

The Qing Empire and the Central Asian Steppe

Expansion in History

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VOLUME 3

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The Qing Empire and the Central Asian Steppe

From Nomadic World to Imperial Frontier

Edited By

Takahiro Onuma



BRILL

ISSN 2589-5915

ISBN 978-90-04-75916-9

ISBN 978-90-04-75917-6 (PDF)

DOI <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004759176>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2026940853

© 2026 the author(s), published by Koninklijke Brill BV, Plantijnstraat 2, 2321 JC Leiden, The Netherlands

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Cover illustration: *Pingding Zhunga'er huibu desheng tu* [Illustrations of Victory over the Junghars and Muslims]. Fifth sheet. 1769–1774. Paris. Toyo Bunko (The Oriental Library).

Originally published in Japanese as *Shin to chūō ajia sōgen: Yūbokumin no sekai kara teikoku no henkyō e* 清と中央アジア草原：遊牧民の世界から帝国の辺境へ [The Qing and the Central Asian Steppe: From Nomadic World to Imperial Frontier] by University of Tokyo Press in 2014.

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Series Editor's Preface

Expansion in History (EIH) is book series that examines the history of *expansion*, which may be defined very broadly as the process of enlargement or extension of power, wealth, meaning, and knowledge by individuals, groups, networks, polities, societies, and civilizations across space and over time. The idea for this series' originates from the historical observation and proposition that all or nearly all polities, societies, and civilizations across the world and over the *longue durée* have either participated in or experienced that process. It also redresses the potential misconception that expansion historically was the exclusive preserve of one and only one part of the globe.

EIH proposes to publish a) texts (or other acceptable alternative forms of evidence, e.g., visual representations), transcriptions and annotated English translations; and b) monographs that engage topics dealing with this theme that utilize, interpret, and compare them through empirically driven research, examination, and interpretation. EIH's editorial board is convinced that the selection and examination of original texts and/or seminal works written by participants or historical actors that were involved and engaged in this process is a desirable method to document and elucidate the themes and questions that surround it. Towards that end, this series proposes to make available discrete, seminal individual and serial original non-Romance and Romance language texts and/or works in reproduction (either in the electronic or print version of the series), framed by an introduction, transcription, and English language translation with annotations that engage further and discuss this historical process and the corresponding response to it. The series will also receive and publish works of transcription and translation and monographs that identify, answer, and helps us to understand a series of individual or collective questions as to how and whether the agents involved in this process viewed the nature, opportunity, necessity, or imperative to expand. When, why, and how did this occur? How, when, and why did it change and what if anything remained the same over space and time. Was or is expansion and contraction of polities, societies, and civilizations a historical imperative? What are the historical similarities and dissimilarities over different parts of the globe in participating in this process? What were the environmental and ecological factors that were shared or not? Specifically, how is expanding over land and sea the same or different? What are the shared drivers and/or original and culturally distinct features in the conception, organization, projection, and execution of this process?

EIH also actively seeks to locate case studies on or examples of this historical process that ranged narrowly or broadly geographically and/or replicates the similitudes and diversity of writing and observation as to how each society responded to the different components involved in their participation or not in the historical process of expansion. We envisage texts or manuscripts that discuss a variety of issues pertaining to the opportunities, threats, options, management and organization of the population, culture, and resources of polities or societies. Some examples may be found in the writings and/or case studies of the expansion of peoples involved in non-imperial, diasporas and sedentary or nomadic peoples over different and challenging natural and physical environments. EIH will actively seek to include work that linguistically originates from areas and regions of the world that, generally and heretofore, have not been incorporated into a corpus of work that is as wide ranging, diverse, or is as focused on its comparative handling of the historical process of expansion. Works from students and scholars in Asian, African, American, European and/or Atlantic, Pacific, Indian Ocean studies, with expertise in regard to writings on and the history of expansion, for example, of Africans, Arabs, Chinese, Indo-Persians, Manchus, Meso-Americans, Mongols, Ottomans, and Russians that focus on issues pertaining to the expansion of the peoples and polities of those regions, which will permit an informed and nuanced discussion and debate on the study or the de-compartmentalization of the study pertaining to the historical process of expansion over time in those areas. The series shall selectively consider works from the history of European expansion that will aid in formulating the type of discussion and debate that we hope this series will develop.

By publishing a series of volumes that define, examine, and answer one or more of these questions concerning the process of expansion, we will collect and reproduce a corpus of scholarship that may be provocative and stimulate a suggestive re-consideration of the commonality and, to use Lieberman's suggestion, that the potential for 'strange parallels' in behavior and between geographically distant and disparate locations, agents, polities, and civilizations over time. Consequently, we shall not spatially or temporally delimit the parameters for consideration in this series, although we imagine that most submissions may deal with the pre- and early modern periods.

Based on the above-mentioned objectives and parameters, the EIH series looks forward to receiving approaches and submissions from authors of important publishing projects, which include the transcription, translation, and annotation of original manuscript materials in non-Romance and Romance languages and/or monographs that engage the history of expansion. EIH is also keen on publishing monographs that engage topics dealing with this theme

that utilize, interpret, and compare them through empirically driven research, examination, and interpretation. EIH is also interested in publishing monographs that utilize, discuss, and engage and/or compare materials, i.e., texts and annotated translations that have already been published in the series.

Towards that purpose, I am pleased to introduce volume 3 of Brill's EIH series. It is an English translation and a completely revised version of a monograph written in Japanese and authored by Takahiro Onuma, entitled: *The Qing Empire and the Central Asian Steppe: From Nomadic World to Imperial Frontier*. It joins Perdue's pioneering research, *China Marches West*, and demonstrates that Chinese expansion, subjugation, and interactions with the Central Asian nomad empires did not end Junghar history. It was, rather, an initiation of Qing imperial initiatives that tested and shaped border policy—ending in territorialization and “frontierization.” While the case study is Sino-Central Asian interactions, it contains many issues confronting expanding polities and their interactions with subjected peoples. Based on an impressive, and complex archival sources and other materials in diverse linguistic traditions, this volume exhibits fascinating insights into the existing Japanese and Chinese scholarship, combined with the Western scholarship (including “New Qing Historians”) pertaining to research on Central Asia. Recent Russian studies on the Dzhungars, as well as the Kazakhs, a field which I understand have never been featured in combination with Qing Central Asia in monograph form, are additionally examined. One peer-review observed that the author drew “on circa ninety primary sources in the shape of published archival texts and manuscripts”—a feat that few other monographs on the history of Central Asia, or elsewhere, can rival.

The Qing Empire and the Central Asian Steppe may be viewed as path-breaking in its field. Simply organized, Onuma offers a volume that begins with a systematically organized Introduction that sets out the main methodological and historiographical challenges in studying Qing history along the western border region, chiefly Dzhungaria and the Kazakh/Kirghiz populations who began to utilize the territory once the Dzhungar society had been “pacified”—and swiftly collapsed due to military campaigns and smallpox. His Conclusion is relatively brief, but highly effective. The volume consists of two thematic halves, which correlate perfectly—the first half dealing with the rise and fall of the Junghar empire and its relationship with Qing administration and influence the Far West region. Overall, this study is concerned with the evolution of Dzhungar society prior to and in the wake of the destructive conquest by the Qianlong armies in 1755. The second half deals with the role of “caretaker administration” in the former Dzunghar domain, as well as with its interaction

with Kazakh and Kirghiz nomads and provides Onuma's analysis of the Qing border regime in northwest Xinjiang until the mid-19th century.

This volume, consequently, is designed for scholars and researchers who already have knowledge of the history of Central Asia and of Late Imperial China and some of the history of the Junghar empire and Xinjiang. However, since the revived interest in the Silk Route has created a general interest for the history of Central Asia, a wider public interest and readership should find it of interest. Finally, since many of the issues related to Qing expansion coincidentally overlap with similar issues encountered in that historical process by other expansionist polities and subjugated peoples, the EIH series' readership should warmly engage, debate, and receive this volume.

George Bryan Souza

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Acknowledgements

This book is the English edition of my first book, which was originally published in Japanese by the University of Tokyo Press in 2014 (Onuma, *Shin to chūō ajia sōgen: Yūbokumin no sekai kara teikoku no henkyō e*). The Japanese edition consists of two parts. The first part has five chapters and one appendix; the second part has four chapters. I expanded and revised the content for the publication of the English edition. The Introduction has been revised for better understanding by English readers. I added a new chapter after Chapter 9, so this book has 10 chapters. Instead, the appendix is not included in this book because a version with supplements has already been published in English (Onuma, “Manchu Words Referring to the Qing Emperor”).

After the publication of the Japanese edition, I received eight book reviews from Kōichi Shibuya, Jin Noda, Atsushi Nakamura, Nobuaki Murakami, Akifumi Shioya, Keisuke Iwata, Hideyuki Naganuma, and Naruki Tabata. I am grateful for their insightful comments, helpful corrections, and constructive feedback, which were instrumental in enriching my discussion. My approach of historical studies owes numerous debts to Japanese scholars, whose contributions have been instrumental in shaping my understanding of the subject. It was fortunate that I could be exposed to profound and empirical research in Japanese on Inner Asian and Chinese history at the beginning of my academic career. I wish to acknowledge and thank the late Sunao Hori and Yasushi Sanada, who were much more experienced specialists in Xinjiang studies, for providing me with valuable instruction in my early years. This book is dedicated to these two great predecessors.

The publication of the English edition is entirely due to George Bryan Souza. In July 2019, he visited my office room and spoke with great enthusiasm about the English translation of my book and its publication in the EIH series. He also provided helpful advice during the editing process. I would like to express my profound gratitude to him. I have also received a great deal of encouragement from Western scholars of my generation, especially David Brophy, Matthew Mosca, Rian Thum, and Eric Schluessel. They all have a great academic interest in Inner Asian and Xinjiang history, though they each have different perspectives. Their advanced and varied research has broadened my narrow perspective, opening my eyes to new possibilities and insights. I never would have thought to translate my book into English if I had not met them. Apart from them, I have been fortunate to receive significant assistance from many scholars, institutions, and my family.

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Abbreviations

Archives and Libraries

BL	British Library, London
FHAC	First Historical Archives of China [<i>Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan</i>], Beijing
ML	Mitchell Library, the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney
NAM	National Archives of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar
NPM	National Palace Museum [<i>Guoli gugong bowuyuan</i>], Taipei
OBL	The Oriental Department of the Berlin State Library [<i>Orientabteilung der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin</i>], Berlin
TB	The Oriental Library [<i>Toyo Bunko</i>], Tokyo

Common

PRC	People's Republic of China	ROC	Republic of China
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Qing Peerages and Positions

BL	<i>beile</i>	ID	<i>ilhi da</i>
BS	<i>beise</i>	J	<i>jasak</i>
CW	<i>cinwang</i>	JW	<i>junwang</i>
DA	<i>dorgi amban</i>	SA	<i>sula amban</i>
G	<i>gong</i>	ST	<i>sula taiji</i>
H	<i>han</i>	UD	<i>uheri da</i>
HY	<i>hiya</i>	UJ	<i>untuhun jasak</i>

Status in the Junghar Regime

AJ	<i>albači jayisang</i>	JY	<i>jayisang</i>
D	<i>demči</i>	MJ	<i>medeči jayisang</i>
JJ	<i>jarghuči jayisang</i>		

Languages

Ch.	Chinese	Oy.	Oyirad
Jp.	Japanese	Pe.	Persian
Ma.	Manchu	Ru.	Russian
Mo.	Mongolian	Ti.	Tibetan
Mu.	Modern Uyghur	Tu.	Turkic (Chaghatay)

Military and Administrative Organizations

EBA	Eight Banner Army	IBG	Ili Banner Garrisons
FHA	Four Hañ Ayimaghs	NRA	North Route Army
GSA	Green Standard Army	WRA	West Route Army

Sources

See Bibliography.

Chinese Characters

Amindao 阿敏道
angji 昂吉
Ba'erluke shan 巴爾魯克山
Baiboxun 拜博遜
Bandi 班第
bangban dachen 幫辦大臣
banshi dachen 辦事大臣
Baochang 保昌
beilu jun 北路軍
bianjiang 邊境
bianjie 邊界
bianjin 邊禁
bingzheng 兵政
bishu shanzhuang 避暑山莊
bu 部
buluo 部落
canling 參領
canzan 參贊
cefeng 冊封
Celeng 策楞
Chahan-wusu 察罕烏蘇
Changgeng 長庚
chaogong 朝貢
chaogong guo 朝貢國
chaoxue 巢穴
Chebudengzhabu 車布登扎布
chen 臣
Chenggunzhabu 成袞扎布
Chenghua 承化
chenpu 臣僕
Chouni aleitai shan fangshou shiyi zhe
籌擬阿勒台山防守事宜摺
da menggubao yan 大蒙古包宴
dachen zhuan 大臣傳
Da'erdang'a 達爾黨阿
Daqing yitong yutu 大清一統輿圖
daxueshi 大學士

demuqi 得木齊
Deying'a 德英阿
difang zhi 地方志
dingbei jiangjun 定北將軍
dingbian jiangjun 定邊將軍
dingbian you fu jiangjun 定邊右副將軍
dingbian zuo fu jiangjun 定邊左副將軍
dingdai 頂戴
dingxi jiangjun 定西將軍
dingzi 頂子
dongji kalun 冬季卡倫
dufu 督撫
dutong 都統
Eluosi zongguan 俄羅斯總管
Elute 厄魯特
Erong'an 鄂容安
etuoke 鄂托克
fanbu 藩部
fanglüe 方略
fanshu 藩屬
Fengshen 豐紳
fu guanliu zhangjin 副管旅章京
fu jiangjun 副將軍
fu zongguan 副總管
fuguo gong 輔國公
Fuheng 傅恒
Fujun 富俊
Fulong'an 福隆安
Funiyang'a 富呢揚阿
gaitu guiliu 改土歸流
Gaochang 高昌
genyi 跟役
gong 公
Gong Zizhen 龔自珍
Gongchen 拱宸
Gongchukezhabu 貢楚克札布
gongdai 共戴

gongshi 貢使
 gongzhong 公中
 gongzhong zhasake 公中扎薩克
 gongzhong zuoling 公中佐領
 Guanfu 關福
 Guangren 廣仁
 guanliu zhangjin 管旅章京
 Guazhou 瓜州
 Gunga Zhalacan 棍噶札拉參
 Hachuxian 哈楚渥
 Hadaha 哈達哈
 han 汗
 hao 號
 hebi 合璧
 Heqi 和起
 hou shi'er etuoke 後十二鄂拓克
 hou si jisai 後四集賽
 Huang Tinggui 黃廷桂
 huibian 匯編
 huibu 回部
 Huicheng 慧成
 Huihu 回鶻
 huitun 回屯
 ji 穰
 jianchu 翦除
 jianding 箭丁
 jianrui ying 健銳營
 jiedi 借地
 jigoubao 機構包
 jingong 進貢
 Jinguo 金國
 jingshi jimin 經世濟民
 jinlü baqi 禁旅八旗
 jisai 集賽
 jixin shangyu 寄信上諭
 juanshou 卷首
 jue 爵
 jun 郡
 junchen 君臣
 junji dachen 軍機大臣

junwang 郡王
 junwu 軍務
 jun-xian 郡縣
 kalun 卡倫
 kanei 卡內
 kawai 卡外
 kawai zhi fanli 卡外之藩籬
 Keleyi shi'er etuoke 柯勒依十二額托克
 Koukai 扣凱
 Kukeke 庫柯克
 lanling 藍翎
 Liangzhou 涼州
 libu 禮部
 lifanyuan 理藩院
 ling shiwei nei dachen 領侍衛內大臣
 Lingcui 領催
 lingdui dachen 領隊大臣
 lingzi 翎子
 Lunyu 論語
 Ma Bing 馬炳
 Manggalike 莽噶里克
 Manzhou 滿洲
 meng 盟
 meng ha zaju chu 蒙哈雜居處
 meng-qi 盟旗
 min 民
 mingfa shangyu 明發上諭
 Mingrui 明瑞
 mintun 民屯
 muchang 牧廠
 Nan Guoluo 南廓羅
 nantai 南臺
 Nayancheng 那彥成
 neige 內閣
 neishu 內屬
 neishu huibu bacheng 內屬回部八城
 neishu youmu buluo 內屬游牧部落
 Nüzhen 女真
 Nüzhi 女直
 paibo 牌博

Palasi 帕拉斯
 pingding zhunga'er shanhou shiyi 平定
 準噶善後事宜
 pingfan 屏藩
 qianliang 錢糧
 Qianlong dangping zhunbu ji 乾隆蕩
 平準部記
 Qianlong shisan-pai tu 乾隆十三排圖
 Qi'erjisi 奇爾吉斯
 qifen 旗分
 Qinggui 慶桂
 qiong kou mo zhui 窮寇莫追
 Qiqi'erhan shui 齊齊爾罕水
 Qitate 祁他特
 qu luan wu wang 取亂侮亡
 Rehe 熱河
 shang sanqi 上三旗
 Shangshu 尚書
 shangyu 上諭
 sheguan 設官
 Shengjing 盛京
 shengshi 盛世
 shilu 實錄
 shiquan laoren 十全老人
 shiquan wugong 十全武功
 shiwei 侍衛
 shou 首
 shouleng'e 收楞額
 Shuhede 舒赫德
 shuli 署理
 Shundene 順德訥
 Shuotong 碩通
 Songjun 松筠
 suiding 隨丁
 Suijing cheng 綏靖城
 Suqing'a 蘇清阿
 Taihe dian 太和殿
 taitou 擡頭
 taizhan 臺站
 Telenggute 特楞古特

Teyishunbao 特依順保
 tianchao chuoding dijie 天朝戡定地界
 tianchao zhongwai dajiangjie chu
 天朝中外大疆界處
 tianzhang 天章
 tiben 題本
 Tiezhu 鐵柱
 Tulufan huibu zongzhuan 吐魯番回
 部總伝
 tuntian 屯田
 Tuoluntai 托倫泰
 tushimo'er 圖什墨爾
 waisheng 外省
 wanggong 王公
 Wanshuyuan ciyan tu 萬樹園賜宴圖
 wei shou zaisang 爲首宰桑
 Wudai 伍岱
 Wulong'a 武隆阿
 Wumo'er 烏默爾
 xia 轄
 xia wuqi 下五旗
 xiaji kalun 夏季卡倫
 xian 銜
 xian 縣
 xiansan 閒散
 xiaoqixiao 驍騎校
 xibu 西部
 Xichun 熙春
 xiexiang 協餉
 Xiheng 錫恒
 xilu jun 西路軍
 xing mie xu jue 興滅繼絕
 xishi 西師
 Xiyu yongping shimo 西域用兵始末
 Xiyu zhi xingsheng yi 西域置行省議
 xuanfeng qianying 選鋒前營
 xunfu 巡撫
 xunka huishao zhangting 巡卡會哨
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 沿邊巡查會哨章程
 yidi 夷狄
 Yili jiucheng 伊犁九城
 Yili you nalin hecaodi zhi kashga'er
 tushuo 伊犁由那林河草地至喀
 什噶爾圖說
 Yingxiu 英秀
 yishi tongren 一視同仁
 Yizhagatu 依札噶土
 yizheng wang dachen huiyi 議政王大
 臣會議
 Yizhu 伊柱
 Yongbao 永保
 Yonggui 永貴
 youbu hasake 右部哈薩克
 youji 游擊
 youmu 游牧
 Yue Zhongqi 岳鍾琪
 Yulin 玉麟
 Yushu 毓書
 Yuzhi Zhunga'er quanbu jilüe 御製準
 噶爾全部紀略
 zei 賊
 zha'erguqi 扎爾固齊
 Zhalafeng'a 扎拉豐阿

Zhalong'a 札隆阿
 Zhande 瞻德
 Zhaohui 兆惠
 Zhaolian 昭槤
 zhasake 扎薩克
 zhenguo gong 鎮國公
 zhongguo 中國
 Zhonghui zhi gao 仲虺之誥
 zhongya 中亞
 zhufang baqi 駐防八旗
 Zhuletubai 珠勒圖拜
 zhushi 主事
 zhuangding 壯丁
 Zhuanglang 莊浪
 zhunbu 準部
 Zhunga'er bu jiu guanzhi 準噶爾部舊
 官制
 zhunyi 準夷
 zhupi 硃批
 zhuzang dachen 駐藏大臣
 zong taiji 總台吉
 zongdu 總督
 zongguan 總管
 Zu Yunlong 祖雲龍
 zuobu hasake 左部哈薩克
 zuoling 佐領
 zuzong weiye zhi di 祖宗偉業之地

Explanatory Notes

1 Transliteration of Non-English Languages

The Pinyin system is used for Chinese terms. I employ the Möllendorff system for transcription of Manchu-script texts (including non-Manchu terms). However, proper nouns are written with a capital letter at the beginning of the word and, in descriptive part, the *c* and *š* are given as *ch* and *sh* (Chokto, not *cokto*). For Mongolian terms, I follow the system used in Nicholas Poppe's *Grammar of Written Mongolian*. However, in descriptive part, the *γ* and *ʃ* are given as *gh* and *j* (jasagh, not *ʃasay*). Although there is no commonly accepted standard for transliterating Oyrat (Tod-script Mongolian), I basically follow the system used in John Krueger's *Materials for an Oirat-Mongolian to English Citation Dictionary*. For Arabic-script Turkic texts in Central Asia (Chaghatay, including Persian and Arabic terms), I have based my transcription on András Bodrogligeti's *A Grammar of Chaghatay*, with *j* for the *c* and *ž* for the *č*, and without the *i/i* distinction. In transcribing Modern Uyghur, I prefer the *a/ä/e* system to the *a/e/é* of the Uyghur Internet orthography. The translation of Russian alphabet (Cyrillic-script) follows the Library of Congress (ALA-LC) system, except *ŭ* (written *i* in this book).

2 Dates

Dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar (as in the format “year/month/date”). Lunar imperial dates are provided in the format “reign year/lunar month/lunar date.” Lunar month is suggested by asterisk. For example, “QL21/*9/15 [1756/11/7]” in footnote means “the fifteenth day of the lunar eleventh month of the twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign [November 7, 1756].” The reigns of the Qing dynasty are expressed with the two-letter abbreviations as follows: KX = Kangxi (1662–1722), YZ = Yongzheng (1723–35), QL = Qianlong (1736–95), JQ = Jiaqing (1796–1820), DG = Daoguang (1821–50), XF = Xianfeng (1851–61), TZ = Tongzhi (1862–75), GX = Guangxu (1876–1908), and XT = Xuantong (1909–12).

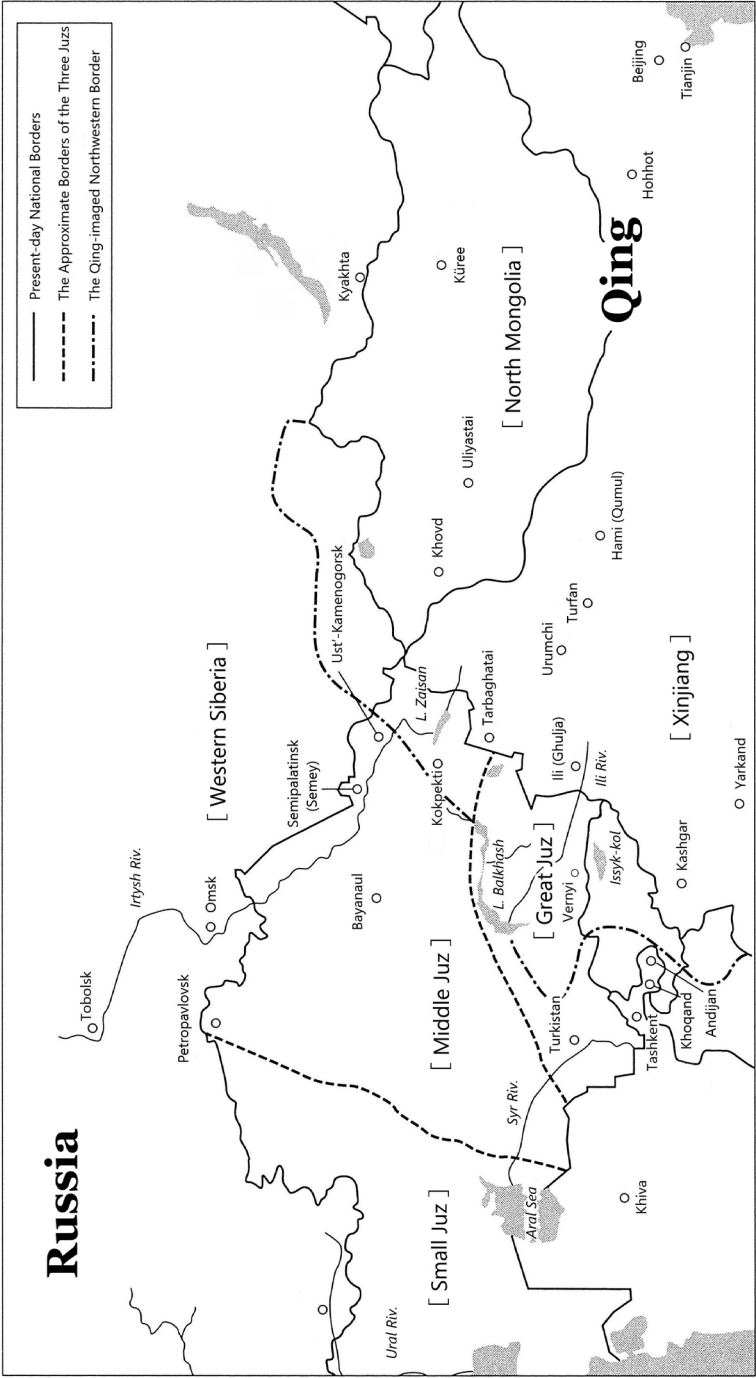
When the sexagenary cycle (Ch. *ganzhi*; stems-and-branches) is used for recording dates, it will express in the forms “QL19/5/*gengyin* (12)” in Chinese and “QL19/5/*šanyan-tasha* (12)” in Manchu; “12” in parentheses suggests the lunar date.

2.1 Ten Heavenly Stems

Chinese		Manchu
甲	<i>jia</i>	<i>niowanggiyan</i>
乙	<i>yi</i>	<i>niohon</i>
丙	<i>bing</i>	<i>fulgiyan</i>
丁	<i>ding</i>	<i>fulahūn</i>
戊	<i>wu</i>	<i>suwayan</i>
己	<i>ji</i>	<i>sohon</i>
庚	<i>geng</i>	<i>šanyan</i>
辛	<i>xin</i>	<i>šahūn</i>
壬	<i>ren</i>	<i>sahalīyan</i>
癸	<i>gui</i>	<i>sahahūn</i>

2.2 Twelve Earthly Branches

Chinese		Manchu
子	<i>zi</i>	<i>singgeri</i>
丑	<i>chou</i>	<i>ihan</i>
寅	<i>yin</i>	<i>tasha</i>
卯	<i>mao</i>	<i>gūlmahūn</i>
辰	<i>chen</i>	<i>muduri</i>
巳	<i>si</i>	<i>meihe</i>
午	<i>wu</i>	<i>morin</i>
未	<i>wei</i>	<i>honin</i>
申	<i>shen</i>	<i>bonio</i>
酉	<i>you</i>	<i>coko</i>
戌	<i>xu</i>	<i>inadahūn</i>
亥	<i>hai</i>	<i>ulgiyan</i>



MAP 1 The Qing Empire and the Central Asian Steppe