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## "Qinding Huangyu Xiyu Tuzhi" as a Source of the Information of Weapons and Military Symbols for the population of Central Asia in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century

Leonid A. Bobrov <sup>a, \*</sup>, Alexey M. Pastukhov <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Novosibirsk State University, Russian Federation

### Abstract

The article deals with previously untranslated chapters of the Qing source "Qinding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi" dedicated to the weapons and banners of the population of Central Asia. This source was compiled by the order of Emperor Qianlong after the annexation of the territory of the Dzungarian state to the Qing Empire. A group of Qing officials and European specialists was sent to explore the newly annexed lands. The article analyzes data on the preparation, composition and some features of the expedition to study Dzungaria. It was found that the main researches were carried out in 1756-1757. The study of Eastern Turkestan continued until the spring of 1759. The compilation of the text of "Xiyu Tuzhi" started in the same year and continued, intermittently, for about 23 years (1759-1782). There were 5 stages of this process and their characteristic features are highlighted in the article. It was found that the Manchu generals who took part in the war in Central Asia participated also in the compilation of the source among other specialists. Basic information about the weapons and banners of the population of the region is grouped in chapters (*juan*) 41 ("Dzungars") and 42 ("Muslim tribes"). The source describes weapons, armor, and the banners of the Oirat and Turkic population of the region. Some information from the source is unique and could not be found in other sources of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Qing authors correlated the original names of weapons and armor with design and features of these items, making possible the further, more detailed study of the written sources and epics of the population of Central Asia. So, "Xiyu tuzhi" is the main Qing written source on the weapons and banners of the Central Asian population in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** "Qinding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi", Dzungaria, East Turkestan, weapons, armour, banners.

### 1. Introduction

The historical period spanning the second half of the 17th century to the middle of the 18th century was a time of fierce rivalry between the three major geopolitical players in the region: the Qing Empire, the Russian state and Dzungaria.<sup>1</sup> The struggle for spheres of influence

\* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: [spsml@mail.ru](mailto:spsml@mail.ru) (L.A. Bobrov), [chinesewarfare@inbox.ru](mailto:chinesewarfare@inbox.ru) (A.M. Pastukhov)

<sup>1</sup> In native historiography the state of western Mongols (Oirat) is often called Jungar Khanate (Zlatkin, 1983; Moiseev, 1991; Chernyshev, 1982; Chernyshev, 1990). However, the rulers of the Choros house were not direct descendants of Genghis Khan in the male line, and consequently the Mongolian tradition was not entitled to the Khan's title. The majority of Dzungarian rulers bore the title *Khuntaiji*, borrowed from the Chinese titlature and literally meaning "august hereditary prince, eldest son of the emperor, heir to the throne" (the most accurate semantic translation into Russian is Great Prince) (Bobrov et al., 2018: 160). The only exception was Galdan Boshoktu-khan to whom the title was granted by the head of the Buddhist church of Tibet, the Dalai Lama (Zlatkin, 1983: 172). The contradiction between military power of Dzungaria and its official political status was obvious to contemporaries, therefore in Qing sources, rulers of this last nomadic empire were sometimes unofficially called "khans" or "vans" (Cheneshov, 1990: 57). However, the formal title

In the beginning, this led to a series of Russo-Qing (1652-1670, 1685-1689), and then to Dzungar-Qing military conflicts (1690-1697, 1715-1723, 1728-1740). The main beneficiary of these events was the Qing Empire, which added Khalkha, the oasis state of Khami in Eastern Turkestan and some other territories to its holdings.

However, the Manchu rulers initially failed to crush and destroy their main competitor in Central Asia - Dzungaria. The military art of the Dzungars, which reached a sufficiently high level in its development, played a significant role in this (Bobrov and Khudyakov, 2008: 564-604; Bobrov et al., 2010: 152-206)<sup>1</sup>.

In 1740 the Qing Empire and Dzungaria approved a peace treaty, according to which the eastern slopes of the Mongolian Altai became the border between the two states (Moiseev, 1977: 3-11). However, the long-awaited peace turned out to be only a short respite for the participants of the confrontation. In the first half of the 1950s Dzungaria entered a period of systemic crisis, which manifested itself both politically and economically (Bobrov et al., 2010: 164, 178).

Taking advantage of the internecine struggle of the Oirat nobility, the Qianlong Emperor (reigned: 1735-1796) started a military intervention and was fairly easy to achieve success. A revolt of some Dzungars led by Amursana (1723-1757) was cruelly suppressed by punitive expeditions. The military campaigns of 1755-1759 resulted in the annexation of vast territories to the Qing Empire, which included the former possessions of the Dzungars and their Muslim vassals (Pastukhov, 2009: 19-29)<sup>2</sup>.

The conquest of Dzungaria was an event of enormous national importance: for the first time in the last 50 years, such vast and obscure lands, previously inhabited by hostile Oirat tribes, were included in the empire<sup>3</sup>. The Dzungarian inheritance required a thorough study of the newly acquired territories, drawing up geographical maps and lists of taxpayers. Without this task, it was difficult to establish effective management of the new lands<sup>4</sup>. To achieve these goals, high-ranking officials were sent to the region, and a special state commission was established. The result of its work was the extensive work Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi (欽定皇輿西域圖志,

"The final text included information on the geography, history, economics, military affairs, and social and administrative structure of Dzungaria, as well as the material and spiritual culture of the Oirat and Turkic populations of Central Asia. The text was supplemented with maps of East Turkestan, Kazakh, Kirghiz and Kokand dominions, Badakhshan and Afghanistan, as well as genealogies of local rulers (Duman, 1936b: 27; Chernyshev, 1990: 6-7).

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The Dzungar monarchs remained the same, so it seems more appropriate to define the Dzungar state as a *Khuntaiji state* or a Grand Duchy.

<sup>1</sup>In the first half to the middle of the 17th century, the main striking force of the Oirat was light and armoured cavalry, armed mainly with saadaks, lances and bladed weapons. However, in the last third of the 17th century Galdan Boshokht-khan managed to buy in the states of Central Asia a large number of arms, which greatly increased the combat efficiency of Dzungar troops and to a large extent changed the traditional Oirat tactics. At the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries Dzungaria established its own production of handguns and later cannons, mortars and ammunition (Bobrov and Khudyakov, 2008: 564-604). Besides, thanks to the purposeful policy of the Dzungar *Khuntaiji*, they managed to provide a significant part of their warriors with protective arms (Bobrov, Khudyakov, 2008: 360-366). During the Dzungar-Halkha war (1687-1690) reformed Oirat troops easily defeated militias of the Mongol rulers of Khalkha, and during the conflicts with the Qing dynasty the Dzungars repeatedly defeated expeditionary corps of the Celestial Empire (Bobrov et al., 2010: 159, 161-163).

<sup>2</sup>Dzungaria in the first half of the 1950s comprised south-eastern Kazakhstan (including Semirechye), eastern Turkestan (except the Khami oasis), Altai (south of Lake Teletskoye) and others.

<sup>3</sup>The preceding acts of significant expansion of the borders of the Qing Empire belonged to the end of the 17th century. Taiwan (1683), the northern bank of Amur up to Dzhugjur ridge and the right bank of Argun r. (1689), Khalkha-Mongolia (1691) and oasis state Khami (1697). In addition, as a result of the war in Jinchuan (Sichuan pr.) in 1749 the Qing dynasty was able to vassalage the mountain domain of Great Jinchuan. However, it was not possible to incorporate its territory into the empire in 1749.

<sup>4</sup>In Chinese, the words *bantu* (版圖) mean "tax lists and geographical maps", or figuratively, "population and territory". The act of accepting new territories into the empire was necessarily accompanied by "correcting and clarifying the tax lists and geographical maps" (*zheng bantu* 整版圖).

From a historiographical perspective, the materials of the Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi (hereafter "Siyu tuzhi")<sup>1</sup> has been used repeatedly by researchers in the study of the history of peoples. However, the various information contained in this work was attracted very unevenly. For example, if the data on the social-administrative structure and economy of Dzungaria were actively analyzed and published in scientific articles and monographs (Duman, 1936a; Duman, 1966: 276; Chernyshev, 1990; Kichanov, 2010: 270-279), some other sections of the "Siüü tuzhi" did not attract the scholars' attention for a long time. These include information about weapons, armor and military symbols of the Oirat and Turkic population of Central Asia.

The aim of this article is to evaluate "Siyu tuzhi" as a source on military affairs of the peoples of Dzungaria, Eastern Turkestan and neighboring territories in the mid-18th century. In order to achieve this aim we must clarify the background, causes and circumstances of "Siyu tuzhi", identify features of Dzungaria study by Qin research expedition, identify the main stages of text preparation work, give a description of the sections on weapons and military symbolism of Dzungars and their neighbours in "Siyu tuzhi".

Some issues connected with the process of "Siyu tuzhi" creation were briefly considered in the works of Soviet Orientalists, but only within the framework of general reviews of Qing sources on the history of Central Asia (Duman, 1936b: 26-27; Chernyshev, 1982: 164; Chernyshev, 1990: 6-7). As for information on military activities of Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan peoples contained in the relevant *jüan* "Siyu tuzhi", previously they were not translated into Russian and did not become a subject of a special scientific study. At the same time they are of considerable interest for archeologists, military historians, weapons scientists, and ethnographers engaged in studying military and cultural heritage of Central Asian peoples of the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern period.

## 2. Materials and methods

The main methodological basis for scientific research on the study of weapons of the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age is the principles of historicism, objectivity, as well as the systematic approach, which consists in the holistic consideration of a set of objects, in which it turns out that their relationship leads to the emergence of new integrative properties of the system. The systemic approach uses the rational provisions of evolutionism (variability and heredity) and diffusionism (borrowing, transfer, mixing) (Bobrov et al., 2019: 7-8).

The methodology of source processing is determined by the objectives of the study. At the stages of analysis and interpretation of materials in weapons studies traditionally apply morphological, classification, typological, comparative and descriptive methods, the method of dated analogies, verification and correlation of the results obtained. The reconstruction stage involves a comprehensive approach based on the comparison of written, physical and pictorial sources (Bobrov, Ogeredov, 2021: 12).

The unique information about the linear dimensions of weapons and military symbols of the Dzungars, their Turkic neighbours and vassals reported by the authors of the Siyu Tuzhi is of particular value for the topic of our study. The actual scientific task is to translate the data specified in the text of the Qing source into the modern metric system.

The basis for the study of the Celestial system of weights and measures in Ancient, Medieval and Modern times was laid by the Chinese researcher Wu Chenglo, who published a special monograph "Zhongguo dulyanheng shi" ("History of Chinese metrology") dedicated to this problem (Wu Chenglo, 1957)<sup>2</sup>. Among others, Wu Chenglo established units of length and weight measurements in China in the Qing dynasty. According to his calculations 1 *zhang* was 3,2 m; 1 *bu* was 1,6 m; 1 *chi* was 32 cm; 1 *tsun* was 3,2 cm, 1 *fen* was 0,32 cm (Shkolyar, 1980: 358).

In 1713, the Kangxi Emperor (reigned: 1661-1722) initiated the strict standardization of length, weight, volume and area by establishing the *Yingzao chi kuping liang* <sup>zhi3</sup> system of weights and measures, which remained in effect until 1915. Among other things, the official <sup>chi4</sup> was established, which was henceforth to be 32cm in length. However, along with official *chi*, unofficial local varieties unrecognized and even forbidden by the central government, such as *cai chi*, or "tailor's *chi*" equal to 35.55 cm, continued to be used.

<sup>1</sup> This abbreviated version of the title is confirmed by its mention in imperial decrees, and the definition of *Qingdin* (the highest approved) is given to this work at a certain time, as will be noted below.

<sup>2</sup> The first edition of the book was carried out in 1937.

<sup>3</sup> Letters 'system of building *chi* and treasury *lan*'.

<sup>4</sup> It is also known in sources and historiography as *buchi* (departmental *chi*), *guanchi* (official *chi*) *chi*) or *yinzaochi* (building *chi*).

The Dutch antiquarian and amateur historian P. Dekker offered his variant of calculation of the main Qing metrics based on *tsaiichi*. His hypothesis was based on the comparison of dimensions of authentic armament objects from Chinese museums with the correspondingly named objects recorded in Qing documents of the second half of the 18th century<sup>1</sup>. In this case the actual dimensions of the weapon's object were taken as a reference, on the basis of which the indicators 1 *chi* were calculated.

Drawing on a similar methodology, P. Dekker concluded that 1 *chi* equalled 35 cm:

"For the conversion, I took 1 *chi* to be 35 cm. This is slightly more than the commonly accepted length of 1 *chi*, which is 32 cm. During the Qing period, sizes were not as standardised as they are now, and ruler sizes varied from profession to profession, from place to place, and even from guild to guild within a single profession. I have recalculated the rulers of the Beijing imperial gunsmiths from antique weapons that were made in accordance with published regulations."<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, P. Dekker did not provide references to the museum collections studied, the weapons studied, or the volume of the sample in his article. At the same time, our comparative analysis of publications of arms from PRC museum collections (mainly Gugun museums in Beijing) with materials of Qing regulations showed that even imperial arms<sup>3</sup> could differ in size from the established standards. For example, the well identified rifles, the dimensions of which are recorded in the Huangchao liqi tushi (皇朝禮器圖式) compiled in 1759, in fact have different lengths. Accordingly, an attempt to calculate the length of 1 *chi* on their basis will yield different results (Pastukhov, 2010: 131-199).

Thus, Dekker's hypothesis about the principles of calculation of Qin length measures in the middle and second half of the 18th century does not seem convincing. Moreover, it contradicts the general guidelines of the official authorities on the widespread use in the country of exclusively official *chi*, equal to 32 cm.

Most probably, in the 18th-century Qing dynasty, where arms production was mainly based on the principle of placing state orders with third-party artisanal producers, it was difficult to comply strictly with all the parameters of a manufactured product as laid down in official regulations. To a certain extent this was due to the rather free attitude of local artisans to officially approved models<sup>4</sup>. As a result, genuine spears, sabres, helmets, rifle stocks (and more rarely barrels) etc. may differ somewhat in size and weight from the reference standards established by the state authorities. The difference could range from a few millimetres to a few centimetres in either direction<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For example, the text of the Huangchao liqi tushi (Illustrated description of ritual objects and utensils of the august dynasty) gives specific regulations on the general length of rifles, long-stemmed and bladed weapons and some dimensions of protective weapons used by the ruling elite and soldiers of the imperial army. The text of the work came to Qianlong Emperor in 1759. It was printed in woodblock print in 1766 at the court press of the Wingdean Palace. In 1769, the text of Huangchao liqi tushi was revised and expanded. The codex consists of 18 *juan*, which contain illustrations of various objects used in state rituals and other official events of the Qing Empire. The drawings are accompanied by a more or less detailed description, including indications of the object's material, size, decorative features, and so forth. In some cases, a special mention is made of the category of people entitled to use the respective garment, weapon, outfit etc. (civil officials of a particular rank, etc.) (The *juan* 7-18 deals with the issue of the use of a particular item of clothing and equipment.) *Juan* 7-18 are devoted to the description of weapons and armour.

<sup>2</sup> Dekker P. Spears of Qing dynasty, 2016. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://mandarinmansion.com/article/spears-qing-dynasty> (accessed 20.11.2020) (translated by A.M. Pastukhov).

<sup>3</sup> Including named specimens that can be positively identified among other items.

<sup>4</sup> The system of official craftsmanship in the Qing Empire began to disintegrate as early as the first half of the 18th century, and servile labour of state craftsmen began to be replaced by the purchase of weaponry on commission from private manufacturers. In this regard, it is not surprising that the imperial *Zaobanchu* workshops located in the Forbidden City in Beijing fulfilled only a fraction of state orders for armament production.

<sup>5</sup> It should not be thought that this situation is unique to the Qing Empire of the period in question. Tolerances also existed in the industrial production of weapons. Even during World War I (1914-1918), objects of cold steel arms (bayonets, knives, spades, cleavers, etc.) produced by the warring parties in industrial enterprises, judging by measurements of actual surviving objects, were accepted with tolerances that sometimes reached 2-3 cm in length.

As for Dzungaria, even the question of the possibility of the existence of regulations in the manufacture of edged weapons and armor among the Oirat requires further <sup>study</sup><sup>1</sup>. It is doubtful that members of Qing expeditions and commissions purposefully measured a significant number of Central Asian weapons and then calculated their average dimensions based on a representative sample, which were most likely established "by eye" during the inspection of captured war trophies. It was this notional average that was recorded in the document.

When converting to the metric units of length indicators of the Dzungarian and Muslim arms in "Siuyi tuzhi" we used the data of Wu Chenglo about the size of the official *chi* (*guanchi*) in the Qing period, as the most appropriate in this case (see above). However, let us emphasize again that we are talking about standard indicators. In reality the length and weight of separate items of Central Asian armament could probably differ considerably from those described in the

"Siyu tuzhi. But even with this correction, the information reported in this Qing work is of exceptional scholarly interest, as it has no parallel among other written sources of the period in question.

### 3. Discussion and results

#### History of the compilation and publication of Siyu tuzhi.

The first mention of the need to explore the lands of Dzungaria, to make maps of it, as well as to study the local attractions is contained in the imperial decree of March 25, 1755, when the Qin army had not yet had time to capture even the Ili River Valley, the political centre of the Dzungarian state:<sup>2</sup> "In <sup>Han</sup> times<sup>3</sup> the lands of the Western <sup>Outskirts</sup><sup>4</sup> were excessively vast. In Urumqi and in the lands of all [present-day] Muslim tribes once stood military garrisons. There were among them those who became internal (i.e., Chinese - Auth.) subjects. At the beginning of <sup>Tang</sup><sup>5</sup> the viceroys (*Dukhu*) established their stakes and expanded their lands, reaching the northwestern borders. Now even their ruins have long ago disappeared. I command you to convey this decree to Ezhun<sup>'an</sup><sup>6</sup>: "Since this time moved troops to the lands subject to Dzungars, and to the lands of Muslim tribes, everything that he learns, if coincides with that set forth in Han and Tang stories, may be quoted, and also in those places where Han and Tang people did not penetrate, *to question carefully local, make careful notes and at a convenient opportunity inform the throne, so that it would be possible to compile a collection* [materials] (hereinafter italics is our - Auth.)" (CSH, 1807: tsz. 482, p. 19a).<sup>7</sup>

Unlike most Chinese emperors, Qianlong insisted that officials authorised by him personally visit and scrutinise the annexed territories. This was to ensure maximum credibility of the information reported. In a decree of March 13, 1756 Qianlong stressed: "... Historiographers have never studied and verified [the data], and have not personally visited their (border states - Auth.) lands. Only relied on hearsay and local stories in oral transmission, prioritised them according to

<sup>1</sup> An example of standardization of weapon sizes in the Qing period among Mongolian peoples can be an indication in the collection of Mongolian laws "Khalkha Jirum" on the required length of a spear staff for mobilized soldiers: "If the staff to a spear is not enough, the length of three sazhen and arshin (*delim*), then take a ram three years" (*Khalkha Jirum*, 1965: 86). However it should be stressed that we are talking about measurements "according to the custom", and for each particular warrior this length could vary according to his personal physical data. Undoubtedly, the Oirat developed the rudiments of manufactory production. However, the extent to which the products produced were standardised remains unclear.

<sup>2</sup> Japanese researcher Enoki Kazuo (1913-1989) wrongly dated this decree as of March 3, 1755 (*Enoki*, 1955: 5). However, the document in question is placed in the Qianlong Emperor's reign chronicle Gao-tszong Chun-huangdi shilu (hereinafter referred to as CHS) in tsz. 482 on the day under the cyclic signs of the 2nd month of the 20th Qianlong year, which corresponds to March 25, 1755.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the Chinese Han dynasty (206 BC - 220 AD).

<sup>4</sup> *Sichui* (西陲, Western Suburbs) is the ancient name for the territories of Gansu and Xinjiang provinces. The term *Xiyu*, (西域), i.e. "Western Region", was also used to refer to these territories.

<sup>5</sup> This refers to the Tang dynasty (618-907).

<sup>6</sup> Ezhun'an (1714-1755) was an assistant to Bandi (1664-1755), who commanded the Qing garrison, left in 1755 in the Ili valley after the withdrawal from Dzungaria of the main body of imperial troops. In September 1755 the Qin detachment was attacked by rebellious Oirat Amursana, Ezhong'an committed suicide to avoid being captured by the rebels (*Hodjaev*, 1991: 53-54).

<sup>7</sup> GSH - Gaozong Chun-huangdi shilu. B/g - no year of publication. Tz. - tsz'ian. Hereinafter translation from Chinese by A.M. Pastukhov.

heard and tidied up the weird stuff. And then, as time went on, everyone added [information. It became] hard to work out what was wrong. If that is what happened, now [it is] time to pay attention to clarification! ...To clarify and remember what you have seen and experienced for yourself"<sup>1</sup>.

The same order of March 13, 1756 Qianlong regretted that "...this (detailed study of the Western lands - Auth.) was brought to the attention of the Emperor in due time. In the same decree of March 13, 1756 Qianlong regretfully noted that "... in due time this (detailed study of the Western lands - Auth.) was brought to Ezhong'an's attention. We received [his] report [that] as there is no possibility to examine [the terrain personally], probably, descriptions with maps should be requested, [and] steles and obelisks [that] can be received from not so deaf places, remote from the fortified borders. But then he was busy with military affairs, did not have [even] time to deploy troops in camps, so he postponed [these affairs] for the first time"<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, despite all military and political difficulties, a comprehensive study of the western territories still belonged to the priority tasks of the Qing authorities. It is significant that the supreme decree to prepare a research expedition to Dzungaria was issued as early as July 19, 1755, that is, almost immediately after the Ili region was occupied by the Qing army:

"The western unit returned with victory. The great army has reached the Ili. All the tribes of the Dzungars have completely come under our rule<sup>3</sup>. Paths of movement of heavenly bodies, places of rising and setting of the sun and the moon, time of approach of day and night, and also agricultural seasons<sup>4</sup> in those [places] should be included in our calendar. Their mountains and rivers, roads and distances should be carefully measured and depicted on maps of the country, so that the splendor of the union of China and the outer [outskirts] may be evident. The leftist censor He Guozong (?-1767) has long been familiar with surveying. We command to take a *wuguanzheng*<sup>5</sup> Mingantu (1692-1763) and together with *Fu Dutun*<sup>6</sup> Fude (?-1776), taking under his command two Europeans, to go to all the marked places, to measure their coordinates<sup>7</sup>, and also all favorable places, to work it out carefully and to put on a map, then to submit it to Our consideration. I command to prepare the available maps of the land, as well as the necessary instruments in accordance with the situation and set out [on the way]" (CSH, 1807: tsz. 490, p. 28b).

Thus, an entire expedition was sent to Dzungaria to carry out the "Great Revision", which included both Qing proper and European specialists. The leftist censor<sup>8</sup> He Guozong was appointed to lead it. This dignitary was considered a connoisseur of European methods of surveying with a gnomon. To assist He Guozong in this task, he was assigned an official of the Department of Astronomy, Mingantu, and two Portuguese Jesuit missionaries, Félix da Rocha (1713-1781) and José de Espinha (1722-1788). Alongside the regular guards, they were to be accompanied by the imperial bodyguards, Ulintai and <sup>Deba</sup><sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi (QHST), no place of publication, no year of publication. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=553027> (date of access: 25.01.21).

<sup>2</sup> CCST - Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi, no place of publication, no year of publication. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=553027> (date of access: 25.01.21).

<sup>3</sup> *Zhu bantu* (lit. "included in maps and registers") is a standard formulation in Chinese historiography, indicating the annexation of the territory to China and its full incorporation into the empire, whether or not maps and registers were actually made at the time of such recording. By default, this implied that the Chinese accepted from the defeated their maps and registers of the subject population, which were "put in order" in accordance with the new political situation.

<sup>4</sup> The 24 agricultural seasons that make up China's traditional lunar calendar. There are two seasons for each month.

<sup>5</sup> *Uguancheng* is a civil official of the Department of Astronomy (*Qingtianjian*), rank 6a or 6b. On the official ranks of the Qing Empire see the study by C. Hucker (Hucker, 1985).

<sup>6</sup> A *Fu Dutun* is a military official, rank 2a. Usually served as deputy commander of a banner corps or chief of a remote major garrison.

<sup>7</sup> Letters 'The height of their North Pole and the declination to the west and east'.

<sup>8</sup> A left (i.e., senior) censor (*zuo duyushi*) was a civil official of rank 1b who was in charge of the Censorate (*Duchayuan*). The censors had great power to control the actions of local officials and had the official right to point out shortcomings and errors, even to the emperor himself.

<sup>9</sup> Imperial bodyguards (*shiwei*) in the Qing Empire traditionally performed a very wide range of tasks, including being used as imperial emissaries with extensive powers.

The expedition set off in February 1756, passed Barcul and reached the Iren-Habirga mountain range by May<sup>1</sup>. The expedition set off in February 1756, in May it passed through Barcul and reached the Iren-Habirga range<sup>1</sup>.

The greatest problems were caused by active military operations in the territory of Dzungaria: the uprising raised by Amursana was still burning in the region, Oirat *Noyons* were fighting among themselves, Qing troops were conducting punitive operations against rebels, and Kazakh military units were constantly invading the former Dzungarian lands. As a result, the expedition was repeatedly suspended, recalled or sent on dangerous and time-consuming surveys. He Guozong and his assistant Liu Tongxun (1698 or 1700-1773) were also involved in persistent intrigues at court<sup>3</sup>. Eventually, the main work in Junggaria was completed and the issue of mapping the territory of Eastern Turkestan, which by that time had also fallen under the Qing's rule, came to a head.

Summing up the results of the expedition, the Qianlong Emperor conveyed the following to the members of the War Council on 26 May 1759: "The Muslim tribes are about to be subdued. One should reflect [this] as well as the pacification of the Ili by drawing maps [of these territories]. Mingantu and Fu Zolin (Felix da Rocha)<sup>4</sup> are commanded to reward 200 *lan* of silver [each]<sup>5</sup>. The European Gao Shenxi (Jose de Espinha), who tearfully requested to go with them, also award 200 *lan* of silver. *Shiwei* of the 2nd rank of tenth rank (*shizhan*)<sup>6</sup> Ulintai and *lanlin* *shiwei*<sup>7</sup> with blue feather Debao assigned to [gate] <sup>Qianumen</sup><sup>8</sup>, to award 100 *lan* of silver each. Debao, as before, to be conferred [the rank of] *shiwei* of the 3rd rank<sup>9</sup>. [All enumerated] to prepare for departure by mail" (GSH, 1807: tsz. 586, p. 1a).

Enoki Kazuo and other authors, following him, believe that all surveying work in Dzungaria was completed in 1756, and a topographical expedition was sent to Kashgaria in 1759-1760 (Enoki, 1955: 10-11). However, on May 26, 1756 He Guozong and Liu Tongxun were recalled from the expedition to the capital to be investigated for their official duties, which ruled out their personal participation in the survey during the investigation, the verdict on which was not announced until July 13, 1756. Moreover, on May 7, 1756 the emperor issued an order for the expedition to return to Barcul for wintering, as he feared that the expedition would not manage for six months and would remain in the cold steppe during winter. The decree ordered the expedition to depart from Barkul again for surveying in the spring of 1757: "Now from the vicinity of Barkul [he] (He Guozong - Auth.) got to Iren-Habirg and other places, to conduct business will take about half a year, [but] by the winter [in these places] will become very cold. I command [him] to return to Barkul as before to stay [in winter], and next spring to go again to conduct business" (CSH, 1807: tsz. 510, p. 20a). Thus, based on this decree, we can conclude that He Guozun and Liu Tongsun's expedition spent at least two seasons in Dzungaria, in 1756 and 1757. The dates of the expedition's departure for Kashgaria are not specified in the "Gaozong Chun-huangdi shilu". Only the date on which Felix da Rocha and the other participants were awarded is noted

<sup>1</sup> Irene-Khabirga (Eren-Khabirga, Irene-Khabirga, from Mong. "The motley mountain spurs") is the northern ridge of the eastern Tien Shan.

<sup>2</sup> Such a short period may have been due to the Manchu government's ignorance of the vastness of the annexed territories.

<sup>3</sup> He Guozong fell victim to the scandal of serving as head of the qualification commission: his younger brother was among the officials inspected, who was given the highest category of eligibility by the commission. Liu Tongxun, for his part, panicked when the Amursan rebellion broke out in the autumn of 1755 and fled from the Qing's rear base in Barcool. In May 1756 He Guozong and Liu Tongxun were urgently recalled to the capital. As a result of the investigation in the summer of 1756, both were given a chance to atone for their transgressions during the expedition and were returned to Dzungaria.

<sup>4</sup> Every European who served at the court of the Qing emperor had a Chinese name by which he appeared in Qing documents.

<sup>5</sup> 1 *lan* equals 37.3 g. Thus, 200 *lan* of silver was 7.46 kg of silver in bullion.

<sup>6</sup> *Shizhan* is a tenth officer, in this case chief over nine bodyguards. Depending on where the bodyguards were assigned, they could have an official rank from 5a to 3a. The imperial bodyguard corps (*shiwei*) in Qing China was divided into three ranks, which did not correlate with official ranks. The *shiwei* of the 2nd rank had an official rank of 4a. In addition to the direct task of guarding and escorting the emperor, bodyguards were used as trusted emissaries of the court to carry out tasks and assignments of a variety of nature.

<sup>7</sup> A *lanlin shiwei* was a military official, a bodyguard (*shiwei*) who wore a plume of blue feathers (*lanlin*) on his headdress as a mark of distinction, rank 6a.

<sup>8</sup> The *Qianqingmen* Gate is located in front of the residential part of the Forbidden City and is the main entrance to that area. Thus, being assigned to guard the residential part of the Forbidden City was a kind of expression of a high degree of trust in a particular bodyguard.

<sup>9</sup> *Shiwei* rank 3 had an official rank of 5a.

The authors of this work hope that further study of the Qing's service records will help to clarify the main stages of the expedition's work in Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan.

After the return of the expedition, work on the documents continued in the offices of high dignitaries. The work groups of secretaries, scribes and draftsmen were led by the same He Guozong and Liu Tongxun, who were appointed to be responsible for drawing up maps and descriptions of the newly conquered lands. The processing and collation of the material gathered by the expedition continued for almost two years.

In the early summer of 1761 the finished work, which received the working title *Huangyu Siyu tuzhi* (Illustrated description of the countries of the Western Region), was submitted for consideration by the emperor, and on June 19, 1761 Qianlong decreed to determine the fate of the work: "Compiled by Liu Tongxian *Xiyu tuzhi* [The Illustrated Description of the Western Region]. The work, which had the working title *Huangyu Siyu tuzhi* (Illustrated Descriptions of the Countries of the Western Region), was submitted to the emperor for consideration, and on June 19, 1761 Qianlong decreed that it be transferred to the War Descriptions Committee (*Fanliuguan*) of the Military Council (*Junjichu*) to work on it (lit. "for the execution/drafting process") (CSG, 1807: tsz. 639, fol. 3b).

This report argues that the main body of this written source had already been formed by the early summer of 1761, two years after the annexation of Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan to the Qing Empire.

A special commission of 36 men headed by a high-ranking dignitary, the 1st-degree *Gun* Fuheng (1720-1769), was formed to continue work on the *Siyu tuzhi* (Duman, 1936b: 26). Fuheng was descended from the influential Manchu family of Fucha, which belonged to the elite Manchu Yellow with Kaima Banner (Figure 1). As the younger brother of Empress Xiaoxiancun (1712-1748)<sup>1</sup>, he was among the monarch's closest advisers and enjoyed his special trust. When in 1754 Qianlong planned to launch a campaign against Dzungaria, taking advantage of the turmoil shaking that state, Fuheng was the only one who, during a meeting of the Military Council, immediately supported the emperor's opinion, and in early 1756 he personally participated in putting in order the troops sent to the Western campaign to suppress the Amursana revolt<sup>2</sup>.

Other warlords and officials who took part in the annexation and development of Dzungaria were included in the commission to describe the new territories of the empire: Agui (1717-1797), Zhaohui (1708-1764), Shuhede (1710-1777) and others. (Duman, 1936b: 26). It is possible to agree with A. I. Chernyshev that "members of special commissions appointed by emperors to draw up descriptions were competent people and had great authority. They could receive information of interest directly from the rulers and higher dignitaries of the Dzungar Khanate who were taken prisoners and were at the Qing court" (Chernyshev, 1990: 5).

In relation to the topic of studying armament of Dzungars, their Turkic-speaking vassals and neighbours, the fact that many members of the Fuheng Commission personally visited Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan and even had experience of fighting with the armies of local peoples is important. Some of them subsequently occupied high positions in the system of management of the new territories. For example, Zhaohui participated in military actions in Dzungaria in 1755-1756. In the winter of 1758-1759, he survived a long siege at a fortified camp near the walls of Yarkend and was defeated by the troops of Shuhede, Agui, Fude and Machan. Subsequently, Zhaohui, together with Fude, pursued the White Khoja brothers who had fled to Badakhshan and led the Qing resistance in East Turkestan. Other members of the commission, Shuhede and Agui, took part in the campaigns in Jungaria and East Turkestan. After the active phase of hostilities ended, Qing military commanders and officials took up various managerial positions in the new province of Xinjiang. Agui served in the region until 1762, overseeing the establishment of agricultural settlements between 1760 and 1762. Shuhede served as a *banshi-dachen*<sup>3</sup> in Aksu from 1759-1760, and as a *tsanzan-dachen*<sup>4</sup> in Kashgar from 1761-1762, etc. (Figure 2).

<sup>1</sup> Emperor Qianlong's first wife, who held the title of *huanghou* (empress).

<sup>2</sup> Qing shi gao (QSG), tsz. 301. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/清史稿/卷301> (date of reference: 01.03.2021). After the defeat of Dzungaria, Fuheng continued to pursue an administrative and military career. In the late 1860s he was appointed one of three commanders of the Qing expeditionary force sent to conquer Burma. However, during this campaign he contracted malaria and died in 1770 (Dai Yingcong, 2004: 161-162; Nepomnin, 2005: 137).

<sup>3</sup> A *banshee-dachen* is an assistant governor who governs a particular area of a province.

<sup>4</sup> *Tsanzan-dacheng* is an adviser to the ruler.



**Figure 1.** The first head of the commission for the preparation of the text "Xiyu tuzhi" *gong* 1st degree Fuheng (1720-1769). Portrait from the second half of the 18th century, Dora Wong Collection, New York.



**Figure 2.** Members of the Siyu tuzhi text commission - combatants in Central Asia. From left to right: Zhaohui, Agui, Shuhede. Portraits from the second half of the 18th century.

It is known from the Qing sources of the second half of the 18th century that the members of the commission and their assistants collected and examined the trophy armament of Dzungars. For example, on behalf of Agui, his assistant Iletu searched for cannons, mortars and ammunition buried in the Temerlik river area (Ili river basin), where one of the Dzungar artillery factories was located:

"The 16th day of the 5th insertion month of the 27th year of Qianlong (July 7, 1762). *Tsanzan-dachen* Agui filed

report: "Last year your subject sent troops to Tarbagatai to occupy it with garrisons and set up outposts, based on the study of the terrain. It was supposed to go from Huimalahu to Aiguus Dzuun-mod, from Altan-emel to the bank of the Ili, installing wooden signs in 17 places, [and] opposite the Ili river in 4 places put up signs from stones<sup>1</sup>. This spring the *hutsun tunlin*<sup>2</sup> Ileta and others were sent to leave in advance and complete everything. Moreover, according to the oirat testimony, in Temirlik (Te-mu-er-li-ke)<sup>3</sup> there was a place where Dzungars were engaged<sup>4</sup> in [manufacturing] large copper tools (*da tunpao* 大銅礮)<sup>5</sup> and cannon balls (*pao-tzy* 礮子). Your subject instructed *Hujun tunlin* Yilat and others to go there and take matters into their own hands. According to [his] report, [they] dug out four large copper cannons (*da tunpao*), barrels [mortars] *chuntianpao* (*chuntian paotun* 衝天礮筒) - 8, large and small cores - more than 10 000 [pieces]. One by one they moved everything back, took it into storage and put it in reserve. We expect that when [the order is given] to deploy troops in Tarbagatai, in the places where wooden and stone signs are set, we will set sentries according to the situation" (SCHS, 1807: tsz. 71, l. 5a).

In the course of the war the Qing troops captured a considerable number of Dzungar weapons. Some of them were distributed among the soldiers of the expeditionary corps, while others continued to be used by the Oiratians who had defected to the Empire (Bobrov, Khudyakov, 2008: 406-408). However, some trophies were sent to Peking, where they could be examined and studied by the capital's officials. Some of these items of protective and offensive armament (for example, a ringed armor and a large-caliber gun) were described in details and sketched for the publication in Huanchao liqi tushi (HLT, 2004: 632, 757)<sup>6</sup>. Besides, Dzungar and East Turkestan ring shells were brought to China as personal trophies of participants of 1755-1759 campaigns. Many Qing officers posed in these exotic armour for the Far East while painting their portraits for the Hall of Military Glory - "Purple Glitter Pavilion".

Thus, the members of Fuheng's commission and their assistants had every opportunity to familiarize themselves with the armament of the recent opponents of the Qing Empire. In addition, along with indirect data, the text of the Siyu tuzhi has a direct indication that its authors specifically researched weapons and military symbols of Oirats: "[We] studied their military equipment (*chjanju* 戰具), especially described their banners (ch. *qidu* 旗纛), entirely written in Sanskrit letters" (CHST, 1782: tsz. 41)<sup>7</sup>

The Fuheng commission's work on the document was completed in late 1762 or early 1763. Unfortunately, we have no precise information on this early version of the Xiyu tuzhi text. Apparently, it did not fully satisfy the emperor, because in the decree of January 12, 1763 Qianlong ordered Fuheng and his commission to resume work on the preparation of the draft (*chugao*) description of the Western territory.

In spite of the monarch's wishes, the work of compiling a description of the annexed lands progressed slowly. The king's desire for a description of the annexed territories was slow, but Fuheng, who was engaged in a host of military and administrative affairs in addition to compiling the Siyu Tuzhi, was soon involved in preparations for another campaign against Myanmar. In March 1768, he received orders to march with troops against the recalcitrant Burmese, and by 1770, he died of the effects of malaria in Myanmar.

Due to the lack of data, it remains unclear what exactly the historiographical commission did between January 1763 and April 1778<sup>8</sup>. It was not until 26 April 1777 that

<sup>1</sup> That is, pour *oba* - a pyramid of stones used by Mongolian peoples as landmarks and memorials, as well as for shamanic rituals.

<sup>2</sup> *Hujun tunlin* (lit. 'commander of security troops') was a Qing military rank, rank 2a. He commanded several *In* (military unit of 500 men in infantry or 250 men in cavalry).

<sup>3</sup> According to the Qing source of the first quarter of the 19th century. "The Temirlik River originates on the northern slope of Chagir Mountain (Cha-chi er-shan) and flows to the northwest, flowing northward from the permanent Qing guardhouse Temirlik. Probably, Temirlik of Qin sources is a tract in the canyon of Temirlik river flowing through the territory of Sharyn national park of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 240 km to the east of Almaty, on the border of Uigur and Yenbekshikazakh districts.

<sup>4</sup> Letters 'led, repaired, mastered'.

<sup>5</sup> Most likely this refers to cannons made of copper alloy (bronze), as pure copper is not used for casting gun barrels. Nevertheless, in Qing documents bronze cannons were traditionally referred to as "copper".

<sup>6</sup> HLT - Huanchao liqi tushi.

<sup>7</sup> CCST - Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi.

<sup>8</sup> It is possible that during this period members of the commission selected and prepared additional material for inclusion in the work. In addition, between 1772 and 1773. The commission members may have selected and prepared additional material for inclusion in the work in 1772-1773.

A supreme decree was issued: "We command to appoint Fukang (1754-1796) and Liu Yong (1719-1804) as leaders [of the Xiyu tuzhi commission]. Honor this!"<sup>1</sup>

However, despite the fact that Fukang'an was a favorite of Qianlong and a representative of the empire's high nobility<sup>2</sup>, the emperor must have been dissatisfied with the new composition of the commission. As early as July 22, 1777, less than three months after Fucan's and Liu Yong's appointments, the emperor issued a new edict: "We command to appoint Yu Minzhong (1714-1779), Ying Lian (1707-1783) and Qian Rucheng (1722-1779) to head the [commission] on [compiling] the Xiyu tuzhi. Honor these!"<sup>3</sup>

It seems that it was this last commission that made the final edits to the text of the work in question and conducted the final revision of the Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi. This work added significant insertions to the text of the work, which was especially noted in the preface<sup>4</sup>. The preface noted<sup>4</sup>, among other things, that "*dasyueshi* Ying Lian, following imperial decree, enlarged the compilation of Siyu tuzhi and completed [the work]. The work is likely to have been enlarged to include lengthy quotations from historical treatises of previous historical eras.

The title of the work indicates that it was published with the supreme approval (*qingding*) of the Qianlong emperor. It was from then on that the Siyu tuzhi became officially known as the Qingding Huangyu Siyu tuzhi, that is, the "Highly Approved Description of the Western Region with Maps.

Thus, the work started in 1756 dragged on for 27 years, and by the time Siyu tuzhi was published, many of those who had contributed to the work had already left this world (Felix da Rocha, He Guozong, Fuheng, Fude, Mingyantu, Yu Minzhong, Qian Rucheng, and others). The publication of Siyu tuzhi was not long survived by its publishing editor, Ying Lian, who passed away in 1783.

Without belittling the merits of Yinglian and his companions who prepared the work for print, we should note that the main work of selecting and analyzing materials that formed the backbone of the Siyu tuzhi was apparently done by the first commission under the leadership of Fuheng. It is noteworthy that the catalogue of the Siku tsüanshu<sup>6</sup> still lists this high-ranking Manchu dignitary who died in 1769 as the editor of this work.

To summarize the review of the Qingding huangyu Xiyu tuzhi process, it must be noted that this work was compiled on the initiative of the Qianlong emperor and under his direct supervision. The monarch personally gave instructions on the start and progress of research expeditions and approved the leadership of the commissions involved in the preparation of the work.

The importance of compiling the Siyu tuzhi was underscored by the fact that it involved not only specialists, but also officials of the highest level.<sup>7</sup>

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of the footage, but it is not known whether this data was included in the final edition of Siyu tuzhi (Antonucci, 2019: 74).

<sup>1</sup> CCCT - Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=553027> (accessed 25.01.2021).

<sup>2</sup> By the time of his appointment as head of the Siyu Tuzhi Commission, Fukang'an had established himself on the battlefields of Jinchuan as an able military commander and talented administrator. Subsequently, in 1787-1792, he became a kind of "crisis manager" of the empire, successively leading campaigns in Taiwan (1787-1788) and Tibet (1791-1792) as well as leading China's border regions during the war with Vietnam (1788-1789) and during the Miao Rebellion (1795-1797).

<sup>3</sup> CCST - Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=553027> (accessed 25.01.2021).

<sup>4</sup> A special imperial decree from 20 June 1782.

<sup>5</sup> CCST - Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=881878> (accessed 25.01.2021).

<sup>6</sup> The Siku Quanshu (四庫全書) is a compendium of classical Chinese literature - lit. "It is a collection of books in four sections (historical works, philosophical works, canonical books and collections) - compiled under Emperor Qianlong and supplemented under his successors.

<sup>7</sup> From 1748 until his death, Fuheng was state chancellor of the Qing Empire at Baohegyan Palace (*Baohegyan da xueshi*) with official rank 1a. He Guozong was a left (i.e., senior) censor with an official rank of 1b. Even the Jesuits Felix da Rocha and José de Espinha, who were invited to participate, were given the 3rd and 4th official ranks respectively. The presence of high-ranking officials in the expeditions and profile commissions, as well as imperial

The main emphasis was on the reliability of the information collected. The Qianlong (as the main customer of the work) required the personal presence of imperial officials in the territories under study for this purpose. The applied (utilitarian) importance of the information provided, which could be verified and cross-checked by officials at different levels, also helped improve the quality of the collected information. This was facilitated by the fact that the main materials on the region included in the *Siyu tuzhi* were collected during the first three years after the incorporation of Dzungaria into the Qing Empire. The key informants were the most competent people on the ground, the Oirat<sup>1</sup>, Uyghur, Kirghiz and Kazakh feudal lords, who had reliable data on the current state of their country and its recent history. The Qing military and civilian officials, who understood the importance of this work and the extent of their responsibility, verified and refined this information.

Noting the undoubted value of the material collected during the fieldwork, it should be noted that the final version of *Siyu tuzhi* is a complex, multidimensional combined work, in which information from the field is interspersed with textual inserts from earlier historical works and poems by the Qianlong emperor. Such a technique, intended to "decorate" the work and give it the necessary "intellectual gloss", in reality makes it difficult to understand the material. When studying *Siyu tuzhi*, one should distinguish between the information obtained during field expeditions and the insertions from early sources that were interpreted by Qing scholars at the level of historical scholarship in the second half of the 18th century.

Despite considerable editorial effort, the *Siyu tuzhi* was not entirely free of errors and inaccuracies, including those caused by misinterpretations by Qing officials of information received from the field. The Qianlong emperor himself honestly acknowledged the lack of information, for example concerning the administrative structure of Dzungaria before its conquest by the Qing Empire: "... this [system] was studied, but the details are not known" (Chernyshov, 1982: 168).

However, even these considerations do not deny the great importance of the *Siyu tuzhi* as the first Chinese historical-geographical and ethnographical description of the Western Region, which was based not on fragmentary information from previous works that were largely scholastic and inaccurate, but on materials obtained by a specially trained expedition that conducted a topographical survey using the latest scientific methods, sketched from life and collected data on the material resources of the region.

In many respects the assessment given to *Shiyu tuzhi* by the Japanese researcher Enoki Kazuo seems fair: "This work, based on field research data with its orderly presentation, accurate and concise, can rightly be called a jewel of reference literature and may well claim to be an exact fulfillment of the wish expressed by the Emperor Qianlong for the compilation of [a work] of "incomparably greater value than research limited to rewriting old works" and his hope that "the correction of accumulated inaccuracies over thousands of years will be a remarkable achievement" (Enoki, 1955: 8)<sup>2</sup>.

#### **Weapons of the Dzungars and their neighbours according to *Siyu Tuzhi***

Most of the information on the subject of interest is grouped by the authors of the *Siyu tuzhi* under the special subsections on Armament (攻戰之具 *Gongzhan zhi jiu*)<sup>3</sup> in the *juan*

41 и 42. The first of them considers weapons, armour and military symbols of "Dzungars", understood to mean the Oirat population of Dzungaria. *Juan* 42 describes offensive and defensive armament, and also the military symbolism of "Muslims". The latter term should be considered in more detail.

In a narrow sense under "Muslim tribes" (*Huibu*) in the Qing materials about the conquest of the "Western country" usually meant the Muslim population of the Dzungarian state, in the first place the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan. However is not excluded that the term "armament of Muslims" in the "*Siyu tuzhi*" also could be interpreted by the authors of the work in a broader meaning, including to designate weaponry complexes of the Turkic peoples that Qin came across on their new western borders during the subjugation of Dzungaria. Among them were, for example, Tian Shan Kirgizes. It appears

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bodyguards made it possible to use all available resources of the imperial administration to gather and primary processing of information on the annexed territories.

<sup>1</sup> At the time of the research expeditions of 1756-1757, a significant proportion of the Dzungar feudal lords were still alive and had not lost power over their immediate subjects.

<sup>2</sup> Translation by A.M. Pastukhov.

<sup>3</sup> Bu. 'utensils, [to go] into offensive battle'.

It is doubtful that Qin officers examining the spoils of war could confidently distinguish between Kyrgyz weapons and those of the ancestors of modern Uighurs that were typologically close to them<sup>1</sup>. During the suppression of Amursana rebellion, Qin troops encountered Kazakh detachments as well. In the Qin written materials of the 18th century the ethnic Kirghiz (*Bulutae*) and Kazakhs (*Hasake*) were usually separated from "Muslims" (*Huibu*). However, in the works synchronous to "Siyu tuzhi" (for example, "Huang Qing zhigun tu") "Muslims" were mentioned among the subjects of the rulers of Kazakh <sup>zhuzes</sup><sup>2</sup>. Comparison of the authentic images of the Kazakh armament with the descriptions from "Siyu tuzhi" shows the similarity of their construction and decoration system. It is very likely that some types of weapons mentioned in the Qing source could be close or even identical to the armament of the Kazakhs of the Middle and Elder *zhuzes*.

The texts of *Juan 41* and *Juan 42*, *Xiyu tuzhi*, dedicate a separate paragraph to each item of weaponry, equipment, and military insignia, informing the reader of the original name of the item in question. This is followed by a brief description of the item. In some cases the compilers of *Siyu tuzhi* compare Oirat or Muslim weapons with their Qing counterparts, noting their similarities and/or differences in design and construction, indicating the material and the main typical dimensions of the items in question.

Comparison of *Siyu tuzhi* with other written, material and pictorial sources of the 17th-18th centuries allows us to evaluate the degree of authenticity of Qing officials' reports, which is important for determining the scientific value of *Siyu tuzhi* in the study of armament of Dzungars and their neighbours of the first half to the middle of the 18th century.

In addition to the basic information describing weapons and military symbols of Oirat and their Turkic vassals and neighbours, the text of *Siyu tuzhi* includes poems by Emperor Qianlong. The text of "Siyu tuzhi" contains poems dedicated to "sword [of barbarians] fan" (*fanjian*) seized from Hoja Jahan, "armour [of barbarians] fan" (*fanjian*), "Muslim sword" (*hujian*), "Muslim banner" (*huidu*), etc.

The stylistics of the information in *Siyu tuzhi* suggests that descriptions of weapons and military insignia could be supplemented with images of them. However, the corresponding illustrative series in the known Qing editions of the *Siyu tuzhi* has not yet been found.

It should also be noted that the Chinese transcription of words in Mongolian and Turkic languages is characterized by some specificity due to almost complete absence of closed syllables not on "-n" sound, and "p" sound, which is replaced by various open syllables beginning with "l" sound or "er" syllable. In addition, there have been some changes in the modern phonetics of some Mongolian languages, which must be taken into account when reconstructing the original phonetics of the transcribed term. In this regard, the accuracy of the Chinese transcription of Oirat words may vary, reflecting not only the technical features of the transcribing process, but also the 18th century pronunciation norms.

In the text of the studied source five main varieties of bladed weapons of Central Asian peoples are presented. In the armament of the Oirat peoples are mentioned slightly curved swords or broadswords with a guard perpendicular to the blade - "iladu" (Mong. *ild*; Kalm. *γld*), as well as swords "sholo" (Mong. *shor*). The set of "Muslim" weapons includes sabers with a strongly curved blade - "The kelintsi (Turkic *kylych*), the heavy single-bladed cleavers seliema (Mong. *selam*), and the double-edged daggers hanjaer (Arabic *hanjar*).

Long-stemmed weapons are represented by two varieties. Oirats have spears "Jida" (Mong. *zhad*, *žida*; Kalm. *yid*, *Xinjiang*.-Oirat. *жиде*), which are divided into "long" (about 3.8-4.1 m) and "short" (from 3.2 m). Among the weapons the "Muslims" mentioned a spear "naytsza" (Turk. *nayza*) about 3.2 m. long.

Traditional weapons of remote combat include bows and arrows. In Oirat they are designated as "numu" (Mong. *num*; Kalm. *numn*) and "sumu" (Mong. *sum*), and in "Muslims" as "ya" (Türk. *yay*) and "oke" (Türk. *ok*) respectively. In addition, the warriors of East Turkestan mentioned "sakedake" (Türk. *saadak*), which is understood in this case as a raiment or quiver.

<sup>1</sup> Since the sixteenth century, the Kyrgyz have been a constant participant in the political struggle in East Turkestan, supporting various pretenders to the throne of the Yarkand Khanate. In 1754, the Kyrgyz supported the Montenegrin *Khojas* in their attempt to gain independence from the Dzungars. However, in 1755-1756 they had already supported the White *Khodzhas* against their Montenegrin opponents. In 1758-1759, the Kirghiz again joined the struggle with *the White khoja*, partly under pressure from the Tsins, and partly because of the political differences that arose between *the Kirghiz biys* and the White *khoya*.

<sup>2</sup> For a considerable part of the eighteenth century Kazakhs controlled the Syr Darya towns, which were home to a relatively large (by the standards of the region) sedentary Muslim population. It should also be noted that the inhabitants of Maverannahr and Afghanistan are also referred to in Qin sources as "Muslims", sometimes specifying in which state or city they live.

Firearms - "bao" (Mong. *Buu*) are noted only in the arms of the Oirat. They are represented by large-caliber (length 64-96 cm, diameter about 9,6 cm) and regular wick shotguns (length over 128 cm), and cannons (length 64-96 cm, diameter 16-19,2 cm).

On the contrary, percussive weapons are present only in the "Muslim" list. This is a semi-secundum "aipaletu" (Turkic *aibalta*) of unusual construction with an asymmetrical blade and a spear-shaped tip, crowned by an iron hilt.

Among the body armament of the Oirat people in Siyu tuzhi are "huyake" (Mong. *huyag*, Kalm. *huyg*) - in this case "chainmail", as well as "eleboke" (Mong. *olbog*) - a quilted armour. The typology of the "Muslim" armour is somewhat more varied. Along with chainmail

The "saote" (Turkic *sauyt*), the cotton armour "elepake" (Mong. *olbog*), the plated

The "kuyake" (Mong. *huyag*, Turk. *kuyak*), the grazer armour "chalaina" (Pers. *char-aina*), the armoured belt The "baledamutsi" (Turkic for *beledemchi*). Interestingly, the Qing authors made a special note of the fact of wearing the corps shell complete with "shalabaer" (Turkic. *shalbar*) - wide leather upper trousers, which were tucked into the flaps of the dressing gown.

The battle-heads of the Oirat are represented by two types of Dukhulakh helmets (Mong. *duulga*, Kalm. *duulkh*). The first, according to the authors of Siyu tuzhi, resembles Qin analogues, and the second is distinguished by a special element to protect the face - *zhanmyan* (literally "face shield").

The "Muslim" helmet "duyilaha" (Mong. *duulga*, Turk. *tuvgulga*) is only mentioned, but the under-helmet "to-bo-bei-er-ku" (*töbe bōrik?*<sup>1</sup>) is described in sufficient detail.

Along with the items of arms, the source text contains information about the military symbols of Central Asian peoples. The Jungars have the banners of the *Zaisan*, which are designated as "mani", and the banners of the *Taiji*, "tukemani" (Mong. *tug-mani*). These banners differed from each other in size, colour and material of the cloth. Among the military symbolism of the "Muslims" were the "aliyamu" (Pers. *alam*), the small banners of the beks and "big banner" - "tuke" (Mong. *tug*.)

It should be noted that the Qing authors demonstrated a good knowledge of Mongolian and Turkic languages, successfully transcribing with the help of hieroglyphs the names of various types and kinds of weapons and armor. This made it possible to confidently identify most of the items mentioned in the source.

Comparison of Siyu tuzhi data with authentic weapons and images of Oirat and Turkic population of Central Asia showed that Qin authors were quite accurate in describing design and layout of weapons for ranged and close combat, and armor of the population of the region under study. This in turn makes us take with confidence the information about those items and armament elements that are mentioned in the text but not yet confirmed by material sources. Such items include additional face protection "made of thin iron" on Oirat helmets (*zhanmyan*), sheaths of *kylych* sabers covered with "fish skin" (stingray skin?), decorated with ivory and tortoise shell, half-secrets combining an asymmetrical blade, iron hilt topped with a spear-like tip, and a spiked or serrated striker and some others.

The source's information about the size and design of long-string arms, large-calibre guns, cannons and banners is of great scientific value, as in other written sources of the 17th-18th centuries the relevant information is given briefly or not available at all.

These sections of the Siyu tuzhi as a whole give a fairly high assessment of the armament and military skills of the western opponents. So, in particular they noted that Oirat "relied on a strong armor and sharp weapons", and also "were able to fight well and were good in the field". Articles of defensive and offensive armament of Central Asian peoples are described either neutrally, or even are praised by compilers of "Siyu tuzhi". For example, it emphasizes

The "good quality" and "fine" finish of the "very powerful" Oirat arrows, the "very great strength" of bows and the "best steel" of the arrowheads of the Muslim population of East Turkestan. The *aybalta* semi-maxenary is described as "in all respects an excellent thing that can be used in various ways". The tradition of Muslim peoples to tuck the flaps of their dressing gowns into wide *shalbars* is also positively assessed, as it "...makes it possible to turn the body easily, deftly and with force", etc.

Such an assessment contrasts with the very restrained and sometimes openly disparaging remarks about the Dzungar army made by some Qing dignitaries in the first quarter of the 18th century ([Khafizova, 2013: 121](#)). In our opinion, such a change of emphasis is due to several reasons. Firstly, giving rather high assessment to the military skills of the Dzungars, the compilers of the Siyu tuzhi stressed the importance of Qianlong's success in defeating such a strong enemy. On the other hand, not always successful

<sup>1</sup>The authors of this article are grateful to Dr. A.K. Kushkumbaev for his assistance in the attribution of the term "to-bo-bei-er-ku".

The actions of Qing troops in the clashes with the Dzungars in the late 1920s and early 1930s probably prompted the Qing authorities to treat the military capabilities of their western neighbours with great respect.

The authors of the *Siyu tuzhi*, seeking to show the breadth of their historical knowledge, tried to view the combat practices of the Oirat and Muslims of Eastern Turkestan within the general context of the development of Central Asian martial art. So, the *tszūan* 41 on Dzungars concludes with historical inserts on weaponry and military symbolism of the ancient Turks and Yenisei Kirghiz, and also on decimal military organization of Dzungars. It is said that "on the basis of those peoples' ancient military regulations" as well as "the strongest among the western tribes [the Turks] Shato" were based the military traditions of the Oirats themselves. In turn, comparing armament of "Muslims" with military practices of the population of East Turkestan, Tibet, and India, on the contrary, the differences in ancient and modern (for Qin authors) military-cultural traditions are highlighted. In particular, the fact of absence of siege weapons among the "Muslims" of the middle of the 18th century is noted. The break in tradition was explained, among other things, by the subjugation of the Turkic population of the region to the power of the Dzungars.

While emphasizing the high scientific value of the *Siyu tuzhi* as a source on weapons and military symbols of the Central Asian population, at the same time it is necessary to note a number of important nuances associated with the specificity of the information given in the source.

The work under consideration lists many items of defensive and offensive armament of the Oirat Dzungarians, their Turkic vassals and neighbours. However, this list is not exhaustive. For example, striking and crushing weapons (maces, sticks, etc.) are not mentioned at all, knives, sabers and broadswords with a disk-shaped guard (for Oirat people), standard battle axes and axes, firearms (for Muslims of Eastern Turkestan), plate-stitched and ring-shaped plate armor (for Oirat people), miscurls and chainmail "bashlykas", breastplates, ringed "trousers", loincloths and others. From material, pictorial and written sources (including Qin sources) it is known that the above mentioned armament was used by peoples of the study region, however information about them in *Juan* 41 and 42 of "Siu tuzhi" is absent.

It is also worth noting that Qing authors' attention was attracted first of all by weapons of unusual for the Far East design and system of decoration. They include "ileda" (sabers or broadswords with a hilt with a cross-shaped hilt and not a disc-shaped guard typical for East Asia), a semi-seniper "aipaleta" with an iron hilt and a spear-like top, helmets with additional face protection, etc.

Even where the list includes the more usual and widespread weapons of warriors in the Central Asian region (spears, bows, arrows), the authors "Siyu tuchzhi" tried to emphasise their non-standard East Asian design elements: miniature bunches on the staffs of Oirat spades, knots on the tops of the handles of long-legged weapons, original decoration of banners, etc.

In addition, the division of armament of the peoples of the region into "Djungarian" and "Muslim" is very conventional and reflects the political realities of the second half of the 1850's. Until that time the Turkic population of Eastern Turkestan had been properly supplying military contingents to the forces of the Djungar *Khanate*. Therefore some subjects of arms, attributed by Qin authors to "Muslim", could be used by ethnic Oirat (for example, plated armor, scimitar-shaped sabers and swords "saliems", etc.). Conversely, firearms made by Dzungar *otok buuchin* masters were supplied to the detachments manned by warriors from East Turkestan.

The text of *Siyu tuzhi* sometimes contains dubious statements as well as outright errors. For example, when describing the Dzungarian quilted armor "elepake" (Mong. *olbog*), it is noted that silk wool was used as a stuffing, which is unlikely in the absence of developed silk production in Dzungaria. As an explosive needed to make a shot is not mentioned gunpowder, but saltpeter, although it is known from other sources that in the first half of the 18th century gunpowder was widely produced in Dzungaria. It is also claimed that sabres "kalintsi" (*kylych*) is made of "pure copper", which is not true. Most of these inaccuracies appear to be due not to the bad faith of the informants, but to the mistakes of the scribes who prepared the text for the carvers of the xylograph blueprint, who could have inserted a similar graphically but different in meaning hieroglyph in the text of the work.

However, these inaccuracies do not affect the overall high estimate of "Siyui tuchzhi" as the main and most valuable Qing written source on weapons and banners of Oirat and Turkic population of Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan of the first half to the middle of the 18th century. Many information recorded in "Siyui tuchzhi" are missing in other works, which makes them unique and gives the considered source a special scientific value.

#### 4. Conclusion

The analysis of the material collected clarified the circumstances and the main stages of the creation of

"We established that "Siyu tuzhi" was directly connected with the inclusion of vast territories of the Dzungarian state in the Qing Empire in the second half of the 50's. The "Dzungarian succession" required a thorough and comprehensive study of the new possessions of the Manchu dynasty. The most important tasks included mapping, clarification of borders, geographical and natural-climatic features, a as well as evaluation economic potential of the region to be annexed region.

In order to improve the efficiency of managing the new lands, it was also necessary to understand the peculiarities of the social and administrative structure of Dzungaria, history, material and spiritual culture of the local Mongolian and Turkic speaking population, genealogy of the local aristocracy, e t c . Among other issues, the Manchu authorities were interested in armament and military affairs The Dzungars, who confronted the Qing Empire in Central Asia for more than half a century.

The main initiator of the Siyu tuzhi was Emperor Qianlong himself. Even before the Qing troops captured the Ili valley, the political centre of Dzungaria, the ruler of the Celestial Empire issued a decree ordering his commanders to explore the annexed territories. For the purposes of this paper it has been established that this decree is dated March 25, 1755, not March 5 of that year, as previously thought.

As early as 19 July 1755, the Emperor approved the leadership of the expedition to study Dzungaria. It comprised both Qing and European specialists. He Guozong, a high-ranking dignitary from the left (i.e. senior) censor of the imperial court, was appointed to lead the research team. He was assisted by an official of the Department of Astronomy, Mingantu, and two Portuguese Jesuit missionaries, Felix da Rocha and José de Espinha. Along with the usual guards, they were to be accompanied by the imperial bodyguards, Ulintai and Debao. The Qing military on the ground were instructed to facilitate the work of the envoys in the capital.

The expedition set out in February 1756, passed Barcul by May and reached the northern ridge of the eastern Tien Shan. Qianlong's determination to explore the annexed region as soon as possible was not shaken even by the large-scale rebellion of the Oirats under the leadership of Amursana. Moreover, in the decree of March 13, 1756 the emperor demanded the personal presence of his officials at the researched territories. This was to increase the reliability of the information obtained. The collection of the necessary materials was expected to take no more than six months, but the complex military and political situation in the region meant that the work extended over several years.

In the course of this study, the prevailing view in historiography that all studies of Dzungaria were conducted in 1756 was not confirmed. Analysis of the Qing sources showed that the expedition lasted for two field seasons in 1756 and 1757 (with a break for the winter in Barkul). Later, members of the expedition departed to explore the former vassal Dzungar possessions in Eastern Turkestan. The main work of collecting materials was completed by the spring of 1759. In the imperial decree of May 26, 1759 Qianlong announced generous rewards for some participants of the expedition. In the same year, Qing officials returned to the capital and began to systematise the information they had obtained.

As we have been able to ascertain from the analysis of Qing documents, the work of collecting information and writing and negotiating the text of Siyu tuzhi went on (intermittently) for about 27 years, including about 23 years to prepare the work itself. With some convention, this process can be divided into five main stages, each with its own specificity.

**Stage 1** was preparatory (1759-1761). For almost two years working groups of secretaries, scribes and draftsmen under the leadership of the expedition leaders He Guozong and Liu Tongxun processed and consolidated a variety of information about Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan. In the early summer of 1761, the work under the working title Huangyu Siyu tuzhi (Illustrated Description of the Western Region) was submitted to the emperor. This suggests that by this time the main body of the written source had already been formed. According to Qianlong's decree of July 19, 1761, the text "Siyu tuzhi" was to be submitted for further work to the War Descriptions Committee of the Military Council of the Qing Empire.

**Stage 2** - the work of the Fuheng Commission (summer 1761-1762). A special commission of 36 people headed by a high-ranking dignitary and the emperor's closest advisor, *Gun Fuhan*, was formed to continue work on the Siyu Tuzhi. The commission also included other commanders and officials who were directly involved in the annexation and exploration of Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan: Agui, Zhaohui, Shuhede and others. It is possible to

It is not possible to assume that it was during this period that the weapons-related sections of the Siyu tuzhi were written or at least edited. Only a few years had passed since the end of combat operations in Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan, and the Qing officers (members of Fuheng's commission) must have still remembered well the specifics of military affairs and armament of their recent Oirat and Turkic opponents. If some additions and clarifications were made in the profile reports of informants from the field about weapons, armor and banners of Dzungars, their main part probably was made in the second half of 1761-1762. The compilers of the "Siyu tuzhi" consider it necessary to especially stress this part of their work: "[We] studied their military equipment, especially described their banners entirely written in Sanskrit letters" (LIXCT, 1782: tsz. 41). In late 1762 or early 1763 the text

"The Siyu tuzhi was presented to the emperor. Apparently, however, it did not entirely satisfy the Celestial ruler, as in a decree dated 12 January 1763 Qianlong ordered Fuheng to resume work on the work.

**Stage 3** - Transitional (1763 - April 1777). The longest and least studied period in the compilation of Siyu tuzhi. Work on the text of the work progressed rather slowly. This was likely due, among other things, to the fact that Fuheng had numerous responsibilities for other military and administrative matters. In March 1768 he received orders to march with troops against Burma, and as early as 1770 he died of the effects of malaria. Due to a lack of data, it is unclear what exactly the historiographical commission did for most of the period in question. **Stage 4** - the activities of the Fukangan and Liu Yong Commission (26 April 1777 - 22 July 1777).

The shortest stage in the compilation of the Xiyu tuzhi. Appointed as head of the commission on April 26, 1777, the emperor's favorite, Fukangan, held the post for less than three months. It is doubtful that he could have had any noticeable influence on the drafting process during that time.

**Stage 5** - the work of the commission of Yu Minzhong, Ying Lian and Qian Rucheng (22 July 1777 - 1782). The final stage of work on the Siyu tuzhi. It was this panel that made the final edits to the text of the work in question and conducted its final editing. As part of this work, significant textual insertions were added to the work. It is very likely that the increase in the length of the text was made, inter alia, through lengthy quotations from historical treatises of previous historical eras. Also included were a personal preface by Qianlong, as well as numerous verses on events between 1755 and 1760. The woodblock edition of Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi, complete with geographical maps, was published in 1782.

In assessing Siyu tuzhi as a historical source, it is the most extensive, comprehensive, and detailed study of Central Asia of all Chinese works from the Ancient, Medieval, and Early Modern periods. This is largely due to the special attitude of the Qianlong Emperor to this work. The ruler of the Celestial Empire personally supervised the process of compiling the text and also approved the leadership of the commissions involved in preparing the work. Particular attention was paid to the accuracy of the information gathered. The work on the Siyu tuzhi involved not only specialists in a narrow field, but also officials of the highest level, including those who had personally participated in the conquest of the region. Some information was received directly from representatives of the local population, including Oirat and Turkic feudals, well acquainted with the specifics of their subordinated lands. It was done in 1756-1759, i.e. practically right after incorporation of Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan to the Qing state, when memories of the sovereign period of the "last nomadic empire" were still fresh. The data collected were verified and clarified by Qing military and civilian officials.

These facts support the high scientific value of the Siyu tuzhi as a source on the history and ethnography of Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan in the first half to mid-18th century. However, this source is a complex, multidimensional work in which the current information of local informants is interspersed with inserts from earlier Chinese historical chronicles, as well as other materials. While the original study of Dzungaria was primarily motivated by pressing utilitarian concerns directly related to the incorporation of new territories into the empire, the decision to publish the Siyu tuzhi as an independent work accessible to a relatively wide audience<sup>1</sup> could not fail to affect its content and key emphases. Among other things, this work was charged with additional educational and

<sup>1</sup> In the second half of the 18th century, the main readers of works of this type were mainly representatives of the ruling elite, as well as civil servants at different levels, including civil and military officials in the capital and in the regions.

The first is the propaganda task of informing readers about the new possessions of the ruling dynasty, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to consolidate the political success of Emperor Qianlong in the public mind.<sup>1</sup> This should be taken into account when analyzing the text of the above-mentioned work. This should be taken into account when analyzing the text of the above-mentioned work.

The bulk of the information on weapons and military symbols of the population of Dzungaria and East Turkestan is grouped by the authors of *Siyu tuzhi* under special subsections "Armament" in *Jüan* 41 and 42. The first of them is devoted to Dzungarian Oirat, the second to the Muslim population of East Turkestan and, possibly, to the adjacent territories. In addition, some data on arms production and military affairs of Dzungars and their neighbours are scattered in other subsections and chapters of the researched source.

Five varieties of bladed weapons, three varieties of long-stemmed and firearms, two pairs of bows and arrows, a quiver, four varieties of banners, different types and kinds of armour, helmets and armour amplifiers are described in the *Siyu Tuzhi* text. Of the elements of military costume, the cloth helmets and top trousers - *shalbars* - are particularly noteworthy.

Comparison of the descriptions of weapons with material, pictorial and written sources showed high reliability of the information reported in the *Siyu tuzhi*. Some data from the source are unique and are not found in other works of the 18th century.

Let us especially note the importance of "*Siyu tuzhi*" for the deciphering of the original Oirat and Turkic terms used to denote various types of weapons and armor. Until recently the attribution of armor terms that appear in folklore (including epic) works and written sources was based on the later ethnographic interpretations of the 19th - first half of the 20th centuries. However, during that period many items of traditional Central Asian armament either withdrew from wide military use, or changed their names due to different reasons. As a result, new or updated meanings of terms were introduced into historical dictionaries alongside the original ones. Because *Siyu Tuzhi* correlates names of different kinds and types of weapons and armor with peculiarities of their construction, it is possible to clarify the original meaning of some or other weaponry terms that were used by Mongolian and Turkic peoples in the first half and middle of the 18th century. This opens broad prospects for a more detailed and comprehensive study of written and folklore heritage of Central Asia in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Age.

Overall, it should be noted that the *Siyu tuzhi* is the most detailed and detailed Qing written source on the armament and banners of the Central Asian population in the mid-18th century.

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### "Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi" as a source on the weaponry and military symbols of the Central Asian population of the mid-eighteenth century.

Leonid Alexandrovich Bobrov <sup>a,\*</sup>, Alexei Mikhailovich Pastukhov <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Novosibirsk State University, Russian Federation

**Annotation.** The article examines previously untranslated sections of the Qing source "Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi, on the armament and banners of the Central Asian population. This work was compiled at the initiative of Emperor Qianlong after the annexation of the territory of the Dzungar state to the Qing Empire. A group of Qing officials and European specialists was sent to explore the new lands. The article analyzes data on preparation, composition and some peculiarities of the expedition to explore Dzungaria. It has been established that the main research works were carried out in 1756-1757. The study of Eastern Turkestan continued until the spring of 1759.

"The Siyu tuzhi, which lasted intermittently for about 23 years (1759-1782). Five stages of this process and their characteristics have been identified. It was found out that among others the Manchu military commanders who took part in operations in Central Asia were working on this work. Basic information about armament and banners of the region's population is grouped in *tszuangays* 41 ("Dzungars") and 42 ("Muslim tribes"). The source describes weapons, armor, and banners of Oirat and Turkic population in the region. Some information from the source is unique and not found in other works of the 18th century. The Qing authors correlated original names for weapons and armor with their design features, which opens up broad possibilities for a more detailed study of written works and epic of the Central Asian population. "Siyu tuzhi" is the main Qing written source on armament and banners of the Central Asian population in the mid-18th century.

**Key words:** "Qingding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi", Jungaria, East Turkestan, weapons, armour, banners.

\* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: [spsml@mail.ru](mailto:spsml@mail.ru) (L.A. Bobrov), [chinese warfare@inbox.ru](mailto:chinese warfare@inbox.ru) (A.M. Pastukhov)