

中央民族大学中国边疆民族历史与地理研究基地

The Research Base of Historical and Geographical Studies of China's Frontier Regions and Nationalities, Minzu University of China

◆ 达力扎布 主编

中国边疆民族研究

Studies of China's Frontier Regions and Nationalities

(第十一辑)



中央民族大学出版社
China Minzu University Press

The Qing Dynasty's Unification of Dzungaria and the Design of its Administrative System

[E1] By Takashi Konuma Translated by Wu Amuguling

Abstract: This article examines the Qing Dynasty's design for governing the Dzungars, analysing the historical context of the Qing army's first expedition against the Dzungars. As early as 1755, before dispatching the western expeditionary force, the Qing court had begun contemplating how to rule the Oirat people following the unification of Dzungaria, formulating post-war plans. The initial plan was to divide them into four divisions—the Khalkha, Dorbod, Choros, and Khoshut—according to their allegiance to the "Four Oirat Tribes," enfeoffing each division's khan, implementing the Qing's banner system. However, as unification progressed, the Qing gradually recognised the Otok tribes as the core of the Dzungar confederation, leading to a new proposal: incorporating these Otok tribes into the "Eight Banners of the Inner Dzungars". This dual-system governance model was devised specifically for the existing social organisation of the Dzungar nomadic state.

Keywords: Junggar; Oirat; Otog; Oirat Eight Banners; Administrative System

Following the peace negotiations in the twelfth year of the Yongzheng reign (1734), the Qing Dynasty maintained cordial relations with the Zunghar Khanate. Even after the Zunghar uprising in the tenth year of the Qianlong reign (1745), the Qing adopted a stance of quiet observation. However, in the eighteenth year of the Qianlong reign (1753), Dawaqizi usurped power, while in the same year, the powerful Taji of the Dorbod tribe, Sancheling, and in the 19th year of the Qianlong reign (1754), Amursana of the Khuit tribe, led the majority of their subjects in submitting to the Qing. At this juncture, Emperor Qianlong (1736–1795) resolved to launch a military expedition. In the 20th year of Qianlong's reign (1755), the Qing forces marching towards Dzungaria encountered no resistance. By June, Ili was pacified, and in July, Dawaqizi, who had fled to Xinjiang, was captured (First Expedition). The once-mighty Dzungar regime collapsed with surprising ease.

Following the overthrow of the Zunghar regime, the Qing Dynasty appointed four khans under the designation of the "Four Oirat Khans," attempting to divide

the Oirat tribes. However, Amursana, who aspired to become the sole Khan of the Oirats, learned that his ambitions could not be accommodated by the Qianlong Emperor. Consequently, after capturing Davachi, he rebelled against the Qing dynasty (Amursana's Rebellion). To suppress Amursana and other anti-Qing forces, the Qing dynasty launched a second expedition (Second Expedition), yet failed to capture Amursana, who escaped westward.

Amurdzhana's flight, which drew in the Kazakhs and Russians, has led previous studies to focus chiefly on his activities in Kazakhstan and the Sino-Russian negotiations surrounding him. Qing forces pursued him into Kazakhstan

(D This paper refers to the nomadic state formed by the coalition of Oirat tribes occupying the northern grasslands of the Tianshan Mountains as "Zunghar", and the group at its core wielding political power as the "Zunghar tribe".

Amursana, who was in the vicinity of Zhongyuzhi Ablai, engaged in battle with the combined forces of Amursana and Ablai. **From the autumn** of the twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign (1756), Ablai and Amursana fell out. At this time, Russian authorities approached Amursana, attempting to protect him. However, in the twenty-second year of Qianlong (1757), Amursana died of smallpox while fleeing towards Russia. The Qing Dynasty demanded the extradition of Amursana's remains, but Russia refused, causing bilateral relations to deteriorate.

Meanwhile, the Qing policy pursued in the northern frontier at this time has long been interpreted as retaliation for Amursana's rebellion, leading to the suppression of the Oirat. In reality, however, the period from the summer of 1755 when Amursana launched his rebellion until the Qing army commenced its punitive campaign (the Third Expedition) in early 1757 a period of approximately one and a half years. This fact necessitates reconsidering the simplistic view that the eradication of the Oirat was solely motivated by Amursana's rebellion. **As mentioned above**, during the First Expedition, the Qing forces did not engage in any significant combat with the Oirat. It can be said that while the nomadic Zunghar state disintegrated, the Oirat tribes under its rule retained considerable strength. The Qing dynasty accepted these long-standing adversaries, the Oirats, into its fold without fundamental alteration. How did the Qing intend to integrate these newly subjugated Oirats into its institutional framework?

This paper examines the Qing army's first expedition against the Dzungars through the lens of governance formulation. It particularly investigates how the Qing regime perceived the structure of the nomadic state built by the Dzungars, and what influence this perception exerted on the formulation of Qing governance methods, thereby comprehensively outlining the governance system the Qing sought to implement among the Oirats.

I. The Qing Conquest of the Zunghar and the "Post-Conquest Settlement of Zunghar Affairs"

On 5 June 1754, Emperor Qianlong received the chieftains of the Dorbod and other tribes at the Mountain Resort in Chengde, accepting their allegiance. The "Dog Ger Banquet" held at this time was a ceremony originally conducted by Dog Khan during the Mongol Empire period. In the Qing Dynasty, it was performed on occasions such as Emperor Huang Taiji's accession as the "Dog Qing Emperor" in 1636 and the alliance with the Daur people. In December of the same year, Emperor Qianlong again held a banquet at the Summer Palace, accepting the allegiance of Amursana and others. During this banquet, Emperor Qianlong cordially engaged in archery and horsemanship contests with Amursana. It is said he directly inquired about the internal affairs of the Zunghar in Mongolian. Though he did not personally lead a campaign, this demonstrates the proactive stance of Emperor Qianlong, who regarded himself as the sovereign ruling over Mongolia, towards Zunghar affairs.

According to a memorial submitted by the Grand Secretariat in July 1754, the Qing expeditionary force comprised a combined army of 30,000 troops on the northern route and 20,000 on the western route. This included 13,000 Bannermen, 26,000 troops from Mongol and Tungusic tribes, and Han Green Standard troops.

(D I/I.].H.3na'r1<pm. *Hemopwt flwcyuaapcrcozo xaucmsa* (1635–1758), Moscow: AKaneMmmayK COCP,

1964, pp. 425–463; Kawanaka Haru: "The Expansion of the Ablai Power: An Investigation into Eighteenth-Century Kazakhstan," *Taikansan Ronso*, No.

14, 1980, pp. 27–49; Morikawa Tetsuo: "The Entire Course of Russo-Qing Negotiations Concerning Amursana," *Historical and Geographical Annual*, No.7 , 1983, pp. 75–105.

@ Iwai Shigeki: "The 'Great Yurt Banquet' of the Qianlong Reign: A Scene from Asian Political Culture," in Kawauchi Yoshihiro (ed.): *Ethnic Issues and International Relations under the Qing Dynasty* (Report on the Results of Comprehensive Research (A) Funded by the 1990 Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research), 1991, pp. 22–29.

@ Yashiro Toshihiko (ed.): *Jesuit Letters from China*, Vol. 3: The Qianlong Era, Peking: Peking University Press, 1973, pp. 245–246. @ Xiaoting Miscellany, Vol. 3, entry on the military campaign in the Western Regions.

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11,000 men. @ Subsequently, 200 Muslim soldiers from the Gua Prefecture Zhasak Emin and Zhamus were added upon request to enlist.

Furthermore, when the Amur

Sana tribe's forces of approximately 20,000 surrendered to the Qing Dynasty, ordering the dispatch of 2,300 troops. From the 6,000 Khalkha troops,

2,500 troops.@ In March 1755, under the following command structure, the Northern Route Army advanced from Uliastai while the Western Route Army departed from Baryn.

Northern Army

General of the North, Ban Di (Mongolian Yellow Banner)

Vice-General Amursana (former Khalkha tribe tegi, prince)

Counsellor Sebtenbarjuru (Khorchin tribe, prince)

Chenggunzhabu (Sain Noyan tribe, duke)

Mamu'te (former Zhaqin Otog Zaisan, , submitted allegiance in 1754, Inner Court Minister)

Western Route Army

General of the West Yongchang (Manchu, White Banner)

Vice-General Salar (Formerly Zaisan under Dāshidāwā, submitted allegiance in 1745, Mongolian

Pure Yellow Banner) Counsellor Banzhuer (Formerly Tāiji of the Khoshut tribe, Prince)

Zhalafeng'a (Khalqin tribe, Prince)

E'rong'an (Manchu Bordered Blue Banner,

Inner Court Minister)

Both routes were commanded by generals of banner origin, with princes from Inner and Outer Mongolia and newly submitted Oirat nobles serving as deputy generals and counsellors. During actual campaigning, the deputy generals each led vanguards of 3,000 men in advance, with the generals and counsellors following behind. The main combat force advancing into the northern frontier comprised Mongol and Tungusic troops skilled in steppe warfare, while the majority of Bannermen and Green Standard troops undertook rear support duties such as transporting provisions and supplies. On 17 February 1755, as the expeditionary force commenced its advance, the Grand Council had drafted an eight-point "Post-Campaign Settlement of Zunghar Affairs" proposal for submission to the Qianlong Emperor. The key provisions are summarised as follows:

Article 1: Administration of the Oirat in Northern Frontier

Article 2 Method of Administration for

Southern Frontier (Hui Region) Article 3

Method of Administration for

Ulianghai

Article 4 Administrative System of the Zhaqin Region

Article 5 Establishment of Postal Stations Between Hami and Ili

Article 6 Garrison Troops and Military Colonisation in Ürümqi and Lukqin

Article 7 Establishment of the Border between the Khalkha and Oirat Tribes and the Deployment of the Eight Banners Garrison within the Khalkha Territory

Article 8 The Taxation and Labour Services of the Oirat

The "Post-Campaign Measures for the Pacification of the Zunghar" were not only directed at Northern Xinjiang, but also extended to the Hui regions, Kobdo, and the Altai Mountains.

(D. The Strategy for Subduing the Zunghar, hereafter referred to as the Zunghar Strategy) Main Compilation, Volume 2, 31a-b, 21st day of the 5th month in the 19th year of the Qianlong reign (1754)

[10 July 1754]

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- @ Zhuang Jifa: Research on the Ten Complete Military Achievements of the Qianlong Emperor. National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1982, pp. 34–35.
Design of its Administrative System
- @ **As discussed later**, Banzhu'er was positioned along the northern route during the actual military campaign.
- @ Imperial Treatise on Frontier Tribes, Vol. 12, Summary of the Oirat, Entry for the Second Month of the Twentieth Year of Qianlong.

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The localities, even those as remote as the Karakhanid regions, demonstrated the Qing dynasty's internal governance strategy following the conquest of the Junggar. However, prior research has not formally examined the content of the "Post-Conquest Arrangements for the Junggar Region".

Following the proposal of this draft "Post-pacification Arrangements for the Junggar Region" (hereafter referred to as "Post-pacification Arrangements"), the Qing central government (centred on Emperor Qianlong and the Grand Council) and the generals dispatched to the frontier (such as Ban Di) simultaneously undertook revisions and additions. The process unfolded in four distinct segments, as outlined below. This text presents them sequentially as: Matter I_W, "Matter 1 First Revision" Matter I - lo Additionally, Matters I_IV were originally drafted in Manchu script; this analysis adheres to that textual framework.

Matter 1: 7th day of the 1st month, 20th year of Qianlong [1755/2/17]: Submitted by the Grand Secretaries to Emperor Qianlong

Matter I_II: 17th day of the 6th month, 20th year of Qianlong [1755/7/25]: Submitted by Ban Di et

al. to Emperor Qianlong. Matter I_III: 8th day of the 7th month, 20th year of Qianlong [1755/8/15]:

Memoranda Submitted by the Grand Secretaries to the Qianlong Emperor:

Herein lies the first document concerning the "Post-Campaign Arrangements for the Subjugation of the Junggar," namely the governance model for the Uirat region in Northern Frontier. The full text of the imperial edict is presented below:

After pacifying the lands of Junggar, ascertain the household numbers of the four Chou-ratu Zhutai-jis and determine how to allocate them among the Tai-jis. Establish Huai-zha Xie-ke as the Huai-zha Zha-meng-wei. [How to deploy the Li Min] banner's auxiliary troops, [how to appoint officials for the Yin Banner and Niu Hong] shall be submitted for consideration. Now, pursuant to the Imperial Edict, [appoint] Amgasana, Bandi, Xuelaga, Eruongan, and Huomute. [They] shall complete the task (conquering the Junggar tribe), they shall present their findings. Previously, they thoroughly investigated and deliberated, awaiting the imperial decree. Furthermore, the seat of governance designates four localities for the four Chulats to lead their respective tribes in residence. However, at the time of Xunhe Xilaga and Huomute, the entire four Chulart tribes were scattered in their settlements, with members of the same clan not residing under one roof. Ordering them to dwell together under one roof may appear orderly at first glance, but it would cause newly assimilated individuals to mix as before.

@ Qiangyu, second and fourth districts. Qing reference: see separate study by Takashi Komatsu, "The Evolution of Qing Policy Towards the Kashgari Before Conquest," in *History Forum*, Vol. 9, 2003, pp. 40-51; Onuma Takahiro, "The Establishment of the Boke System: Based on Qing Dynasty Official Documents,"

Research on Xinjiang History," in *Research on Inner Mongolia History*, Vol. 22, 2007, pp. 39-59; Onuma Takahiro, "Promoting

Power: The Rise of Emin Khwaja on the Eve of the Qing Conquest of Kashgar," in *Contact between Nomadic and Agricultural Worlds:*

— *New Historical Materials and Perspectives on Inner Mongolia History* (Research Report of the Institute of Inner Mongolian Culture, Peking University, Vol. 57), Institute of Inner Mongolian Culture, Peking University, 2012, pp. 31-60.

@ Only Matters 1 and Matter E are summarised in the Zhunlü. The former (Chapters 1 to 4) is found in the Zhunlü, Main Compilation, Volume 5: 5a-7b, dated the 17th day of the first month in the 20th year of the Qianlong era (1755). [1755/2/17]. The latter is found in Zhunlü, Main Compilation, Volume 15: 20a-27a, recorded on the eighth day of the seventh month of the 20th year of the Qianlong reign [1755/8/15].

@ Manchu Manuscripts Collection, First Kitchen Division, Historical Records Office, Military Archives 833 (I), 7th day of the 1st month, 20th year of Qianlong [1755/2/17] 条.

@ Jointly compiled by the Central Enclosure History and Geography Research Centre and the First Unit of the Central Garrison: *Compilation of Qing Dynasty Xinjiang Manchu Official Documents* (hereafter referred to as *Xinjiang Compilation*, Vol. ..., Xinjiang Normal University Press, 2012), pp. 331-346, 17th day of the 6th month, 20th year of Qianlong's reign [1755/7/25], memorials by Ban Di et al.

@ Manchu Manuscripts, Military Section 833 (I), 8th day of the 7th month in the 20th year of the Qianlong reign [15 August 1755].

@ *Xinjiang Fanbian*, Vol. 12, Changxi Normal University Press, 2012, pp. 262-271, 3rd day of the 8th month, 20th year of Qianlong [8 September 1755], memorial by Ban Di et al.

[1755/9/8], Ban Di et al. memorial.

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Residence. It is presumed circumstances would be more favourable. Therefore, cease allowing members of the same clan to reside together, and have each return to their original place of residence.

Wang Yixun [20] (D)

Matters I _1 The core issues were the conferment of titles upon the "Four Oirat" princes, the implementation of the league and banner system (the organisation of banner units, the appointment of alliance chiefs, Zhasaks, and other officials), and the designation of pastoral lands. However, the aforementioned content lacks specific provisions. As mentioned in the text, concrete matters were entrusted to the commanders leading the expeditionary force to the northern frontier. There was also a proposal to divide the "Four Oirat" into four parts, but no explicit record of enfeoffing the Four Khans. This suggests that when the Grand Council presented its proposal, the plan to enfeoff the Four Khans had not yet reached full maturity.

The Qing forces encountered no resistance from the Oirat tribes, reaching Ili on 14 June. The following month, they captured Dawazi. Bendi and Amursana, who had taken up residence in Ili, negotiated the post-war arrangements based on local circumstances. On 25 July, they submitted a memorial detailing the specific measures to be implemented or the adjustments required. The provisions of [Matter I] retained the framework outlined in Matter I: conferring titles upon the various Taygis (A), implementing the league-banner system (B), and designating nomadic grazing lands (C). The specific contents are as follows:

[Matter A]: Pursuant to the imperial decree establishing four Khans among the Oirat tribes, the League Chiefs shall concurrently serve as Khans. As the households led by the Taisges upon submission varied, regarding [how] to grant household registers to them,

[who] shall serve as Zhasak Taiji and others. Minister Yu Bao has already compiled a complete inventory of the names, ranks, [affiliated] households

Upon the Taiji and others arriving at the Summer Palace to present themselves before His Majesty, and after the Emperor graciously bestowed the enfeoffment, the certificates of appointment, registers, and seals to be conferred shall be issued. The relevant departments (the Six Ministries and the Board of Colonial Affairs, etc.) are commanded to follow the precedent of the 1st day in conferring these.

Though this constitutes the first section concerning the enfeoffment of various Taiji, it is immediately apparent that matters not addressed in the first section—namely the enfeoffment of the Four Khans—appear at the outset. Moreover, it explicitly states that those to be enfeoffed as Khans shall be appointed as League Chiefs. As for the Oirat registers and **household rolls** mentioned in historical records as having been submitted to the Qing court, their existence remains unverified.

The subsequent second section, , exhibits significant changes in content:

[Matter Chou — 1B]: When organising banners and appointing assistants, @obtained from the khans of each division the khans, princes,

(D Manchu Correspondence Archives, Military Affairs 833 (1), entry dated 8th day of the 7th month, 20th year of Qianlong. As this historical material remains unpublished, the Manchu transcription in

Latin script

under the female population records. Jun gar i babe toktobuha manggi, duin oirat i taijisa boigon anggala i ton be getukeleme baicafi, taijisa

The dorgi adarame **fungnehen** bahabure, jasad obure, **culgan** i da sa be sindara, gusa inu banjibure, hafan sindara babe te hesei amursana, bandi, saral, oyonggo, mamut be baita icihiyara de tucibuhebi. Te getukeleme baicafi, gisurefi, hese be baime wesimbure ci tulgiyen, duin oirat i taijisa be giyan i duin ba jorifi , meni meni harangga **urse** be gaifi te-buci acacibe, damu saral, mamut de fonjici, cem' duin oirat gemu son son i tehebi. Daci umai emu harangga urse be emu bade tebuci, tuwara de teksin sain gojime, ice dahabuha urse be kemuni da songkoi hiyahanjame tebuci, baita de tusa be dahame, emu halai urse be emu bade tebure be nakafi, kemuni meni meni da tehe ba i hanci § rdeme tebubuki.

@ The term "Zhasak Taiji" here refers to the "princely Taiji" appointed as Zhasak to lead a banner under the banner-and-tribe system implemented during the Qing Dynasty.

The household numbers of the Taiji's subjects were subsequently organised into niulü. 0 @ According to records preserved in Ili, the household numbers of the subjects under the Egtok Zaisang were organised into niulü. Should the actual figures of household numbers during this period differ from the recorded numbers, the incumbent Zaisang shall report the discrepancies clearly, whereupon [we] shall investigate and rectify them. and the niulü were organised according to the actual numbers at that time. For the Taiji and Zaisang retained to manage military affairs or oversee pasturelands, as well as those Taiji and Zaisang who had not yet submitted, those who submitted previously should have their names, status, and household numbers thoroughly verified. [How] to grant certificates, appointing whom as Zhasak, shall be separately negotiated and submitted for imperial decree.

Unlike the implementation of the league and banner system in the Zhongtian Four Khan Division, a new provision has been

added: @ 「The commoners under each Otagai Zaisang

S a n g " (Ma. **siden** de obure geren otoki j a i s a n g >) shall be organised into niuruks. This "public" designation indicates

as evident from "Public Zasaq" and "Public Zoling," positions filled by officials appointed by the Qing Dynasty rather than hereditary. Subsequently, regarding the herdsmen under the Taiji of the Zhongtian Four Khan Tribes and those under the Otagai Zaisang, the former are recorded as harang-ga albatu (translated as "subjects" in the aforementioned historical records), while the latter are rendered as harangga urse (translated as "subject populace") to distinguish them. It is particularly noted that albatu, in its lexical meaning, signifies "those bearing the burden of alba" in Mongolian, denoting the subjects of the ejin (MO-ejen, carrying the connotation of "master"). We can observe that the relationship between the Taiji and Zaisang and their subordinate pastoralists differed—at least as understood by the Qing authorities.

As demonstrated in the preceding chapter, the "Twenty-One Angi" commanded by powerful Taiji within the Oirat tribes and the "Twenty-Four Otoks" led by the Zaisang under the Dzungar chieftain (the core Dzungar tribe). This structure is believed to have been established during the reign of Galdan Tseren. While it is difficult to assert that this system remained unchanged through internal strife until the Qing conquest, the third section of the Yishi Kang describes the locations of the four Oirat pastoral lands as follows:

{ _[C] } : The nomadic territories of the Four Oirat tribes shall not be relocated from their original lands. The subjects of Amursana and others shall continue to graze as before in the vicinity of Tarbagatai. The subjects of Dorbod Tseling and Nemeku and others shall graze in the vicinity of Irtysh. The subjects of Choros Tegi Garlzangdorji and others shall graze in the vicinity of Usmuqi. The subjects of Khoshut Tegi Shakdurmangji and DorbodTajis such as Beshagash and others, shall not be relocated from their present pastures. Other Tajis and various Otag Zaisans, shall also be permitted to reside collectively within their respective original territories.

Thus, the nomadic territories of the powerful Taiji of the "Four Oirat" (the Hui'erda, Duerbote, Choros, and Hesote tribes) were situated on the periphery of the Ili Basin, encompassing Tarbagatai, Erqis, and Ürümqi. This arrangement persisted until the Qing conquest.

© Compilation of Xinjiang, Vol. 11, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012, pp. 333-334.

@ In this text, harangga albatu is rendered as "subject people" and harangga urse as "subject masses"—a convenient distinction achieved through translation.

@ "Alba" signifies bearing various obligations to the Ejen, including military service and tribute.

For further details, see Takashi Konuma, *The Qing and the Central Asian Steppes: From Nomadic World to Imperial Frontier*, Tokyo: Gakushū Publishing, 2014, pp. 31-40. Publishing Association, 2014, pp. 31-40.

@ Xinjiang Huibian, Vol. 11, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012, p. 334.

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On the eve of the Qing conquest, the core Dzungar Khanate—composed of multiple otoks—still occupied the Ili Basin, and the fundamental structure of surrounding tribal taji pastoral lands remained intact. Re-examining the matter in light of the above clarifies that: The subjects of the Four Khans, Princes, and Taijis" resided within the territories of the powerful Taijis of the "Four Oirat Khans," while @the subjects of the Zaisang of the Central Otog" resided within the territory of the Junggar tribe. This demonstrates that in the matter of Wangyi-1, the Qing administration adapted its governance methods to align with the jurisdictional system of the nomadic Junggar state.

The foregoing analysis permits the following observations. Firstly, prior research has primarily focused on the enfeoffment of the Four Khans, regarded as the principal cause of Amursana's rebellion. However, the Qing administration's governance of the Oirat also encompassed the implementation of the banner system and the designation of pastoral lands.

Secondly, concerning the enfeoffment of the Four Khans, the Qing court initially held no explicit stance on this matter. Thirdly, prior to the unification of the Zunghar, the imperial vision had focused solely on the "Four Oirat Khanates"; yet following conquest, attention turned to the Otog tribes constituting the Zunghar domain, prompting discussions on implementing the banner system among them. Building upon these three points, we shall now re-examine the discussions conducted during the first expeditionary period to clearly elucidate the comprehensive nature of the Qing Dynasty's governance concept for the Oirat region.

As confirmed in the preceding chapter, the establishment of khans for the Uighur, Dorbod, Choros, and Khoshut tribes constituted one facet of the governance concept targeting the territories of the four tribal leaders. This concept was intertwined with the implementation of the league-banner system and the designation of pastoral lands. Hereafter, this concept shall be termed **the "Khanate Concept."** The following sections will organise key elements—the conferment of titles upon the tribal leaders (the Four Khanates), the implementation of the league-banner system, and the designation of pastoral lands.

⟨I⟩ C o n f e r r i n g T i t l e s u p o n the Taijis (Enfeoffment of the Four Khans)

Article 1.1, while stating that after conquering the northern frontier the Oirat were to be divided into four divisions, did not explicitly mention enfeoffing four Khans. What process led to the proposal to enfeoff four Khans in Article 1.2?

It must first be noted that conferring the title of Khan constituted an exceptional measure. Since the Qing dynasty's founding in 1636, the highest rank in its external vassal nobility system was Prince. However, when the Khalkha tribe submitted to the Qing in the late 17th century, the Khan title was newly established to accommodate the three Khans of Tsenin, Tushetu, and Zhasaktu. This title of Khan was conferred by the Qing Emperor upon his subjects and was distinct from the traditional khan titles used by Central Asian monarchs. Subsequently, **including** the newly established Sain Noyon tribe in **1725**, the Khan title became a rank exclusive to the four Khalkha tribes.

Among the Oirat tribes, not all originally held the title of Khan within the "Four Oirats". Consequently, the Qing initially applied no special distinction. In 1754, the title of Prince was conferred upon Tsereng, leader of the Dorbod tribe, and Amursana, leader of the Khalkha tribe, while other Taiji were granted the rank of Prince.

@ In the early Qing period, the six ranks of nobility among the Mongol tribes south of the Gobi comprised: Prince of the First Rank (Hešö), Prince of the Second Rank (Doro), Prince of the Third Rank (Doro), Prince of the Fourth Rank (Gushan), Duke of the State (Zhennuo), and Duke of the Realm (Fuguo). @ The Mongol and Kazakh chieftains (particularly the first generation) granted Khan titles Whether the distinction between the Khan title and the traditional Khan designation was understood at that time

Even minimally, the Qing dynasty endeavoured to distinguish between khan titles and khan ranks. The significance of acquiring Qing titles varied across regions. Society was reinterpreted, serving to elevate its status. *Yohan Elverskog, Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism and the State in Late Imperial China*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, pp.63-70; Noda, Hitoshi: *Russia, the Qing Empire and the Kazakh Khanate*, Tokyo University Press, 2011, pp.149-179; Takahiro Konuma: *The Qing and the Central Asian Steppes: From Nomadic World to Imperial Frontier*, pp. 182-183.

The conferral of noble titles granted recipients the status of vassal princes, entitling them to annual stipends. This constituted a 'conciliatory policy' to integrate the Oirat Mongols into the Qing imperial system. (Note: The conferral of titles was contingent upon the grant of subjects. Thus, the Qing dynasty's conferral of titles upon recipients (princes and nobles) also conferred upon the masters (Mo'ejen) of the subjects (Mo'albatu) the status of being inherited, thereby establishing a master-servant relationship with the Qing emperor.

Following formal proposals to establish the Urat Khanate, the matter was presented... Subsequently, the military commander of the Northern Frontier presented a memorial to the Qing court, alongside the Prince of Heshetu, Ban Zhuqiaoyu, and the Prince of Nagaqat. After unifying the Junggar region, they proposed "conferring the title of Amu Yongsanali Khan" upon him. Emperor Qianlong then expressed the following counterproposal:

Following the pacification of the Junggar, it is the Emperor's intention to enfeoff the four Oirat tribes as four khans, each to govern their respective domains. The enfeoffments shall be as follows:

, Amu Yong Sanali Huitai Khan, and Ban Zhuo He Yingte Khan. I have already informed Laling and Amu Yong Sanali of this decision, though Ban Zhuo remains unaware. Please inform him forthwith.

The Qianlong Emperor had already conceived the idea of enfeoffing the Four Khans, but the matter was provisionally settled between Laoling and Amuqasana, without formal public announcement. As A. Khokhayev noted, the division of the Oirat League into four parts harmed their interests, hence the initial campaign may not have been publicly declared. On the same day, Emperor Qianlong received Banji and Yulagaxia in audience, expressing his concerns: if the governance of Northern Xinjiang were entrusted solely to Amgasana, it would be like placing a knife in the hands of a butcher. Yet this might also disappoint Amursana. Therefore, he instructed that the policy of enfeoffing the Four Khans must be clearly explained to Amursana and other tribal leaders to dispel their misguided notions.

Above, in the records of Shangyu, Emperor Qianlong had not yet identified the person who had deceived the Khagan of the Qomolangma tribe. This pertained to the initial campaign, where the preliminary investigation had failed to uncover the impostor among the Shangyu. Under these circumstances, Ganyangzangduozhaopang of the Qomolangma tribe, styled "Zunghar Great Taiyi," defected to the Qing forces during the campaign. His Majesty the Qianlong Emperor forthwith resolved to confer upon Gāyongzang Duozhaopang the title of Khoshah Khan. Moreover, he decreed that Amgasana, Laoling, and Banjuzhao should be summoned to attend together.

(D. The Official History of Xinjiang, Main Compilation, Volume 2: **zga-30a**, Gengyin of the fifth month of the 19th year of Qianlong's reign (12th day) [1754/7/11]; The

Official History of Xinjiang, Main Compilation, Volume 4:

Vol. 4: lgb ~ 20b, 13th day of the 11th month of the 19th year of Qianlong [26 December 1754].

@ The annual stipends and allowances are as follows: Prince Heyingqi receives 2000 taels of silver and 25 bolts of silk brocade; Prince Duokui receives 1200 taels of silver and 25 bolts of silk brocade; Prince Duoxia'ole receives 800 taels of silver and 13 bolts of silk brocade; Gushan Yuzhi receives 1,000 taels of silver and 10 bolts of silk brocade; Shengu Gong receives 300 taels of silver and 9 bolts of silk brocade; Fuyu Gong: 200 taels of silver, 7 bolts of silk brocade; Zha Xie Ke Tai Ji and Tabu Nang: 100 taels of silver, 4 bolts of silk brocade. Cai Jiazhi: Outline of the History of Xinjiang's Ethnic Minorities in the Qing Dynasty, People's Publishing House, 2006, pp. 120-120.

@ During the Qing Dynasty, in 1754, the Oirat chieftains who submitted to Chengde were rewarded with a total of 5,000 taels of silver, with 117 subordinates each receiving 10 taels. Each person was granted a reward (Gaozong Moquan, Vol. **464-16a-b**, Qianlong 19th year, 5th month, Xinmao day [1754/7/2]). (13th day) [2 July 1754]). According to Jesuit records (), substantial silver was also bestowed upon Amursana and others upon their submission. Edited by Shizutani Toshihiko: Jesuit Chinese Historical Documents Collection 3 · Qianlong Edition, Hebei , 1973, p. 236.

@ Okahira: "A Study on the Administrative Governance Structure of the Mongolian Societies in Qing Dynasty China", in Yoshida Jun'ichi (ed.), Waseda University Mongolian Research Institute (comp.): Studies in Mongolian History: Present and Future, Akashi Shoten, 2011, p. 268.

@ Ban Zhuzao Beipali was the half-brother of Amgasana.

@ Zhunlüe, Main Compilation, Volume 1: 26a-27a, 17th day of the first month of the 20th year of the Qianlong reign (1755/2/27). Banjuqia and Nagacha's memorial to the Qing court sought to secure Amgasana Mochan's title of Khan, but the Qing court granted him the rank of Khan.

@ Zhunlüe, Main Compilation, Volume 5: 27a ~ 27b

@ A. Xomxaen, *История умножения Восточной Тибетской 3 XIII 3: us ucopoua mmbyflapobfbr*

omouemuf 6 Heumpaizbloa Anu, TallkelHT: /1SIIaTCJlbCTBO "cDaH" Y36eKcl-ofi CCP, 1991, C. 46.

@ The Compilation of the Imperial Code, Volume V = 2810-2951o

The investiture ceremony was held in Chengde.

Thus, the division of the Oirat into four parts and the enfeoffment of four khans highly reflected Emperor Qianlong's intention to prevent any powerful figure from reunifying the Oirat. It should also be noted that, as described in the "Matter of the Oirat," the conferral of titles was determined by prior status and the number of subjects, yet the rank of these titles merely reflected the sequence of vassal princes and their corresponding privileges. This was distinct from the positions held under the league-banner system, which entailed actual governance responsibilities and corresponded to the scale of power within the local nomadic society. Having established this point, we shall now examine the implementation of the league-banner system.

〈II〉 Implementation of the League-Banner System

During the Qing Dynasty's rule over Mongolian nomads, Zhasak Khans were selected from among the nobles and princes () - half of whom belonged to the Borjigit clan - to command banners known as "Zhasak Banners". In Mongolian, a banner was termed "qosiyu", while a sumu (sumu) was designated as "sumu". Regulations stipulated that each sumu comprised 150 arrow-bearers (Mo.quyay) selected from among the male pastoralists. Archer soldiers bore military service obligations to the Qing central government and were regarded as subjects of the Qing Emperor. In contrast, retainers, unlike archer soldiers, were subordinate to princely nobles (Tajis), occupying the position of the nobles' and princes' Albatu. The league (MO' (Eh/1117311), established as an organisation above the banner level and composed of multiple banners, elected a league chief and deputy league chief from among the nobles and princes within the league. For this reason, the Zhasak Banner system is also known as the "League-Banner System".

For the Oirat, a partial league-banner system was implemented prior to the commencement of the first expedition. In June 1754, when the Dorbod tribe submitted,

tribes submitted, Emperor Qianlong resolved to apply the league-banner system practised in Inner and Outer Mongolia to the Dorbod tribe that had led its subjects in surrender. Cheling was subsequently appointed League Chief, with Cheling Ubashi as Deputy League Chief. This Dorbod League was granted the title "Sayin Jiyahaatu" (Mo.SayinjayaYatu). Subsequently, the Huite banner led by Amursena, who submitted later, was named "Erdeni Noyan" (Mo.Erdeni noyan), while the banner commanded by Banzhu'er was designated "

* Zhunlü, Main Compilation, Volume 9: 20b-21a, entry dated Renyin (29th day) of the third month in the 20th year of Qianlong [9 May 1755].

@ Per Ryo Yangsu's interpretation, the Jasak was responsible for enforcing Qing military regulations and imperial decrees within his own banner, rather than serving as chieftain over other nobles and princes within the banner (including idle nobles not appointed as banner officials). Yangsu: A Tentative Discussion on Understanding Qing Mongolian Society and Administrative Governance Structure, p. 269.

@ The term "jasak grisa" (扎萨克旗) is rarely used in Qing legal codices such as the Imperial Code or Regulations. **To the best of my knowledge, the first recorded instance appears in** the Manchu text of the Regulations of the Ministry of Frontier Affairs [理藩院则例], in the section on Banner Division [旗分], in the 1755 edition.

〈Jiaxian 22nd Year Edition〉, Volume 1, under the entry for "Flag Division," marks the first recorded appearance of the term.

@ According to Qing dynasty regulations from 1649 (the sixth year of Shunzhi's reign), the number of retainers permitted for princes and nobles was as follows: Prince: 60 retainers Duke: 50 retainers Bailu: 40 retainers Beizi: 35 retainers Gong: 30 retainers Guren Efu: 40 retainers Hese Efu: 30 retainers Duoluo Efu: 20 retainers. However, these stipulations of the Zhasak Banner system, proved largely nominal in actual Mongol nomadic society (particularly among the Khalkha tribe), and Qing authorities did not regard this situation as problematic. <Nobuhisa, M.: "Taxes, Rent, and Labour Duties Imposed on Commoners Within Banners: The Case of Qing-Era Khalkha Mongolia". In: Studies in Inner Asian History, No. 1, 1984, pp. 25-40; Nakamura, Atsushi: "On the Sumu System in Mongolian Society under Qing Rule: The Case of the Later Left Wing of the Khalkha Tushetu Khan Division," published in The Bulletin of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 93, No. 3, 2011, pp. 1-25). Yagisho used the Khalkha division as an example to illustrate the traditional social organisation of the Otog (distinct from the Otog forming the Dzungar tribe) and the "Mo-bav" () formed within each Taiji lineage branch persisted under Qing rule. These functioned as the grassroots of substantive social organisation within the banners, in contrast to the nominal sumu. (Yong Yangshu: **Research on the Banner System of Mongolia during the Qing Dynasty**, Oriental Bookstore, 2007, pp. 109-223).

@ Zhunlüe, Main Compilation, Volume 2 = 22b_23a, entry for the 15th day of the intercalary fourth month of the 19th year of the Qianlong reign [5 June 1754].

Shuote League's "Qing Yizaguzhaojing" (Mo-Huaningjia Yurtu) However, the Yuan system did not specify whether officials below the rank of League Chief were appointed within the Hui'er and Hesuote Leagues. Furthermore, at the end of 1754, Amusong Sana and Banjuqia were enfeoffed. Emperor Qianlong reissued directives to the ministries, instructing the Zhutai and Zhalaxieq to each administer their own subjects. However, none of the three Bortala tribes had been organised into banners. Consequently, in September 1755, Amusana initiated rebellion against the Qing. Yubusangar submitted a memorial stating, "There is now no necessity for flag organisation," and resolved to halt the flag organisation work.

The conferment of titles and the implementation of the league-banner system were indeed fundamental strategies of the Qing dynasty's "Four Banners" policy. However, it must be noted that the fundamental distinction between the titles below the Khan in the vassal system and the administrative officials below the League Chief in the League-Banner system is akin to the difference between the titles of L₁ and Gu Yie'e. It is explicitly recorded that the aforementioned policy applies not only to Taiji who submitted before the First Campaign but also to those who submitted during the campaign. In July 1755, Emperor Qianlong's edict further clarified the relationship between conferring titles and implementing the league-banner system:

The local (Northern Frontier) Taiji shall be enfeoffed as Khans, Princes, and Dukes. Matters of enfeoffment shall be determined by special consideration of their merits, the size of their populations, and their bloodlines. The ranks of Khans and Princes shall be higher than others, [in terms of pastoral lands] they may administer their own banner's affairs but cannot oversee other Zhaoxie matters within their jurisdiction. This applies equally to the Qagaka and Neizhaoxie (Inner Mongolia's Dugu tribe) are likewise. My affection for the Zunghar Dugu Tai-ji is akin to that for the Qaghan and Neizha tribes, hence all matters must be administered jointly with them. Therefore, [Wang Lat] The four divisions shall be treated identically to Kagaqa. Each division shall establish a league and appoint a deputy commander to oversee its administration.

When determining the rank to be conferred, the bloodline of the Khalkha chieftain and the number of his subjects shall be examined, and the rank shall be decided accordingly. However, regardless of the rank of the chieftain, the sphere of influence exercised within the nomadic society shall be confined to the subjects within his own banner, and he shall not interfere in the affairs of other Zakhs.

Upon receiving the matter, Emperor Qianlong commanded the Grand Council to deliberate. On the 14th day of the eighth month, the

Grand Council resubmitted the "Post-Peace Settlement Measures for the Zunghar Region," comprising eight articles.

"Post-Campaign Measures for the Pacification of Junggar" (Affairs Memorandum), which received the Emperor's approval on the 15th. Examining the first clause, the Affairs Memorandum and Affairs Memorandum 1 presented identical content to the Grand Council's proposal. However, the Military Affairs Ministers focused solely on revising the "Four-Urat" promotion system outlined in the Affairs Memorandum

I. The proposal to establish the "Four Urat" system, whereby the position of Four Urat Alliance Chief would be concurrently held by the Four Urat Khan.

The elders of the alliance, having specially undertaken the matter of establishing a new alliance, shall manage the affairs of the alliance with diligence. The Khan and the princes are hereditary nobles; they are not to be appointed to positions within the new alliance. If among them there may be elders of the alliance who can be appointed, that would be preferable. But if not, then...

@ Gaozong Qichuan, Volume 473: lb, 16th day of the ninth month, Renchen (1754/10/31) [Qianlong 19th year].

@ 《Zunlüe》 Main Compilation, Volume 4= 19a–20b, 19th year of Qianlong, 11th month, Wuzi day (13th day) (1754/12/26) ...) @ 《Zunlüe》 Main Compilation, Volume 16: 39a, 20th year of Qianlong, 8th month, Xinyou day (20th day) (1755/9/25) Tea.

@ The Deputy General of Kagaka (distinct from the Deputy General of Ding Shuzuo of the Toliyaqitai) was stationed at the various leagues of Kayongka, responsible for military administration and the management of troops and military affairs. Reference: Qing Dynasty Mongolian League and Banner System Research, Mofang Wudian, 2007, pp. 91-102

@ Xinjiang Comprehensive Gazetteer, Vol. · · ·, Xinjiang People's Publishing House, 2012, pp. 394–395, 25 June Qianlong 20th Year

(25th day of the 6th month, 1755),

Ethnic Groups

Among those possessing exceptional capability, select those who are astute, well-versed in affairs, and capable of managing subordinates to appoint as league chieftains; this will prove beneficial in all matters. Therefore, there is no need to require the four Khans of the Oirat to concurrently serve as league chieftains. Order Ban Di to select [candidates] from among the four Oirat Khans and Princes, list their names and ranks, and [submit to the Qianlong Emperor] for imperial decree awaiting appointment.

The Military Council, whilst not prohibiting Khans from concurrently holding the office of League Chief, emphasised the necessity of distinguishing between the hierarchical sequence of titles below the rank of Khan within the Four Khanates and the official hierarchy of the League-Banner system. For the Qing court, the establishment of the Oirat Khanates and the implementation of the League-Banner system were measures designed to serve distinct purposes.

(i) Designation of pastoral lands

Finally, consider the designation of nomadic pastures. Needless to say, nomads pursue their livestock in search of water and grass, moving constantly. Nomads measured their expansion by seizing populations, livestock, and the accompanying pastoral lands. The Qing dynasty appointed Mongolian nomadic chieftains as Zasaqs, acknowledging and guaranteeing their authority over their subjects. This also intended to confine the power of the Taiji within their personal banners, this directly led to the sedentarisation of nomadic society. The Qing policy of establishing banner territories effectively partitioned nomadic society within each banner, designating grazing lands to restrict movement, thereby preventing new conflicts, and the emergence of new opposing forces.⁰ This strategy was also implemented among the Oirat, as evidenced in Document I₁ and Document II₁. The provisions concerning the designated grazing lands were included in the agreements with the various Mongol groups. The term "designated grazing lands" here did not refer to the immediate demarcation of league or banner boundaries, but rather to the prohibition of arbitrary movement and expansion of grazing areas without Qing permission. Tian Shanmao regarded the Qing practice of dividing pasturelands alongside banner demarcation as: "occupying the most crucial aspect of Qing policy towards Mongolia - an effective measure for establishing feudal order by dispersing power and social stabilisation," considered one of the conditions for the establishment of the league-banner system. In fact, the appointment of Zhasaks, flag divisions, and niuruks did not entail demarcating flag boundaries; establishing these boundaries took considerable time. Nevertheless, even without clearly defined flag boundaries, it remains indisputable that the Qing-designated grazing lands were intended to rigorously restrict nomadic mobility. Arbitrary implementation of flag boundary demarcation would inevitably provoke resistance from the feudal lord class.

It should be noted that the original "Four Khanates Concept" primarily targeted groups that had fled the internal strife of the Zungghar. Simply consider that among the four individuals Emperor Qianlong intended to enfeoff as khans, three—Cheling, Amursena, and Banzhur—were defectors, while only one, Galdandorji of the Choros tribe, had submitted during the first expedition to Northern Xinjiang.

@ Manchu Reply Archives, Military Affairs 833 (1), 8th day of the 7th month, 20th year of the Qianlong reign [15th August 1755]. Culgani da serengge, cohomo emu **culgan** i baita be alifi ichiyara, fejergi niyalma be jafatame ladalara tuéan. Han wang ni jergi oci, sirara hergen, umaj baita ichiyara tuéan waka. **Esei** dorgide, culgan i da sindaci acara niyalma bahaci, ele **sain**. **Aika** baharakfoci, uthai meni meni oirat i ambakan urse i dorgi, niyalma getuken, baita de **ojoro**, fejergi **urse** be kadalame muterengge be tuwame donjofi culgan i da sindaci, teni baita de tusa ojoro be dahame, culgan i da be uthai duin oirat i han de kam-cibure baiburakfi. The bandi, seated in the afabufi duin oirat i han **wang** ni jergi, with the han wang ni jergi ambakan ursei dorgici sonjofi **gebu** jergi, be fadame arafi hesei sindara be aliyakini.

@ Tian Shanmao: *The Social System of Mongolia in the Qing Dynasty*, Wenjing Academy, 1955, p. 207.

@ Run Yangshu: "The Process of Establishing Qing Dynasty Banner System Rule in Khalkha Mongolia: Focusing on Pastureland Issues," *Journal of Historical Studies*, Vol. 97 No. 2, 1988, pp. 1–32.

Reasons for the Emergence of Fissures in the Churat Rule During the Qing Dynasty

Table 1: Conferment of the Title of Taiji

Tuqun	Sequene	Personal Name	Tribal Name	Title	Family Lineage	Current Status
A Group	1	Gaga Zangdogang Pang	Chomensi	Khan		@
	Ding	Shayongdu Zhaomanpang	and Yingte	Khan		CD
	3	Baya Sieve	Hui Te	Khan		@
	4	Hutong'ermogen	Tagabachin	Gong		@
	Ding	Diewa	and Yingte	Gong		@
	6	Sebtong	and Hardt	Gong	Lazang Khan	@ [Ch]
	7	Basang	Ik Ming'an	Gong		@
	8	Buluzao	Ikhmatan	Gong		@
	9	Batei	Hui Te	Zayuk		@
	10	Manji	Huite	Zha Xi Ke		(?)
	Ding	Elerchun	Tugahute	Zayouke		(?)
	12	Diekba	Bushugut	Zageng I, Duke		@
	13	三济特	Hert	Zha Xi Ke		@
	14	Hong Guo Zhao	Hulu Man	Zha Xike		@
	15	Bayanchahan	Chuoyans	Xu Xian Zha You Ke		@
	16	Iemege	Heishote	Xu Xian Zha Xue Ke		@ [Ch]
	T ⁿ	Balerji	Heshetu	Zha Xieke In G o n g		@ [Ch]
	18	Mengbuzang	Hui te	Xu Wei Zha Xie Ke		@
	19	Chui Zhabu	Huite	Honorary Title: Zhabek		@
	20	Sonam Tashi	Duomengte	Xiyi Zhaixie		®
	21	Luozaobu	Tuyonghute	Xu Xian Jie Pu Ke		@
	22	Enoshi (onosi)	Brugut	Xu Xian Zha Jue Ke		Dou)
	23	Bentash	Brugut	Viktor Zaynch		CD
	24	Hoton Ekin	Ikmingan	Yinsantai Jinzhizha Xik	Son of 67	@
	25	Celing Nurbashi	Hulu Man	Kun Santai Ji	45 Son of	@
	26	Hujie	Brugut	Kun San Tai Ji Yi > Zha You Ke	47 Brother of	@

Mastiff Pack	Preface	Person names	Department Name	Titles	Family Lineage	Current Status
	27	Gongbu	Hui Te	Kun San Tai Ji	Son of 18	(D [T])
	28	Ejie Yong	Heshet	Kun San Tai Ji	36th Brother	@
B Group.	29	Zanagayong_bu	Chokyen	Oler	—	®
	30	Dundob	Chomons	*Public		@
	31	Mengbuzang Namzhaqaga	Zhuomengsi	*Public		@
	32	Laoling Banzhuaga	Ik Ming'an	*Ao Zi		@
	33	Dejite	Ikmingan	*Yuzi		Decoy [Town]
	34	Yishidanjin	Kwite	^ <*	Amuga Sana's Elder Brother	@
	35	Montec	Hwitt	* Zak		®
	36	Jiankejin	Heshet	* Prince		©
	37	Cebek	Heshet			®
	38	Ruzhabu	Kubengruya'at	Gong		©
	39	Y u Ke	Kubenzorjat	Zha Xi Ke		@
	40	Sha Jie	Xiangben Ruoyate	* Zhājiékè		®
Bao	41	Nogaburenqin	Chogengsi	Prince	Son of	@
	42	Boshagash	Dugabert	Mowang		@
	43	Kaza Bah	Dugabert	*Title: Zha Xie Ke	42's younger brother	@
	44	Ubas	Duzhaobote	Yu		@
	45	Namjie	Hugaman	*Yuzhi		(7)
	46	Agabus	Hugaman			
	47	Rohaijijeke	Buluqut	Gong		@
	48	Bajian	Brucut			< ?)
	49	Ipang	Brugut			(9 [BK], 223
	50	Belayong	Huluman	Zha Xi Ke		@
	51	Baiyin	Huluman			®

Tuqun	Preface	Personal Names	Department Name	Titles	Family Lineage	Current Status
	52	Xilahetong	Huluman			®
	53	Heimu Te	Tugahut			@
	54	Sügāzhāzāobāshī	Tugart			(8)
	55	Bajinagarbashi	Tuyonghutai			@
	56	Baya Yan	Tuyonghute			®
	57	San Pilerno Gabu	Chomons			@
	58	Angdaidai	Chuomengsi			®
g		Jianke Jiezabu	Chuomengsi			
	60	Minggater	Heshetu		2nd brother	@
	61	airj	airj	Oll	2, son of	@
	62	Namuzhab	and Hant			@
	63	Lazang	and Heshet		2nd Uncle	@ [BK]
	64	Noyon Budundok	Heshet	Prince		@
	65	Noyonbudanjīn	Huite		Brother of Huite Bu Dayue Zeling	@
	66	Chagun	Ikmingan	*Zha Zhi Ke		@
	67	Bajinaga'emugen	Ikemingan	* Yuzhi		@
	68	Aila Jie	Ikmingan			@
	69	Sebuteng	Duo Kite			@
	70	Tangut	Tagabakhan			@
	71	Gelerke	Tazhabakhin			@
	72	Binglamu Pi	Tazhabakhin			(?)
	73	Chakdu Ba	Tazhabakhin			@
	74	Chakdu Ba	Tazhabakhin			@
	75	Chakdu Ba	Tazhabakhin	*Aole		@
	76	Cebekzhab	Tazhabakhin		75 The Orphan	®

【Source】Compilation of Xinjiang, Volume 77, Chongdu Fan Da Bo Publishing House, 2012, pp. 317-319, Qianlong 40th year. This historical material records the names of Uirat chieftains granted titles by the Qing court in 1755, supplemented with the status of each chieftain following the third campaign (1757-1758).

【Classification】Group A = Those attending the investiture ceremony; Group B = Those not attending the investiture ceremony (permitted attendance); Group C = Those remaining in their homelands

<Not prepared to participate> . Title: *: Intended for conferral of this title. Current status: @Killed by Qing forces; @Killed by Oirat forces; @Relocated to Qing territories for residence [BJ=Beijing; Ch=Chahar; BK=Barkol]; @Executed by Qing authorities; @Killed by Muslims; @Died of smallpox; @Died of illness; @Died (cause unknown); @Accompanied Amursana; Escaped to the steppes {A=Altai; T=Torghut; R=Russia}; @Under investigation; whereabouts unknown; <?> Uncertain.

III. The Discovery of the Oirat and the Conceptual Framework for the Formation of the "Eight Banners of the Oirat"

(1) The Concept of Organising the "Oirat Eight Banners"

Prior to the conquest of the Zunghar, the matters proposed by the Military Affairs Department (Juncheng) in Document No. 11 concerned solely the "Four Oirat" framework. Following the conquest, however, the matters proposed from the front lines in Document No. 12 introduced the the Dzungar territories (Otog) entered the Qing sphere of vision in a distinct form from the "Four Oirat". This chapter clarifies how Otog was perceived during the first expedition and how the concept for governing Otog was formulated.

In March 1755, Qing forces commenced their advance into the northern frontier. En route, the general and others encountered multiple times the Zaisans commanding the Otog, whose nature differed from that of the "Four Oirat Taijis". When the Zaisans and others came before the army to pledge allegiance, scattered

ranks such as Ma. sula amban (Ranked Official), Ma. meiren i janggin (Deputy Commander), Ma. uhel'i da (Superintendent), Deputy Commandant (Ma. ilhida), and Attendant (Ma. hiya). These titles were conferred upon them much like the granting of noble ranks. In light of this situation, in May of the same year, Emperor Qianlong issued the following command to Bendi and others advancing with the army:

Following the advance of the great army, numerous leaders of the Ötök tribes among the Jungars have successively submitted. In recognition of the kindness shown to Tesh and others in leading their people to surrender, some have been appointed as Scattered Rank Ministers, while others hold positions of Deputy Commander or Chief Administrator. According to Jungar custom, the Zaisans commanding these Ötök tribes are hereditary positions, and never appointed by others. They all understood this hereditary custom. Last year, Jumut was appointed a 散秩大臣 to lead the Zakhachin people. By the time they reached Ili, more people would surely have joined them. Now, I am informing them of this hereditary custom in advance to dispel any doubts.

The Amut mentioned in historical records was the Zaisan of the Zhaqin Otog who first submitted in 1754, serving as an advisor to the Northern Route Army. The Qing dynasty organised the Zhaqin into banner auxiliaries, appointing Hongmut as their chief administrator. The Qing court, recognising the hereditary nature of the Zaisan position, granted the office to the submitting Zaisan for hereditary succession.

This constituted a provisional measure. Emperor Qianlong instructed generals such as Ban Di that post-pacification arrangements for Ili must include provisions concerning the Otog and Zaisang (. Subsequent imperial edicts further stipulated:

@ Compilation of Xinjiang, Vol. 11, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012, pp. 404–405, 27th day of the 6th month in the 20th year of Qianlong's reign

[4 August 1755], cited in Ban Di et al.'s memorial referencing the imperial edict of the 5th day of the 4th month of the 20th year of Qianlong [15 May 1755].

C2) Takahiro Konuma: "The Activities of the Zakhchin During the Qianlong Period of the Qing Dynasty: A Side Aspect of Qing Rule over the Mongol Tribes", published in History Horizons, No. 48, 2004, pp. 80–83.

Amursana reported that the Zaisans of Erenhabirga [region]—Abagas, Tolemji, and Haka—had submitted. Abagas and others were all Zaisans of Davachi. Treat them as a separate group, to be handled in the same manner as the Hemu'er tribe. ... All subsequent submitters of this nature shall be processed accordingly.

The Otog were the core group constituting the Zunghar tribe proper, hence the Zaisan commanding the Otog were direct vassals of Dawazi. The Otog were excluded from the Four Khanates and designated as a "separate group" for which distinct handling principles were established.

Upon receiving this imperial decree, Banji and others, following the matter raised on the day of the Ox, proposed on the 4th day of the 8th month of 1755 a more detailed concept for Oirat governance. Based on the content of the matter concerning Mount Chou, it was determined to implement the banner system among the "Four Oirats," establishing four khanates and allowing the Tais and others to continue commanding their subjects, thus rendering further discussion of the "Four Oirats" unnecessary. However, the following policy was proposed concerning the Otog:

@The various Taijis shall not administer the subjects (Ma-harangga urse) of the various Otoks under Davachi's jurisdiction, rendering them

(Ma.sideniharangga) directly under the Qing central government.

@The positions of Zaisan, Demuqi, and Shuleng'epu governing the Otog will become " " (public) official posts.

@The Zaisang, Demuqi, and Shouleng'epu were appointed as Chief Administrator, Deputy Chief Administrator, and Company Commander respectively, retaining their traditional titles. Hereditary rights were granted only to those demonstrating exceptional administrative competence and skill in governing their subjects.

@The number of Deputy Commanders shall be determined according to the Otoguv's assessment: <1,000 households 1 deputy chief for 1,000 households; 2

deputies for 2,000–3,000 households> @100 households shall form one nu'er,

with a zoling officer appointed for each nu'er. @Zaisang shall be granted hereditary ranks from second to fourth grade.

@Taxes and corvée labour shall be levied from the Otog under the jurisdiction of the Qing Emperor's subjects (Ma.harangga albatu). @The Shabina'er Otot (Jijian, Mo. jisiy-a) belonging to the Lama shall remain unchanged.

The first point to note is that while the status of Zaisang and other Otot chieftains was formalised as public office, their hereditary succession was not unconditionally recognised, imposing certain restrictions on the Zaisang's authority. The reason why the Otot people were not recorded as

Zaisan's harangga albatu, but rather as harangga urse. This is the reason. The document records the four

Within the Khanate's jurisdiction, ordinary herdsmen were recorded as harangga albatu under the Taiyi, as previously noted, indicating the Qing dynasty's recognition of the pre-existing hierarchical relationship between Taiyi and herdsmen predating Qing conquest. On the other hand, it may be inferred that the Qing conception was premised upon the following: the herdsmen of Etuoke were originally harangga albatu serving as quasi-Khanate chieftains under the Taiyi. Though hereditary, the Zaisan was not a Taiji but merely an administrator overseeing pastoralists. Consequently, with Dawazi excluded, the Otot became a direct fief of the Qing court, its pastoralists designated as the Emperor's Albat. Within this system, the Zaisan was merely an official appointed by the Qing court to administer the Emperor's Otot, and could not be equated with the Emperor's Albat.

@ Xinjiang Compilation, Vol. 11, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012, p. 405.

@ Compilation of Xinjiang, Vol. 11, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012, pp. 406–408.

@ The Deméi (Mo. deméi) administered 100–200 households within the Otot, bearing broad supervisory responsibilities including issuing orders, collecting taxes, and safeguarding public welfare. The Lenge (Mo. lengge) primarily handled taxation within the Otot while assisting the Deméi. Tian Shanmao: "Social Institutions of the Oirat People in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Historical Studies*, No. 50, 1953, p. 110; Du Rongkun and Bai Cuiqin: *Research on the History of Western Mongolia*, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2008 (first published by Xinjiang People's Publishing House, 1986), pp. 272–273.

@ Compilation of Xinjiang, Vol. 11, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012, pp. 406–408.

A hierarchical relationship existed between the Batu, hence the avoidance of the term *harangga albatuo*.

The second point concerns the governance model for Otoks designated as Qing imperial domains. As noted in the preceding discussion, the Qing planned to organise 100 households of Oirat subjects within each Otok into a *nyuruk*. This comprehensive vision was clearly articulated in an imperial edict issued in September 1754:

The Zaisans and others under public jurisdiction shall be administered by the Yuan people. These Otoks and others shall be organised into Eight Banners according to the model of the Chahar. It is decreed that the twenty-one Angis under public jurisdiction, including Ban Di, shall retain their former titles and be divided into Eight Banners. The final arrangements shall be submitted for imperial approval.

As detailed in the preceding chapter, the territories held by various chieftains were organised into Zhasak banners. However, unlike this approach, the Qing dynasty sought to reorganise the Otok into eight banners, akin to the Chahar Eight Banners, in an attempt to establish so-called 'Inner-subordinate banners'. These Inner-subordinate banners comprised either a single or multiple tribal groups. Operating under the nominal authority of the Emperor, they were administered by garrison commanders stationed across the regions and organised according to the formal Manchu *nu'ru* system. These banners did not have zhasak positions; instead, non-hereditary posts such as *zongguan* were established, with powers more restricted than those of zhasak officials. The historical records mentioning the "unmanaged" state of the Otok Zaisang referred to the situation after the *Dawaqis*, who originally governed the various Otoks, were removed by Qing forces. The Qing dynasty likely regarded the Choros, Dorbod, Khoshut, and Huite tribes as groups that had voluntarily submitted, whereas the Zunghar tribe was a conquered entity. This distinction also influenced the direction of Otok governance.

As noted above, having recognised the existence of the Otok during its first expedition, the Qing decided to treat them differently from the territories governed by the four Oirat khans. It formulated a governance concept whereby the Otok would be organised into Inner Banner divisions directly subordinate to the Qing Emperor.

① The Qing Dynasty's Strategic Treatise, Main Compilation, Volume 16: Manchu Edition 70b-71a / Chinese Edition 39a-b, entry dated the 20th day of the 8th month of the 20th year of the Qianlong reign (25 September 1755). Siden de obufi kadalabure jaisang sa **oci**, umai kadalara Iiin aka. Ere jergi otok be cahar i adah jaklin gisai boco betoktobuci acambi. Erebi bandi sede afabufi, Siden de obufi kadalabure on'n emu anggi i fe **gebu** be an i bibufi, jaklin gisai dendeme ih'bure babe toktobume gisurefi wesimbukim'.

② The term "inner vassal" here refers to groups or regions not under the jurisdiction of outer vassals, but nominally directly subordinate to the Qing central government. According to Zhang Yongjiang's research, the following were all 'inner-subordinate': the Eight Banners of Chahar in Mongolia south of the Gobi, the Four Banners of Tumed in Guihuacheng, the Eight Banners of Buta and the Eight Banners of Barga in the Heilongjiang region of northeastern Mongolia, the one banner each of Zakhchin and Minghat of the Oirat in Kobdo, and the Nine Banners of Ulianghai (the Seven Banners of Altay Ulianghai and the Two Banners of Altay Nor Ulianghai). The nine "Inner-subordinate tribes" of the Tarbagatai Kazakh *nu'eru*, and the "Eight Inner-subordinate Hui Cities" were all classified as Inner-subordinate. (Zhang Yongjiang: Research on Qing Vassal States: Focusing on Political Transformation, Heilongjiang Education Press, 2001, p.131) However, Liu Zeming notes that although his discussion is confined to Mongol rule, Qing intervention in the Inner Tribes was multifaceted. Consequently, they were not categorised alongside the Outer Tribes and the Eight Banners. Instead, they were regarded as an intermediate form between the two major categories of outer vassal states and the Eight Banners (Liu Ze Ming, 'The Qing Eight Banners System and Mongolia,' in Yoshida Jun'ichi (ed.), Waseda University Mongolian Studies Institute, ed., Studies in Mongolian History: Current Status and Prospects, Akashi Shoten, 2011, pp. 289-290). Though Ryūzawa Akira's argument holds merit, the semantically ambiguous term 'inner **vassal**' (内属) should have had prerequisite elements from its first appearance in the Jiaqing Da Qing Huidian (嘉庆《大清会典》) (. . . Observing the geography of the aforementioned inner vassal groups, most came under new rule during the Qianlong reign. Perhaps the term 'inner vassal' emerged in the Jiaqing Code to categorise non-outer-vassal groups and territories not originally included in the outer-vassal classification. In short, the term 'inner vassal' was not originally based on the nature of the inner vassal groups or regions, but rather a newly coined classificatory term relative to the outer vassals. Consequently, Qing intervention in the inner vassal regions was not uniform. @ Based on this imperial edict, Shigeru Taniyama concluded that the Otok were incorporated into the Eight Banners. (Shigeru Taniyama: The Social System of Mongolia in the Qing Dynasty, Bunkyo Shuppan, 1955, p. . . .), though this remained in the preparatory stage prior to implementation.

③ In fact, within the Inner Banner system, with the passage of time, practices such as arbitrary plundering of subordinate populations by chieftains gradually came under prohibition. Liu Ze Ming, 'On the Establishment of the Xin Barag/Yi Banner: An Examination Centred on Qing Ethnic Policy and the Yi Banner System,' published in Journal of Historical Studies, Vol. 102, No. 3, 1993, pp. 64-65.

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In the text, the Inner Banner formed from this Otog as its core was modelled on the Eight Banners of Chahar and termed the "Oirat Eight Banners". However, as "The Twenty-One Angi Administered by the Prince Retained Their Former Titles, Divided into Eight Banners" slightly

some issues. The Qing dynasty's compilation following the fall of the Zunghar, based on the Imperial Compilation of the Complete Genealogy of the Zunghar Tribes@

and the Old Official System of the Junggar Department explain that the "Twenty-One Anggis" were led by 21 powerful Tais of the Oirat tribes. Among these 21 were Dawaci, Amursana, Banzhur, and those enfeoffed as the Four Khans: Galdandorji, Chaling, Shakdumanji, and Bayar. Thus, the "Twenty-One Anggis" constituted the entities within the Four Khans' organisational framework that were mandated to implement the banner system under Qing rule. Consequently, the textual formulation of organising the "Twenty-One Anggis" into the "Eight Banners of the Oirat" contains an inherent contradiction.

It is pertinent to note that in the 1763 (Qianlong 28th year) Imperial Chronicle of the Zunghar, published by imperial decree, the following words of Emperor Qianlong appear after listing the 21 Taiji who held the "Twenty-One Angi":

Regarding the Western Army's poetic reference to the Twenty-One Angis as subjects of their Khan, this was based on incomplete research. I have now thoroughly inquired into the matter.

as detailed below.

The Emperor Qianlong's poem "Western Expedition" indeed states: "The twenty-one angis established by Galdan Tseren in his time are tribal designations, belonging to the Khan's nobility." That is, the Qing dynasty initially interpreted "twenty-one angis" as "belonging to the Khan's nobility" (). However, **Upon publication of** the Imperially Compiled Complete Chronicle of the Zunghar, this was corrected to denote twenty-one groups led by tribal chieftains. Thus, the term "twenty-one angis" appearing in contemporary Qing records shares the same meaning as the otogis administered by the Zunghar tribe. Describing them as organised into the "Eight Banners of the Oirat" presents no contradiction whatsoever.

So, what exactly did the Qing Dynasty envision for the "Twenty-One Angi"? The earliest mention of the "Twenty-One Angi" in Qing historical records appears in correspondence between Emperor Qianlong and General Zhao Hui, the Right Vice-General of Dingbian, towards the end of 1755. Accordingly, the Emperor commanded: "Regarding the whereabouts of the twenty-one mo-yin people in He'ertuok, and their current composition, upon your arrival [in Ili], conduct a thorough investigation and report back." "Mo Yin" (Ma.meyen) is the Manchu term for "division" or "unit," corresponding to the Mongolian anggi. Thus, "twenty-one Mo Yin" refers to "twenty-one Anggi." Upon receiving the Emperor's command, Zhao Hui arrived in Ili and requested information about the "twenty-one Anggi" from the Otog chieftains. After verification, he reported as follows:

The Taiqis and others lead the people of Deqin, who dwell upon the pasturelands. Their subjects shall each perform the duties and corvée labour assigned to their respective Taiqis. They are further divided into: Eight from the Left Wing Otog, Eight from the Right Wing Otog, Three from the Left Wing Anggi, Two from the Right Wing Anggi, Collectively termed the "Twenty-One Anggi".

@ Veritable Records of the Gaozong Emperor, Vol. 695, entry for Renwu day [28th day] of the ninth month in the 28th year of Qianlong's reign. @ Imperially Authorised Illustrated Gazetteer of the Western Regions, Vol. 29, Official System 10

@ Imperially Authorised Illustrated Gazetteer of the Western Regions, P r e f a c e V o l u m e 2 , Chapter 2.

@ Compilation of Xinjiang, Vol. 21, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012, pp. 180-181, 11th day of the 10th month, 21st year of Qianlong [1746]

[2 December 1756], Imperial edict dated the fifteenth day of the intercalary ninth month of the twenty-first year of Qianlong [7 November 1756], cited in the memorial submitted by Deputy General of the Right, Dingbian, Zhao Hui, et al.

@ The Mongolian term "kheesh" originally signified "forty," but within the Oirat social structure referred to an organisational unit subordinate to the otok. See Shigeru Taniyama, Ancient Mongolian Social Institutions in the Qing Dynasty

Social System, Bunkyo Shuppan, 1955, p.189.

Angi. Each Otot and Angi established positions of Zaisang, Demuqi, and Shouling'e to manage the household registers of the Deqin, residing within the original Otot territory and taking turns to bear the equally distributed levies and corvée duties. [Separately,] in Ili, to manage tribute goods and livestock, Zaisang, Demuqi, and Shouling'er were appointed to organise teams to bear the tribute duties of the Zunghar chieftains, build temples for Buddhist worship, read scriptures, and other such matters.

Although the period remains unclear, it indicates that the Twenty-One Anggis comprised the Left Moba Otot and the Three Anggis, and the Right Wing Eight Otot with the Second Angji. The Zaisang, Demuqi, and Shouling'er who administered the "Twenty-One Angji" were responsible for managing the herders and collecting tribute from their respective pastoral territories. Additionally, "**detachments**" were formed from personnel assigned by the Otot and Angji. These detachments seemingly served as the personal retinue of the Ili Dzungenar chieftain. **Thus, the twenty-one angis** collectively referred to by Zhaohui not only bore tribute and corvée duties within their respective pastoral territories but also formed detachments dispatched to Ili to serve as the Dzungenar chieftain's personal retinue, genuinely possessing the status of "the Khan's personal retainers". Therefore, although the relationship between these two distinct "Twenty-One Angis" remains unclear, it is necessary to interpret the "Twenty-One Angis" mentioned in Qing historical records prior to the 1763 publication of the Imperially Authorised Complete Chronicle of the Junggar as Otoks directly administered by the Junggar chieftain.

<II> The Rulers of the Otot

As mentioned above, the Qing conceived the idea of distinguishing the people belonging to the Otot (i.e., the Dzungenar people) from those under the Four Khans, thereby organising them into the internally subordinate "Eight Banners of the Oirat". To whom, then, did the Qing intend to entrust the governance of all Otot? Given its divergence from the Four Khans' institutional framework, Otot did not establish the league-banner system of offices (such as league chieftains or banner Zhasaks). The foremost point to note is the record in the Old Official System:

In the twentieth year of Qianlong's reign, Dawaqi was escorted to the capital, and the entire Junggar tribe became subject to the Qing. The Emperor, acting upon the principle of punishing rebellion and humiliation, exercised benevolence in restoring and reviving what had been extinguished. Each of the four Oirat Khans was enfeoffed as Khan, though their official titles remained unchanged, merely bearing new designations. Four Tushimengers were appointed as Inner Court Attendants, and six Zhalthuzhis as Court Attendants of Loose Rank, to administer the Ordos and Angji regions.

The Tushimard (Mo'tjismeD) and Zhalthuqi (Mo.jaryu5i) were selected from among the powerful Zaisans. They formed a consultative assembly beneath the Dzungenar monarch, holding key positions in state affairs. The Qing Dynasty conferred the title of Inner Minister upon Tushimel, who underpinned the Junggar regime, and the title of Scattered Rank Minister upon Jaryuqi, seeking to maintain their governance over Otot under Qing rule.

(D Compilation of Xinjiang, Vol. 21, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012, p. 182, memorial by Zhao Hui.

Table 2: List of Titles Bestowed upon Zaisang

Category	Serial No.	Name	Egtok, Jisai Name	Position	Title	Family Lineage	Current Status	
A Group	1	Erzhefa...	Khalakin	Z	Nei Quan Chen Gong*1		@	
	2	Kazakh Xila	Galerzhat	Z	The Lord Chamberlain is called Gong*2		@	
	3	Dugdar	Galerjat	Z	Minister without Portfolio		@	
	4	Dash Celing	Akbar	Z	Grand Vizier		@	
	5	Zebek	Akbar	Z	Grand Vizier		@	
	6	Ejet	WenduXun	Z	Minister of the Court		@ [BJ]	
	7	Lasurong I	Erodai	Z	Scattered Rank Dog Subject		@	
	8	Eluo Chui	Kutuzinar	Z	Minister of the Court		@	
	9	Dayan	Kutuzinar	Z	Superintendent of the Third Rank		@	
	10	Dundob	Bukumut	Z	Minister of the Interior		@	
	11	Danzin	Ebite	Z	First-Class Bodyguard		One@	
	12	Enkoborot		MZ	Grand Chamberlain		@	
	13	Nima Yi		ZZ	Neichuanchen Gong*3		@	
	14	Bosh I	Baldamut	Z	Scattered Rank Dog Yu		@	
	15	Urumqi	Huite	Z	Scattered Rank Dayu		@ Deleted	
	16	Purpur	Pu Zahakin	Z	Minister of the Palace		@	
	17	Zimerdiku		AZ	Fourth-Rank Superintendent		(6)	
	230	18	Akborot	Baldamut	Z	Third-Class Guard		@
		19	Uktu	Ikh Hural	Z	*Fourth-Rank Superintendent		@
		20	Nordlerqi	Great Uruqit	Z	*Xi Zhi Quan Chen		@
		21	Urgulejile	Lai Marimu	Z	Minister of the Court		@

Continuation Table

Classification	Serial Number	Name	Ettuk, Jisai Name	Position	Title	Family Lineage	Current Status
	58	Bayarlahu	Holerbos	z			@
	59	Sunduk	_____ Saras	Z	" Minister of the First Rank		@ [31]
	60	Shang Hui	Shalas	Z			@
	Thund r "	Dorji '	Mahus	Z	* Third-Rank Superintendent		@
	62	Hikeri'	Kyrgyz	Z	* Disbanded Attendant		@
	63-	Gendun Drub	Kyrgyzstan	z			@
	64	Dundok	Hudugt	Z	* Disbanded Ranked Dog Subject		@
	65	Shou Leng'e	Zahakin	Z	* Third-Rank Superintendent		®
Qianlong 1758)							
Q. Title	0/	Duru	Ugerin	Z	Zhalhuqi Zaisang, AZ=Alebzi Zaisang, D=Demuqi		®
[Note] *1, *2:					Supintendent (Zhunlü, Main Compilation, Volume 26: 41h)		
*3:					Granted the title of Duke for military merit during the Second Expedition and descent from the Bujigude 'ai-ji (Zhunlü, Main Compilation, Volume 24: 18a)		
	68	Front Gate	Baoqin	Z			(5)
	69	Balang	Klett	AZ			(5)
	70	Shàn Pí Líng	Shàn Pí Líng	D	Third-Rank Superintendent		®

2) Here Emperor Qianlong conferred the title of Grand Secretary of the Inner Court upon E'erzhe'yi and the Kazakh Xila'guo, instructing them to "manage Tushimel affairs". Simultaneously, he granted the rank of Scattered-Rank Dog-Officer to Lasulong, Dasicheling, E'rzhe'te, Dugar, and E'ercuo. Though Zhalhuqi was not explicitly named, the Imperial Official System records conferring the rank of Scattered-Rank Attendant upon Zhalhuqi, suggesting Lasulong and four others may have been appointed to this role. In January 1756, E'erzhe'i, Kazakh Xila, Nima, and Yosü

. Kazakh Xila was the half-brother of Hui'er'er Khan Baya'er. Zhunlüe, Main Compilation, Volume 33: 10a_b, Qianlong 21st year, 10th month, Wuyin (14th day) (5 December 1756) entry.

@ Same source as Note 50, Zhunlüe, Main Compilation, Volume 18 = Sat-bo

Four individuals were designated as Tushimel. The following month, the sequence of the "Four Tushimel" was determined accordingly. Notably, Olzhei and Yosutu from the "Four Tushimel" of the Dawaqi regime were retained as Tushimel, entrusted with governing the Otog. It should also be noted that the titles conferred upon Yideng were not those of vassal princes, but rather the official designations of Internal Vassals and Dispersed Rank Vassals. Yideng, who governed the "Internal" Otoks, did not fall within the category of vassal princes.

Within Manchu documents, those retaining their own pastoral lands and holding merely lordly characteristics were termed Otokijai-sang (Egtok Zaisang) or sula jaisang (idle Zaisang). Conversely, those holding the title of Tusimei were recorded as tusimeijaiSang, those holding the title of Jargol as jargolcijaisang. Zaisangs possessing such status were collectively termed tuchanijaisang (official Zaisang).

As noted above, the Qing dynasty, having gained clear recognition of the Otok during its first expedition, formulated a new governance concept: incorporating Otok into the Inner Mongolian "Oirat Eight Banners" and appointing Zaisangs holding the titles of Tusimei and Jargjin to administer Otok. Returning to the question at hand, the discrepancies between Matter I-1 and Matter Kang-1 stem from this very point: the Qing's altered vision for Oirat governance.

IV. Conclusion

Prior to dispatching the Western Expeditionary Army in 1755, the Qing had already contemplated how to govern the Oirat after subjugating the Zunghar, deliberating on governance models. The original plan envisaged dividing the Zunghar into four divisions – the Khalkha, Dorbod, Choros, and Khoshut – according to the "Four Oirat" framework. Each division would be granted to a respective khan, with the banner system implemented. As the unification campaign progressed, the Otog structure forming the core of the Zunghar tribe became increasingly clear, giving rise to the new concept of organising them into the "Eight Banners of the Inner Mongolian Oirats". The key points of these two administrative systems, devised to suit the nomadic structure of the Zunghar state, are summarised below.

The previously noted enfeoffment of the Four Khans reflected Emperor Qianlong's acute vigilance against renewed Oirat coalition, yet this was merely one aspect of the overall 'Four Khanates Concept'. The Qing Dynasty not only enfeoffed various Taiqi with the status of vassal states, but also implemented the league-banner system to refine the administrative structure. Their subjects were organised into banners and sub-banners, with designated grazing lands to restrict their mobility. Although the feudal hierarchy had its ranks, each Taiqi's authority was confined within their respective banner. In essence, the Qing sought to prevent any particular Taiqi from evolving into a rogue power. Moreover, the initial "Four Khanates Concept" primarily targeted those who had submitted to the Qing, such as Amursana. It brought Taishe who had departed their original homelands into the Qing administrative order, then entrusted them with governing their territories. This facilitated the swift incorporation of the Dzungar-held regions into Qing rule. However, this concept was forced to undergo early revision due to the Amursana Rebellion. The Qing dynasty was compelled to shift the primary focus of the "Four Khanate Concept" to those who had submitted during the first expedition, specifically those in

@ Zhunluo, Main Compilation, Volume 23: 35a–b, entry dated the 19th day of the 12th month of the 20th year of the Qianlong reign (1756/1/20).

@ Veritable Records of the Gaozong Emperor, Volume 505, pp. 5b–6a, entry dated the 21st day of the 1st month of the 21st year of the Qianlong reign [20 February 1756].

@ Xinjiang Compilation, Vol. 20, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012, p. 113, 17th day of the 8th month, 21st year of Qianlong [1756/9/11], memorial by Deputy General of the Right for Border Defence Zhao Hui et al.; Compilation of Xinjiang, Vol. 20, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012, pp. 413–414, 28th day of the 9th month, 21st year of Qianlong [21 October 1756], memorial by Zhao Hui et al.

The term "idle" here refers to ordinary "Egtok Zaisang" without positions such as Tushimel or Zhalhuqi, not implying a lack of authority or duties.

Series)

The northern frontier was held by the Urat Tegi, who possessed the Zangli Jibing (pastoral lands).

The Ototgs, commanded by the Zaisans and distributed around Ili, formed the core of the Junggar tribe. They thus became the "inner banner" directly administered by the Qing Emperor, organised into the "Eight Banners of the Urat".

> Specifically, the Zaisans within each Ototg, Demge, Shuole'er, and others into "public" official posts, with hereditary succession permitted only under specific conditions to curb their growing influence. Additionally, the original "Genghang Zaisang" such as Qianshimoqia and Zhagahuijie, who had long been entrenched in the political machinery of the Zunghar regime, were reorganised, and the governance of the Ototg was entrusted to them.

To date, [redacted] has consistently employed Qing dynasty historical records without critical analysis, thereby perpetuating a one-sided interpretation of the Genghis Khan lineage.

This interpretation, formed by uncritically employing Qing dynasty historical records, must be fundamentally revised henceforth.

This Japanese manuscript is based on Chapter Two of the author's Japanese monograph *Qing and the Central Steppes: From Nomadic World to Imperial Realm* (Nankai University Press, 2014), and has been revised accordingly. Its translation and publication have been authorised by the author. The author has also personally reviewed and approved the manuscript.>

Onuma Takahiro, male, born 1977, Professor at the Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, Research Fellow at the Public Interest Incorporated Foundation Oriental Culture Research Institute (, Visiting). Hao Amu Guleng, male, born 1987, doctoral candidate at the Central University for Nationalities Institute of History and Culture. Beijing: 100081