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

NODA Jin, ONUMA Takahiro

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Preface

During the conquest of the Junghar in the mid-18th 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-19th 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\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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\(^3\)-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

\(^1\) The first entry of QZHDH (vol. 1) is dated QL 19 (1754).
\(^2\) Also see the analyses by ONUMA in Chapter 2.
\(^3\) 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 16th century. Frequent correspondences came later, from the end of the 17th century. 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. His subsequent sworn oath of the subjecthood (poddanstvo) of the Kazakhs surely led to the Russian Empire’s successive annexiation 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.

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 compiled by Abilqasymov, describes the language of documents from the Kazakhs as an example of ‘the Kazakh literary language’ (Ka. qazaq ädebi tili). In the latest research work, we note an article by Martin and Mawqanuli. They analyzed the format of 19th century Turkic documents, and believe the language therein should be distinguished from the ‘old-Tatar official written language.’

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

4 KRO: 3–14.
5 KRO; IKRI: vol. 2. Cf. in the case of the letters addressed to the Ottoman emperor in the 18th century, which are kept in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, see Saray 1984.
6 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 18th century and 12 days behind in the 19th century. The document with the Russian translation was researched in Noda 2008.
7 Examples are found in the following document collections: IKazSSR4; IBKh; Abilqasymov 1988.
9 Here and below, in terms of languages, when a Kazakh word or phrase, for example, is given, we indicate this by the abbreviation ‘Ka.’
10 Mawkanuli and Martin 2009: 22.
JMLZ (Reference Copy of Palace Memorial in Manchu in the Grand Council),\textsuperscript{11} 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.\textsuperscript{12} 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.\textsuperscript{13} For reference, there is also some research on the cases of the Khoqand Khanate, which sent Turkic documents to the Qing court as well.\textsuperscript{14}

\textit{Language}

In earlier times, the Kazakh sultans had sent letters to the Qing dynasty in the Oyirad language with Tod script.\textsuperscript{15} 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.\textsuperscript{16} 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,\textsuperscript{17} 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

\textsuperscript{11} As clearly shown, the relevant archival documents are mainly the Manchu ones.
\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Qindai bianjiang manwen dang'an mulu}. Unfortunately, we have not yet found documents from the Kazakhs in the Archives of Taipei.
\textsuperscript{13} Alikeng 2006; Düysenäli 2009.
\textsuperscript{14} 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.
\textsuperscript{15} Onuma 2006 and Documents A and D. The use of Oyirad (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 \textit{Kalmyk} staying with Ablai interpreted the document from the Qing in Oyirad and in Mongolian (\textit{na kalmyiskom 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 Oyirad, and the court’s delegates spoke in Oyirad in the Kazakh pastures, Andreev 1998: 43–44.
\textsuperscript{16} Some researchers of contemporary Tatarstan, such as Khisamova, theorize a framework of ‘the old-Tatar official writing’ (Ru. \textit{staro-tatarskaia delovaia pis’mennost’}), and include the correspondence between Kazakh and Russia after the 18\textsuperscript{th} century in this framework, see Kurbatov 2003: 407, 454. In regards to the pre-modern Tatar written language, we can refer to Khakimzianov 1991.
\textsuperscript{17} Regarding the literacy of the Kazakhs in the second half of the 18\textsuperscript{th} 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\textsuperscript{th} 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, Oyirad, and Turkic. So, in any case, communication between the Qing empire and the Kazakhs was of course conducted without Chinese writing. As He Xingliang shows, documents from the Qing court to the Kazakhs at the end of the 19th century, that is, toward the end of the Qind 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.

Next, we compare the formats of Kazakh documents.

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18 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.
19 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.
20 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\textsuperscript{21}

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): ‘\textit{arz} (petition), \textit{bayan-nama} (report), \textit{jawap} (answer)... etc.; sometimes, words borrowed from Russian, like ‘\textit{rāpūrt}’ (Ru. \textit{raport} = report), are required. Signatures (Tu. \textit{qol}) and seals (\textit{muhr}) are often required in documents submitted to the Russian authorities. The following illustration shows format Type A.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Addressee} & \textbf{Sender} & \\
\hline
Type of document & \\
\hline
Main text & \\
\hline
Seal & date, signature & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{Fig. 0.1. The format and example of Turkic documents to Russia}\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{21} See Kurbatov 2003.
\textsuperscript{22} 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. For specifics, see Documents A and D in Chapter 1.

![Fig. 0.2. The format of Oyirad documents to the Qing dynasty (Type B)](image)

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. 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, while

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23 The document of the first half of the 18th 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.
24 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.
25 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\textsuperscript{26} found in Type A do not necessarily appear.

Because there were Tatar interpreters on the Russian side, the Russian administration did not need to receive documents in Oyirad. Documents in Turkic were sufficiently comprehensible to them. On the other hand, the Qing court required Oyirad 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.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{26} This means ‘for authenticity, I stamped the seal / I signed my name.’
\textsuperscript{27} 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.
\textsuperscript{28} 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 dependent on the palace memorial system of the Qing empire.\(^29\)

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\(^30\)](image)

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\(^{29}\) Zhuang 1979; Bartlett 1991. Concerning the correlation between the Manchu memorial system and the frontier affairs of the Qing, see Bartlett 1991: 223.

\(^{30}\) 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 18th and 19th 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 Oyirad (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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sender</th>
<th>Addressee</th>
<th>Language/Script</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 A</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td>Ablai</td>
<td>E. Qianlong</td>
<td>Oyirad/Tod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 B</td>
<td>1758</td>
<td>Abulfeyz</td>
<td>Nusan</td>
<td>Oyirad/Tod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 C</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Abulfeyz</td>
<td>Yunggui, YMG</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 D</td>
<td>1773</td>
<td>Ablai</td>
<td>Iletu, YMG</td>
<td>Oyirad/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 E</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Abulfeyz</td>
<td>Kinggui, TC</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 F</td>
<td>1779</td>
<td>Khan Khoja</td>
<td>Kinggui, TC</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 G</td>
<td>1779</td>
<td>Ablai</td>
<td>Iletu, YMG</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 H</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>Abulfeyz</td>
<td>Huiling, TC</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 I</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>Dair</td>
<td>Iletu, YMG</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 J</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>Bopu</td>
<td>Yungboo, TC</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 K</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Jochi</td>
<td>Gunchukjab, TC</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 L</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Jochi</td>
<td>Booning, YMG</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 M</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Jochi</td>
<td>E. Jiaqing</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 N</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Ghubaydullah</td>
<td>Harshang, TC</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 O</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Altynsary</td>
<td>E. Daoguang</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 P</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>Bopu</td>
<td>Speransky, SG</td>
<td>Turki/Arabic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

※ 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

{+*1}  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 Jaohui¹; Onuma 2006: 47–48.

Text
Transcription
/1/ Đère yeke Qântandu bariba. Mini öbûgü ečege
/2/ Ešim qan Yanggir qânâsâ nân tani zarliγ mandu
/3/ kûrêd ödûi belei. Odo zarliγ sonosûd maniyiki
/4/ ayilandî ülbeinü tuzi bayarład. Abulai bi köbüüteni
/5/ qasâr bukdër albatutani bolba. Odo maniyiki yamâra
/6/ qairalaquyigi dêrêse ayiladqu ülbeinû. Dolôn
/7/ tolgoi elêi arban nigûüle.. Harak 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.

Commentary
\textit{l. 2, Ešim qan Yanggir qân}: Eshim and Janggir (Yanggir) were Kazakh khans in the 17th 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 (qân) of Janggir.

\textit{l. 4, ayilandî ülbeinû}: The verb ayilad- means ‘to know (honorific), understand, be aware, to report, consider.’ 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 ülbeinû) existing in line 6 is one indicator of this.

\textit{l. 5, albatu}: The word albatu had various meanings; it could mean ‘commoner,
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.³

**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.⁴

**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.⁵

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,⁶ (2) name-list of the Kazakh envoys,⁷ and (3) Chinese translation.⁸

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³ Vladimirtsov 1934: 158–159. For an explanation of the ‘*ejen-albatu* relationship’ in the context of the Qing diplomacy’s perspective toward Central Asia, see Chapter 2.
⁴ This misunderstanding often appeared in the Qing records.
⁵ For further details on Document A, see Chapter 2: 99–105.
⁶ JMLZ 1643.8, 45: 2677–2678, QL 22.6.18 (1757.8.2).
⁷ Ibid., 45: 2679.
⁸ 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 dehargašame 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 afahi araфи 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 16th day of the 7th month of the 22nd year of the Qianlong (August 30, 1757): ‘Noted.’

inserted by ONUMA.
(2) Name-list of the Kazakh envoys

Transcription

Abulay i takūraha dalaha elcin,

Ilhi elcin tanaši. Kara kere naiman otok i jaisang. Habambai i mukūn i deo.
Atahai. Uisun otok i jaisang. Yaral'eb i deo.
Ūmurdai. 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.
Beisenai. Kara kere naiman otok be dalaha abulai i deo abulbis i harangga niyalma.

Kutule hūrman baga.
Ūmbudai.
Halabai.
Dosok.

Translation

The primary envoy dispatched by Ablai:

Henjighar, the chief of the Qara-kese 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 Yaral'egb.
Umurday, the chief of the Ataghai Arghyn tribe, younger brother of Huluki.
Dureng, the follower of Tukiyen who leads the Tortul Arghyn tribe.
Araya, the follower of Ablai of the Ataghai tribe which supervises the Kazakhs.
Beisenai, 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，揚吉爾汗以来，從未得通中国声教。今祗

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帰於鴻化，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，賫捧表文，恭請

萬安。並敬備馬匹

進獻。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
/1/ Aulbeyis-ziyin bičiγ. Nuü ambun bolōd čerikiyin noyon sā[yi]diyin
/2/ mendü amur medegezi. Burudii-ki ěrbuolai-ki qarīγodi onā
/3/ zeruzi nige moorin bey [Abū al-Fayż bahādur sulṭān künüsün düni q[a]rγ[aγ]-
/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
1. 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).
2. 1b, Nuü ambun: Nuü 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.
3. 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 aqalaqči10
   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

9 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.
10 The aqalaqči refers to the ‘leader, head [of caravan].’ For further details, see this chapter: 45.
1769). In 1775, Burut emigrated with his family to the Qing and was incorporated into the Oyirad Camp (Ma. ület i kūwaran) of the Provincial Banners in Yili. His name appears in Document E.

1. 3a, bey: Although it is far from certain, I identify bey with Mo. bükü (all, every, whole).
1. 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. The transcription and translation of his memorial follows:

**Transcription**
Wesimburengge.

Aha dingcang, şušan ginggauleme wesimburengge, donjibume wesimbure jalin. Baicaci, aha meni jakan wesimbuhe bade, hasak de elcin genehe nawang juwan biyai orin juwe de abulai i ahũn i jui oros sultung se uliyasutai jugũn deri, gemun hecen de elhe be baime, jaka jafaʃi genehe. Yarge, masi se, akta gio ajirgan uheri emu tanggũ ninju juwe morin gaʃi, omʃon biyai orin sunja de urumci de isinjiha de hũdaʃara inenggi duleke seme cembe amasi unggici ce dahũn dahũn i hũdaʃara be baime ofi, aha be enduringge ejen i bilume gosire günin de acabume urumci de asaraha hũdaʃara jaka hacin be onggolo nusan sei ichihiyaha songkoi morin hũlaʃabume 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 hũdaʃame unggiihe da burut kuntuhun sei juwan funcere niyalma isinjiʃi, nu ambasa de bure jasigan emke

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11 Chapter 4: 56–57.
12 JMLZ 2635.4, 106: 725, QL 40.6.2 (1770.6.29), the Manchu memorial of Kinggui (Ch. Qinggui); HMQN: 12b.
Memorial.

Your Servants, Dingcang and Šušan, respectfully memorialize to inform [the emperor]. After examination, recently, as Your Servants, we memorialized, ‘On the 22th day of the 10th 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 25th day of the 11th 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 13th day of the 12th 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 4th 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, Shugiingga, also just arrived at Urumchi. Therefore, as Your Servants, we want to allow Shugiingga, 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 28th day of the 12th month of the 23rd 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**

ابولفيض وانگ

اولوغ ازين دين حط كلدى من

باش أوروب الديم بارليغ ني اجيب قراديم تيم قوانديم بارليغ خط ده نريقي بريم غه برامن ديب

بارسون أو

زيندين بر يخشى كنى نى اليب كليب امبو برلان بتورب بولورديكان بارليغ بارايكان يوجى

كونكنى نرى حو

جوكاجک كى خطم دو ييرديم منى نريقي بريم غه بارديكان خان نينك بارليغ بارايكان انكا

قوانينب

اون نجي آى نينك يكرمه بشيىا يوجى کوسکتى برادر غان

/1/ جاڭڭوجنکه فچيک توتي

/2/ ازين ازين دين حط کلدى من

/3/ باش أوروب الديم بارليغ ني اجيب قراديم تيم قوانديم بارليغ خط ده نريقي بريم غه برامن ديب

/4/ زيندين بر يخشى كنى نى اليب كليب امبو برلان بتورب بولورديكان بارليغ بارايكان يوجى

/5/ جوكاجک كى خطم دو ييرديم منى نريقي بريم غه بارديكان خان نينك بارليغ بارايكان انكا

/6/ بارديم کوتريب توتوت
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 25th day of the 10th month [of the 34th year of the Qianlong], Jochi gong will go.

Commentary

1. Abül Fayž: 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 Baraq khan and she was of the Volga-Kalmyk origin.
l. 2a, FJYK (فچیک): Read as ‘fijik,’ this term originated from the Mongolian word bičik. (In contemporary Tatar and Kazakh, ‘bitik’)
l. 2b, Ezen: This term applies to ejen in Manchu which directly refers to the Mahchu Khan.
l. 3, yarlï: Literally, this implies ‘order.’ In Qing documents, it relates to hese in Manchu, or the edict of khan (Ch. chi).
l. 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).
l. 4b, goŋ: 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.14

Document C, the main topic of which relates to the infringement on the Qing border,15 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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14 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 鄭津). For the mission by Ojin, also see JMLZ 2995.23, 129: 1252, QL 49.1.10 (1784.1.31), the memorial of Nawuan.
15 For details, see Document H.
(1) Manchu Translation

Transcription

Murušeme ubaliyambuha abulbis i alibuha bithe i jise.

Abulbis wang

jiyanggiyun de alibuha bithe

ejen han i hese isinjiha. Hengkilefi alime
gaiha

hese be neifi tuwaha, günin 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
gen 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 gong17 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 25th day of the 10th month, Jochi gong was to leave.

16 JMLZ 2339.15, 86: 3365–3366.
17 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 ‘gungni’ has appeared.
(2) Memorial

_Transcription_

…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 3rd rank _hiya_ (the Imperial Bodyguard), Saibilaktu.

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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 3rd rank _hiya_ (the Imperial Bodyguard), Saibilaktu.

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18 JMLZ 2339.15, 86: 3361–3363. QL 34.10.16 (1769.11.13).
and Vanguardsman, 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 15th of the 10th 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
Transcription

1/ Abulai

2/ Jiyanggiyun ambalar du baribo ta amur

3/ mendöö bičig. Tandu mendöö, belge

4/ nige morin, ilge-deg kümün töögel nöküd tai

5/ dörbüle, bahan qudulqu mal mini šog šogdor

6/ ügei hudulči hairlagtun.

[Abulay bin Bahādur [Wāli sul]tān]

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

1. 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 17th day of the 9th month. 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

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19 The transcription here is slightly different from that in QTQD: 120.
20 On the microfilmed frame, the seal of Ablai is chipped.
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.\textsuperscript{22} For example, on the 25\textsuperscript{th} of the 1\textsuperscript{st} month of 1774 (QL 39), a caravan of the Kazakh Suwan tribe visited Yili and brought 124 horses, 8 cows, and 637 sheep.\textsuperscript{23} 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.\textsuperscript{24}

*Transcription of the Manchu translation*\textsuperscript{25}

…Abulai. jiyanggiyūn ambasa de alibuha. Suwe elhe saiysūn. //2374// suwende beleke emu morin. unggire niyalma tutgel duin ofi. Mini majige hūdašara 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…

\textsuperscript{22} 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.
\textsuperscript{23} Lin and Wang 1991: 257.
\textsuperscript{24} Ta’erbahatai shiyi : vol.4, 7.
\textsuperscript{25} 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

"Tarbugtatay Jügäjäkni

Bilip turgan ambunğa Abû al-Fayž wangdîn duʿāʾ-i salām

Degäj, söz bukim, yawa yîlîda atam Abû al-Muḥammad ḥännîn yurtiğa

Transcription

/1/ Tarbugtatay Jügäjäkni
/2/ bilip turgan ambunğa Abû al-Fayž wangdîn duʿāʾ-i salām
/3/ degäj, söz bukim, yawa yîlîda atam Abû al-Muḥammad ḥännîn yurtiğa
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 7th day of the Cancer (4th) month.

Commentary

1. 3, Abū al-Muḥammad ḥān: Abulmanbet. The Qing bestowed the han title of the ‘Right Kazakh’ (Ch. youbu hasake) on him.
l. 5a, turğun: The translation of the Mo. torγa(n) (silk, silk-fabrics). WTQWJ suggests that it means Ch. duanzi (Chinese damask).

l. 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.

l. 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. His name appears in Documents F [l.11] and G [l.3], too.

l. 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.

ll. 10–11, Abū al-Fayž wangdïn 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.

l. 12a, Hān Ḫoja: 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).

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

l. 13, Saraṭān ayī: The seraṭān (Cancer) month is the 4th 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 7th day of the 5th month’ (Ma. sunja biyai ice nadan).

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26 WTQWJ, bubobu, bubolei 1: 14a (Repr., 1957: 3151); Tamura 1968: 671 [no.11856].
27 JMLZ 2635.3, 106: 718, QL 40.6.2 (1775.6.29), the Manchu memorial of Kinggui.
28 HMQN: 85a–b, QL 43.2.5 (1778.3.3).
29 JMLZ 2637.6, 106: 1091, QL 40.6.19 (1775.7.6), the Manchu memorial of Kinggui.
31 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).  

**Text**

1/ تایغتای زیرکین بیله تورغا کیه آمان
2/ باتور آمان بیک اسن لیکین تلای میز کوب
3/ یلارغه بیز بابقین سیز اسن لینکزیلارنی سواي
4/ کلتهب بیرین ایزوک سیز قایران لاب
5/ اون تورغون ایکی بخمل بیرین سیز
6/ اولارئی بیز قول میز غه الدوق کویدین کوب
7/ قواندوق تورت چنتدا تورغان باهقین
8/ بیز موندین بیدوق سیز اندین بیرین سیز
9/ یولر کراک لیک اشین کیه آمان بلور
10/ تورت اولوق کراک لیک اش بولسا
11/ باپیق تویتین یوئوشاسنتیکی اولار
12/ کلتهب بیزکا خیر بور مر خان خوجه
13/ تورجه دین آبانلارنه دعاء سلام

خان خوجه بهادر سلطان

**Transcription**

1/ Ta[r]baġatay zergin bilip turğa[n] kebä amban
2/ batur ambannïŋ esänlikin tiläymiz. Köp
3/ yillarga, biz Bab[i]qini siz esänlinizlärni so[r]ay

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32 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.
Documents from Kazakh Sultans to the Qing Dynasty

/4/ keldep yibärip eduq. Siz qayranlap
/5/ on turğun ikki bahmal yibäripsiz.
/6/ Olarnï biz qol[i]mïzga alduq. Köpdin köp
/7/ quwanduq. Tört çetändä turğan Babïqni
/8/ biz mundïn yibärdük. Siz andïn yibäripsiz.
/9/ Yurt keräklik išin kebä amban bïlïr.
/10/ Tört uluq keräklik iši bolsa,
/11/ Babïq, Tubetni yümïşäsäniz. Olar
/12/ kelip, bizgä ḥabar berür. Ḥān Ḥōja
/13/ törädin ambanlarğa, du‘ā’-yi salâm.

[Ḫān Ḥōja bahâdur sulṭân]

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 žergin 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.

1. 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; 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). In the mid-19th century, the Russian authorities advancing into the Kazakh steppe also identified ‘Batur Amban’ with the Grand Minister Superintendent of Tarbaghatai.

1. 3; 7; 11, Babīq: Babuq was an aqalaqči of the Tortul (Tört-oghul) tribe. His name appears in Documents H [l.11], too. According to Qing records, in 1770, GZSL 757: 10a–11b, QL 31.3 gengyin (1766.4.29).

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

35 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 commender of the Corps 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.\(^{36}\) He was dispatched as Abulfeyz’s envoy to Tarbaghatai in 1781 again (Document H [\(l.11\)]). 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.

\(l.4\), *qayranlap*: The word *qayran* has many meanings including ‘heart, mercy, kindness’ in the Altaic languages:\(^{37}\) Mo. *qayira(n)*, Ma. *hairan*. The usage of *hayran qïl-* (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.’\(^{38}\)

\(l.5\), *baḫmāl*: WTQWJ suggests that it means Ch. *woduan* (napped-damask).\(^{39}\)

\(l.7\), *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.

\(l.9\), *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.

\(l.10\), *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.

\(l.11\), *Tuyet*: This is probably a misspelling of *Tubet* (توپت). In 1780, he was dispatched to Tarbaghatai again.\(^{40}\)

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\(^{36}\) JMLZ 2635.4, 106: 724-728, QL 40.6.2 (1770.6.29), the Manchu memorial of Qinggui.

\(^{37}\) Budagov 1871: 32.

\(^{38}\) He 1998: 66.

\(^{39}\) WTQWJ, *bubobu*, *bubolei* 1: 16b (Repr., 1957: 3156); Tamura 1968: 672 [no.11876].

\(^{40}\) 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**

ﻗﺰﺍﻕ ﻧﻴﻨﮏ  ﺧﺎﻧﯽ  ﺍﺑﻮﻻﻱ  ﺧﺎﻥ  ﺍﻳﻠﻪ ﻧﻴﻨﮏ  ﺟﻨﮏ ﺟﻮﻧﮏ  ﺍﻧﺒﻮﻧﻐﻪ  ﺧﻂ  ﺍﻭﺷﻼﺩﻭﻕ  
١/  
２/ ﺗآر ﻥی ﺩﺎﻏی ﺍﷲ ﺛﻌﺎﻟی ﻚﻮﺏ  ﺑﻴﻠﻪ ﺍﭙﺴﺎﻥ ﻖﻴﻠﺴﻮﻥ ﺑﺰ ﻋﺪﻡ ﺑﻴﺰﻥﻴﮏ  ﺧﻂ  ﺍﻭﺸﺎﺩﻭﻕ  
٣/  
٤/ ﻚﺸﯽ  ﻣﺰﺩﺎﻥ  ﺧﻂ  ﻋﺒﺮ ﺑﺰ ﻋﺮﻡ ﺑﻨﻮ ﺧﺶ ﺍﭙﺴﺎﻥ  ﺑﺎﺭ ﻋﺰ  ﺑﺰ ﻋﺮﻡ  
٥/ ﻚﻮﺏ ﻢﻴﻮﻥﻮﺩ ﻋﺎ ﻧﻴﻤﺎﻥ  ﻒﻠﺮ ﻋﺒﺮ ﺑﺰ ﻋﺮﻡ  ﺑﺎﺭ ﻋﺰ  ﺑﺰ ﻋﺮﻡ  
٦/  
٧/ ﺑﺰ  ﺑﺰ ﻋﺮﻡ  ﺑﺰ  ﻋﺮﻡ  
٨/ ﻓﻠﺎ ﺗﻠﻮ ﺑﺰ ﻋﺮﻡ  ﻓﻠﺎ ﺑﺰ ﻋﺮﻡ  
٩/ ﺑﺰ  ﻋﺮﻡ  ﻓﻠﺎ ﺑﺰ ﻋﺮﻡ  
١٠/  
١١/  
١٢/  
١٣/  
١٤/  
١٥/  
١٦/  
١٧/  
١٨/  
١٩/  
٢٠/  
٢١/  
٢٢/
/1/ Qazañqinñ ḥānī Abulay ḥān Ilānīn jaŋ juŋ anbun̈q aŋ̈ haṭ ušladuq.
/2/ Siz bizniŋ esänlikimiznorapsiz. Biz munda esän amān barmiz. Siz-
/3/ lārni daği l-i-lāh taʾāla köp yîlģa esän qïlsun. Bizniŋ Tubet degän
/4/ kišimizdän haṭ yîbâripsiz. Ol haṭnî oqutup sözin istîp köp
/5/ köp sîyûnduq. ʿ Ağ naymān qarmîš yüz kiši, “boġda ḥânga albatu bolaman
/6/ enāmān” dedi’ depşiz. Šol kišîlârînî yeëip al depşiz.
/7/ Biz ol sözîniz-ġa raẓî bolup sîyûndûq. Bultur daği sekkiz kiši
/8/ qačîp barγanîn törtüy qız, törtüy yîgit, anîn tört qız,
/9/ bir yîg[î]nî qaytarîp yîbârgâniŋiz-ġa üč alâcta iṣîtmâgân kiši qalmandî.
/10/ Iṣîtîndå sîyûnmâgân kiši qalmando. Bizniŋ qazâq sîyâkli kišini qaytarîp
/11/ berîpdi dep, qaytarîp bergân kišinîq atî Mönke Bay degän. Šol
/12/ Mönke Bay degänîn ištürmâdimisiz? Ol yaman išlärîn köp qîladur.
/13/ Yaman iṣ qîlsa, daği ištürmâdimisiz? Yoq, bu raw[ā] iṣ qîlsa, oltür-
/14/ dimisiz? Jawābîn bergâysiz. Awwal ezen boğa ḥânnîn altûn etâkinîn
/15/ ušlâγanda, azqîna yurtum köp bolur, yarłî yurtum bay bolur dep
/16/ niyâtim bar erdi. Bir şahrnîn ičîndîki albatu bolup, şahrîn taטרה-ri-
/17/ sî albatu bolmaymâsîz? Şahrnîn ičîndîki dây albatusîz. Biz taṭara-ri-
/18/ sî daγî day albatumîz. Qiyāmatğaça altûn etâktân ayrîlmasdan
/19/ dep ušlâγanmîz. Sizniŋ bu išlârînizgâ köp râžîmiz.
/20/ Emdî qarawullârînizgâ ayûp jarlatîp qoyunîz. Anyâmān
/21/ degän kišîlârînî qaytarîp salsun. Özgâ jayînča barîp kelîp tura
/22/ turğan kiši bolsa, òzi bîlsun. Burundan qonuṣ qonup turğan kiši
/23/ bolsa, żararsîz. Burunğî qonuṣuŋda turğanîn yahşi bilmān. Barîn häydâp
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
l. 1, Ilāniŋ jaŋ juŋ: At that time, Iletu (Ch. Yiletu) obtained the position of the
Military Governor of Yili.

l. 5, Ağ naymān qarmiš yüz kişi: 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.41 At the beginning of 1779 (the end of
QL 43), they asked the Qing for permission to enter within the karun-line.42
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.43

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

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

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

41 In the Qing records, the sub-group under the Zhuz was called otok (Ch. etuoke < Mon. otuγ),
originally meaning a nomadic unit in Mongolia. On this point, NODA points out, ‘following the
24 Otoks of the Junghar, the same word came to encompass Kazakh nomads’ (Noda 2002: 17,
note 7).
42 The karun (Ch. kalun) in Manchu was the ‘guard-post’ along the Qing frontier; it
corresponds to qarawul in Turki.
43 For further details, see Onuma 2003; Chapter 2: 106, 114–116.
altïn/altun (gold)—Mo. altun uruy (golden clan, or ‘Chinggisid clan’), for example. The word *etäk* means ‘edge, hem of coat or skirt.’ The word *altïn/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 ezenniyj altïn 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.44 Our research also suggests that this interpretation is appropriate.

1. 20, Anyāmān: This is probably a misspelling of Ağer naymān.

11. 21–22, turğa turğan kişi: 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.

11. 26–27, Qalmaqça bitür-ğan kişimiz 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.45 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.

1. 27, ketik: WTQWJ suggests that it means Ch. cuzao (rough, rude).46

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44 Düysenäli 2009: 53.
46 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, the enclosure of the Manchu memorial of Huling

Text

/1/ يقارى بعد ازین نیک اسن لیکین تلایمیز کوب یل
/2/ لارغه تابغتای ضرکین بلپ اش بلاب تورعان
/3/ خبه آبان اسقان آبان مورین جاین آبان غه قراق
/4/ وانک ابوالپیض دین دعای سلام دیکاج سوز بو کم
/5/ تورت اوغل اوتاقنی قراق نی قشتاوباگان یرکا پتکور
/6/ الماس من دب اوئنیک اوران کان قشتوغا
/7/ قریبو کام بو پله اغورلوق قلمای تورونگک لار دب
/8/ تورت اغول دین کراک قپسی غوناى قوئى دوناى قوئى
/9/ دین سوراسون قیدای دین کراک قپسی
10/ خواجه قل نیاز دین سوراسون سیز کا معلوم بولسون
11/ دب بو خط نی پابقین بیردم

Transcription
/1/ Yuqarï Boğda ezennin esän-likin tiläymiz, köp yïl-
/2/ larغا Ta[r] baggageätay żergen bilip iš biläp turγan
/3/ ḥebe amban asqan amban mörin jayîn ambanga qazâq
/4/ waŋ Abū al-Fayzdîn du'â- yi salâm degâc söz bu kim,
/5/ tört-uğul otaqnï qazâqñï qîstäyduγan yergä yetkür

47 Though Document G is inserted after the 1099th exposure, it should be related with the memorial which begins with the 821st one.
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 Khojaqil and Niyaz.’ We sent this letter through Babuq in order to inform you [of the above-mentioned matters].

Commentary

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

48 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, qızay: The Qyzai tribe, which also belongs to the Kazakh Middle Zhuz.\textsuperscript{49}

I. 11, Babïq: This implies Babuq, also see Document F. He was an aqalaqči of the Tortul tribe who entered the Qing’s territory through the Baktu (Baquit) guard post (karun) in order to explain the situation to Huiling.\textsuperscript{50} The term ‘aqalaqchi’ implies ‘chief’ in Mongol.\textsuperscript{51} 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.’\textsuperscript{52}

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.\textsuperscript{53} 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.’\textsuperscript{54}

As an extension to this policy, Agui sent a letter to Abulfeyz, which was cited in his memorial to the Emperor.\textsuperscript{55} The Manchu version of the text of Agui’s assertion varies from that which was cited in the imperial edict:\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{49} The Qyzai and Tortul tribes were living along the Irtysh river, particularly near Semipalatinsk, Andreev 1998: 94–95.

\textsuperscript{50} JMLZ 2905.29, 123: 822, QL 46.11.12 (1781.12.26).

\textsuperscript{51} In Junghar, there were ‘ahalakči’ as well, which implies the commander of ten, Tayama 1967: 68.

\textsuperscript{52} Noda 2005: 48. Oqubbanghali mentioned the existence of aqalaqči 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.

\textsuperscript{53} PDZFL, xubian 15: 26b–27b, QL 27.2 renwu (1762.3.13), the edict to Agui.

\textsuperscript{54} PDZFL, xubian 16: 6a–7a, QL 27.3 wushen (1762.4.8), the edict to Abulmambet.

\textsuperscript{55} 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 gostire günin de acabume, tuweri nimaraka amala, meni karun be goçif. Tarbahatai i boso ergi ba be, suwende taka nuktebufi. Niyengieryi forgon meni karun be da bade fesheleme sindara de, an i suwembe jecen i tule unggimbi.’

\textsuperscript{56} GZSL 780: 34a–35b, QL 32.3 jimao (1672.4.13), 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 Kazaks] 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 Kazaks 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.’ 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. 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. 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.

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57 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.
58 JMLZ 2905.29, 123: 824, QL 46.12.7. (1782.1.20), the memorial of Huiling.
59 Alikeng 2006.
60 JMLZ 2905.29, 123: 822. Concerning the sender of the document, Babuq mentioned, ‘my Abulfeyz wang dispatched me’ (meni wang abulbis mimbe takūrafi).
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/ اینن خانینک ایئدای بت لارین کونداری کورلازین کورکالی اپسی تولیک لارین بیلکالی براق
بردن الارئی خشتم لاریکا

2/ محمود سلطان اوغلو میزینی بیاردوک بزینک اولومیز ابولی خان ایردیلار بز خلق الارنیک
خشتم لاریدا پورکوکی ایردوب

3/ الآر هم بول دنیا دین اوئی لار ار بز خلقینک الیمیزدا اغزیمیز نی ينکل ایتکوجی
مشکلمزی آسان ایتکوجی يکشی اغا تامیز

4/ ایردیلار الیوئئتی الیآنکی اغزیمیز نی بزر خلق الار نیک خشتم لاریدا کوب
پورکوکی ایردوب ابمئی

5/ بز خلقینک الیمیزدا يکشی اغا میامیز قاملادی ابولی خان اوزیکتا لاری ترکونده ایتقات بیرلی لاری
ایریدی اینن خانیه

6/ اینن اوغلوئئنگکینی بیاربی تانشگایسیز دییب ایتب ایردیلار بزینک سینیزیکا هم بورت
قاور دیب ایردیلار

7/ اینن خانینک باریب ایتئاک لارین بئی خسلاغی سیز دییب ایردیلار بز خلقینک ابولی خانیک
برلی لاریدینگ اوژکا

8/ هچ يیئشی میام سیومیزیے یوقتوج ابولی خاتینک ترک لاریدا اینن خان بئی بئی بیرلی کیلیس
بولسی لار بز هم اینن خانیک

9/ قازیلگان بئوازده جاجینک تقراغیلر ییادا بارمیز تاطنیئه جامیز باریچه بارمیز خشتم لاریده
بارمیز
Transcription

/1/ Ejen ḥāṇīn ṣeyyay betlarin künday közlärin körgäli esi tüliklärin bilgäli, yaraq yerdin alarni ḥizmatlarigä

/2/ Maḥmüd sulṭan oglumüzni yibärdük, bizniŋ uluqmüz Abulay ḥän erdlär, biz ḥalq alarniŋ ḥizmatlarida yurğuçi erdük,

/3/ alar ham bul dunyädin öttilär, alar biz ḥalqniŋ aldümüzda ağırmüzni yenil etgüçi müskulmüzni esän etgüçi yaşısi āğa-atamüz

/4/ erdlär, alaj yurti alarniŋ ağızdairgä qaraçuçi erdi, biz ḥalq alarniŋ ḥizmatlarida köb yurğuçi erdük, emdi

/5/ biz ḥalqniŋ aldümüzda yaşısi ağamüz qalmadï, Abulay ḥän özgïlär tirkünde aytqan yarlïlarï erdi, ‘ejen ḥänqa

/6/ ini oglunniŋ yiibärib tanışgaysiz,’ dep aytïp erdlär, ‘bizdin soŋ sizläriŋ ham yurt qalur,’ dep erdlär,

/7/ ‘ejen ḥänqa barïp etkläärin bark uşlaqay sız,’ dep erdlär, biz ḥalqniŋ Abulay ḥänïŋ yarlïlärïdin özgä

/8/ hïc yaşısi yaman yoqtur, Abulay ḥänïŋ tirkleri ejen ḥän birlän ne yarlıq qïlgan bolsalar, biz ham ejen ḥänïŋ

/9/ qazïlgan yollarïda jaçïlgan tofraclarïda, bärimüz tatïnda, jänmïz barça bärimüz ḥizmatlarïda {bärimüz}.

Ţâhir sulṭan bin Baraq ḥän

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

1. 4a, alaj yurtï: *Alaj* has originated from ‘alaš’ in Kazakh and is believed to be the name of the ancestor of Kazakhs. In this context, ‘alaj yurtï’ implies the entire territory of the Kazakhs. This same usage can also be found in the Kazakh documents addressed to Russia. If ‘alaš’ was the biggest category within Kazakh society in the 18th century, on taking into account the supplementary information provided in the Russian document, it is possible to assume the following structure: *Alaš > Zhuz > 1’ (el) > Uru (ru).* 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. As a document from the Russian archive indicates, Dair could influence the Tortul and Karakesek tribes. 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.

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62 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.
63 The records of the 18th century reflect the usage such as ‘Naiman-il’; IKRI: vol. 4, 169.
64 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.
65 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).
66 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 fungnembi, 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 conveyd 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, 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]…’

67 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’ (1789.6.28).

Text

> 1/ تارباَغتاي ني بليب تورغان خبه
> 2/ آميان غه قراق تاجي بوفي دين خط
> 3/ توتوق قاريش ديكان بر قراق جابر
> 4/ دافي اوچانک موالدا بر توغاني
> 5/ بار ايکان سیز خبه آميان نینک پابرلغي بیلآن
> 6/ اوئی چو بوفي مھامد بهادر سلطان
> 7/ سېزكا بلد
> 8/ جئلۆنک نینک ایک بھوجني پيلى
> 9/ بھوجني پيلى نینک سکۆک
> 10/ تورت نجى يلى

Transcription

/1/ Tarbaَغتاینی bilip turُgan Şebeh
/2/ آمیان گه قراق تاجی بوِفی دین خط
/3/ توتوق قاریش دیکان بر قراق جابیر
/4/ دافی اوچانک موالدا بر توغانی
/5/ بار ایکان سیز خبه آمیان نینک پابرلغي بیلان
/6/ اوئی چو بوفی مھامد بهادر سلطان
/7/ سېزکا بلد
/8/ جئلۆنک نینک ایک بھوجني پيلى
/9/ بھوجني پيلى نینک سکۆک
/10/ تورت نجى يلى

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68 “5’ in ‘QL 54.‘5.6’ represents ‘the leap 5th’ month of Chinese lunar calendar.
Documents from Kazakh Sultans to the Qing Dynasty

/9/ birinji aynïŋ on sekkiz
/10/ törtinji yiïlï.

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 18th day of the 11th month of the 534th year of the Qianlong.

Commentary
ll. 1–2, ḥebä amban: Yungboo (Ch. Yongbao) obtained the position of the Councillor of Tarbaghatai at this time.
l. 2a, taiji: The translation of Ma. taiji, Mo. tayiŋ, and Ch. taiji, which was a title bestowed on the Kazakh sultans from the Qing.
l. 2b, Bofï: 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 80th birthday ceremony of the Qianlong emperor, held in 1790.
l. 3, Jäyir: A name of a mountain in the Barliq Mountains, which included pastureland for the Kazakhs incorporated into the Qing territory. Mt. Jayir (Ch. Jiayi’er) is situated at lat. 45°9′ N and Long. 83°7′ E.
l. 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.
ll. 8–10, Janluŋ üjunji yiïlï on birinji aynïŋ on sekkiz törtinji yiïlï: The

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69 GZSL 1340: 7b–8b, QL 54.10 dingsi (1789.11.21).
70 Xinjiang 1981: 149.
71 Onuma 2003: 572.
Čanluŋ is a translation of the reign-name ‘Qianlong.’ Although the date was originally written as ‘the 18th day of the 11th month of the 53rd year of the Qianlong,’ it was later changed to ‘the 54th 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; in addition, it encloses the (2) Manchu translation and (3) Yungboo’s reply in Manchu. 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 takūrāfī ahasi de bīthe alibume isijnifī, ahasi acafī, fonjici, ubai barluk nukte de bisire hasak i dorgi, harmas i nyalma hūncihin hasak oldzun, monggol sere nyalma bi. Harmas be unggifi acabume tuwanabuci ojoro ojorakū bebe baime bitehe alibuhabi seme alambi. Bopu i alibuhu bitehe be murušeme ubaliyambuffi tuwaci, uthai hasak harms i funde imbe nyalma hūncihin be tuwanabume unggici ojoro ojorakū bebe baime arahabi. Umai gūwa baite akū. Baicaci, hasak ceni wang taiji saci temgetu gidaha bitehe be baifi, bai nyalma hūncihin be tuwame baime jihe be dahame, hono yabubuci ojorō baite. Damu ne hasak oldzun, monggol gemu akū oho. Ede ahasi i bacī oldzun, monggol sei jui hoposi sebe sekgiyeme hoton de gajifī harmas de dere acabuha. Hasak harms

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72 JMLZ 3241.51, 145: 839–841, QL 54.5.6 (1789.6.28), the Manchu memorial of Yungboo.
73 Ibid., 145: 844.
umesi hukšeme hengkilefi, bopu de emu karu afabure bithe arafi, uthai harmas de afabufi amasi nukte de unnggihebi. 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 tajji 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 tajji 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\textsuperscript{nd} day of the 6\textsuperscript{th} month of the 54\textsuperscript{th} year of the Qianlong (July 23, 1789): ‘Noted.’

(2) Manchu translation

\textit{Transcription}

Murušeme ubaliyambume tucibuhe hoise hergen i bithe.

Hasak taiji Bopu tarbagatai de tefî bai'a ichihiyara hebei amban de aliburengge. Meni hasak harmas i niyalma hünkīhin hasak Oldzun, Monggol jair i bade bisire be dahame, mini baci harmas be niyalma hünkīhin tuwaname unggīhe. Hebei amban kesi isibume harmas be genere generakū babe toktobureo.

\textit{Translation}

The roughly translated Turkic letter.

A letter from the Kazakh \textit{taiji} Bopu to the Councillor stationed at Tarbaghatai 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, extneding 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

\textit{Transcription}

Hasak taiji bopu de afabuha bithei jise.

Tarbagatai de tefî bai'a ichihiyara hebei amban, batur amban i bithe. Hasak taiji bopu de afabuha. Taiji sini beye saiïn. Nuktei gubci gemu saiïn. Jakan taiji sini baci takūraha hasak harmas isinjifi, mende acafi fonjici taiji sini beye sain, nukte de umai bai'a 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 hünkīhin oldzun, monggol sebe tuwanabuci
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.
11. Document K

**Date:** 1800 (JQ 5)

**Sender:** Jochi

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

**Language/Script:** Turki/Arabic

**Reference:** JMLZ 3609.35, 167: 226, JQ 5.4.28 (1800.5.21), the enclosure of the Manchu memorial of Gunchukjab.

**Text**

![Image of the document text]
Documents from Kazakh Sultans to the Qing Dynasty

Transcription

/1/ Tarbağaṭatyni bilip turlğan ḥebe amban, batur ambannên
/2/ esänlikin tiláp turamız. Köp aylar-gä köp yîllar-gä men
/3'/ {*1} qarawul kîşi qoşup jabjan} {*2 waŋ}
/4/ Šunî {+*1} qarawuldîn ötkäzip yibärsun. Atam Awûlfayţ {+*2} ötgändîn
/5/ soŋ, Baraqnînî balasî Ḥân Ḥwâja ağa̱m-ga waŋlık yolînî
/6/ berip edim. Emdi bu atamnî yolînî Jân Ḥwâjaga bermäsmân. Qayda barsa,
/6'/ {*3 atam} {*4 waŋ}
/7/ Awûlfayţ {+*3} nîñ {+*4} yolînî yurtînî bermäsmân. Bu sözûmînî Ḥân-gä hâm b[i]ldürdûm.
/7'/ {*5 Juyruq}
/8/ Jaŋjuŋa hâm bildûrdûm. Saŋa hâm bildûrdûm. Balšubu ujrûdîn Darji,
{+*5} degän
/9/ kîsimnî yibärdim, yoldaşi bilân.

Muḥammad Jöji Bahâdur sultan
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

l. 1, Ḫäbe Amban: The Councillor of Tarbaghatai at that time was Gunchukjab.
l. 3a, Jöji: The second son of Abulfeyz.
l. 3b, Bao: Booning (Ch. Baoning), the Military Governor at that time.
l. 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)?
l. 6, Jān Ḫwāja: 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.

(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 tucibu, cembe karun karun ci tucibu 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 geneći, 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 Tarbaghatai. 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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75 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

[Image of the document]
Documents from Kazakh Sultans to the Qing Dynasty

/1/ Ила көрөлөшүнүн бірлекі түрлі жол менен сөз болып, сөздөр менен толық түсініктеніп, атамындығын түсіндіретін, жануарынан жатырған құбылса адамдардың құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.

/2/ Ол және олардың құрылымы және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, тұрғының құрылымын және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.

/3/ Бүл құрылымға жатырған және оның құрылымын бөліп, тұрғының құрылымын және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.

/4/ Эсірінде тұрғының құрылымын және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.

/5/ Құбылса адамдардың құрылымын бөліп, құрылымдың құрылымын және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.

/6/ Ныман құбылса адамдардың құрылымын бөліп, құрылымдың құрылымын және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.

/7/ Алғашқы жолмен құбылса адамдардың құрылымын бөліп, құрылымдың құрылымын және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.

/8/ Серіктің түрлі құрылымын бөліп, құрылымдың құрылымын және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.

/9/ Ныман құбылса адамдардың құрылымын бөліп, құрылымдың құрылымын және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.

/10/ Бүл құрылымға жатырған және оның құрылымын бөліп, тұрғының құрылымын және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.

/11/ Ол құрылымға жатырған және оның құрылымын бөліп, тұрғының құрылымын және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.

/12/ Алғашқы жолмен құбылса адамдардың құрылымын бөліп, құрылымдың құрылымын және өзіндік құрылымын бөліп, жаттығу және өзіндік көрінішінен байланысты.
/10/ özümmişki meni özümğa bersün.
/11/ Men Jöji goŋdïn
/12/ alğadayga ıkki ąż beläk, biri yurğä.

Muḥammad Jöji Bahādur sulṭān

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

II. 3–4, on beş yaşïmda ulug Ḥännïŋ esänlikin sorap keldep yibärgäniðä: Jochi had been to the Qing court and was granted an audience with the Qianlong emperor in 1768 and 1772. 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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76 Chapter 4: 158.
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 unggihede. 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 minbe 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

77 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.
13. Document M

**Date:** 1800 (JQ 5)

**Sender:** Jochi

**Addressee:** Jiaqing Emperor

**Language/Script:** Turki/Arabic

**Reference:** JMLZ, 167: 474, JQ 5.4.

Text

![Image of the document text]
1/ یئنی‌ک یوزین کون نیک گوزین بیلیب اقّی اولوگ ازین یوسغدا خان نیک
2/ ایسان لکین تاب ثورامیز کوب ایلرکا کوب بیلرکا یام جوگی یکونک آه ایم برلا
ایلی بیورامیز برلا
3/ سیر یلی ازین یوسغدا خانکا الامو بولغاندنی بری اولوگ ازین یوسغدا خان اولینی خان
قیلیب اول
4/ فيلنظی وانک قیلاندنی بری آزم کوب بولوب یاریم بای بولوب پورتمان تنج
پای سالدی بولوب
سونک
4'/
5/ توردي اول قیل اولقاندنی خان خواجه اینی سی وانک بولوب ایدی خان خواجه
اینی سی بیراق نیک
6/ بالسی ایدی من جوگی یکونک اول فيلنظی اولقان بایسی ایمی من جوگی یکونک آتم
اول فيلنظی
خان خواجه غه سیلاب اتم اول فيلنظی یولیده اوزومنکی خان
6'/ خواجه اعدم نی یولیده اوزومنکی
7/ یولیی پاشی اولقان اعدم بیرب ایدی ایدی جان خواجه غه اتم اول فيلنظی
وانک لیک
8/ یولیی برمایمن نیمان دیکان پورتنی اوزوم بی لاب تورامن ایدی جان خواجه غه یورت
نیدا برمایمن یولنیده بر
9/ مایمن نیمان یورت منی ک ایدی جان خواجه غه من دین اومتوب قی پورتنی بی لابدی
من جوگی یکونک آتم
10/ اول فيلنظی یولنیده برمایمن پورتنی نیدا برمایمن من جوگی یکونک اون بیش پاشیم دین
بری اولوغ خان
11/ نیک آلتنن چرانی کوروب اولغ خانک کوج توتتوب نیمان دیکان پورتونمنی بخشی
بی لاب تینکشا تورامن
12/ ایمیدی ازین یوسغدا خان منی خیرانلاما اتم اول فيلنظی وانک یولنی منی اوزومنکا
برسون خیرنلامنون تون ایتا
13/ کینکین اتم اول فيل نتوت ایدی ایدی من جوگی یکونک سنی آلتنن ایتاکنکی
توتوت بخشی بایرغیک
14/ بیلی پورتونمنی بی لاب تورامن اتم اول فيلنظی وانک لیک یولنی اوزومنکا اتانک
اول فيلنظی بخشی یولنی بیرب
خیران لاب بر
Transcription

/1/ Yerniŋ yüzin, künniŋ közin bilip aqlï ülkän uluğ ezen boğda ḥān niŋ
/2/ esänlikin tiläp turamïz. Köp aylar-gä köp yıllar-gä, men Jöji goŋ ağa-i[ni]miz birlä, elli yurtumiz birlä, /3/ siyir yiili ezin boğda ḥān-gä albatu bolğandïn beri, uluğ ezin boğda ḥān Awulaynï ḥān qïlip, Awūl-
/6'/ {*2 Ḥān Ḥwâjağa saylap} {*3 Atam Awūlfayznï yolïda özümni[i]ki, Ḥān Ḥwâja ağaamni yolïda özümnik[i].} /7/ yolïni yašï ülkän ağaam dep {+*2} berip edim. {+*3} Emdi Jān Ḥwâjağa atam Awūlfayznïnï waŋlïk /8/ yolïni bermäymän. Naymän degän yurtïni özüm biläp turman. Emdi Jān Ḥwâjağa yurtnïda bermäymän. Yolïniḍa ber-
/mäymän. Naymän yurt menik[i]. Emdi Jān Ḥwâjağa men din ötüp, qay yurtïni biläpdi. Men Jöji goŋ atam /10/ Awūlfayznï yolïnïda bermäymän. Yurtïnïda bermäymän. Men Jöji goŋ on beŋ yaşïm din beri, uluğ ḥān-
/11/ niŋ altun çïraynï körüp, uluğ ḥâng[a] küç tutup, Naymän degän yurtumïnï yaŋšï biläp, tiŋšap turaman. /12/ Emdi ezen boğda ḥān meni Ḥayranlasa, atam Awūlfayznïnï waŋ yol[i]ni meni özümgä bersun. Ḥayranlasun. Altun etä-
/13/ köndin atam Awūlfayṭ tutup edi. Emdi men Jöji goŋ seni Altun etäk[i]ŋni
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, Yerniŋ yūzin, künniŋ közin bilip: The emperor ruling China was often revered as a ruler of Heaven-earth (Ch. tīandi, Ma. abka na). The same terms were used at the beginning of the document that was introduced by Duysenghali.  

II. 3–5, ezin boğda ḥān-gā albatu bolɡandīn 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 ezenniŋ altīn etākinin tutqalī, azīmīz köpāydi, yarlımīz bay boldī, yurtumīz tinj bolup, faysallap 79 turupmīz) and Document G [l.15] (ezin boğda ḥānnīŋ altīn etākinin ušlaḡanda, azġīna yurtum köp bolur, yarlı yurtum bay bolur).

I. 13, yarğ: Mo. jaryu (legal, judgement).

78 Düysenäli 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

[Document text in Turki/Arabic]

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

80 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 aucenticity, I have
stamped my seal. I, Ghubaydulla, the son of Wali khan, signed.

Commentary

1. 0, qūpiya: This corresponds to the Russian word ‘kopiia’ (copy), which
implies that this document\(^\text{81}\) is not an original, while TsIKKh explains that a
document is original.

1. 1, Ġubaydullāh ān: 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.

1. 5a, Aq pādiśāh: This implies the Russian emperor. (Mo. Chagan khan).

1. 5b, qur’ān: Here, Ghubaydulla referred to his swearing an oath on the
Koran, which confirmed his subjecthood to the Russian emperor.\(^\text{82}\)

1. 9, šarīġat: Originally, this implies the Islamic law. In Kazakh documents it
often used as a general ‘law.’

1. 11a, māyūr: One of the ranks of Russian servicemen, Major (Ru. Mayor).

1. 11b, yaṣāwil: 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.\(^\text{83}\)

\(^{81}\) 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.

\(^{82}\) For this ceremonial custom, see Khodarkovsky 2002: 43.

\(^{83}\) 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 alibuh hoise hergen i da bithe

اسلام عليكم بر کی آنتون شرا کونک

2/ اولغ یوغدا ایجان خان بولات خان اوغلي توغومن خان دولت نک

3/ بو دنیا دن وقاط بولدى خدا ننک قدرتها الاجی بوق بولدى

4/ اونده خدا ننک خوشلاسی بولدی جان ساری نی ایبارادیم من آنتون شرا

5/ بو اشلار اندین سونک سز که معلوم قلسان دیب حط بردووم

6/ ایمیدی سیز بلینکز دیب تورامز ییر براق بول آل بولدی سکز کشی کلیدی جاری جان ساری

برنی

سنک خدمت کا ایبارادی ایمیدی سز بلینکز

7/ اوز قولوم برلجه

8/ اینناماق اوجون حط مهروم نی باسدنوم

9/ ایلوقیزم اولانک اغاسی

10/ بو دنیا دن وقاط بولدی یکی اوغلي خان بولدی مباقب الگان برام

11/ اوغلي توغومن خان ایلوقیزم اولانک برافرم خان ساری رمجات جان ساری باتور باي

12/ مونک باردی ایجان بو غده ننک خدمتکا قراب تورامز

13/ کای تورا اورسغه بولدی کای تورا قوقلغه بولدی بولدی خان غه توقوز اط

14/ ایمیدی کیپسین سیز بلینکز دیب تورامز جانکوجن غه بش اط تارتو
Assalām ʿalaykum, biz ki Altun-šara goŋ
Ulu Ejen ān Bola ān o To ān dawlat NK
bu dunyādīn wafā boldī, ḥudānīnī qudraṭī-gā aldajī yoq boldī,
onda ḥudānīnī ḥošlasī boldī, Jan-sarīnī yibārdim, men Altun-šara
bu ışlar andīn soŋ, sizgā ma’lūm qīlsan dep ḥat berdūm,
emdi siz biliṅiz dep turamīz, yer yaraq yīl ald boldī, sekiz kişi keldi, jaṛī
Jan-sarī birīnī
{siz niş ḥızmat-gā yibārdim, {emdi siz biliṅiz}84
inanmaq üçīn {+*1} ḥat muhrumnī āsūrum.
{siz niş ḥızmat-gā yibārdim, {emdi siz biliṅiz}84
inanmaq üçīn {+*1} ḥat muhrumnī āsūrum.
biz niş ārģī ātamīz Abūl Muḥammad {+*2} anīnī oğlı Bola ḥan {+*3}, anīnī
Abulay āsūrap85 alğan baḷasī
ofi Bala ḥan {Abū al-fay} ülkān oğlı Altun-sarī Raḥmat Jan-sarī Batur Bay
mūnīn bāri Ejen buğdaniŋ ḥızmat[i]gā qarap turamīz.
Kāy tōrā Orīşga budam boldī, kāy tōrā Qoqan ga budam boldī, {ṭāŋqagə
toqzuq at}
biz ejen buʃ biz ata-babamızdan beri ejen boğdaŋa qarap turamīz, ḥānqa
toqzuq
at tartu,
emdi KYSYN siz biliṅiz dep turamīz, jaŋjunə beš at tartu.
Muḥammad Toğum Bahādur sulṭān

The phrase in brackets without the asterisk should be omitted.
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 achives 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-şara goŋ: 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, Bolat ḥan oğlı Toğum ḥan: 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-sarı: His name appears in the edict of Daoguang emperor as ‘Jiangxi’er 江錫爾.’

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

86 XZSL 106: 15a–16a, DG 6.9 dingyou (1826.10.19).
87 KRO2: 87, the report of Ablai to the Empress Catherine II in 1778.
88 QZHDH: vol. 1, 181, the memorial of the Grand Council, QL 23 (1758).
1. 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.\(^8^9\) 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.

1. 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.\(^9^0\)

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 tohma i jui altanšara be han fungnere hese i bithe emu hacin šangnaha duin defelinggu amba suje be tukiyeme gamafī, duin biya i ice sunja de hara gol sere bade isinafī, altanšara ukundume jifī, jugūn i dalbade niyakūraha i hesei bithe, šangnaha suje be alime gaijī. 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\(^9^1\) be tucibufi, altan šara be han fungnere hesei bithe wasimbume duin defelinggu amba suje šangnahangge, yargiyan i abkai gese den jiramin ujen kesi, erec julesi altan šara bi damu amba

\(^8^9\) Viatkin 1936: 254.
\(^9^0\) JMLZ 4058.60, 198: 1894–1896, DG 8.4.26. (1828.6.8), the Manchu memorial of Deingga.
\(^9^1\) 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 takūrafī. 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 unggifi seme altan šara ahasi de alibuha emu afaha hoise hergen be suwaliyame benjihebi, murušeme ubaliyambufi tuwaci, umai güwa 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 Tarbaghatai, 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, Toghum, who had died of a disease, and took the granted four pieces of the large silk. On the 5th day of the 4th month, he reached the place Qara qol. 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

92 In relation with the succession of Altynsary, a merchant of Semipalatinsk, Gaisikeev, informed the commander of the Semipatalinsk district of Altynsary’s meeting with the Qing officials. According to his information, the amban of Tarbaghatai 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. Therfore, 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.93 However, it is unknown what had become of him since then.94

93 XZSL 166: 25b–26a, DG 10.3. renzi (1830.4.16).
94 We find only a fact that Altynsary asked the permission for the succession of his title by his relative, Chotan taiji (Ch. Chuotan 續坦) 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 täyn sütnık Sibir sar-ḥaddin  
/2/ bilägüči yenäril gübürnäťūr Miḥāyła Miḥāylīč

 `/\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\n
/3/ qırğız qazāq orţa yüz nayman bay[yi]git ilündä turğuçיכ sulțänlar  
/4/ Bofι sulțän Abū al-Fayż sulțän oglι wa ham Qanbar sulțän Šähniyäż sulțän oglïndan  
/5/ ‘arż nāma  
/6/ atamīz Abū al-Fayž sulțän wa hām Šähniyäż sulțän zamānīndan uşbu küngäjä Rūsïya yurţī birlän körüş  
/7/ bolup Rūsïyanîŋ taht[-i] tajïna i’tiqād iňläş özärînä tärklık qïlîp yuruçï erdük, uşbu  
/8/ künlärdä yurtumîzda neyli tentäk küçäyip hār türli ḥalqdan zu[r]liq žombliqlar köb boldï.  
/9/ Šul taqribli sızniŋ haźratunţiūzğä tubančïlik ilän ma’lüm qïlamîz. Ol uluğ Ĭmîrîtūr[-i] a’ţam  
/10/ Aliksândûr Pâvlîč haźratlarïnä tâba‘ wa rağïyat bolmaqmïzñi qaysï dur kim, burunģï ra‘ïyatlar-  
/11/ niŋ iňläş wa i’tiqäd birlän özmiżniŋ qol astumîzda bolğüzi hałqmïzniŋ tinçliqlari üçün  
/12/ hałqmïzniŋ maşlaḥatlarï birlän bizlär az yurṭ emäsmiz, awïl hisäbi on mıŋ
bekli ziyāda bolur.

/13/ Agar bizniŋ bu ḥatmīznī qabūl kōrsāŋiz, bizniŋ özmiş tilāgan Orīsdan wa hām Nu’aydan

/14/ yahši kišilārni čiğargay, yurtumīznīni awīl ew hisābīn aldersanız erdi, šuniŋ ḥaqqīnda

/15/ oğulumūz Şultabay sulțānnī qaşīndan yahši qaraları birlān Aqṭaylaq bi Baygar balasī, Tu’āṣī

/16/ aşṭāršīna Seyten balasī, wa hām Yisenji Baytemir balasī wa ġayri yoldašlarī ilān qoşūp yibārdūk.

/17/ Ḥażratunjızdan söz iṣitsünlar, agarda yeŋādan kerākli söz bolsa, balad til birlān

/18/ aytur, wa hām ḥāt birlān yazup oltur, bu ḥāt bir belgī salām ḥaṭmīz dur, pādšāh

/19/ Ḥażratlarundan iltimās ‘arzamīznī özīna başqa kā’az birlān kōristūrmīz dew,

/20/ marḥəmatunj-gā köz tutīp ḥizmatlarunjīz-gā tayyār bolup turupmīz.

[Pofi sulṭān bīn Abū al-Fayż sulṭān]

Awgustnīŋ 25–nči kün, 1820.

Translation

[To] administering the frontier of Siberia the Governor General with a distinguished rank and noble genealogy, tainyi sovetnik (the 3rd 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 Shaniayaz, 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.

1. 4a, Bofî: 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. According to Qurbanghali’s work, he died in around 1264 (1846/47).

1. 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.

95 See Noda 2006.
96 TKhSh: 456.
97 XSL 12: 27.
l. 16, астаршіна: Ru. starshina. This implies the senior leader of the Kazakh tribes under the sultans. It is comparable to the aqalaqči 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-18th 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.¹

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-18th century, the Qing made contact with several groups/countries in Central Asia such as the Kazakh/Qazāq, Kirghiz/Qırghız (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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¹ 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.

¹ 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.²

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.³ 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.’⁴ 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.’⁵ 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.⁶ 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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² 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.

³ 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).

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

⁵ Fletcher 1968: 221–222, 366.

⁶ 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.’\(^7\)

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.’\(^8\)

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. \textit{waifan 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. \textit{waiguo 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\(^{th}\) 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.\(^9\) Zhang Yongjiang categorizes the Kazakh and Kirghiz nomads into ‘nominal-Fanbu’ (Ch. \textit{mingyi fanbu}), because the Qing’s policy toward them differed from that toward the other Central Asian groups/countries, combining moderate versions of \textit{fanbu} and \textit{shuguo}.\(^10\)

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.

\(^7\) Millward 1998: 48–49.
\(^8\) Di Cosmo 2003.
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, Oyirad (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.\(^{11}\)

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

\(^{11}\) 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\(^{th}\) 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.

\(^{12}\) As for Ablai’s early life, see Valikhanov 1985a; Sakai, 2001.

\(^{13}\) 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).

\(^{14}\) The Kazakh society in the 18\(^{th}\) 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, Oyirad, and Turkic languages. Further, I wish to show the fundamental logic that sustained their political relations. 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 fanglūe 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 Oyirad 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

15 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 Oyirads 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 17th 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. 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, Uriyanghais, Telenguts, Bukharans in Yarkand (today’s Uyghur), Buruts living around the Lake Issyk Kul, and Barabins (Baraba Tatar).

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 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. 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. Then, neighbors under Junghar rule launched their own independence

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17 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.
19 Today, the prevailing view is that it is not Turkistan but Tashkent.
21 For the dissolution of the Junghar’s internal structure, see Onuma 2009: 50–53.
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movements. For example, in 1751 Ablai harbored Dawachi and Amursana who had escaped from Jungharia after failing to overthrow Lama Darja (r. 1750–53).\(^22\) According to Qing records, from the end of 1754 to the beginning of 1755, Ablai and the other Kazakh chieftains raided Boluta and Yili.\(^23\) In the same period, Khwaja Yusuf, the leader of Ishaqiyiya (Tu. *Qara Taylîq*, 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 Ishaqiyiya in 1755.\(^24\) Besides, the following occurred when Khwaja Yusuf returned to Eastern Turkistan from Yili, as described in the TKh:

The Kipchak-Kirghiz\(^25\) 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.\(^26\)

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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\(^22\) Zlatkin 1964: 435.
\(^23\) Saguchi 1963: 261–262.
\(^24\) Saguchi 1948: 5.
\(^25\) ‘Kipchak-Kirghiz’ (*Qipchäq Qırghız*) 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).
\(^26\) TKh, Institut de France, Ms. 3357: 102a.
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. 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. 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. 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.

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
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.\(^{31}\) 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.\(^{32}\)

Just as the Qing expected, Amursana ran away to the Kazakh steppe, and Ablai supported him in spite of the other leaders’ objections.\(^{33}\) Perhaps, Ablai schemed to use this opportunity to expand his territory into Jungharia. All efforts by the Qing afterward at pacification met with failure.\(^{34}\)

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. Huojibilegen) in Yarla and Nura.\(^{35}\) 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.\(^{36}\) Ablai, who was wounded seriously in this battle, broke off his alliance with Amursana and confined him.\(^{37}\)

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

\(^{32}\) JMSD, \textit{junwu}, 12.1, QL 20.7.9 (1755.8.16), the Manchu edict of the Qianlong emperor.
\(^{33}\) Kawakami 1979: 43.
\(^{34}\) 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.
\(^{35}\) PDZFL, \textit{zhengbian} 31: 5a–7a, QL 21.9. jisi (1756.9.27). However, the Russian records reported victories in both battles. See Gurevich 1979: 133.
\(^{36}\) Kawakami 1980: 40.
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 Oyirads, the following spring to capture Amursana and to exterminate the Kazakhs.\(^{38}\)

It is said that Amursana passed the winter of 1756–57 in Tarbaghatai apart from Ablai and tried to make contact with Chinggunjab.\(^{39}\) At the same time, the other Oyirad chieftains remaining in Jungharia, who were being incorporated into the Qing Banner system, rose unanimously in revolt against the Qing.\(^{40}\)

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.\(^{41}\) 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.\(^{42}\) 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

\(^{38}\) Onuma 2004a: 5, 12.

\(^{39}\) Zlatkin 1963: 454.

\(^{40}\) Onuma 2004a.

\(^{41}\) Gurevich 1979: 134–135.

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.43

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

43 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…”

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. On July 18, the other

44 PDZFL, zhengbian 41: 25a–28b, QL 22.7. dingwei (1757.8.31).
45 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, 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.

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 gaif dahi, 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 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.

46 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).

47 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. 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. 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 albatus of the Qing emperor and insisting on the legitimacy of his rule. 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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49 Vladimirtsov 1934: 158–159.
50 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.
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QL 22.9.5). 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.

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. 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

51 PDZFL, zhengbian 43: 22a–23a, QL 22.9. jiawu (1757.10.17).
52 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.
53 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 Oyirad people had lived together with the Kazakhs.\(^{54}\) The Qing envoy Nusan, who arrived at Ablai’s camp in 1757, reported that not a few Oyirad people lived in Ablai’s camp as his close aides;\(^{55}\) some of them changed their names and served as interpreters.\(^{56}\) Also, some Kazakhs mastered the Oyirad language.\(^{57}\) 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 ‘\textit{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 \textit{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.\(^{58}\)

What is apparent in this statement is that the Qing commanders also understood that Ablai’s submission connoted the ‘\textit{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 \textbf{Memorial C} arrived the next day, the Qianlong emperor expressed in the edict dated August 31 (QL 22.7.17) his intention to deal

\begin{itemize}
\item \(^{54}\) Miyawaki 1995: 203.
\item \(^{55}\) JMLZ 1671.15, 47: 1338–1388, QL 22.9.14 (1757.10.26), the Manchu memorial of Jaohui.
\item \(^{56}\) JMLZ 1665.40, 46: 1551–1559, QL 22.9.14 (1757.10.26), the Manchu memorial of Jaohui.
\item \(^{57}\) The Qianlong emperor ordered Barang, one of Ablai’s envoys to Beijing, to translate the Manchu edict that was issued to Ablai into Oyirad in 1767. See JMSD, \textit{mingfa}, 35.1, QL 32.8.28 (1767.10.20).
\item \(^{58}\) JMLZ 1643.12, 45: 2699–2700, QL 22.6.18 (1757.8.2), the Manchu memorial of Jaohui.
\end{itemize}
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 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.\textsuperscript{59}

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.\textsuperscript{61}

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’

\textsuperscript{59} This original document is printed in QCSD, vol. 3: 76–78.
\textsuperscript{60} PDZFL, zhengbian 41: 28b, QL 22.7. bingwu (1757.8.30).
\textsuperscript{61} JMLZ 1669.4, 47: 831–836, QL 22.7.17 (1757.8.31); JMSD, junwu, 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.62

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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62 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.63

The Qing had permitted the Kazakhs to enter the Qing boundary (inside of the karun-line) from 1766 to 1778 if they wished.64 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.65 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.66 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

63 JMLZ 2696.8, 110: 168, QL 44.10 bao (1779.11.8 ~ 12.7); Chapter 1, Document G.
64 See this Chapter: 114–118.
65 For the otok (Ch. etuoke < Ma. otok < Mo. otuγ), see Chapter 1: 41, note 41.
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.\(^{67}\)

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.\(^{68}\)

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/

\(^{67}\) JMLZ, 167: 474, JQ 5.4. (1779.4.24 ~ 5.23); Chapter 1, Document M.

\(^{68}\) 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. 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 albatus and follow [the Qing emperor] at last.70

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).71 Moreover, when the Qing army advanced into Eastern Turkistan in 1758, Jaohui stated to the local Muslims as

69 PDZFL, zhengbian 49: 25a–27b, QL 23.1. bingchen (1758.3.8).
70 JNTBB, jinkini banjibun 58: 27a, QL 23.7 renchen (1758.8.11). C.f. PDZFL, zhengbian 58: 14a.
A Collection of the Kazakh Documents addressed to the Qing Dynasty

follows:

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

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. 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 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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72 JMLZ 1715.34, 50: 633–634, QL 23.8.28 (1758.9.29), the Manchu memorial of Jaohui.
74 According to the Manchu appendix of the *Xiyu dili tushuo*, the Sayak Sarybagysh (Ma. *Sayık Sarbağaši*), 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.\(^{75}\)

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-panāḥgha yārlik wa duruštlik qīlīp, sözümiz khilāfīmiz bolmas*).\(^{76}\) 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 gumu amba ejen i albatu oho. Eiten de gumu dahame yabumbi*.).\(^{77}\) 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 Taylīq*, 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.\(^{78}\) Then, the Qianlong

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\(^{75}\) JMLZ 1793.25, 55: 63, QL 24.10.13 (1759.12.2), the Manchu memorial of Jaohui.

\(^{76}\) JMLZ 1819.15.1, 56: 2288, QL 25.4 *bao* (1760.5.15 – 6.12).

\(^{77}\) Ibid, 56: 2290-91.

\(^{78}\) 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*.\(^{79}\) In addition, he also said in another edict in 1762, ‘Both Badakhshan and Bolor have followed [me] and have become [my] *albatu*.’\(^{80}\)

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 ‘aẓīm* (great khan of khans) and himself as his *ghulām* (youth, servant, slave).\(^{81}\) 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.’\(^{82}\)

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.’

\(^{81}\) JMLZ 160: 3571–3573, QL 60.10, *bao* (1795.11.11 ~ 12.10).
\(^{82}\) 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. When the envoys of Abulmanbet, Ablai, Abulfeyz, Kambaba, 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!

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?\(^84\)

The Qing had misgivings about that the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, who based on their position as the Qing emperor’s \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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”.’\(^85\)

\(^{84}\) JNTBB, \textit{sirame banjibun} 3: 15b–17a, QL 25.5 \textit{gengwu} (1760.7.9). C.f. PDZFL, \textit{xubian} 3: 8b–9b.

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* 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. We can say that the *karun*-line formed a ‘virtual’ border of the Qing dynasty. Hence, the *albatus* 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.

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. According to the Qing record, they had formerly

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86 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).
87 *Qingding lifanbu zeli* 34, *bianjin*.
89 Onuma 2003.
90 In 1762, the Qing acceded to the request of Ablai’s envoy Ümer (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, 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.

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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91 It refers to the Oyirad Camp (Ma. ület i kūwaran) of the Provincial Banners in Yili. For further details, see Onuma 2005.

92 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), 93 (2) not to impose obligations and issue salary and provisions for the time being, 94 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. 95 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. 96 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. 97 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. 98

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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93 For the Qing fortress of Yar, see Chapter 1: 36.
94 This ‘issue of salary and provisions’ is the recompense for the imposed obligations.
95 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).
96 GZSL 759: 5b–6b, QL 31.4. bingchen (1766.5.25).
97 GZSL 780: 34b–35b, QL 32.3. jimao (1767.4.13).
98 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.⁹⁹

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 Kazaks’ pastureland was around ‘Barliq Mountains’ (④: Ch. Ba’erluke shan) to the south (upper) of Tarbaghatai.

⁹⁹ 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.\textsuperscript{100} 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\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{101} 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.\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{100} Onuma 2003: 572.
\textsuperscript{101} Hori 1995: 307–308.
\textsuperscript{102} 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.103 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,104 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.105 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 Oyirad or Turki, cannot be confirmed up until now. Here, I will show the Manchu translation of the letter to the emperor.106

104 JMLZ 2230.10, 79: 3455–3466, QL 32.6.4, the Manchu memorial of Agui.
105 This letter was not addressed to Agui but to Mingšui (Ch. Mingrui) who held the post of Yili Military Governor until April 1767.
106 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. 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.

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

107 It is said that Janibek founded the ‘Kazakh khanate’ in cooperation with Kerei in the mid-15th century.
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. Ablai seemed to have stayed in Tashkent for one year to fight with Irdana. The Russians, furthermore, knew that Ablai dispatched his nephew, Dulat Kerei Sultan (Ru. Давлет Кирей-султан), to the Military Governor of Yili to request military aid.

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.

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

109 MOTsA: vol. 2, 192 (Doc., no. 228).
111 KRO: vol. 2, 685 (Doc., no. 268); MOTsA: vol. 2, 194 (Doc., no. 229).
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!'\(^{113}\)

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.

\(^{113}\) 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.114

On October 12, 1767 (QL 32.8.20), the Kazakh envoys saw the Qianlong emperor and directly handed over the memorials in Chengde.115 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.116

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

114 Ibid., 79: 3461–3464.
115 GZSL 793, QL 32.8 xinsi (1767.10.12).
116 JMSD, 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.¹¹⁷

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.¹¹⁸ Therefore, the Qianlong emperor, in this situation, also intervened in the internal affairs of his albatus and, using his position as Ejen, advised them to stop the confrontation.¹¹⁹

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 albatus 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.¹²⁰ I think this diplomatic attitude, which is based on the logic of the ‘ejen-albatu relationship,’ leads us to reconsider the international

¹¹⁷ GZSL 953, QL 39.2 gengzi (1767.3.28).
¹¹⁸ We can confirm this correspondence by the collation of the Manchu-Chinese bilingual (Ch. hebi) document in JMLZ or by comparing JNTBB and PDZFL.
¹¹⁹ 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 albatus of the Ejen Khan; we will know peace’ (Tu. Birimiz Qırğız Qazagh Edên Hämniq albuti (sic.). Biz ḫūb bilür). JMLZ 2636.13, 106: 1015, QL 40.6.2 (1775.6.29), the enclosure to the Manchu memorial of Iletu.
¹²⁰ 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.’

(Choqan Valikhanov)

1. Preface

The objective of this essay is to reconsider the titles of the Kazakh sultan’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

1 Valikhanov 1985b: 300.
2 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. 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. Recently, however, research on Kazakh titles has been developed in China, especially with regard to the succession of titles. 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 in accordance with their relations with the Qing court: han (罕), 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

3 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.
4 Li 2004: 120.
5 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.
6 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.
7 ‘han’ 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. 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 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.

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. 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.’ ‘Jaisang’ here means the chief of the tribe; the term owes its origin to the Junghar as well. Therefore,

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8 The negotiations between the Qing and the Kazakhs, which involved Russia have been analyzed by Noda 2007a.
9 Ch. Chenggunzhabu 成衮札布, the aristocrat of the Khalkha Mongol.
10 JMYD 90(1) military affairs bundle of the 6th 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 7th month: 454–455, imperially endorsed on QL 22.7.29 (1757.9.5), the Manchu memorial of Chengunjab and Shuhede.
11 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.
12 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\(^{13}\) in each Otok.\(^{14}\)

Thus, the Qing empire was aware that the Kazakhs had a similarly structured society as the Oyirad 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,\(^{15}\) but the Kazakh envoy didn’t reply to this recommendation on the spot.\(^{16}\)

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.’\(^{17}\) 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.\(^{18}\) 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

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\(^{13}\) 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\(^{th}\) month: 233, the memorial of Jaohui and Fude.

\(^{14}\) Ta’erbahatai shiyi: vol.4, 26. Besides, XZS (vol. 11) shows the list of the otoks.

\(^{15}\) 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.’

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

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

\(^{18}\) PDZFL, zhengbian 41: 22b–24a, QL 22.7 dingwei (1757.8.31), the edict to the Kazakh han Abulai 阿布赉. 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 \textit{Jasay} of the inner land, I bestow the title, expectedly you will be worry about your duty.'\(^{19}\) The same phrases have been repeated in other edicts.\(^{20}\)

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,\(^{21}\) which followed the annual travel to Beijing, i.e. the \textit{nianban} system. Although the Kazakh sultans were not directly made to conform to the \textit{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. \textit{Menggu lüli}) was sometimes applied to judicial cases that involved the Kazakhs, as well.\(^{22}\) With regard to the titles, the Qing court, keeping in mind the Mongolian titles, ratified the title of \textit{khan}, which had already existed among the Kazakhs.\(^{23}\) 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.\(^{24}\)

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.\(^{25}\)

\(^{19}\) GZSL 548: 9b–10a, QL 22.10 \textit{jiazi} (1757.11.16). The Chinese text is ‘念阿布賽等，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 \textit{jasay}, in the distance you will be worried all the more’ (\textit{Abulai suwe serengge gemu jecen i ergi de tehe niyalma, suwembe aika dorgi jasak i adali fungnehe bahabure oci, jugün goro de suwe elemangga jobombi}), JNTBB, zhengbian 44: 54a.
\(^{20}\) The edict to Abilis 阿比里斯 concerning his \textit{han} title, GZSL 575: 5a–5b, QL 23.11 \textit{jihai} (1758.12.16); The edict to Abulmambet 阿布勒巴木比特 concerning his \textit{han} title, GZSL 580: 19b–20b, QL 24. 2 \textit{renxu} (1759.3.9).
\(^{21}\) Saguchi 1963: 293. These tributary missions of the Kazakhs were under the control of the Eastern Tuskistan Pure Functionaries Bureau (\textit{Laiyuanqinglisi} 禧遠清吏司) of Lifanyuan (Court of Colonial Affairs).
\(^{22}\) 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 ‘\textit{Menggu li} [sic].’
\(^{23}\) On the development of the ‘Kazakh khanate’ after the Mongol Empire, see Sultanov 1982.
\(^{24}\) Noda 2007a.
\(^{25}\) 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’ (\textit{hasak be uheri dalaha atagai otok i...}
Formerly, in negotiations with Russia, the representatives had been Kazakh khan. 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 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 waifan (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 ejen i tulergi aiman i albatu). Though researchers have tried to define the position of the Kazakhs in the Qing empire, 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 Statutes of Muslim Xinjiang)

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26 Gazetteer of the Western Regions, compiled in 1782.
27 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.
28 For ‘peripheral states of waifan’ (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.\(^{29}\)

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.

\[\text{Fig. 3.1. Overlapping space of the Kazakhs and Qing territory}\]

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

\(^{29}\) 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, 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? 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.

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. Reproduced below is the text of the edict in Turkic.

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30 I will not discuss trade affairs between the Qing and the Kazakhs in detail here. For details, see QKhTsPS; Lin and Wang 1991.
31 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.
32 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.
33 TKhSh: 465–466. About Qurbanghali, see Qurbān-‘Ali Khalīdı 2005. According to the text of TKhSh, this Turkic document, called ‘şarî kâğaśli manşûr ḥat (a diploma of the yellow paper)’ was issued in JQ 4.11.23 (1799.12.19), and was inherited by Rustem 嘚斯他木 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’ (ḥitayča yazîp türkiya tarjma qilînmiş). The Qing emperor stamped his
Translation of the main parts of the text: On the 23rd day, 11th month of the 4th 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 consoled [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, 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

41 The text presented here contains many defects, which Qurbanghali himself mentioned in TKhSh.
42 This may be the zhigian (paper made to resemble money) or jüwen (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.\(^{43}\) The text is as follows:


**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

\(^{43}\) 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.44

Abkai hesei forgon be aliha hūwangdi i hese. Hasak i han tohoma de wasimbuha. Ili i jiyanggiyüngímba i baci safí jui altanshara isinjífí alibuhá hoise hergen be wesimbuhebi. Tohoma sini alibuhá bithe be tuwaci, sini ama bolot aifinicyí bøyé wajiha, suweni nuktei urse gemu cihangga simbe sini ama i han i hergen be sirabumbi. Amba enduringge ejen i hese akū ofí, gelhun akū han seme tukiyehekuí. Geli ambu enduringge ejen i tumen jalafun i amba urgun i doro i sini ajige jui altan-šara be //1902// takūrakí dorolone hargaašume unggihe, kesi be bimbi seme arahahi. Tohome sini mafan ama ci gemu umesi ginggún ijišhün, mini kesi be aliha. Te sini ama bolot bøyé waijí, mini hese akū ofí, suweni albatuna simbe gelhun akū han seme tukiyehekuí, mini elhe be baimé, morin jafame geli germen simbe han obuki sehè babè mini hese be baihangge. Yala hing sere ginggun unenga, labdu saišacuka sini ere han sere hergen, dací sini mafa ama i bisirengge. Te sini ama bolot akū oho be dahame, sai giyan i sini amai han i hergen be sirabuci

44 JMLZ 4058.60, 198: 1901–1903, DG 8.4.26 (1828.6.8). Concerning Toghum, see Document O.
acarangge. Sini jui altan-šara be niyalma takūrafi, tuwašatabume, sain i řehu de isinjifi, mini gengiyen behargašaha, 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 gaijaci 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, Toghum. ‘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, Toghum, 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, Toghum, 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, 45 and looked up to my

45 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.46

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.47 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.’48

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

46 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.’


48 For the order, which the Qing dynasty aimed to preserve, see Hua 2006: 188.
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.\textsuperscript{49} 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.\textsuperscript{50}

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.’\textsuperscript{51} To Khan khoja: ‘I bestowed favour to grant your father’s wang title,’\textsuperscript{52} and to Altnsary: ‘Bestowing favour, I admit you the succession.’\textsuperscript{53} 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.\textsuperscript{54} However, besides Wali, a collateral relative and

\textsuperscript{49} JMLZ 2331.33, 86: 2031, QL 34.8.7 (1769.9.6).
\textsuperscript{50} 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 bitte.’
\textsuperscript{51} Ch. 著加恩承襲爾父汗爵, GZSL 1134: 5b, QL 46.6 dingchou.
\textsuperscript{52} Ch. 加恩將爾父王爵, GZSL 1189, QL 48.9 jiachen.
\textsuperscript{53} Ch. 即加恩著爾襲封, XZSL 106: 15b, DG 6.9 dingyou.
\textsuperscript{54} 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 khan(s). The one was Baraq, Dair’s father, the one was Abulmambet, and Ablai… 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 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.

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). Consequently, an

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55 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.
56 Dair’s wife was the daughter of Ablai’s first wife.
57 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.
58 JMLZ 2907.13, 123: 1093.
edict was issued concerning the inheritance of the *han* title by Wali.\(^{59}\) 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. *ceming*) 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.\(^{60}\) The explanation by ZTYLSY mentions the titles of the Kazakhs: ‘They have hereditary (Ch. *shixiang chengxi*) titles such as *han*, *wang*, *gong*, and *taiji*.’\(^{61}\) As Hua Li has argued, the principal of inheritance, which was authorized within the Qing empire, can be confirmed in the case of Jochi.\(^{62}\)

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,\(^{63}\) 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.’\(^{64}\) 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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\(^{59}\) 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.

\(^{60}\) The three documents are presented in Aoki 1952. Also see Related Matters of Document N.

\(^{61}\) ZTYLSY: 164–165.

\(^{62}\) 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.

\(^{63}\) 1781.6.21 (Julian), Andreev 1998: 37.

\(^{64}\) 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, 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. However, the Russian Foreign minister, Nessel’rode, advised the Siberian Governor-General, Kaptsevich, to put off the selection of the new khan. 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.’

Ghubaydullahah, 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. At the root of the Russian politics was the fear of the authority of the

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65 For details, see Noda 2006.
66 VPR12: 661, 1821.6.28 (Julian), the correspondence from Kaptsevich to Nessel’rode.
67 VPR12: 282, 1821.8.29 (Julian).
68 TsGARK: f. 338, op. 1, d. 637, l. 224ob. Ghubaydulla’s intension is also pointed out in Erofeeva 2001: 88–89.
69 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*). 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.

Although some researchers have already referred to Ghubaydulla’s succession, 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.

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. The following year, Toghum’s successor, Altynsary, received the condolence mission from the Councillor of Tarbaghatai and obtained the grant from the Court. 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).
70 TsiKKh2: 107, the report of Wali to the Commander of the Siberian fortress line, Ogarev, 1782.1. 23 (Julian).
71 Noda 2006: 50.
73 GAOmO: f. 3, op. 1, d. 1363, l. 40b., 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.
74 XZSL 106: 15b, DG 6.9 *dingyou* (1826.10.19).
75 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.\textsuperscript{76}

Altynsary went to the area near Tarbaghatai to receive the Qing envoy. A meeting was held in the fifth month of 1828,\textsuperscript{77} in which the \textit{han} title was bestowed on Altynsary. At the time, Altynsary was required to send a latter in return, which became Document O\textsuperscript{78} dispatched to the Qing court. Though Altynsary had already lost his power in the Steppes, his statement of subjugation to the emperor (\textit{ejen-ğa qarap}) was accepted by the Qing court. Altynsary succeeded, at least formally, in the inheritance of the \textit{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 ‘\textit{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.\textsuperscript{79}

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 ‘\textit{baš sal-}’ or ‘\textit{ra’īyat}’ and ‘\textit{tāba}’ originated from Arabic. The earliest examples are found in the document from Abulkhayr khan to Anna, the Russian

\textsuperscript{76} Konshin 1900: 60–61. The citation is the report by the Omsk provincial director.
\textsuperscript{77} DG 8.4.
\textsuperscript{78} It was called ‘the answering Turkic document for the prostration to the imperial grace’ (\textit{abka i kesi de henkilehe babe karu alibuhu hoise hergen i bithe}), NDD: 198394, DG 6.6, the memorial of Nayanboo (Ch. Nayanbao).
\textsuperscript{79} Here, we should be careful of the difference between the traditional ‘\textit{ḥān}’ in Turkic, the Qing title ‘\textit{han}’ that originated from the Chinese, and the Russian word ‘\textit{khan}’ (хан).
A Collection of the Documents from Kazakh Sultans Addressed to the Qing Dynasty

empress. 80 The Russian side interpreted the phrase ‘baš saldïm’ (I bowed) into ‘wanting to be under the subjecthood of Her Majesty the Empress’ (zhelâia byt’u e.i.v. v poddanstvo). 81 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-nâma buyunça bodanğa tüşün qur’ân arqïlï anç ettïlïr). 82

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 boghdâ’ (Mo. bogd, Sacred Master). 83 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 bolğanïm). 84

Needless to say, the Kazakh sultans on whom titles were bestowed should have been subjects (Ma. albatu, Ch. chenpu) of the Qing. 85 This is, for

80 KRO: 35–36, the document in 1730.9.8 (Julian). Also see Document P. This topic was discussed in Noda 2008.
81 In the first version of the translation, this was translated into ‘podvlastnyi’ (being under the control).
82 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.
83 Document O in Chapter 1.
84 Document M in Chapter 1.
85 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,\textsuperscript{86} 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 \textit{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. \textit{khanstvo}) of Nurali, the son of Abulkhayr, was attested by the Russian empress,\textsuperscript{87} 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.\textsuperscript{88} The following figure illustrates the relevant text of the inscription on the sword that was bestowed on Ablai in 1758.

\textsuperscript{86} Also see Chapter 2, p. 124; Onuma 2006: 47. In short, the \textit{ejen} as a master imposes the tax obligation (\textit{alban}) on the \textit{albatu} as his slave. It is said that the Kazakhs regarded themselves as \textit{albatu} of the Qing emperor since Jochi sultan mentioned \textit{albatu} in his letter (Onuma 2006: 52; Document M in Chapter 1). The document from Kazakh sultans, however, did not always use \textit{albatu}, as indicated by Documents I and O.

\textsuperscript{87} KRO: 443, 1749.2.26 (Julian).

\textsuperscript{88} 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.
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 (ћәнәлік martабаsbinә болган) by the empress. 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).

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89 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’ (таба’миз қирғиз қазақтарының Аблае сүлтән).

90 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 ‘ћәнәлік дараға,’ 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, 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.

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, silver ingots, fabrics (usually granted by four pieces of silk, ‘_duin defelinggu amba suje_’), and other products only held the symbolic significance. Several lineages of the Kazakh sultans

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91 TKhSh: 465.
92 Bezvikonnaia 2005: 100–103.
93 For the sort of the peacock feather conferred on Kazakh tribute envois, see Chapter 4.
94 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.\textsuperscript{95}

\textbf{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.\textsuperscript{96} 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\textsuperscript{th} 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.

\textsuperscript{95} See Li 2004: 136–140.
\textsuperscript{96} 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).\(^1\) 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)\(^2\) 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).


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

\(^1\) Li 2003: 196–203.

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 hargasa 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 who entered the capital to observe [imperial] sagacity), 1a–3b, (b) *Hasak han wang sei takuraha elcisa de jingse funggala sangnaha 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), 23a–81b, (d) *Tarbaghatai ci benjihe cese, jingse funggala hadabuha hasak i gebu jergi ton i cese* (Booklet sent from Tarbaghatai 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 7th month of the 49th Qianlong year.

(2) *Hasake dang: qianlong sishiba nian zhi wushiyi nian* [Record of the Kazakhs from the 48th year to the 51st year of the Qianlong regna] (hereafter HD1), 29.4 × 26.8.

HD1 includes the five memorials in Manchu drafted by high officials—Agui, Fulunnga, 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).

(3) *Hasake dang: qianlong wushi’er nian zhi wushiliu nian* [Record of the Kazakhs from the 52nd year to the 56th year of the Qianlong regna] (hereafter HD2), 29.6 × 26.8.

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3 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.

4 (c) includes 29 memorials in Manchu of the Military Governor of Yili and others, which was the source of (b).

5 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 51st year to the 54th year of the Qianlong regna] (hereafter, HD3), 26.6 × 24.0.

Although HD3 contains the words “from the 51st year to the 54th 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. Abulpis), 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 1st to 7th rank, and the 7th 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 = 5th 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).
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**Source**
- QZHDH 1: 441-442, 447-448.
- QZHDH 1: 159-161.
- QZHDH 2: 566-568.
- QZHDH 2: 592-593.
- QZHDH 2: 598-599.
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- HMQN: 11a-12a, 40a-40b, GZSL 825: 5a-b.
- HMQN: 12a-12b, 41a-48b, GZSL 825: 5a-b.
- HMQN: 12a-12b, 41a-48b, GZSL 825: 5a-b.
- HMQN: 13a-15a, 41a-48b, GZSL 825: 5a-b.
- HMQN: 13a-15a, 41a-48b, GZSL 825: 5a-b.

- 1765.8: H, Abulfeyz’s S, Qyrad, 1765.8.
- 1767.10: T, Abulfeyz’s S, Qyrad, 1767.10.
- 1769.1: H, Abulfeyz’s S, Qyrad, 1769.1.
- 1769.4: Abulfeyz’s S, Qyrad, 1769.4.
- 1773.2: H, Abulfeyz’s S, Qyrad, 1773.2.
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<td>Begali EWJ/2YF, Tokto EWJ/2YF, Nurisar (?) S.</td>
<td>RZSL 118: 129, RZSL 12: 56r-58a, 13b, 23a-26b.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Akcaw’s N.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1 others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809.9</td>
<td>Wali</td>
<td>Ablai’s S.</td>
<td>Dosoli G EWJ/2YF, Serbei EWJ/2YF, Tokto 2J, Sultan Kerei 2J, Sharhu (1) 2J, Akcaw’s A.</td>
<td>RZSL 217: 1a-b, RZSL 12: 4a-4b, 16r-16b, 18r-19a, 19b, 21a, 22a, 27b-27a, 31a, 32a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tohoma (Toghum)</td>
<td>Ablai’s S.</td>
<td>Akunsar (Ahsante) EWJ/2YF, Rustan EWJ/2YF, Lang Holos (?) 2J, Jang Holos (?) 2J, Nurisar (?) 2J, Hudaimand 2J, Jochi 4J, Tulap 1J</td>
<td>RZSL 217: 1a-b, XZSL 12: 5b-6a, 13b, 23a-24b, 26a-b.</td>
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<td>Umar Bopu’s S.</td>
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<td>Tawke Agadai’s S.</td>
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<td>38 (or 32) others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ONUMA Takahiro)
Glossary

Chinese

Abulai 阿布赉
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 参領
canzan dachen 参贊大臣
cefeng 册封
chaogong 朝貢
chaogongguo 朝貢國
chaojin 朝觐
chen 臣
chenpu 臣僕
Chengde 承德
Chenggunzhabu 成衮扎布
chi 勅
cuzao 粗躁
daduan 大綵
da huangdi 大皇帝
Daledang’a 達勒當阿／達爾党阿
Daliku 達里庫
Daqing guo 大清国
Daqing huidian shili 大清會典事例
danyan 着眼
daoyuan 道員
Dingchang 定長
Dulete Kele 都勒特克哷
Dingbei jiangjun 定北將軍
Dingbian you fujiangjun 定辺右副將軍
Dingbian zuo fujiangjun 定辺左副將軍
dingwei 丁未
Dingxi jiangjun 定西將軍
dingzi 頂子
dongji kalun 冬季卡倫
Glossary

duanzi 緞子
Eshiboto 額什博托
fudutong 副都統
etuoke 鄂拓克
mingyi fanbu 名義藩部
fanshu 藩属
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 恆齢
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 軍機処
Junji dachen 軍機大臣
kalun 卡倫
kanei 卡內
kawai 卡外
kongqueling 孔雀翎
Laiyuanqinglisi 徒遠清吏司
lanling 藍翎
li 里
Libu 礼部
Lifangyuan 理藩院
lingcui 領催
lingdui dachen 領隊大臣
Liuqiu 琉球
mangduan 螳緞
Mantake 邁他克
Menggu lüli 蒙古律例
mingfa 明発
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 侍郞
shilu 実録
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 土爾扈特
waifan menggu 外藩蒙古
waiguo laishi 外国来使
wang 王
woduan 倭縞
Wudai 伍岱
Wumo’er 烏默爾
xiaji kalun 夏季卡倫
xian 省
Xianluo 暹羅
xiaoqixiao 駿騎校
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 伊勒図
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 兆恵
zhongguo da huangdi 中国大皇帝
Zhuoleqi 卓勒齊
zhupi 硃批
zongzhu 宗主
zouling 佐領
zouzhe 奏摺
zuobu 左部
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JMSD: Junjichu manwen shangyu dang 軍機処満文上諭 檔 [Imperial Edict in Manchu in the Grand Council]. Document Category, First Historical Archives of China, Beijing.


MHD: Manwen hasake dang 滿文哈薩克 檔 [Record on the Kazakh in Manchu]. Document Category, First Historical Archives of China, Beijing.


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