that the Qing would not accept any Ablai mission that did not include his son or brother. JMLZ, 2714.10, 106: 1414–1421, QL 42.3.16 (1777.4.23), the Manchu memorial of Iletu.

<sup>4</sup> (c) includes 29 memorials in Manchu of the Military Governor of Yili and others, which was the source of (b).

<sup>5</sup> No information on Shocheng is available.

HD2 is the continuation of HD1, which was compiled from 10 memorials in Manchu that were drafted during the period 1787–1791. The copyist for HD2 was Shocheng as well. The point to be noted is that HD2 includes sets of the copied imperial edicts to the Kazakh sultans: (a) the Imperial edicts in Manchu (2a–5b), Oyirad (6a–8b), and Turki (9a–10b) attached to the Manchu memorial of Agui (1a–b) of QL 52.1.7, (b) the Imperial edicts in Manchu (18a–21a), Oyirad (22a–24b), and Turki (25a–27b) attached to the Manchu memorial of Heshen (16a–17b) of QL 52.7.30, (c) the Imperial edicts in Manchu (44a–47b) and Turki (48a–50a) attached to the Manchu memorial of Agui (43a–b) of QL 56.1.12. However, the Turkic edicts in Arabic script do not exhibit correct orthography, since Shocheng most likely did not have knowledge of Turki.

- (4) *Hasake dang: qianlong wushiyi nian zhi wushisi nian* Record of the Kazakhs from the 51<sup>st</sup> year to the 54<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong regna] (hereafter, HD3), 26.6 × 24.0.

Although HD3 contains the words “from the 51<sup>st</sup> year to the 54<sup>th</sup> year” in the title, it is a clean copy compiled from HD2 and HD3.

#### *List of Kazakh Missions to the Qing Court*

The following list pertains to the Kazakh missions to the Qing court. The data prior to 1760, which the HMD does not cover, were supplemented by JMLF and QZHDH. The data after 1791 were supplemented by Li Sheng’s research, records of the *shilu*, XSL, and Russian material. The date of arrival of the Kazakh mission was confirmed by the *shilu* and QZHDH. The list consists of the personal names of the dispatchers and envoys before 1791, transcribed in the Manchu language; however, for prominent persons such as Abulfeyz (Ma. *Abulbis*), I have provided translations in modern Kazakh. Although some records include the names of the attendants (Ma. *kutule*) serving the envoys, these have been omitted.

**Note: Symbols used in the list**

**Title:** H = *han*, W = *wang*, G = *gung*, T = *taiji*, h = *hiya* (Ch. *shiwei*).

**Background:** S = son, EB = elder brother, YB = young brother, N = nephew, C = cousin, SL = son-in-law, YBL = younger brother-in-law, R = relative, YC = younger clansman (Ma. *mukūn i deo*), F = follower, ►Yili (1763) = to immigrated to Yili in 1763.

**Button:** J = *jingse* (Ch. *dingzi*, or Button), EWJ = *erimbu wehi jingse* (Ch. *baoshiding*, or Jewel Button).

\* The Button had the rank from 1<sup>st</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> rank, and the 7<sup>th</sup> ranked Button referred simply as *jingse*.

**Feather:** F = *funggala* (Ch. *hualing*, or Feather), LF = *lamun funggala* (Ch. *lanling*, or Blue Feather), TF = *tojin funggala* (Ch. *kongqueling*, or Peacock Feather).

\*\* The Peacock Feather had the three classes: the Three-eye (Ma. *ilan yasa*, Ch. *sanyan*), Double-eye (Ma. *juwe yasa*, Ch. *shuangyan*), and Single-eye (Ma. *emu yasa*, Ch. *danyan*).

Ex. 5J/TF = 5<sup>th</sup> ranked Button and Peacock Feather (Ma. *sunjaci jergi tojin funggala*).

EWJ/2YTF = Jewel Button and Double-eyed Peacock Feather (Ma. *erimbu wehi jingse juwe yasai tojin funggala*).

Date	Dispatcher			Envoy				Source
	Name	Title	Background	Name	Title	B/F	Background	
1 1757.10.	Abulai (Ablai)	H		Henjigar				JMLZ 1643.8. 45; 2679; GZSL 546. 6b; QZHDH 1. 59.
	Abulbis (Abulfeyz)	W	Abulmanbet's S	Ümurdai				
2 1758.11.	Abilis	H		Dureng				GZSL 572. 8a; QZHDH 1. 159-161. 163.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S	Aranja				
3 1759.2.	Abulbanbit (Abulmanbet)	H	Abulmanbet's S	Tanaši				GZSL 613. 126b; QZHDH 1. 203-205. 212-213.
	Abulai	H			Beikenai/Bekenei			
4 1760.7.	Abulbis	W						GZSL 613. 12a-b; QZHDH 1. 329-330.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S	Bosorman			Hoigeldei's YC	
5 1760.10.	Abulai	H		Oros sultan				QZHDH 1. 417-419.
	Saniyas (Shaniaz)	T	Baraq's N	Dosoi batur				
6 1761.2.	Abulbanbit	H	Baraq's S	Aktamberdi batur				HMGN: 5a-b, 24a- 25b; GZSL 628. 5a-b; QZHDH 1. 441-442. 447-448.
	Abulbis	W			Cerikci			
7 1762.5.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S	Baiskal				HMGN: 6a, 26a-27a; QZHDH 1. 612.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S	Bekenei				
8 1762.8.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S	Semeter				HMGN: 6a-7a, 28a- 28b; QZHDH 1. 645- 646; QZHDH 2. 30.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S	Jidii				
9 1763.2.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S	Hütubai	4J/F			HMGN: 7a-9b, 29a- 34a; QZHDH 2. 118. 169-173.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S	Atlai	4J/F			
10 1764.3.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S	Ereshul	4J/F			HMGN: 9b-11a, 35a- 39a; QZHDH 2. 566- 568.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S	Burut	5J/F	Oyirad		
1 1757.10.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S	Burur				HMGN: 9b-11a, 35a- 39a; QZHDH 2. 566- 568.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S	Hüdaiberdu				
2 1758.11.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S	Majan				HMGN: 9b-11a, 35a- 39a; QZHDH 2. 566- 568.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S	Umbutei				
3 1759.2.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S	Hoston				HMGN: 9b-11a, 35a- 39a; QZHDH 2. 566- 568.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S					
4 1760.7.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S					HMGN: 9b-11a, 35a- 39a; QZHDH 2. 566- 568.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S					
5 1760.10.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S					HMGN: 9b-11a, 35a- 39a; QZHDH 2. 566- 568.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S					
6 1761.2.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S					HMGN: 9b-11a, 35a- 39a; QZHDH 2. 566- 568.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S					
7 1762.5.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S					HMGN: 9b-11a, 35a- 39a; QZHDH 2. 566- 568.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S					
8 1762.8.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S					HMGN: 9b-11a, 35a- 39a; QZHDH 2. 566- 568.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S					
9 1763.2.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S					HMGN: 9b-11a, 35a- 39a; QZHDH 2. 566- 568.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S					
10 1764.3.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S					HMGN: 9b-11a, 35a- 39a; QZHDH 2. 566- 568.
	Hambaba	T	Baraq's S					

		Han Hojo (Khan Khoja)	[W]	Abulfeyz's S	Cuwan				
		Ts'ebek (Cebek)	T	Oyirad	Ceji				
		Abulbambit	H		Kaji Hara		J/F		
					Hasiha				
		Hasabek			Absiha				
					Sanbitai				
					Sirab				
11	1765.6	Abulai	H		Otoroi		3J/TF		HMQN: 18a, 59a; GZSL 735: 9a-b.
					Muhulai		5J		
					Satan		5J		
12	1767.10.	Abulai	H		Dulat Kere		G		HMQN: 11a-12a, 40a-42b; GZSL 793: 5b-6a.
					Hara Tohoi		5J		
					Dar/Dayar		h		
					Ormon		h		
					Hoton		h		
					Tas Temur		h		
					Muhulai		h		
					Satan		h		
					Barang Ontun				
					Badzar				
					Badaranggui				
					Kubus/Bobos				
					Itim Emgen				
13	1769.1.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S	Jolci (Jochi)		G EWJ/2YF	Abulfeyz's S	HMQN: 12a-13b, 43a-46b; GZSL 825: 3a-b.
					Burut		5J/TF	Oyirad, ►Yili (1775)	
					Usun		5J/TF		
					Coman		6J		
					Ereli		6J		
					Bošo		6J		
					Caharai		6J		
					Baitak		6J		
		Abulbambit	H		Atalak				
		Bolot		Abulmanbet's S	Babuk		5J		
		Bultuk		Abulmanbet's S	Mendursi		6J		
		Hambaba	T		Hošoton		6J		
		Dair		Hambaba's YB	Maralci		5J		
		Han Hojo		Hambaba's YB	Bayar		6J		
14	1769.4.	Abulai			Wali sultan		EWJ/2YF	Abulai's S	HMQN: 13b-15a, 47a-49b; GZSL 839: 14a.
					Jibek		5J/TF		
					Toboši		5J/TF		
					Ormat		5J/TF		
					Hoton				
					Bohon				
					Yarlagab Bio		5J/TF	Aqalaqci	
					Šara Hasak baturu		5J/TF		
					Det baturu		5J/TF		
					Suboluo		6J		
					Hütbimbat		6J		
					Curuntei		6J		
					Sobi		6J		
					Jamyan		6J		
					Hülambei		6J		
					Dagasi		6J		
					Maksembek				
					Menkilibai				
					Elcisi				
					Momotjan				
					Esen				
					Usun				
					Sanamur				
					Talas				
					Argambai				
					Ayibek				
		Tawatke sultan		Abulai's R	Hoton		6J		
		Esem sultan		Abulai's R	Isbadzar		6J		
15	1773.2.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S	Jolci		G EWJ/2YTF	Abulfeyz's S	HMQN: 15a-16b, 30a-54b; GZSL 924: 29b.
					Bayar		5J		
					Arsalang baturu				
					Konokai				
					Altabai				
					Burul				
					Yamanbai				
					Yolbasbai				
					Tulisi				
		Saniyas	T	Baraq's N	Hasem			Saniyaz's S	
					Baikuwān				
					Tokon				
		Bolot	H	Abulmanbet's S	Atalik baturu		4J/F		
		Boliyatak			Saisambai				
		Han Hojo	W	Abulfeyz's S	Batisi			Oyirad, ►Yili (1775).	
					Baikeldi				
					Gaib				

16	1774.1.	Abulai	H		Adil sultan	G	EWJ/2YF	Ablai's S	HMQN: 16b-18a, 55a-57a; GZSL 949: 10a-b.	
					Dair		5J/TF			
					Mamuk		3J/TF			
					Jibek		5J/TF			
					Jutang					
					Baltai					
			Cebek							
			Elcike							
			Dulat Kere	G	Ablai's C	Sabak/Sebek				
			Sultanbit		Ablai's YB	Jarke		5J		
			Tuikujan		Ablai's YBL	Nasbek				
			Davir		Ablai's YBL	Maldabar		5J/TF		
	Hüdaimendu		Ablai's YBL	Hüdaihuil						
	Esim		Ablai's C	Hosihor						
	Jun Gar		Ablai's C	Hoidar						
	Bukui		Ablai's C	Abai						
17	1777.1.	Abulai	H		Otorci		3J/TF		HMQN: 19a-20a, 58a-63a; GZSL 1023: 11a-b.	
					Muhüilai		5J			
					Satan		5J			
					Hara baturu		6J			
		Hambaba	T		Dosun sultan		4J	Hambaba's S		
					Boitoho		6J			
	Batubolot			6J						
	Hüdaimendu		Hambaba's S	Edege		6J				
18	1780.6.	Abulai	H		Sedek sultan	G		Ablai's S	HMQN: 19a-20a, 64a-66b; GZSL 1106: 9b.	
					Hara baturu		6J			
					Cebek		6J			
					Hosihol					
					Orodzibai					
					Tukus					
					Esku					
19	1782.6.	Wali	H	Ablai's S	Sagai sultan	G	EWJ/2YF	Ablai's S	HMQN: 20a-20b, 67a-71a; GZSL 1156: 7b.	
					Dayar		5J/TF			
					Dekter		6J			
					Dural/Durat		6J	Ovirad. ► Yili (1782)		
					Belek		6J			
					Jangkeltu		6J			
					Mambet		6J			
					Adiya		6J			
20	1783.5.	Abulbis	W	Abulmanbet's S	G'adai/Giyatai		EWJ/2YF	Abulfeyz's S	HMQN: 20b-22a, 72a-76a; GZSL 1178: 12b-13a.	
					Bayar		5J/TF			
					Kopun		6J			
					Hulhaci		6J			
					Basang		6J			
Jidak/Jadak Sok	Saniyaz's S	Saniyaz's S	Toktokucuk		4J/TF	Shaniyaz's S				
			Bukumbai							
			Nurdzubai							
	Abulai sultan		Nurali's S	Haratoho		6J				
21	1787.2.	Han Hojo	W	Abulfeyz's S	Agadai	G	EWJ/2YF	Abulfeyz's S	HD1: 17a-26b; HD3: 14a-21b; GZSL 1271: 28a.	
					Eder					
					Serger					
		Tasitemur								
		Jidak/Jadak	Saniyaz's S	Givabai		4J	Saniyaz's S			
				Etepu						
Erjipu										
22	1787.9.	Wali	H	Ablai's S	Hasam	G	EWJ/2YF	Abulay's S	HD2: 11a-15b; HD3: 35a-38b; GZSL 1286: 13b-14a.	
					Dayar					
					Baltai					
					Hara baturu					
					Bedeger					
23	1790.8.	Han Hojo	W	Abulfeyz's S	Jolci	G	EWJ/2YF	Abulfeyz's S	HD2: 11a-15b; HD3: 35a-38b; GZSL 1358: 13b; XSL 12: 21b-22a, 24b.	
					Kukudai	G	EWJ/2YF	Abulfeyz's S		
					Satibaldi		4J			
					3 others					
24	1791.1.	Wali	H	Ablai's S	Dosoli sultan	G	EWJ/2YF	Abulay's S	HD2: 57a-64b; HD3: 35a-38b; GZSL 1369: 15a-b.	
					Belek					
					Dilimaimat					
					Mamin					
					Tuliyakbai					
					Ajibai					
					Šuker					
25	1791.8.	Wali	H	Ablai's S	Amidai			Abulay's S	GZSL 1383: 27a.	
					4 others					
26	1795.9.	[Wali]	H	Ablai's S	Sha Muhmud	G	EWJ/2YF	Abulay's S	GZSL 1483, 16a; XSL 12: 11b-12a, 13b, 17b, 23a, 25a, 29a, 31b-32a.	
		[Khan Khoja]	W	Abulfeyz's S	Balak		4J	Abulay's R		
					Bukuk		EWJ/2YF	Khan Khoja's S		
					Ai Khoja		2J	Jochi's S		
					Tawke Jan		4J			
		[?]			Sati		4J			
			Janabak			Shaniyaz's S				
			Nurali							

27	1803.9.	Wali	H	Ablai's S	Begali	EWJ/2YF	Wali's S	RZSL 118: 29a; XSL 12: 5b-6a, 13b, 23a- b, 26a-b.	
					Tokto	EWJ/2YF	Wali's N		
					Aicuwak	4J	Balak's S		
		[?]			Nuraisar (?)		Tawke Jan's YB		
					Narboto	4J	Sok's S		
		1 others							
28	1809.9.	Wali	H	Ablai's S	Dosoli	G EWJ/2YF	Abulay's S	RZSL 217: 1a-b; XSL 12: 4a-6b, 10a-b, 13b, 14a-b, 16a-17a, 20a-b, 21b, 23a-b, 26b-27a, 31a, 32b.	
						Sarbai	EWJ/2YF		Wali's S
						Tokto	2J		Wali's N
						Sultan Kerei	2J		Abas's S
						Sharuhul (?)	2J		Dawlat Kerey's S
			Aicuwak	4J	Balak's S				
		Tohoma (Toghum)	H	Bolot's S	Altunsar (Altynsary)	EWJ/2YF	Toghum's S		
					Rustam	EWJ/2YF	Jan Khoja's S		
					Jang Holos (?)	2J	Bopu's S		
					Jar (?)	2J	Arada's S		
					Nuraisar (?)	2J			
					Hudaimandi	2J			
					Jochi	4J			
					Tulap (?)	4J	Sok's S		
					Hasam	4J			
29	1824.1.	[?]			Ishim		Toghum's S	XZSL 63: 14a-b; TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, 4.405, 115-160b; Noda 2006: 40.	
					Begali		Jan Khoja's S		
					Tursun		Jochi's S		
					Umar		Bopu's S		
					Tawke		Agada's S		
					Wali		Ablaikhan's S (?)		
					Ali		Janai's S		
							36 (or 32) others		

(ONUMA Takahiro)

## Glossary

### Chinese

- Abulai 阿布賚  
Abulebisi 阿布勒比斯  
A'ergan 阿爾幹  
Agui 阿桂  
Aletanshala 阿勒坦沙喇  
Annan 安南  
Bandi 班第  
banshi dachen 辦事大臣  
bao 包  
Baoning 保寧  
baoshiding 寶石頂  
batu'er dachen 巴圖爾大臣  
Beijing 北京  
beilu jun 北路軍  
bingwu 丙午  
Bishu shanzhuang 避暑山莊  
Bopu 蒲普／博普  
Bulute 布魯特  
canling 參領  
canzan dachen 參贊大臣  
cefeng 冊封  
chaogong 朝貢  
chaogongguo 朝貢國  
chaojin 朝覲  
chen 臣  
chenpu 臣僕  
Chengde 承德  
Chenggunzhabu 成衮扎布  
chi 勅  
cuzao 粗躁  
daduan 大緞  
da huangdi 大皇帝  
Daledang'a 達勒當阿／達爾黨阿  
Daliku 達里庫  
Daqing guo 大清國  
*Daqing huidian shili* 大清會典事例  
danyan 單眼  
daoyuan 道員  
Dingchang 定長  
Dulete Kele 都勒特克噶  
Dingbei jiangjun 定北將軍  
Dingbian you fujangjun  
定辺右副將軍  
Dingbian zuo fujangjun  
定辺左副將軍  
dingwei 丁未  
Dingxi Jiangjun 定西將軍  
dingzi 頂子  
dongji kalun 冬季卡倫

- duanzi 緞子  
 Eshiboto 額什博托  
 fudutong 副都統  
 etuoke 鄂拓克  
 mingyi fanbu 名義藩部  
 fanshu 藩屬  
 fanglüe 方略  
 fujian 附件  
 fujangjun 副將軍  
 gong 公  
 gongma 貢馬  
 Hamuba'er 哈木巴爾  
 Han 漢  
 han 汗  
 Hasake 哈薩克  
 hebi 合璧  
 hualing 花翎  
 huangdi 皇帝  
 huibu 回布  
 Huiling 惠齡  
 huizi 回字  
 Huojibo'ergen 霍集伯爾根  
 Jiayi'er 加依爾  
 jingong 進貢  
 junchen guanxi 君臣關係  
 jixin 寄信  
 jimi 羈縻  
 jun 郡  
 Junjichu 軍機處  
 Junji dachen 軍機大臣  
 kalun 卡倫  
 kanei 卡內  
 kawai 卡外  
 kongqueling 孔雀翎  
 Laiyuanqinglisi 徠遠清吏司  
 lanling 藍翎  
 li 里  
 Libu 禮部  
 Lifangyuan 理藩院  
 lingcui 領催  
 lingdui dachen 領隊大臣  
 Liuqiu 琉球  
 mangduan 蟒緞  
 Mantake 邁他克  
 Menggu lili 蒙古律例  
 mingfa 明發  
 Mingrui 明瑞  
 Mulan 木蘭  
 Naiman 奈曼  
 neidi 內地  
 Neige 內閣  
 nianban 年班  
 Nusan 努三  
 pijia 披甲  
 Qianlong 乾隆  
 Qianqing gong 乾清宮  
 Qing 清  
 Qinggui 慶桂  
 sanyan 三眼  
 shangshu 尚書  
 shangyu 上諭  
 shilang 侍郎  
 shilu 實錄  
 shiwei 侍衛  
 shixiang chengxi 世相承襲  
 shuangyan 雙眼  
 Shundene 順德訥  
 shuguo 屬國  
 siru 私入  
 suijing cheng 綏靖城  
 Ta'erbahatai 塔爾巴哈台  
 taiji 台吉  
 taitou 擡頭  
 tiandi 天地

Tu'ertule 土爾兔勒  
waifan menggu 外藩蒙古  
waiguo laishi 外国來使  
wang 王  
woduan 倭緞  
Wudai 伍岱  
Wumo'er 烏默爾  
xiaji kalun 夏季卡倫  
xian 縣  
Xianluo 暹羅  
xiaoqixiao 驍騎校  
Xibu hasake 西部哈薩克  
xilu jun 西路軍  
Xinjiang 新疆  
Xinzhu 新柱  
Ya'er 雅爾  
yi 夷  
Yiletu 伊勒圖  
Yili 伊犁  
youbu 右部  
youji 遊擊  
Yongbao 永保  
yuanliu 源流  
yuezhe 月摺  
Zhasake 札薩克  
zhaofu 招撫  
Zhaohui 兆惠  
zhongguo da huangdi 中國大皇帝  
Zhuoleqi 卓勒齊  
zhupi 硃批  
zongzhu 宗主  
zouling 佐領  
zouzhe 奏摺  
zuobu 左部

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