

MONGOLIZATION OF HAN CHINESE AND MANCHU SETTLERS
IN QING MONGOLIA, 1700–1911

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Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
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Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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May 1, 2017

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Dedicated to Huang Hsueh-o

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MONGOLIZATION OF HAN CHINESE AND MANCHU SETTLERS
IN QING MONGOLIA, 1700–1911

Inspired by the recent approaches of the New Qing History school centering on ethnicity and empire and the South Chinese Studies school focusing on local societies, this dissertation probes into Han Chinese and Manchu becoming Mongols in Qing Mongolia using the Qing archives in Mongolian, Manchu, and Chinese preserved in Mongolia, China and Taiwan. This research focuses on two case studies: 1) Descendants of Han Chinese settlers in Outer Mongolia; 2) Offspring of Manchu bondservants as human dowry in Inner Mongolia. These groups of Han Chinese and Manchu settlers migrated, legally or not, to Mongolia since the seventeenth century. They married with local Mongolian people, raised children, and learned the Mongol way of life in Mongolia. Ultimately, they and their offspring even acquired Mongol status, which is considered the most important marker of mongolization. The Great Shabi as the estate of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu and the Manchu-Mongol marital alliance are also discussed in this dissertation as the main mechanisms facilitating the identity and status changes. Intermarriage and Buddhist belief were the two criteria for those Han Chinese and Manchu settlers and their offspring to be integrated into Qing Mongolian society. The immigration of those Han Chinese and Manchu settlers into Mongolia was initiated by the Qing government, but the Qing government wanted to keep the occurrence of mongolization at a minimal level. This research draws a parallel between the problems of nativization faced by the Qing and Russian empires, and provides a case study to compare Han Chinese settlers in Inner Asia and Southeast Asia to

explore different modes of Han Chinese migration. In the end, this dissertation argues that ethnicity was a religious and livelihood decision for the Han Chinese settlers, state service for the Manchu settlers, but was also conditioned by the Mongolian social institution and local authority, and the legal regulations of the Qing state. Therefore, ethnicity in late imperial China should be considered as a restless negotiation between individuals, local authorities and institutions, and the state.

Christopher P. Atwood, Ph.D.

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Format, Transliteration, and Transcription Conventions

This dissertation uses the *pinyin* system for Chinese (Ch.) in general and the Wade-Giles system for Republican and Taiwanese names, the Mostaert system in *Dictionnaire Ordos* for classical Mongolian (Mo.), the Möllendorff system for Manchu (Ma.), the Wylie system for Tibetan (T.), the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration for Sanskrit (S.), the Hepburn system for Japanese, and the McCune-Reischauer system for Korean. For Russian and modern Mongolian in Cyrillic script, the Library of Congress system with minor modification is chosen for conforming both writing systems. For some Mongolian and Manchu names and terms (such as *aimag*, Uriangkhai, and Nurhachi, and so on), I follow Christopher P. Atwood's transcriptions in *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*. For all Chinese, Japanese, and Korean names, family names are written first followed by given names to maintain their original forms. For example, it will be Ho Ping-ti, instead of Ping-ti Ho. As for Mongolian names, only given names are used and they are treated like family names in English. For the date in the lunar calendar, the first day of the fifth month, the first year of the Qianlong reign is QL1, V, 1. Intercalary months are marked with an asterisk.

Introduction

Boundary-Crossing and Identity-Making in the Qing and Early Modern Empires

On September 20, 1768, Suldei, governor and commissioner-in-chief of Shanxi 山西 province, submitted an imperial memorial to the Qianlong emperor. This memorial shows that he was perplexed about a man's status and the validity of his words. This man was called Han Quanfu 韓琮瓊, a commoner, originating from Taigu 太谷 county of Shanxi province. Since his childhood, Han became a bondservant of the imperial son-in-law Gombojab. His Mongolian name was Jambal. Later the imperial son-in-law and the princess both passed away and had no offspring, so their subjects and property were managed by Gombojab's own nephew Pungsug-rabdan, ruling prince of Üjümüchin. As a man under Pungsug-rabdan, he went on a punitive expedition against Chingünjab in 1756. He was awarded a knob of the sixth rank after the campaign ended. Later, he was awarded the post of imperial guard for his merit and lived in the establishment of the prince, down in the Dongchang 東廠 alley, outside of the Donghua 東華 gate of Beijing. He also went beyond the pass (to Mongolia). His first wife was a dowry bondservant (*ingji*) of the princess.¹ After she died, a commoner Fan Erju 范二舉 betrothed his younger sister to Han Quanfu as his second wife. So the prince gave him leave for five months with a travel permit. Han Quanfu set out to Taigu county to take his wife on July 22, 1768 and arrived there on September 2, 1768. Han Quanfu claimed that his identity was not fake and what he said could be proven by the archives of the Court of Dependencies. In the vermilion rescript,

¹ The human dowry was called *ingji* (Mo. *ingji*, also written as *inji* or *inje*) in Mongolian, *etuhun dahabuha niyalma* in Manchu, and also known as *peifang* 陪房 (配房 or 賠房), *yanzhi* 胭脂 or 燕支, or *yingsong shibi* 媵送侍婢 in Chinese sources. For a succinct account on the philological and historical background of the *ingji*, see Christopher P. Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts On File, 2004), s.v. *inje*.

the Qianlong emperor had the Court of Dependencies investigate this person's background and report the result to him later.²

The result of the Han Quanfu case was unknown so far due to lack of sources, but Han Quanfu's claim was not groundless. We can find the imperial son-in-law, Gombojab, and the princess in the sources. The *Yudie* 玉牒, the Qing 清 imperial genealogical record, shows that Gombojab, prince of Üjümüchin married a princess of seventh rank (*Ma. gung ni gege*, Ch. *xiangjun* 鄉君) in 1709.³ It is very likely that this Gombojab was the master of Han Quanfu. The status of Han Quanfu was so complicated that even the governor and commissioner-in-chief of Shanxi province was not sure whether Han Quanfu was Han Chinese or Mongol in the legal sense and had to request the emperor's judgment. This case shows that legal status and state-prescribed identity were not always clear and Qing subjects might have some ways to work around those guiding principles of legal status and show their agency if it would be profitable to them. Here we can see the complexity of identity in the Qing regime.

After Inner Mongolia and China proper were both incorporated into the Qing regime between 1644 and the 1650s, this was the first time that the two regions were under the same government after the Yuan dynasty lost its control of China. However, the Qing emperor did not apply the same administrative system to both regions. In Qing imperial ideology, legitimacy of Manchu rule over China rested on two kinds of ideas, neo-Confucian cosmopolitanism and Manchu supremacy among different peoples, which was also called ethnic sovereignty.⁴

Therefore, the Qing empire was to preserve, and even created, administrative, geographic, socio-

² NPM-QCZ, no. 403025689 (gugong 051468) (QL23, VIII, 10).

³ Du Jiaji 杜家驥, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu* 清朝滿蒙聯姻研究 (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2003), 128.

⁴ Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 4–5.

cultural and identity-based distinctions and traditional institutions of different peoples of the empire. As scholars who study empires in world history have said, the politics of difference employed by other empires in history is also found in the Qing empire.⁵

Administrative and Status Differences among Qing Subjects in Mongolia

The system of Qing administration in Mongolia was formulated based on the principle of the politics of difference. Most Mongol people came under the administration of the Court of Dependencies (Ma. *tulergi golo be dasara jurgan*; Mo. *γadaγadu Mongγol-un törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun*; Ch. *Lifan yuan* 理藩院),⁶ which held a rank equal to the Six Boards (ministries) of Chinese administration. Its predecessor was the Mongol Office (Ma. *Monggo jurgan*) before the Manchus conquered Ming China. An autonomous banner (Mo. *qosiγu*) was the basic socio-political unit of the Mongols in Inner and Outer Mongolia, governed by a *jasag* (Mo. *jasay*), hereditary Chinggisid Mongol ruler. Each banner had fixed territory, and its people were divided into a varying number of “arrows” (Mo. *sumu*). A league captain general was appointed by the Court of Dependencies among the banner rulers. Chakhar and Guihua 歸化 Town Tümed, pastoralizing in specific territories and once prestigious, enjoyed semi-autonomous status and were rearranged into the Eight Banners system under the Qing emperor’s direct control.⁷ No matter what the different systems were, the Mongols were never under

⁵ Here I quote Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper’s explanation of the politics of difference: “The politics of difference, in some empires, could mean recognizing the multiplicity of peoples and their varied customs as an ordinary fact of life; in others it meant drawing a strict boundary between undifferentiated insiders and ‘barbarian’ outsiders.” See Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 12.

⁶ For the formation and history of the Court of Dependencies, see Chia Ning 賈寧, “The Li-Fan Yuan in the Early Ch’ing Dynasty” (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1992) and “The Lifanyuan and the Inner Asian Rituals in the Early Qing (1644–1795),” *Late Imperial China* 14, no. 1 (Jun., 1993): 60–92.

⁷ Those Mongols under autonomous banners were called Allied Mongols (Ch. *wanfan Menggu* 外藩蒙古) and those Mongols under semi-autonomous eight-banners system were called Subject Mongols (Ch. *neishu Menggu* 內屬蒙

Chinese civil administration. This policy also kept Mongol identity separate from the Han Chinese.⁸

One of the main differences among Qing subjects is legally-prescribed identity: the status system (Ch. *ji* 籍). The status in the Qing empire had socio-legal significance. In Qing Mongolia, all Mongol taxpayers were registered as autonomous Mongol banner commoners, different from the Mongol bannermen of the Manchus. In Qing China proper, all Han Chinese were registered as commoners (Ma. and Mo. *irgen*, Ch. *min* 民). The Manchus, formerly of Jurchen, Mongol and Chinese origins, were registered as Manchu bannermen. For Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia or Manchu bondservants and craftsmen who came to Mongolia with Manchu princesses who were arranged to marry Mongol princes, if their status were changed to Mongol, such as monastic subjects or tomb keepers of the Manchu princesses, then it would be fair to say that they became Mongol.⁹

How could one be considered a Mongol? This is a complicated question and the answer to this question is diverse in different dimensions. The Qing Mongol society was composed of three strata and six categories: The nobility and lamas were ruling classes; bondservants (Mo. *boyol*) were the lowest; taxpayers (Mo. *arad*, *albatu*, or *sumučin*), serfs (Mo. *qamjily-a*), and disciples (Mo. *šabi*) were vassals or commoners in the middle. The commoners had private

古). Here I follow Shimada Masao 島田正郎's translation in the English abstract of his book *Shinchō mōkorei no jikkōsei no kenkyū* 清朝蒙古例の実効性の研究 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1992), 8–9.

⁸ For Qing administration of Mongolia, see Tayama Shigeru 田山茂, *Shindai ni okeru Mōko no shakai seido* 清代に於ける蒙古の社会制度 (Tokyo: Bunkyo Shoin, 1954) and David M. Farquhar, “The Ch'ing Administration of Mongolia up to the Nineteenth Century” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1960). On the Qing administration of the Mongols and its influence on Mongol identity, see Christopher P. Atwood, *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911–1931* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 23–42.

⁹ Jinhai 金海 [Altandalai], Qimudedao'rji 齊木德道爾吉 [Jaquadai Chimeddorji], Huricha 胡日查 [Khurcha], and Hasibagen 哈斯巴根 [Khasbagana], *Qingdai Menggu zhi* 清代蒙古志 (Höhhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Press, 2009), 241.

duties and provided services for their lords, either the nobilities or lamas.¹⁰ In the social and legal senses, all the six categories of peoples could be considered Mongols.

As it will be explored in the following chapters, there were groups of Han Chinese and Manchu settlers who migrated to Mongolia since the seventeenth century. They married local Mongolian people, raised children, learned the Mongol way of life, and managed to live peacefully with the Mongols in Mongolia. They and their offspring even acquired the legal status of Mongol. It seemed that they had changed their self-identity to Mongol and, more importantly, they were accepted by the Mongol society. They not only crossed through cultural boundary, but also traversed the socio-legal boundary. Why did they migrate to Mongolia and choose to become Mongols? What were the criteria necessary for those Han Chinese and Manchu settlers and their offspring to be integrated into the Qing Mongol society? What can this phenomenon of nativization shed light on the topics of migration, ethnicity, and state in the Qing and other contemporary Eurasian empires?

In terms of Mongol-Han relations, the Qing government did not support any ethnic cohabitation or inter-ethnic marriage because inter-ethnic contact might cause ethnic conflicts. So the Qing court had forbidden this ethnic interaction. As we will see in the following chapters, in contrast to the discouraging attitude toward Mongol-Han contact in Mongolia, it seemed that the Qing emperors had no problem allowing those Manchu princesses and dowry bondservants to stay in Mongolia. What did nativization mean for those Han Chinese and Manchu settlers and

¹⁰ On Qing Mongolian social categories, see Joseph Fletcher, “Ch’ing Inner Asia c. 1800,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch’ing, 1800–1911, Part 1*, ed. John King Fairbank (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 49–51. This categorization is not only a modern academic one, but also corresponds to the ideas of the contemporaries. For example, when Wang Guojun 汪國鈞, a late Qing contemporary Mongol in Kharachin Right banner, describes the social strata and categorization in Qing Kharachin Mongols, his perception was also very similar to this classification. See Wang Guojun, *Menggu jiwén* 蒙古紀聞, col. and annot. Maxi 瑪希 [Mashi] and Xu Shiming 徐世明 (Höhhhot: Inner Mongolia People’s Press, 2006), 123–125. Note Jagchid Sechin’s detailed and idiosyncratic understanding on Qing Mongol social structure. See Sechin Jagchid and Paul Hyer, *Mongolia’s Culture and Society* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979), 288–289.

their descendants? How did the Qing government view those nativized Han Chinese and Manchu people? These are my main research questions.

Mongolization as Assimilation, Nativization, and Naturalization in Theory

In previous studies, mongolization (Ch. *Menggu hua* 蒙古化) was used to apply to Han Chinese, Kitan army, and Central Asian peoples acculturated or assimilated by the Mongols in the Mongol empire.¹¹ Han Chinese mongolization in Inner Mongolia during the Ming and Qing eras was also explored by scholars.¹² This term was also used to describe the nature of the early Qing empire.¹³

In the field of Mongolian history, subjects on Han Chinese mongolization in Qing and Republican Inner Mongolia have been explored to some extent. In Inner Mongolia, there was a category of the Mongol people called “Mongol followers” (Ch. *sui Menggu* 隨蒙古). Since the early Kangxi period (1662–1722), some of those Han Chinese settlers came to Inner Mongolia with Manchu princesses, married local Mongol women, and became Mongol.¹⁴ The other

¹¹ See Zhang Dandan 張丹丹, “Meng Yuan zaoqi Menggu hua Hanren jinchen qunti yanjiu 蒙元早期蒙古化漢人近臣群體研究” (MA thesis, Nanjing University, 2012); Jennifer Holmgren, “Observations on Marriage and Inheritances Practices in Early Mongol and Yüan Society, with Particular Reference to the Levirate,” *Journal of Asian History* 20, no. 2 (1986): 127–192; Michal Biran, “Kitan Migrations in Eurasia (10th–14th Centuries),” *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies* 3 (Oct., 2012): 85–108; Cai Fenglin 蔡鳳林, “Yuan xiyu ren Menggu hua kao 元西域人蒙古化考,” *Nei Menggu minzu daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 內蒙古民族大學學報 (社會科學版) 31, no. 1 (Feb., 2005): 31–34.

¹² Fan Rusen 樊如森, “Qingdai Minguo de Hanren Menggu hua yu Menggu ren hanhua 清代民國的漢人蒙古化與蒙古人漢化,” *Minsu yanjiu* 民俗研究, no. 5 (2013): 56–64; Li Hong 李宏 and Chen Yongchun 陳永春, “Shilun Nei Menggu dongbu diqu Hanzu yimin Menggu hua xianxiang: yi Li xing yijia weili 試論內蒙古東部地區漢族移民蒙古化現象：以李姓一家為例,” *Qianyan* 前沿 351–352 (Jan., 2014): 130–131

¹³ Li Qinpu 李勤璞, “Menggu zhi dao: Xizang fojiao he Taizong shidai de Qingchao guojia 蒙古之道：西藏佛教和太宗時代的清朝國家” (PhD diss., Inner Mongolia University, 2007).

¹⁴ Maybe they were cultivators (Ch. *zhuangding* 壯丁) who still maintained their status as commoners. The status of human dowry of Manchu princesses will be discussed in chapter four and five. For Han Chinese mongolization in Rehe, see Shen Mingshi 沈鳴詩, ed., *Chaoyang xian zhi* 朝陽縣志 in *Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng. Liaoning fu xian zhi ji* 中國地方志集成·遼寧府縣志輯, vol. 23 (Nanjing: Phoenix Publishing House, 2006), *juan* 26, 1–2; Mu

category was called “Real Mongols” (Ch. *zhen Menggu* 真蒙古), who accompanied their Mongol masters to Chaoyang 朝陽 county from Höhhot. During the late Qing and Republican era, Li Shouxin 李守信 (1892–1970) was one of the representatives of Mongol followers. He was born in Gurguultai Yekhe Zuu village of Tümed Right-Flank banner, Josotu league. It was under Chaoyang county of Chengde department (Rehe 熱河). In his memoir, he said that his ancestor was a Mongol follower from Lijiazhuang 李家莊 village and went to Tümed Right banner alone to cultivate lands for his Mongolian master. Later, he married his Mongolian master’s daughter and acquire the status of Mongol. His family mostly married Mongolian women who did not have foot-binding and spoke Mongolian.¹⁵

Through some late Qing materials, we knew some of the Han Chinese settlers were mongolized via different ways. For instance, in Kharachin Right banner, the Wang 汪 family’s ancestors were Han Chinese from Wen 汶 County of Dengzhou 登州 prefecture, Shandong 山東 province. They had moved to Inner Mongolia since the Liao period (916–1125), lived in the west of Daning 大寧 Guard (modern Ningcheng 寧城 County of Chifeng City) in the early Ming period and later were included in Döin (Ch. Duoyan 朵顏) Guard under the Uriyangkhad. In the early seventeenth century, the Wangs became the Kharachin Mongol’s guides and the Manchu’s interpreters in the wars against the Mongols. Therefore they won military merits and were awarded Mongol status of Kharachin. Although they were of Han Chinese descent, their status was higher than other Mongols. Wang’s ancestors had served as Adjutants of Kharachin Right

Yinchen 穆崑臣, “Qingdai Rehe diqu de minzu ronghe yu wenhua jiaoliu shulun 清代熱河地區的民族融合與文化交流述論,” *Bohai daxue xuebao* 渤海大學學報, no. 1 (2015): 27–31.

¹⁵ Li Shouxin 李守信, *Li Shouxin zishu* 李守信自述. *Nei Menggu wenshi ziliao* 內蒙古文史資料, no. 20, ed. Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Nei Menggu zizhiqu weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui 中國人民政治協商會議內蒙古自治區委員會文史資料研究委員會 (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia Literature and History Book Company, 1985), 1–15.

banner for seven generations before he was born. Other Mongols like the Wangs were the Wus and the Lis. The Wu 吳 family was from Taiyuan 太原 prefecture, Shanxi province, and moved to Saikhan (Ch. *Sahan* 薩汗) town, east of Daning Route in the early Ming period. The Li 李 family was like the Wang family and was also from Wen County of Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong province. They had lived in the north of Daning since the Liao period. The Wu and Li families were the Kharachin Prince's stewards for generations.¹⁶

Among those Mongols of Han origin, Wang Guojun 汪國鈞 (1853–1921) and his father could serve as a good example of their lives in Mongolia. Wang Guojun was also known as Buyanbilitü among Mongols, born in the modern Xiawafang 下瓦房 village of Wang-un khoroon (also known as Wangyefu 王爺府 town in Chinese), Kharachin banner, Chifeng 赤峰 City. His father Chuluu had a Chinese name, Wang Liangfu 汪良輔. While Wangdudnamjil, Prince Güngsangnorbu's father, was the *jasag* of Kharachin Right banner, Chuluu served as *meiren*, doing scribal work in the Prince's mansion. After Güngsangnorbu succeeded the post of *jasag*, Chuluu was promoted to be Deputy Adjutant (Mo. *ǰakiruyċi ǰanggi*, Ch. *guanqi fuzhangjing* 管旗副章京) and Supervisor of the Chongzheng 崇正 Academy, the first modern-style school in Inner Mongolia.¹⁷

Other than those Mongols of Han Chinese origin who came to Mongolia before the seventeenth century, there were also Mongols who arrived in Mongolia after the Manchu conquest of China in Kharachin Right banner. According to Wang Guojun, there were seven Han Chinese families who arrived in Mongolia from China proper and later became Mongols during the Qing period. In general, those Han Chinese families were mostly from Zhili area, like Beijing

¹⁶ Wang, *Menggu jiwēn*, 121–122.

¹⁷ For Wang Guojun's ancestry, see the introduction to Wang, *Menggu jiwēn*.

(the Li 李 and Wang 王 families), Baoding prefecture (the Yan 閻 family), Tongzhou 通州 department (the Hu 胡 family), and Yutian 玉田 county (the Shi 石 family) of Zhili 直隸 province. But there were also families from south of the Yellow River like Henan (the Zhu 朱 family), and even from south of the Yangtze River, like Shaoxing 紹興 prefecture of Zhejiang province (the Jin 金 family). They professed to be specialists or craftsmen, such as physiognomists (the Jins), painters (the Yans), coachmen (the Lis and Wangs), fur tailors (the Zhus), hairdressers (the Hus), and tailors (the Shis). They arrived in Kharachin Right banner during the Qianlong period. The Kharachin prince gave wives and demarcated lands to them. So they settled permanently in Kharachin Right banner. Some of them were even registered as Mongol banner commoners, such as the Jins and the Yans. Some of them were not enlisted as Mongol banner commoners but they were servants of Kharachin prince: women as maids and men as horse keepers. The earliest time of those Han Chinese families arriving in Mongolia during the Qing period dates back to the Qianlong period and this process continued until the end of Qing rule. The pattern of mongolization for these Han Chinese families was that these settlers were given women and farmland by the Mongol prince and then the family size gradually multiplied.¹⁸

Mongolization of Han Chinese settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia discussed in this dissertation had some similar outcomes to the ones in Qing Inner Mongolia, but the occurrence in Qing Outer Mongolia had a deeper socio-legal and cultural significance to the settlers and their descendants. Intermarriage was an important factor in both cases. But in the case of Outer Mongolia, the religious institution played a vital role.

¹⁸ Wang, *Menggu jiwén*, 122.

The term “mongolization” coined in this dissertation means a process of a non-Mongol acquiring Mongolian identity, in legal and institutional senses firstly and in the ethno-cultural sense secondly. Compared to sinicization, another term which once was prevalent but now is no longer popular in East Asian and Inner Asian studies, mongolization here has a more restricted and narrower meaning. Conventionally, the usage and definition of sinicization usually excludes the legal dimension and was loosely adopted in a broad and vague sense. Any involvement of a Chinese way of life can be viewed as sinicization.¹⁹ There was also no hierarchy of indicators. So we can hardly tell which level would be higher between adopting a Chinese name and wearing Chinese costume in terms of sinicization. As a result, sinicization has become more like a descriptive term, not an analytical concept. This drawback is what I want to avoid in this dissertation.

With respect to cultural adoption and social integration, mongolization resembles acculturation in anthropology and assimilation in sociology.²⁰ American sociologist Milton M. Gordon develops a model on the nature of assimilation, based on American cases. He broke down the assimilation process into seven types or stages:

1. Acculturation: newcomers change their cultural patterns, including language, dress, and customs of the host society (including religious belief and observance).
2. Structural assimilation: large-scale entrance of minorities into societal networks and institutions in the host society.

¹⁹ A recent example is Huang Pei 黄培’s definition of sinicization. He defines sinicization as “adoption of, accommodation to, and participation in Chinese ways of life, such as attitudes, manners, ideas, beliefs, values, and various institutions.” See his book *ReOrienting the Manchus: A Study of Sinicization, 1583–1795* (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2011), 4.

²⁰ The definition of acculturation is as follows: “Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.” See Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, “Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation,” *American Anthropologist* 38, no. 1 (Jan. –Mar., 1936): 149.

3. Marital assimilation: pervasive intermarriage with the host society.
4. Identificational assimilation: the minority identify themselves with the dominant culture and ethnic group.
5. Attitude receptional assimilation stands for the absence of prejudice.
6. Behavior receptional assimilation means the absence of discrimination.
7. Civic assimilation appears when there are no value and power struggles between the minority and host society.²¹

This model identifies several important types and stages for assimilation, such as culture, social integration, marriage, and self-identity. Therefore, in terms of operation and analysis, it is a better model compared to the model of sinicization. This model has been criticized for viewing assimilation as a linear progression with Anglo-conformist ethnocentrism, which associated the foreign with the lower and the host with the higher.²² The host society is also hard to define. Therefore, this dissertation simply follows the subjective perception seen in the pledges written by Han Chinese donators about Mongols and the Mongol way and considers Han Chinese immigrants and the Mongol host society as not fixed and static things, but constantly in the process of restructuring and interpenetrating.

However, applying this model to the cases of mongolization in late imperial China is not always suitable because it does not include the factor of legal status in identity. Discussing the reasons why the social structure of racial, religious and national groups and their various interrelationships in America has been ignored, Gordon pointed out that the lack of legal

²¹ Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 71.

²² On critique and suggestion of assimilation, see Rubén G. Rumbaut, "Assimilation and Its Discontents: Ironies and Paradoxes," in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, eds. Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Joshua Dewind (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999), 172–195.

visibility contributed to this outcome: “The nature of group structure in the United States is, for the most part, legally invisible. [...] [T]he American political and legal system recognizes no distinction among its commoners on grounds of race, religion, or national origin.”²³ However, this was not the case in late imperial China. All ethnic, religious, geographic identities and markers had legal significance. For example, if you were a commoner under Qing rule, you would need an official permit to enter Mongolia and would not be allowed to marry Mongol women, have estate, or stay there permanently. Otherwise, you would be punished and forced to leave Mongolia once you broke the rules and were caught by the Qing officials. Therefore, in this dissertation, I will not follow Gordon’s model strictly, but take culture, marriage, and self-identity, which are identified by him as important indicators of assimilation and replace his structural assimilation with naturalization or socio-legal assimilation (i.e. the acquisition of Mongol status in the socio-legal sense) as the ultimate indicator of mongolization in my analysis because it can be found in Qing archival documents and is the clearest marker to show one’s own identity and obligational services for the Qing state.

*The Issue of Mongolization as a Challenge to Early Modern Chinese
and Mongolian Historical Narratives*

In the last two decades, two quasi-schools have made significant contributions to the studies of late imperial China in methodology and source. One is the so-called School of South Chinese Studies; the other is the so-called School of New Qing History.

The School of South Chinese Studies (Ch. *huanan xuepai* 華南學派) is also known as School of Historical Anthropology or History of Regional Society (Ch. *quyu shehui shi* 區域社

²³ Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, 4.

會史)。It originates from folklore and anthropological studies on South China and becomes full-fledged in the early 1990s, using folk or local documents and materials (like genealogy and inscription), mostly in Chinese, collected through fieldwork.²⁴ These historical anthropologists focus on fundamental social organizations (like lineage, temple, and market), institutions (such as household registration and ritual), and markers (including socio-legal and ethno-cultural) of late imperial China.²⁵ They provide a bottom-up and local perspective for other researchers to understand late imperial China.²⁶

As a loosely-defined school, the New Qing History originates from American historians in East Asian and Inner Asian studies and comes into being in the early 1990s, using newly-open archival sources, in both Chinese and non-Chinese (mainly Manchu).²⁷ New Qing historians question the sinicization theory of the old Qing history and emphasize the reason for the success of Manchu as a ruling minority is that they aptly adopted the practices of Chinese and non-Chinese (mainly Inner Asian) peoples. This approach views the Qing Empire as a Chinese and an Inner Asian empire at the same time, and makes a comparison between the Qing and other

²⁴ The earliest anthropologists with focus on South China include Maurice Freedman, Barbara E. Ward, and G. William Skinner. See David Faure 科大衛, “Gaobie huanan yanjiu 告別華南研究,” in *Xuebu yu chaoyue: huanan yanjiu lunwen ji* 學步與超越：華南研究論文集, ed. Huanan yanjiu hui 華南研究會 (Hong Kong: Cultural Creation Press, 2004), 9. For its other designations, folklore root, and formation date of the historical anthropology school, see Zhao Shiyu 趙世瑜, “Wo yu ‘huanan xuepai’ 我與「華南學派」,” *Wenhua xuekan* 文化學刊 10 (Oct., 2015): 43–44.

²⁵ Here I rely on Helen F. Siu 蕭鳳霞’s account and reflection on historical anthropology, see Helen F. Siu, “Fansi lishi renleixue 反思歷史人類學,” *Lishi renleixue xuekan* 歷史人類學學刊 7, vol. 2 (Oct., 2009): 105–137.

²⁶ Those historical anthropologists in question include David Faure, Helen F. Siu, Michael Szonyi, Kenneth Dean, Chen Chunsheng 陳春聲, Liu Zhiwei 劉志偉, Chen Zhiping 陳支平, Choi Chi-cheung 蔡志祥, Liu Tik-sang 廖迪生, Cheung Siu-woo 張兆和, and Zheng Zhenman 鄭振滿. Zhao Shiyu and Chang Jianhua 常建華 both are also seen as historical anthropologists because they share this approach and apply it to the cases of North China. This incomplete list can be extended.

²⁷ Those pioneer scholars are Jonathan Spence, Robert H. G. Lee, Joseph Francis Fletcher, Jr., and Samuel Grupper. Beatrice S. Bartlett also makes a contribution by introducing Chinese and Manchu archives in the US. See Pamela Kyle Crossley, “A Reserved Approach to ‘New Qing History’,” Unpublished manuscript, 2008.

Eurasian empires.²⁸ They provide a top-down and central perspective for other researchers to understand late imperial China.²⁹

Both schools deal with the relationship between margin area and state, and have begun a dialogue since 1996. The result was the book *Empire at the Margins*.³⁰ In that book, historical anthropologists and New Qing historians worked on the peoples at the margins and delineate a process of Han and non-Han identity building and crossing (including geographic, ethnic, and legal boundaries), like the Dan and Yao peoples for historical anthropologists and Manchus and Mongols for New Qing historians. But in this process, the roles of non-Han authority was not fully probed in historical anthropologists' discussions, and the roles of local institution and authority was not explored by New Qing historians. Inspired by both schools of scholarship, this dissertation will use Chinese and non-Han Chinese folk documents and central archives and focus on the local Mongolian institution and authority in mongolization of Han Chinese and Manchu settlers and their descendants.

This project, on the one hand, is a new intervention in Qing history. Scholars have argued about ethnicity and identity and two theories were prevalent in modern historiography of the Qing Empire. The sinicization school, or the "Old Qing History," assumed that Han Chinese identity is fixed at the center and Inner Asian identities are peripheral, moving towards the

²⁸ Ruth W. Dunnell and James A. Millward, "Introduction," in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of an Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, eds. James A. Millward, Ruth W. Dunnell, Mark C. Elliott, and Philippe Forêt (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 3–4.

²⁹ New Qing historians includes Evelyn S. Rawski, Edward J. M. Rhoads, Mark C. Elliott, Philippe Forêt, Laura Hostetler, James A. Millward, Peter Perdue, and Patricia Berger. Pamela Kyle Crossley is also widely considered one of them, but she rejects that marker. This incomplete list can be extended.

³⁰ Historical anthropologists and New Qing historians participated a conference held at Dartmouth College in 1996, but its proceedings comes out ten years later in 2006. See Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald S. Sutton, eds., *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), viii.

center. Examples are Ho Ping-ti and Huang Pei.³¹ In a different way, Pamela Kyle Crossley with her idea of “Empire at the Margins” shares the same focus.³² The second theory was the Altaic school or the New Qing History. It is the idea of pluralism and parallel stable identities, argued by Mark C. Elliott and Evelyn S. Rawski.³³ Chinese identity is fixed but Inner Asian identities are not moving toward it. So the relation between Chinese and Inner Asian identities are not core-periphery, but of multiple cores or multi-polic. My study goes beyond both approaches by showing that ethno-legal boundaries were *not* stable and people moved back and forth. This shows the limits of the compartmentalized “New Qing History” viewpoint. But it is also different from the sinicization hypothesis because the Han Chinese identity is moving in “the other direction.” This point is that the Chinese identity at the periphery is quite fragile and many people acquire “barbarian,” or non-Han, identity.

It has to be pointed out that the New Qing History also touches the issues of Chinese identities moving towards Inner Asian identities. The best case is the Chinese bannermen of the Manchus. With the rise of the Manchu regime in the early seventeenth century, in South Manchuria there were many Chinese transfrontiermen joining the Manchus and becoming bannermen by forceful conquest and volunteering submission. However, even those Han Chinese who joined the Manchus still bore the title of Chinese bannerman and were gradually treated as a distinct group inside the Manchus. Their legal status of bannerman was also recognized by the Qing Empire. The phenomena of mongolization were still different from the kind of status changes discussed by the New Qing History. Both of the Han Chinese and the Mongols were

³¹ Ho Ping-ti 何炳棣, “The Significance of the Ch’ing Period in Chinese History,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 2 (Feb., 1967): 189–195 and “In Defense of Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski’s ‘Reenvisioning the Qing’,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 1 (Feb., 1998): 123-155. Huang, *ReOrienting the Manchus*.

³² Crossley, Siu, and Sutton, eds., *Empire at the Margins*.

³³ See Elliott, *The Manchu Way* and Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).

Qing subjects and the Manchus formed the ruling class of the Qing Empire. Those Han Chinese and Manchus who changed their status and identity to Mongol were unlike the Chinese bannermen who were forced to be absorbed or wanted to achieve a higher legal or social status. As we will see, some Han Chinese settlers made their descendants acquire Mongol status through *shabi* donation out of religious concern (to gain pious merit) and/or economic necessity (protecting their family members and property). The Manchu settlers as *ingji* bondservants were assigned by the Qing court to become Mongols, yet some of them maintained the proclivity to regain their Manchu status because it was more advantageous to be Manchu for them, like having the privilege to take the civil examination designed for Manchu.

In terms of transformation of identity in the Qianlong reign, Pamela Crossley argues that the Qianlong era was critical in that previously the functional and flexible lines of affiliation had hardened into racial categories.³⁴ However, through the examination of mongolization of Han Chinese and Manchu settlers and their descendants, it has been shown that this phenomenon began in the Qianlong period and continued until the Daoguang reign. This post-Qianlong development suggests that the identity and affiliation in the post-Qianlong era was still not synchronically applied to all peoples in the Qing Empire and still kept its flexibility to some extent.

In the contemporary theory on ethnic boundary in China, some scholars argue that people on cultural and geographical ethnic boundaries would emphasize on ethnic or cultural difference between *us* and *others* to compete for limited political, social and economic resources.³⁵ My argument might seem to be a contradiction to this conventional wisdom. As a matter of fact, this

³⁴ See Pamela Kyle Crossley, "The Qianlong Retrospect on the Chinese-martial (*hanjun*) Banners," *Late Imperial China* 10, no. 1 (Jun., 1989): 64.

³⁵ Wang Ming-ke 王明珂 is one of the representative scholars in this trend. See Wang Ming-ke, *Huaxia bianyuan: lishi jiyi yu minzu rentong* 華夏邊緣：歷史記憶與民族認同 (Taipei: Asian Culture Publishing Company, 1997).

is just a strategic difference according to what kind of environment or context people are situated in. When people have to win resources by competition, difference would be emphasized. But in the cases of mongolized Han Chinese settlers and their descendants, Han Chinese settlers arrived in Mongolia as an unprivileged minority and had to cooperate with the Mongol majority in order to establish connections with the locals, get access to resources, and escape from Qing official surveillance. Therefore, the Han Chinese settlers would be more willing to learn Mongol culture, such as Mongolian language and Buddhism, and marry local Mongol women, and work with them voluntarily.

On the other hand, this exploration also challenges the mainstream narrative of Mongolian history on Han Chinese and Manchu settlers in modern Mongolia. In modern Mongolian historiography, there were two main paradigms: class struggle and nationalism. During the socialist era, the formation of Mongolian historical narrative was based on the principle of class struggle directed by Marxism-Leninism. Mongolia under Qing rule was called “administration of Manchu conquest” (*Manjiin baildan daguulagchdyn zakhirгаа*)³⁶ or the “era of Manchu oppression” (*Manjiin talkhidalyн үйе*) and “Manchu-Chinese colonization” (*Manj-khyatadyн kolonchlol*)³⁷ in the socialist Mongolian historiography. Han Chinese merchants were seen as economic colonizers united with Manchu feudal rulers as political colonizers collaborating with Mongol feudalists of secular Mongol aristocracy and monastic Buddhist lamas. Both of them were oppressive classes who left mainly negative legacies to Mongolia because they offered Mongol princes and commoners usurious loans and impoverished the

³⁶ Institute of Sciences, Mongolian People’s Republic and USSR Academy of Sciences, eds., *Bügd nairamdakh Mongol ard ulsyn түүikh* (Ulaanbaatar: State Publishing House, 1955), 192.

³⁷ Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, Mongolian People’s Republic, ed., *Bügd nairamdakh Mongol ard ulsyn түүikh*, 3 vols. (Ulaanbaatar: Bureau of State Publishing Affairs, 1968), 2: 162, 401.

Mongols.³⁸ According to M. Sanjdorj, Khalkha Mongols were oppressed by the Manchu politically and were exploited by the Han Chinese economically.³⁹ In the historiography of the democratic era of Mongolia, the narrative of class struggle has gradually faded away in the treatment of the modern history of Mongolia after 1911. Yet the Manchu period of Mongolia was termed the “era of Manchu domination” (*Manjiin erkhsheeliin üye*) and the late Qing administration was viewed as Manchu colonial rule.⁴⁰ However, the negative evaluation of the legacy of Han Chinese and Manchu in Mongolia under Qing rule at large remained without re-examination and still focused on Han Chinese money-lending and exploitation.⁴¹

In the nationalist narrative in Mongolian history, Mongolia was described as an almost homogeneous society in ethnicity, mostly composed of the pure and indigenous Khalkha Mongols, “the pillar for Mongolian independence.” Uradyn E. Bulag argues that Mongolian historians, such as D. Gongor and Sh. Natsagdorj, saw Khalkha Mongols as the core group in the

³⁸ Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, Mongolian People’s Republic and Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, eds., *Bügd nairamdakh Mongol ard ulsyn tiiikh*, rev. ed. (Ulaanbaatar: State Publishing House, 1984), 253–275. For recent English works on Mongol feudalism reflecting historiography in modern Mongolia see Bat-Ochir Bold, *Mongolian Nomadic Society: A Reconstruction of the ‘Medieval’ History of Mongolia* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2001).

³⁹ M. Sanjdorj, *Manchu Chinese Colonial Rule in Northern Mongolia*, trans. Urgunge Onon (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1980).

⁴⁰ In the *History of Mongolia* newly compiled by the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, this kind of negative narrative and interpretation of Mongolia under Manchu rule remains. See Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, ed., *Mongol ulsyn tiiikh*, 5 vols. (Ulaanbaatar: Admon, 2004), 4: 222. For the new framework of the new compilation of history of Mongolia (2005) and relationship of historiographical reconsideration and political change in post-socialist Mongolia, see J. Boldbaatar, *Mongol ulsyn tiiikh bichleg: shinechlel, chig khandlaga (1990- eed onoos ediigee khiirtel)* (Ulaanbaatar: Admon, 2008), 31, 60–72. For the recent studies of Chinese merchants and commerce in Qing Mongolia, see Wang Yi 王怡, “Transforming the Frontier: Land, Commerce, and Chinese Colonization in Inner Mongolia, 1700–1911” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2013) and Devon Margaret Dear, “Marginal Revolutions: Economies and Economic Knowledge between Qing China, Russia, and Mongolia, 1860–1911” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2014).

⁴¹ In the historiography of Inner Mongolia or Mongol Chinese in China, this kind of similar critique on Han Chinese penetration into Mongolia still exists, but it was mitigated by recognizing the contributions of Han Chinese merchants for introducing new techniques and merchandise to Inner Mongolia. See Cao Yongnian 曹永年, ed., *Nei Menggu tongshi* 內蒙古通史, 4 vols. (Höhhöt: Inner Mongolia University Press, 2007), 3: 112, 136–137 and Liu Jinsuo 留金鎖, ed., *Menggu zu tongshi* 蒙古族通史, 3 vols. (Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House, 2001), 2: 369–380.

native land of Mongols and the roles of other groups were underestimated or ignored.⁴² Khalkha Mongols were not seen just as one of the six *tümens* of the Eastern Mongols in the post-imperial era, but also as the representative group, in contrast to the Oirat of the Western Mongols.⁴³ Therefore, we can say that the history of modern Mongolia was a process in which the Mongols who lost independence under Manchu colonial rule strived to regain their autonomy and emancipation and succeeded ultimately under the leadership of Khalkha Mongols. In this narrative, Han Chinese and Manchus played no roles in the formation of Khalkha Mongols. This narrative framework of the “Époque de la Décadence” also echoes in modern Mongol historiography in the US during the Cold War era.⁴⁴ The cause of this narrative would be partially explained by the origin of Sinophobia and anti-Chinese sentiment in modern Mongolia. In his recent study, Franck Billé observed that in the late socialist period, the Manchu-Chinese personage remained to bear the responsibility of the deterioration of pre-revolutionary Mongolia in popular Mongol cultural imaginary while the negative influences of Mongolian nobility and clergy were gradually forgotten. Billé argues that this kind of Sinophobia and anti-Chinese hatred in modern Mongolia in fact was embedded in and formulated by the propaganda of the Soviet-Mongol alliance and internalization of Russian anti-Asian racism, though the historical legacy of Manchu rule should not be taken for granted. Sinophobia should be taken as an intra-

⁴² Their representative works are D. Gongor, *Khalkh tobchoon I: Khalkh Mongolchuudyn öböг deedes ba khalkhyn khaant uls (VIII–XVIII zuun)* (Ulaanbaatar: Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, Mongolian People’s Republic, 1970) and Sh. Natsagdorj, *Khalkhyn түүikh* (Ulaanbaatar: National Bureau of Publication Affairs, 1963).

⁴³ For the Khalkha Mongol’s distorted role in modern Mongolian nationalist historiography, see the discussion in Uradyn E. Bulag, *Nationalism and Hybridity in Mongolia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press, 1998), esp. 70–81, quot. 75.

⁴⁴ The influence of this conceptualization of Mongol historiography is its grave emphasis on the Mongol empire and later Mongolia and marginalization of the post-imperial history of Mongolia. For this critique, see Johan Elverskog, *The Pearl Rosary: Mongol Historiography in Early Nineteenth Century Ordos* (Bloomington: The Mongolia Society, 2007), 2–3.

ethnic discourse to pursuing Western ideals of modernity and expelling any cultural association to Asianness in the Mongols themselves.⁴⁵

This dissertation will point out that the narrative of class struggle was to some extent unbalanced and biased because it simply ignored the endeavor made by some Han Chinese and Manchu settlers and their descendants to integrate into Mongol society under Manchu rule. They stayed in Mongolia for decades, married Mongol women, lived with Mongols peacefully, provided different kinds of techniques, services and merchandise for Mongols, and ultimately learned the Mongolian way of life and became Mongols. Han Chinese and Manchu settlers should not be taken as purely nefarious figures and negative influences in Mongolian history, although the exploitation of Han Chinese moneylenders existed in history. The nationalist narrative ignored Han Chinese and Manchu elements in the process of the formation of Khalkha Mongols, intentionally or not. As we have explored, Han Chinese and Manchu settlers moved to Mongolia during the Qing era and some of them or their posterity acquired Mongolian status and became Mongol since then. So my research can put this lost patch back in the whole picture of Mongolian history, arguing that the role of Han Chinese and Manchu in Mongolian history should be seen as part of the dynamics in the development of Mongol society and culture.

“Going Native” in Late Imperial and Early Modern Russia and China

Nativization of settlers is an important issue, yet insufficiently studied in colonial histories of early modern Eurasian empires. Colonizers were not expected to degenerate into the colonized subjects. Therefore, it stood for an apparent subversion of the invincible civilizing power of imperial colonizers. In the early modern era, the Qing and Russian empires both

⁴⁵ Franck Billé, *Sinophobia: Anxiety, Violence, and the Making of Mongolian Identity* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2015), 10–11, 40.

penetrated the heartland of Central Eurasia, the former from the east and the latter from the west. Military subjugation and conquest was followed by mass migration of people and colonization toward Central Eurasian borderlands. Both regimes faced similar challenges, and nativization of settlers was one of them. In the Russian Empire, nativization of Russian settlers (in Siberia, Turkestan and Caucasus) was also a thorny issue and caught the attention of Russian officials and intellectuals.

With the military conquest of Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1554), Russian Tsar Ivan IV (as known as Ivan the Terrible, 1530–1584) defeated the Crimean Tatars. Since then, Muscovy began to get rid of the so-called “Tatar yoke” and penetrated the steppe and Siberia.⁴⁶ In 1550, the majority of 6.5 million Russian peasants, who lived in the area north of the Oka River and west of the Ural mountains, the heartland of Muscovy, began to expand to the vast frontier zone of Russia. By 1897, the population of 125 million Russians had spread from the Baltic Sea territory to the Pacific Ocean. Since 1678, Russian peasantry entered the forrested steppe: the mid-Volga region of Kazan and the central black-earth land of Ryazan and Tula. Then in the eighteenth century, they went further east and south into the open steppe: the lower Volga and Don region. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the “wild field” (R. *dikoe pole*) of the steppe region had been transformed into populous farmland through Russian colonization. The number of settlers in the Russian frontiers was around ten million between the 1670s and 1896, and over a million Russian settlers moved to Siberia from the European heartland of Russia between 1867 and 1897.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ For the “Tatar yoke” and the Mongol impact on Russian history, see Charles J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985) and *The Tatar Yoke: The Image of the Mongols in Medieval Russia*, corr. ed. (Bloomington: Slavica, 2009); Donald Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304–1589* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁴⁷ David Moon, “Peasant Migration and the Settlement of Russia’s Frontiers, 1550–1897,” *The Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (Dec., 1997): 859–893.

When Russian settlers migrated to remote frontier zones, they realized that they were not the first people to arrive there. They had to live with aborigines or *inorodtsy* (*alien*, usually denoting *non-Russian*).⁴⁸ Those Russian settlers were often outnumbered by their non-Russian neighbors, and had to face an isolated and unfamiliar environment. Their educational level was also rather low and had no strong adherence to their original upbringing. For example, Russian migrants had begun to arrive in Siberia and established several permanent settlements, such as Berezov (1593), Surgut (1594), and Nizhnekolymsk (1644), with Cossacks and petty fur traders since the late sixteenth century. Those settlements were trading and administrative centers, each with a population of around one thousand or less, and were surrounded by the Yakuts who lived on herding and farming (learned from Russians), and the so-called small peoples of the north, including Ostiaks, Samoyeds, Chukchis, and Tunguses (Evenk), who were uncivilized hunter-gatherers and reindeer herders.⁴⁹ When they arrived in Siberia, many Russian settlers began to go native and became Yakuts, Samoeds, and Ostiaks or other small minorities in the late imperial period. Intermarriage between Russians settlers and those small peoples began as soon as they were encountered on the frontiers. Since the mid-1600s, those Russian peasants were found eating raw fish like natives, living in yurts, and speaking barely Russian, but Yakut language fluently. Even for those who still spoke Russian, their accent was heavily influenced by native languages. Their hybrid offspring was viewed as physically bad-looking and racially inferior to

⁴⁸ In imperial Russia, the term *inorodtsy* was used for ethnic minorities who were subject to their traditional laws and belonged to a separate legal category. They were exempt from Russian taxation and military obligation and allowed to keep their own traditional culture and political structure. For the definition and evolution of *inorodtsy* in imperial Russia, see John W. Slocum, "Who, and When, Were the *Inorodtsy*? The Evolution of the Category of 'Aliens' in Imperial Russia," *The Russian Review* 57 (Apr., 1998): 173–190.

⁴⁹ For an introduction to those peoples, see James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony, 1581–1990* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992). On the relationship between the Russian empire and the small peoples of the north, see Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). For a recent study on Russian colonization in Siberia, see Janet M. Hartley, *Siberia: A History of the People* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014).

pure-blood Russians, though still better than genuine natives. By the mid-1800s, this situation became a prevailing phenomenon and was reported as a bizarre and objectionable sample of cultural degeneration. Educated observers felt shock and pity for those nativized Russians and suggested more Russian cultural import and colonization in Siberia to stop or reverse the trend of nativization of the Russian settlers.⁵⁰

Although the Russians believed that they were the most civilized people and had to carry out the mission of enlightening other small peoples, the attitude toward assimilation of the *inorodtsy* was still diverse and not decisive. Some Russian missionaries and teachers were not sure to what extent the Russification should be applied on those uncivilized peoples. Russian peasants in Kazan even considered that the Asian Muslims were too different from them to imagine any possible form of assimilation.⁵¹

Many of those settlers went native because they were uneducated and of low cultural level. However, nativization did not just happen in illiterate Russian peasants who sample settled in the borderland. In the Caucasus, the identity and culture of the Russian elites were blurred due to the influence of local mountain tribes. Those Russians were dispatched to annex the Kingdom of Kartli and Kakheti since 1801 and to fight the Caucasian War (1817–1864). Compared to the cases of nativized Russians in Siberia and the Cossacks, the nativization of the Russian imperial soldiers and officers in Caucasus was undertaken in a rather short period. Those nativized Russian officers who looked like Caucasian highlanders were even proud of being mistakenly seen as a native Tatar. The nativization of those Russian officers simply maintained the

⁵⁰ Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 198–199; Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors*, 98, 102. With regard to details on nativization of Russian settlers in Siberia, I relied on Willard Sunderland, “Russians into Iakuts? ‘Going Native’ and Problems of Russian National Identity in the Siberian North, 1870s–1914,” *Slavic Review* 55, no. 4 (Win., 1996): 806–825.

⁵¹ Regarding to this lukewarm attitude toward assimilation among different Russian strata, see Robert P. Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

conventional practice of local Cossacks since this made them adapt to life in the mountainous area and was suitable for warfare. But changing costumes did not essentially change their Russian identity. Caucasian outfit was a symbol of masculinity and common identity for those veterans who fought the Caucasian war. And horsemanship and learning local languages for those nativized Russian officers was to win the war against highlanders and meant survival in the Caucasus. They had to become “savages” in order to fight a savage war. Some Russian captives were nativized because that helped them survive during imprisonment. Many Russian soldiers and officers married native Caucasian women. Some Russian defectors and abused officers even fled to Caucasian highlanders for protection. They spent decades in the mountains, married native women, and almost did not speak Russian. Some Russian intellectuals were disappointed in these *kavkazets* (Caucasian, here means nativized Russians) and called them a mix of Russian and Asian.⁵²

Environment was one of the vital factors in the nativization. In his analysis of Kazakh-Cossack mutual assimilation, Yuriy Malikov argues that the flexibility of the Russian eastern frontier created an environment in which people could cross over to the other side without difficulty. Cultural assimilation was not a one-way process, but a mutual influence of both parties. In northern Kazakhstan, the natural environment was more suitable for mobile pastoralism than for traditional Russian crop cultivation, and cohabitation of Kazakh workers and their Cossack employers also provided a contact zone for both peoples. It was not infrequent to see Siberian Cossack runaways who stayed for decades in the Kazakh steppes. The Siberian Cossacks adopted Kazakh gowns and *burkas* (a kind of Kirgiz pelt hat), spoke Kazakh language,

⁵² Mikail Mamedov, “‘Going Native’ in the Caucasus: Problems of Russian Identity, 1801–64,” *The Russian Review* 67 (Apr., 2008): 275–295.

married Kazakh women, purchased native children from poor Kazakhs, and were aware of Kazakh customs and traditional legal practices.⁵³

Comparing Tsarist Russia with Qing China, we can see that in both cases acculturation, marital assimilation and identificational assimilation happened to those immigrants. But socio-legal assimilation was not salient in the Russian cases since those hybrid children did not socio-legally cross over to the non-Russian side. As Yuriy Malikov argues, the hybrid children born in mixed families were still considered Russian, at least legally. The category of “mixed-blood” did not exist in Russian law.⁵⁴ Since there was no clear socio-legal indicator of identity in late imperial Russia, the symbol of identity was strongly linked with language. Thus the abandonment of the Russian language was taken as the critical evidence of nativization.⁵⁵ In late imperial Russia and China, nativization of settlers mainly occurred in culture and identity, but not in occupation. Nativized Russians and Cossacks were still peasants or soldiers, few of whom become pastoralists unless they dwelled in the steppe where farming was nearly impossible. The mongolized Han Chinese settlers were mostly still farmers and merchants. The mongolized Manchus were still bondservants or guards. Their modes of livelihood seemed to be more resilient than language and identity. My research can offer specific cases for exploring migration and nativization issues between the Russian and Qing empires.

Overview of the Sources and Chapters

This dissertation is on Han Chinese and Manchu settlers becoming Mongols in Qing Mongolia, primarily using two case studies: 1) Descendants of Han Chinese settlers in Outer

⁵³ Yuriy Malikov, *Tsars, Cossacks, and Nomads: The Formation of a Borderland Culture in Northern Kazakhstan in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2011), 84–85, 106–113, 144–145.

⁵⁴ Malikov, *Tsars, Cossacks, and Nomads*, 65n198.

⁵⁵ Sunderland, “Russians into Yakuts?” 815.

Mongolia; 2) Offspring of Manchu dowry bondservants in Inner Mongolia. Before introducing my project, I will offer institutional and historical background concerning Han Chinese and Manchu in Mongolia in the early modern era.

This project draws on folk documents and imperial archives. For the first case of the descendants of Han Chinese settlers, this project relies on the Mongolian and Chinese pledges (Ch. *jujie* 具結) of Han Chinese offerings to the Great Shabi. These pledges are folk documents in which the Mongol wives and children of the Han Chinese merchants or farmers who settled in Khalkha Mongolia were presented to the Great Shabi (Mo. *yeke šabi*), lay disciples and personal subjects of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu, from 1768 to 1830. The archives preserved in the National Central Archives of Mongolia (hereafter NCAM) and Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission (hereafter MTAC) of the Republic of China (Taiwan). For the second case of the offspring of Manchu dowry bondservants in Inner Mongolia, this project mainly uses the Manchu and Chinese palace memorials preserved in First Historical Archives of China (hereafter FHAC) in Beijing, National Palace Museum (hereafter NPM), and Institute of History and Philology (hereafter IHP), Academia Sinica in Taipei. Gazetteers, official compilations, and contemporary oral history are also utilized in this dissertation.

In terms of the structure, this dissertation is divided into two parts and six chapters. The first chapter will discuss the historical contexts of Han Chinese and Manchu presence in Mongolia under Qing rule. This chapter is divided into two portions. Firstly, Han Chinese immigrants in Mongolia from the thirteenth to seventeenth century are introduced as the historical background of our topic. Then the policies of *closing off* (Ch. *fengjin zhengce* 封禁政策) in Mongolia and Mongol-Han segregation will be discussed as the administrative and institutional structures of Mongol-Han interaction in Qing Mongolia. The unnoticed stories of

those mongolized Han Chinese settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia can be discovered through examining Mongolian and Chinese archives preserved in Mongolia. In the second portion, the presence of the Jurchens as the predecessors of the Manchus in pre-Qing Mongolia is the focal point. The history of Manchu migration as human dowry of Manchu princesses in Qing Mongolia will then be introduced. Manchu-Mongol marital alliance as the facilitator of human movement and its precedents in Eurasian history will also be explored.

The title of the first part is “the Great Shabi and Mongolization of Han Chinese Settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia.” This part contains two chapters. The second chapter concerns the Great Shabi, the estate of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu, as the main mechanism of assimilating Han Chinese settlers and their descendants into Mongolian society. It begins with the origin and structure of the Great Shabi, and then conducts a survey on the relationship between the Great Shabi and Han Chinese settlers. At the end, the autonomous status of the Great Shabi is highlighted because the administrative and legal privileges it enjoyed could be seen as a pull factor of gaining the *shabi* status for the Han Chinese settlers. Standing on the foundation established by the second chapter, the third chapter examines the donations made by Han Chinese settlers to the Great Shabi from 1768 to 1830 using Mongolian and Chinese archives of this office currently preserved in Mongolia and Taiwan. The Great Shabi became a shelter and channel of mongolization for the Mongolian wives, descendants, and property of the Han Chinese settlers.

Another two chapters form the second part under the title “Manchu-Mongol Imperial Intermarriage and Mongolization of Manchu Settlers in Qing Mongolia.” The fourth chapter probes into the history of Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage and dowry system, which was the main institution as a vector of human movement. After introducing the institution of human

dowry of Manchu princesses and its background, the fifth chapter will examine several examples to delineate the process of integrating the Manchu settlers into Qing Mongolian society and the different levels of their adaptation to Mongolian culture and identity.

As the concluding discussion of this dissertation, the sixth chapter delves into two main factors of facilitating mongolization for Han Chinese and Manchu settlers and their descendants, that is, intermarriage and religion. In terms of religion as a way of integrating Mongol, Han Chinese, and Manchu subjects of the Qing Empire, the idea should be connected with the discussion of the Mount Wutai and the Qing as a Buddhist empire. Not just as a universal ideology and upper structure of the Qing legitimacy, this project provides a case to show how Buddhism as an institution could function as a medium to integrate the different constituencies of the Qing Empire in a local society. The nativization of Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia can also be compared to the ones in Southeast Asia. Several important factors (such as colonial history, religion, and language) are taken into consideration and their effect in nativization and assimilation of Han Chinese settlers in the inland and maritime frontiers is examined. At the end, this discussion turns to ethnicity, state and empire in a comparative perspective, focusing on how the state factor matters in shaping ethnicity in early modern China. As we will see, the Qing imperial legacy of state categorization of identity and status influenced modern China. Chinese people have still been subject to difference and identification initiated by the state and treated differently according to their identity and locality, like their ancestors of the Qing era.

Chapter One

Historical Background of Han Chinese and Manchu Presence in Qing Mongolia

This chapter will provide an outline of the historical context of Han Chinese and Manchu presence and migrations in pre-Qing Mongolia. In the first part on Han Chinese in pre-Qing Mongolia, Han Chinese settlements in Mongolia from the thirteenth to seventeenth century are briefly explored. Then the policies of *closing off* in Mongolia and Mongol-Han segregation under Qing rule will be introduced to set up an administrative and institutional frame of Mongol-Han interaction in Qing Mongolia. The stories of those mongolized Han Chinese settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia, which have been ignored by modern scholars, can be discovered through examining Mongolian and Han Chinese archives preserved in Mongolia. In the second part, the presence of the Jurchens as the ancestors of the Manchus in pre-Qing Mongolia is the focus. The history of Manchu migration as the human dowry of Manchu princesses in Qing Mongolia will be introduced. Manchu-Mongol marital alliance and its dynamism and similar historical practices in Eurasian history will also be explored.

Han Chinese Presence in Mongolia, Policies of Closing-off in Mongolia,

and Mongol-Han Segregation in History

In history of late imperial China, Han Chinese presence in Mongolia could be at least traced to the Yuan 元 period (1206/1271–1368). By 1248, Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia can be attested in contemporaries' travel accounts. For example, according to Zhang Dehui 張德輝 (1195–1274), Han Chinese lived with the Mongols in the Kelüren valley. They erected their

houses by covering them with earth and cultivated sesame and wheat there.¹ However, after the Yuan court retreated to Mongolia proper, the Han Chinese presence in Mongolia almost lost its trace in history until the mid-sixteenth century. Under Altan Khan (1508–1582), Han Chinese emigrated into Ordos and Guihua 歸化 (Today's Hōhhot), including captives, outlaws, famine refugees, and secret sectarians. The total number of the Han Chinese population there was up to fifty thousand. Later they became important human resources for Altan Khan. They were allotted to various Mongol masters and subject to Mongol taxations and corvée. They married Mongolian women and practiced agriculture and pastoralism in Ordos. Those Han Chinese migrants were nativized and called Han barbarians (Ch. *Hanyi* 漢夷) in Chinese sources.² However, after the Ming court made peace with Altan Khan successfully in 1571, most Han Chinese emigrants were repatriated to Ming China. Henceforth, the historical trace of the Han Chinese in Mongolia was lost again until the early eighteenth century.³

No sooner than the Manchu conquest of China, the Han Chinese immigration in Mongolia came to the Qing emperor's notice. Tayama Shigeru pointed out that in 1655 the Shunzhi emperor had announced an imperial edict to prohibit Han Chinese settlers to Inner Mongolia.⁴ Compared to the early twentieth century, the Han Chinese population growth in Inner Mongolia was relatively slow-paced between the mid-seventeenth and the late eighteenth

¹ Yao Ts'ung-wu 姚從吾, annot., "Zhang Dehui *Lingbei jixing zuben jiaozhu* 張德輝嶺北紀行足本校註," in *Yao Congwu xiansheng quanji* 姚從吾先生全集, ed. Yao Congwu xiansheng yizhu zhengli weiyuanhui 姚從吾先生遺著整理委員會 (Taipei: Cheng Chung Book Company, 1982), 7: 291.

² For the lives of the Han Chinese migrants under Altan Khan, see Henry Serruys, "Chinese in Southern Mongolia during the Sixteenth Century," *Monumenta Serica* 18 (1959): 1–95; Cao Yongnian 曹永年, "Aletan han he Fengzhou chuan de zaidu bannong banmu hua 阿勒坦汗和豐州川的再度半農半牧化," in *Mingdai Menggu shi congkao* 明代蒙古史叢考 (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2012), 81–98.

³ For the background of Han Chinese runaways and Ming-Mongol relations in the mid-sixteenth century, see Carney T. Fisher, "Smallpox, Salesmen, and Sectarians: Ming-Mongol Relations in the Jiajing Reign (1522–67)," *Ming Studies* 25 (Spr., 1988): 1–23 and Johan Elverskog, *The Jewel Translucent Sūtra: Altan Khan and the Mongols in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

⁴ Tayama, *Shindai ni okeru Mōko no shakai seido*, 333.

centuries. According to Cao Shuji's estimation, the Mongol population in Inner Mongolia during the early Qing period was approximately 1,000,000, and roughly 1,250,000 to 1,300,000 during the late Qing period.⁵ According to Christopher Atwood, in 1800 the Han Chinese population in Inner Mongolia was about 425,000 and increased three times more to 1,550,000 in 1912.⁶ It is reasonable to say the Han Chinese population exceeded the Mongol in Inner Mongolia at the end of the nineteenth century. It was thus not entirely unexpected when the New Administration (Ch. *xinzheng* 新政) of the Qing government lifted the ban on prohibition against the Han Chinese settlers entering Mongolia.⁷

In Outer Mongolia, the Han Chinese population maintained only a small presence there and there is no reliable statistical estimate for this. I. N. Maiskii's estimation on the population of Outer Mongolia in 1918 would be a later figure. According to him, the population of Outer Mongolia was 647,504 in total, including 100,000 Han Chinese, around 15.4 percent of the total population. For the population of Khüriye, according to N. M. Przhevalsky, there were 30,000 people in 1883, 60,000 in 1910, and 100,000 in 1919. Among the 100,000 people, there were 3,000 Russians, 30,000 Mongols (including 20,000 lamas), and 65,000 to 70,000 Han Chinese (65 to 70 percent of the total Khüriye population).⁸

Under Qing rule, Han Chinese immigration into Mongolia began in Inner Mongolia. Most of them went there as famine refugees and merchants.⁹ The process of Han Chinese

⁵ Cao Shuji 曹樹基, *Qing shiqi* 清時期, vol. 5 of *Zhongguo renkou shi* 中國人口史, ed. Ge Jianxiong 葛劍雄 (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2001), 450.

⁶ Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, s.v. Chinese Colonization.

⁷ For the New Administration in late Qing Mongolia, see Lan Mei-hua 藍美華, "China's New Administration in Mongolia," in *Mongolia in the Twentieth Century: Landlocked Cosmopolitan*, eds. Stephen Kotkin and Bruce A. Elleman (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1999), 39-58.

⁸ L. Altanzaya, "Mongol dakhi khyataduudyn asuudald," in *Erdem shinjilgeenii bichig (Tüükh büs nutag sudlalyn bag)*, ed. College of Humanities, University of Sciences and Technology (Ulaanbaatar: University of Sciences and Technology, 2004), 41.

⁹ Han Chinese immigration in Manchuria was also motivated by similar dynamics. On Han Chinese immigration in Qing and Republican Manchuria, see Thomas R. Gottschang and Diana Lary, *Swallows and Settlers: The Great*

immigration into Inner Mongolia could be divided into three stages in terms of the Qing policy: 1) Initiation (1644–1748); 2) Expansion (1748–1902); 3) Complete Opening (1902–1911). In the first stage, Inner Mongolia was not allowed for Han Chinese reclamation in principle during the Shunzhi era (1644–1661). Later, the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662–1722) promoted Han Chinese immigration into Inner Mongolia. Not only did the Kangxi emperor order to train Mongols for farming and cultivation skills, but he also tacitly agreed to Han Chinese reclamation in Inner Mongolia. The order of borrowing Mongolian land to feed Chinese commoners issued by his successor the Yongzheng emperor (r. 1722–1735) also kept the main key of this policy. In the second stage, 1748 was the turning point. In this year, the Qianlong emperor's decision to make uncultivated land of Inner Mongolia accessible to all Han Chinese settlers aroused a series of social unrest. Therefore, in the same year, the Qianlong emperor made a sudden volte-face against his pro-reclamation policy and issued an imperial order to redeem the sold Mongolian land from Han Chinese. Han Chinese reclamation in Inner Mongolia was outlawed. The Court of Dependencies was to dispatch two officials with local Mongolian officials to examine the illegal Han Chinese immigration in Inner Mongolia. The Mongolian border inspection was to be strengthened. The violators would be punished. This can be seen as the beginning of the policies of *closing off* in Mongolia. However, these policies were not carried out effectively. Therefore, in Eastern Inner Mongolia, Han Chinese immigration grew slowly but uninterruptedly throughout the whole eighteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, the southern part of Khorchin Right-Flank Rear banner and Dörböd banner were basically turned into farmland. In the third stage, the Qing government completely lifted the ban on prohibition against the Han

Migration from North China to Manchuria (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2000) and James Reardon-Anderson, *Reluctant Pioneers: China's Expansion Northward, 1644–1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).

Chinese immigration in Inner Mongolia, measured the uncultivated grassland, entrusted that to brokers, and collected down payment from them in order to repay the war indemnities since 1842. This led to the current mixture of agriculture and pastoralism and Mongol-Han cohabitation in Inner Mongolia.¹⁰ The process of Chinese migration in Mongolia can be seen as the Qing demographical expansion from the heartland into the Mongolian periphery on the imperial level, and the gradual incorporation of China into the global trade and the world system of capitalism. Han-Mongol interaction and negotiation made Mongolia like a “middle ground,” a joint formation of the colonizer and the colonized.¹¹

As previously mentioned, the policies of *closing off* in Mongolia implemented by the Qing court do not mean Mongolia and China proper were entirely blocked off from each other. If one Han Chinese settler was to travel or move to Mongolia, he had to ask for permission from the local official, and then a permit (Ch. *piao* 票; Ma. *piyoo*; Mo. *piyuu*) would be issued to the applicant. He was only allowed to stay in Mongolia for a year and no excuse would be accepted to continue lingering in Mongolia. If one conducted business in Mongolia without permit, he would be put in cangue as punishment for two months, be whipped with bamboo strips forty times, and half of his merchandise would be confiscated by the Qing government.¹²

However, as mentioned, the nature of Qing policies of *closing off* were subject to vacillation between total blockage and control of Han Chinese in Mongolia. The Qing emperor’s

¹⁰ Here I follow Jusaal’s periodization. See Zhusa 珠颯 [Jusaal], *18–20 shiji chu dongbu Nei Menggu nonggeng cunluohua yanjiu* 18–20 世紀初東部內蒙古農耕村落化研究 (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People’s Press, 2009), 15–16.

¹¹ Wang, “Transforming the Frontier,” 5–11. For the theory of the middle ground, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, 20th anni. ver. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹² Li Yu-shu 李毓澍, “Kulun banshi dachen jianzhi kao 庫倫辦事大臣建制考,” in *Waimeng zhengjiao zhidu kao* 外蒙政教制度考 (1962; repr., Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1978), 164. For the permit system of Qing Mongolia, see Lü Wenli 呂文利, “Qingdai Menggu diqu piaozhao zhidu chutan 清代蒙古地區票照制度初探,” *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中國邊疆史地研究 17, no. 4 (Dec., 2007): 18–28.

indecisive attitude toward Han Chinese immigration in Mongolia also contributed to rigidity and consistency of the policies of *closing off* in Mongolia. As we have mentioned, Qing legitimacy was based on neo-Confucian cosmopolitanism and ethnic sovereignty. On the latter principle, Manchu supremacy would be weakened and even challenged if the conquered peoples united together with a strong horizontal tie built through long-term, close contact. Therefore, the concern of ethnic politics existed in the Qing policies of *closing off* in Mongolia. For instance, in 1712, the Kangxi emperor was worried about the situation of land reclamation of Shandong Han Chinese settlers in Inner Mongolia because those Han Chinese in Inner Mongolia would become the Mongols in the long run.¹³ However, the Qing emperors also had to deal with famine and natural disasters in China proper. They preferred to send Han Chinese refugees to Mongolia and considered that an easy solution to those problems. For the Qing emperors, Mongolia was a moderator of pressure of the booming Chinese population. So we can say the policies of *closing off* were to control Han Chinese immigration into Mongolia. The main point was to prevent criminals and vagabonds absconding to Mongolia. If ordinary commoners went to Mongolia without permit, they would not be severely punished even when they were caught by Qing officials.¹⁴ Moreover, Mongols also intended to solicit Han Chinese for farming. There were also some commoners who were captured by Manchu bannermen and became their bondservants later. In order to escape from their Manchu masters, they escaped to Mongolia and were taken in by local Mongols. Therefore, it was outlawed for Mongols to hire or solicit Han Chinese as tenants from 1687 and this order was re-asserted in 1693. It was severely forbidden to send Han

¹³ *Qing Shengzu shilu* 清聖祖實錄 in *Qing shilu* 清實錄, vols. 4–6, ed. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan 中國第一歷史檔案館, Beijing daxue tushuguan 北京大學圖書館, and Beijing gugong bowuyuan tushuguan 北京故宮博物院圖書館 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1986), *juan* 卷 250, 12.

¹⁴ Lin Shih-hsuan 林士鉉, *Qingji Dongbei yimin shibian zhengce zhi yanjiu* 清季東北移民實邊政策之研究 (Taipei: National Chengchi University Press, 2001), 55.

Chinese wanderers to Mongolia for reclamation by the Qing government in 1748, and reiterated in 1809 and 1826.¹⁵

Han Chinese settlers went to Inner Mongolia from the early eighteenth century on to escape famine or lack of farming lands in their hometowns.¹⁶ The Han Chinese settlers rented grasslands from Mongols and Mongols had motivations to cooperate with them, for example collecting rent. Generally speaking, those were voluntary migrations. Since the Han Chinese settlers had been encroaching on Inner Mongolia from the beginning of the Manchu conquest of China, the Qing government had to establish a Chinese civil administration system in Mongolia to regulate these new Han Chinese colonizers. In Qing Chinese civil administration structure, the province (Ch. *sheng* 省) was the highest rank and the second rank the circuit (Ch. *dao* 道), the third rank the prefecture (Ch. *fu* 府), the department (Ch. *zhili zhou* 直隸州), and independent sub-prefecture (*zhili ting* 直隸廳) and the lowest rank the county (Ch. *xian* 縣), dependent department (Ch. *sanzhou* 散州) and dependent sub-prefecture (Ch. *santing* 散廳). In Inner Mongolia, independent and dependent sub-prefectures were more favorable means for the Qing government to integrate in the frontier areas because they were all rather transitional and flexible institutions. Civil commissioners (Ch. *lishi tongzhi* 理事同知) were also dispatched by the Qing government to supervise Mongol-Han affairs in Inner Mongolia. For example, as the Han Chinese colonization developed in the adjacent area of Köke Khota (Höhhhot), the Qing government gradually set up six independent sub-prefectures, i.e. Guihua, Suiyuan 綏遠, Salaachi 薩拉齊, Khoringer 和林格爾, Togtokh 托克托, and Qingshuihe 清水河, from 1723 to

¹⁵ Li Yu-shu, “Dingbian zuo fu jiangjun zhidu kao 定邊左副將軍制度考,” in *Waimeng zhengjiao zhidu kao*, 78–79 and 82.

¹⁶ Yan Tianling 閔天靈, *Hanzu yimin yu jindai Nei Menggu shehui bianqian yanjiu* 漢族移民與近代內蒙古社會變遷研究 (Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House, 2004), 5–12.

1760.¹⁷ However, Han Chinese settlers in the area without Chinese civil administration would be subject to local Mongol princes or Qing officials. For Outer Mongolia, those Han Chinese were managed by the imperial residents (Ma. *amban*; Mo. *sayid*) and the judges (Mo. *ǰaryučī*) of the Court of Dependencies stationed in Khūriye and Kiakhta, by the Left Lieutenant General and the minor officials of the Board of Military in Uliastai, and by the banner *jasags* in four leagues of the Khalkha Mongols.¹⁸

In terms of jurisdiction, Mongol and Han Chinese were also under separate systems. Legal pluralism is a feature of empires in history and the Qing Empire was no exception.¹⁹ In the early Qing period, commoners were subject to the Qing code under the Board of Punishment if they committed crimes outside of China proper. Mongols, including the nomadic and territorial Mongols, were subject to the Mongol code under the Court of Dependencies if they violated the law in China proper. Only the legal cases which involved both Han Chinese and Mongol would be transferred to and be examined by the Board of Punishment. In principle, the Qing code was applied in China proper and the Mongol code in Mongolia. The ethnicity of the criminal was in theory the decisive element in imposing punishment. However, followed with the Han Chinese settlers grew slowly in Mongolia, a boom of legal disputes involving Mongol and Han Chinese perplexed the Qing officials since they found the principle of ethnicity was no longer a feasible means to deal with the new milieu. Those confounded Qing officials proposed to the Qing

¹⁷ Justin Tighe, *Constructing Suiyuan: The Politics of Northwestern Territory and Development in Early Twentieth-Century China* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 45–48.

¹⁸ Farquhar, “The Ch’ing Administration of Mongolia up to the Nineteenth Century,” 287–294.

¹⁹ On empires and legal pluralism in the early modern world, see Kaure Benton and Richard J. Ross, eds., *Legal Pluralism and Empires, 1500–1850* (New York: New York University Press, 2013). For recent studies on Qing legal pluralism in the Southeast coast, Xinjiang, Sino-Tibetan frontiers, see Pär Kristoffer Cassel, *Grounds of Judgment: Extraterritoriality and Imperial Power in Nineteenth Century China and Japan* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Tian Huan 田歡, “Governing Imperial Borders: Insights from the Study of the Implementation of Law in Qing Xinjiang” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2012); Max Gordon Oidtmann, “Between Patron and Priest: Amdo Tibet under Qing Rule 1791–1911” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013).

emperor in 1749 that the Han Chinese settlers and Mongol natives in Mongolia should not be punished differently according to different laws. This proposal seemed to be accepted and a shift from the principle of ethnicity to that of territoriality was supposed to be made. In 1761 the provisions of the *Menggu lüli* 蒙古律例 (Mongol code with substatutes) were changed so that Mongols would be subject to the Qing code if they committed crimes in China proper and Han Chinese would be subject to the Mongol code if they committed crimes in Mongolia. However, it was unclear if this rule was actually put into practice because the legal cases in which the Han Chinese were judged based on the Mongol code have not been found and many post-1761 regulations also violated this principle. No matter which principle was actually adopted by the Qing authority, the separation of Mongol and Han Chinese jurisdiction and trial was kept until the end of the Qing dynasty and the Mongol code was never abolished by the Qing court even though it was gradually influenced by the Han Chinese tradition of law since the Kangxi period.²⁰

Not only did separation of Mongol and Han Chinese administration and jurisdiction exist in Inner Mongolia, but Mongol-Han segregation was also implemented. The Qing government was cautious concerning Mongol and Han Chinese living together causing ethnic conflicts.²¹

²⁰ Here for the detail of this separation of Mongol and Han Chinese legal systems, this policy shift, and its evaluation, I rely on Dorothea Heuschert, "Legal Pluralism in the Qing Empire: Manchu Legislation for the Mongols," *The International History Review* 20, no. 2 (1998): 310–324. For the general introduction to Mongol law in history, see Valentin A. Riazanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1965) and *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes: Mongols, Buriats, Kalmucks*, pt. 1–3 (Westport, CT: Hyperion Press, 1979); Dorothea Heuschert, *Die Gesetzgebung der Qing für die Mongolen im 17. Jahrhundert anhand des Mongolischen Gesetzbuches aus der Kangxi-Zeit, 1662–1722* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998); Hagihara Mamoru 萩原守, "Mongol Law of Qing Dynasty and Judgement System in Mongolia," *Bulletin of Kobe University of Mercantile Marine* 1 (2000): 195–200 and "The Formats of Juridical Documents in Mongolia during the Qing Period and Their Origins," *The Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 64 (2006): 101–124; Shimada Masao, *Shinchō Mōkorei no kenkyū* 清朝蒙古例の研究 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1982) and *Shinchō mōkorei no jikkōsei no kenkyū*; Frédéric Constant, "Questions autour du pluralisme juridique sous les Qing," *Études chinoises* 26 (Juin 2007): 245–255; Hu Ying 胡穎, "Justice on the Steppe: Legal Institutions and Practice in Qing Mongolia" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2014).

²¹ This concern also existed in Qing maritime borderland. See John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600–1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 332.

Under the ethnic segregation between the Mongols and Hans, intermarriage between Han Chinese men and Mongol women was not allowed. Han Chinese migration, reclamation and trade in Inner Mongolia were also prohibited, except by those obtaining special permission from the Qing government. Han Chinese were also not allowed to have Mongolian names and houses in Mongolia. Loaning money to Mongols, trade in Uriankhai area, and becoming lamas, novices (Mo. *bandi*), or nuns (Mo. *čibyanča*) without official sanction were also illegal for Han Chinese.²²

However, in practice, those regulations were loosely obeyed and a good many Qing officials showed the lack of will to enforce the laws. The officialdom was not sold on the policies of separation that they were implementing. While conducting the survey of Han Chinese in Mongolia, the local Qing officers often muddled up their job and fabricated their reports to Beijing. This emerges from a recent study from the Mongolian archives of the Kharachin Middle banner, from 1748 to 1778, the figures of the commoners and the area of their farmland were the same as the ones of 1748 in the report submitted to the Court of Dependencies. However, we can tell that the number of Han Chinese settlers had actually increased since the number of the sub-prefectures and counties were added accordingly. Therefore, we know that after 1748, the banner officers did not conduct any substantial survey of Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia.²³ Another evidence is the deportation of Han Chinese settlers around the Kharaa Riverbank near Khüriye in 1823. In this case, the Han Chinese settlers in Ibeng area were never expelled and had no arguments with local Mongols. By bribing the local officials, those Han Chinese were tacitly allowed to build houses there. In 1822, the *janggins* (secretary) of managing Han Chinese merchants and commoners in Khüriye went to Ibeng with the Zaisang Lama under the

²² Li, “Dingbian zuo fu jiangjun zhidu kao,” 92.

²³ See Zhusa [Jusaal], *18–20 shiji chu dongbu Nei Menggu nonggeng cunluohua yanjiu*, 39–42.

Jibzundamba Khutugtu and found many Han Chinese settlers. However, they were neither reported nor expelled. The *janggins* simply replied to the Court of Dependencies that no Han Chinese settlers were found as before.²⁴ The Qing government would be reluctant to intervene in the Mongol-Han conflicts except in cases where disputes had already happened. Some case studies concerning those issues in Mongolia have been done.²⁵ But so far a systematic and substantial study has been conducted on the formation of Qing borderland society while Han Chinese and Manchu settlers who crossed the geo-ethno-legal border to Mongolia and their integration and adaptation in Mongolia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has not been studied. This phenomenon was first indicated by Lattimore, much repeated, but little documented.²⁶ But with the case of Han Chinese settlers and their descendants in Khalkha Mongolia we might be able to look into this untold history and actually document it.

As we know, Han Chinese presence in Khalkha was in small scale and also was not well-documented before the Qing dynasty. More Han Chinese merchants started to enter Khalkha after the second half of the seventeenth century and they firstly served the Qing armies in Khalkha as supply agents with the submission of Khalkha in 1691 and later during the Qing-Zünghar wars from 1696 to 1755. Therefore, Han Chinese penetration into Mongolia was in line with Qing interests and fueled by the Qing rulers.

²⁴ Li Hwa-yen 李華彥, “Cong kulun kemin jingkong’an lijie Qingchao Jiaqing Daoguang shiqi dui Menggu de tongzhi 從庫倫客民京控案理解清朝嘉慶、道光時期對蒙古的統治,” in ‘*Qingdai lümeng Shanxi shangren ji Guangdong hangshang shiliao yandu gongzuofang’ huiyi lunwenji* 清代旅蒙山西商人暨廣東行商史料研讀工作坊」會議論文集 (Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan. October 26, 2012), 113.

²⁵ For those case studies, see Charles R. Bawden, “A Document Concerning Chinese Farmers in Outer Mongolia in the Eighteenth Century,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 36 (1982): 47–55; Henry Serruys, “A Study of Chinese Penetration into Čaqar Territory in the Eighteenth Century,” *Monumenta Serica* 35 (1981–1983): 485–544 and “Two Complaints from Wang Banner, Ordos, Regarding Banner Administration and Chinese Colonization (1905),” *Monumenta Serica* 34 (1979–1980): 471–511; Borjigin Burensain, “The Complex Structure of Ethnic Conflict in the Frontier: Through the Debates around the ‘Jindandao Incident’ in 1891,” *Inner Asia* 6 (2004): 41–60.

²⁶ Owen Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1969).

According to M. Sanjdorj, the Han Chinese merchants began to arrive in Khalkha Mongolia between 1691 and the 1720s. The first Han Chinese merchants mainly distributed themselves near monasteries (such as Yeke Khüriye or Erdeni Zuu), residences of Mongol princes, or military camps.²⁷ Based on headquarters in cities, the Han Chinese traders gradually penetrated the countryside in Mongolia. Among them, the biggest company was Dashengkui 大盛魁 of Shanxi province.²⁸ Lacking cash money, Mongol princes, banner offices, and monasteries depended on Chinese firms for essential financial services which enabled them to meet the demands of the Qing authority. Ordinary Mongols relied on Han Chinese merchants for shipping merchandise from China proper, such as tea, cloth, and other daily commodities. To some extent, Han Chinese merchants were welcomed by Mongols as suppliers of cash and merchandise. However, the Han Chinese merchants also offered Mongol princes and herders loans and asked for excessive interest, which was illegal during the Qing period. Since Mongolia lacked cash, Mongol nobilities, lamas, and herders had to pay off their debt with products, such as animals or furs. Han Chinese creditors often exploited Mongols by underestimating the value of Mongolian products. Therefore, Mongol society was heavily impoverished by the Han Chinese exploitation.²⁹ This made the relations between Mongol and Han Chinese merchants complicated. The estimation of the Mongol debt is still not clear and the amounts varied according to different sources. By 1884, the total sum of the public debt owed by the eastern

²⁷ Sanjdorj, *Manchu Chinese Colonial Rule in Northern Mongolia*, 27–28.

²⁸ On Dashengkui, see Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Nei Menggu zizhiqiu weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui 中國人民政治協商會議內蒙古自治區委員會文史資料研究委員會, ed., *Lü Meng shang Dashengkui* 旅蒙商大盛魁. *Nei Menggu wenshi ziliao* 內蒙古文史資料, no. 12 (Höhhhot: Inner Mongolia Literature and History Book Company, 1984) and D. Bazardorj, *Ar Mongol dakh' "Da Shen Kii" buyuu Daashinkhüü püüs* (Ulaanbaatar: Bit Press, 2015).

²⁹ Lu Minghui 盧明輝 and Liu Yankun 劉衍坤, *Lü Meng shang: 17 shiji zhi 20 shiji zhongyuan yu Menggu diqu de maoyi guanxi* 旅蒙商：17世紀至20世紀中原與蒙古地區的貿易關係 (Beijing: China Commercial Publishing House, 1995), 152–153.

three leagues and the Great Shabi (personal subjects of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu) of Khalkha Mongolia was up to 1,800,000 taels of silver.³⁰ An amount of debt equaling around three percent of the annual revenue from land and commercial tax of the Qing Empire in 1885.³¹ If the private debt were also taken into account, the total amount would be several times higher than the public one alone. According to an early-twentieth century Japanese source, each Mongol household made a loan from Han Chinese merchants around 500 to 1,000 taels of silver and each Mongol banner had an average loan up to 11,000,000 taels of silver by 1911.³² This figure seems to be exaggerated, but it tells us how heavy the Mongol debt could have been at the end of Qing rule. The Mongols wanted to get rid of the Chinese merchants along with their public debt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. After the proclamation of independence of Mongolia in 1911, Chinese merchants were devastated by Russian merchants in Mongolia. By 1923, many of Chinese merchants could not sustain their businesses and withdrew from Mongolia.

However, the Qing archives preserved in the National Central Archives of Mongolia open a window to probe into a less-documented history of Mongol-Han interaction. In tradition, Mongol nobility and commoners usually offered humans, including subjects and orphans, herds or cash to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu. All of the offering was managed by the Office of Erdeni Shangdzodba's Great Shabi (Mo. *Yeke šabi-yin erdeni šangjodba-yin yamun*). The Shangdzodba was the treasurer of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu. This body was in charge of the secular matters of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's ecclesiastical and lay disciples. The archives of this office are currently preserved in the National Central Archives of Mongolia under the holding (Mo. *fond*)

³⁰ See Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, s.v. Chinese trade and moneylending.

³¹ The annual revenue from land and commercial tax of the Qing Empire in 1885 rounded up to 65,580,000 taels of silver. See Lin Man-houng 林滿紅, *China Upside Down: Currency, Society, and Ideologies, 1808–1856* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 280.

³² Kashiwabara Takahisa 柏原孝久 and Hamada Jun'ichi 浜田純一, *Mōko chishi* 蒙古地誌 (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1919), 1: 739–757.

number M85. The archival records of Han Chinese offerings to the Great Shabi concern how the Mongol wives and children of the Han Chinese merchants or farmers who settled in Khalkha Mongolia were presented to the Great Shabi (Mo. *yeke šabi*), lay disciples and personal subjects of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu, from 1768 to 1830.

However, except for those voluntary migrations, there were also involuntary ones which have been pointed out by some modern scholars and in contemporary, oral history. Those were Manchu *ingji* bondservants in Inner Mongolia.

*Manchu Presence in Mongolia in History and Manchu-Mongol Marital Alliance
in Eurasian Context*

Since the Mongol conquest of Manchuria in the early thirteenth century, the Jurchens, as the ancestors of the Manchus, had established a close relationship with the Mongols. Although the Mongols retreated from China proper in 1368, they still posed an intimidating threat to the newly-founded Ming dynasty. The Ming dynasty supported the Three Eastern Commendaries or Three Guards (Ch. *sanwei* 三衛) of the Uriyangkhad, led by Mongol princes of Chinggis Khan's brother's line in East Mongolia against the Mongols under Chinggisid rule and the Jurchens in Manchuria. However, it was difficult to break the interaction between the Mongols and the Jurchens. Many Jurchens stayed in East Mongolia under the Three Guards. Officials were appointed to handle affairs concerning Jurchen residents in the Three Guards.³³ Intermarriage between the two groups was also found. For example, Li Manzhu 李滿住 (1407–1467), the leader of the Jianzhou 建州 Jurchens, married a woman from the Uriyangkhad. They even

³³ *Ming Yingzong shilu* 明英宗實錄, in *Ming shilu* 明實錄, vols. 22–38, ed. Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1966), *juan* 104, 2101.

sometimes united to invade the Ming territory for plunder.³⁴ After the rise of Nurhachi (1559–1626) in Manchuria, a new mode of Manchu migration into Mongolia emerged, that is, Manchu princesses and their Manchu dowry bondservants. This kind of migration was closely linked with Manchu-Mongol marital alliance.

As other early modern Eurasian empires and previous non-Han Chinese dynasties, the Manchu Qing Empire used strategic marriage to form foreign alliances and generated human movement from time to time. In Europe, the royal families of the Spanish Empire, which were called a composite monarchy, combined families and territories and expanded the empire through marital alliance.³⁵ In the Mongol Empire and later the Yuan dynasty, Chinggis Khan and his successors also rewarded foreign rulers who voluntarily joined the Mongol camp with female Chinggisid members and formed marital alliances. For example, Barchuq Art Tegin, the *idug-qut* (Holy Majesty) and king of the Uyghurs in Turpan, who was the first leader of the sedentary state, submitted to the Mongol Empire.³⁶

³⁴ For the early Ming-Mongol relationship, see Wada Sei 和田清, *Tōa shi kenkyū* 東亞史研究, vol. 2 *Mōko hen* 蒙古篇 (Tokyo: Tōyō bunko, 1959); Dmitrii Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming Dynasty from 1368 to 1634*, trans. Rudolf Lowenthal (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1976); Henry Serruys, *The Mongols in China during the Hung-wu Period (1368–1398)* (Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte-Catherine, 1959). For the Mongol-Jurchen relationship in history, see Zhou Jinghong 周競紅, “Lun Mingdai Wuliangha sanwei yu dong xi Menggu, nüzhen de guanxi 論明代兀良哈三衛與東西蒙古、女真的關係,” *Nei Menggu shehui kexue* 內蒙古社會科學, no. 4 (1992): 85–90.

³⁵ For the composite monarchy, see J. H. Elliott, “A Europe of Composite Monarchies,” *Past and Present* 137 (Nov., 1992): 48–71.

³⁶ For the Mongol-Uighur royal intermarriage and alliance, see Thomas T. Allsen, “The Yüan Dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th Century,” in *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries*, ed. Morris Rossabi (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 243–280. For the comparison between the modes of imperial marriage of non-Han (including Mongol Yuan and the Manchu Qing dynasties) and Han Chinese dynasties, see Jennifer Holmgren, “Imperial Marriage in the Native Chinese and Non-Han State, Han to Ming,” and Evelyn S. Rawski, “Ch’ing Imperial Marriage and Problems of Rulership,” in *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*, eds. Rubie Watson and Patricia Buckley Ebrey (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 58–96, 170–203. For systematic research on Mongol imperial marriage during imperial era, see George Qingzhi Zhao 趙清治, *Marriage as Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008).

In the rise of the Manchu regime, the Mongols were powerful neighbors, who could be both a threat and an ally. In order to take advantage of the power of the Mongols and conquer the Ming Empire, Nurhachi, the great khan of the Jurchen Jin state and the predecessor of the Manchu Qing dynasty, was eager to win Mongol's support and Khorchin was his first target. In the beginning, Nurhachi displayed the superior military prowess of the Manchus over the Mongols with the victory of the battle against the Yehe Jurchen and Khorchin Mongol in 1593. This showed the Khorchin princes that the Manchus were a powerful regime worthy of forming an alliance with. The following year, the Khorchin prince Minggan dispatched an embassy to make peace with the Manchus. In 1612, Nurhachi asked Minggan to form a marital alliance between the Manchus and the Khorchin Mongol and his request was granted by Minggan. Minggan sent his daughter to marry Nurhachi. This was the beginning of Manchu-Mongol marital alliance.³⁷

On the side of Eastern Mongols, the Khorchin princes needed a powerful ally to resist Ligdan Khan's encroachment since at that time the Khorchin Mongols were under threat of Ligdan Khan of the Chakhar Mongols, who aimed to centralize the Mongols by force. The newly-ascendant Manchus seemed to be a reliable and promising protector. On the side of the Manchus, who had been attempting to draw the Khorchin Mongols to their camp, this was a good chance. From 1615 onward, the Khorchin Mongols dispatched over ten envoys and intermarriage between the Khorchin Mongol nobility and the Manchu ruling family increased. In 1614, Minggan's brother Manggus married his daughter to Hong Taiji, who succeeded to

³⁷ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 4–9. The Ming contemporary border officials also noticed the formation of Manchu-Mongol marital alliance generation by generation. See Feng Yuan 馮瑗, *Kaiyuan tushuo* 開原圖說, in *Jiubian tushuo*, *Kaiyuan tushuo* 九邊圖說、開原圖說 (Taipei: Cheng Chung Book Company, 1981), *juan* 2, 5-448. For imperial Manchu women and their marriages, see Rawski, *The Last Emperors*; Wang Shuo 王碩, "Qing Imperial Women: Empresses, Concubines, and Aisin Gioro Daughters," in *Servants of the Dynasty: Palace Women in World History*, ed. Anne Walthall (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 137–158.

Nurhachi's throne. In 1625, Manggus's son Jayisang married his daughter Bumbutai to Hong Taiji. She later became the famous Xiaozhuang Empress Dowager and the Kangxi emperor's grandmother. In 1626, responding to Khorchin prince Oba's request, Nurhachi married his grandniece Junje princess (Ch. Dunzhe 敦哲, Mo. *Jūnĵe gūngjū*, his younger brother Shurgachi's granddaughter) to Oba.³⁸ This was the first time that a woman of Nurhachi's family had married a Mongol prince. It is fair to say, Khorchin Mongol was the first Mongol group to build a mutual political and military alliance with the Manchus. Khorchin Mongol also kept the marital alliance with the Manchus from the establishment to the end of the Qing Empire. The Mongols have been seen as a key ally for the Manchus and made a great contribution to the establishment and the success of the great enterprise of the Qing Empire.³⁹

In terms of the geographical distribution of those Mongol nobility which established marital alliance with the Manchu imperial family, Inner Mongols constituted the largest part of them. Among Inner Mongols, those nobles in the eastern three leagues (Jirim, Josotu, and Juu Uda), such as Khorchin, Kharachin, Tūmed, Aohan, Baarin, Naiman, and Ongni'ud, kept the practice of Manchu-Mongol marital alliance until the end of the Qing dynasty.⁴⁰

In essence, Manchu-Mongol marital alliance was the intermarriage between Manchu imperial and Mongolian noble families. Those Mongols were formerly of imperial or noble origins, mainly the Borjigid (Chinggis Khan's and his brother's descendants), Uriyangkhan (descendants of Chinggis Khan's general Jelme) and Choros (the ruling family of the Zūnghar). After those Mongols submitted themselves to the Manchu emperors, they still kept an

³⁸ *Manzhou shilu* 滿洲實錄, in *Qing shilu*, vol. 1, *juan* 8, 406–407.

³⁹ Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 et al., eds, *Qing shi gao* 清史稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1976), *juan* 209, 8311. For the establishment of the Qing Empire and Manchu-Mongol relations, see Nicola Di Cosmo and Bao Dalizhabu (B. Darijab), *Manchu-Mongol Relations on the Eve of the Qing Conquest: A Documentary History* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

⁴⁰ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yanjiu*, 235.

autonomous status. For those Mongols who were incorporated into the Eight Banners system of the Manchus, their intermarriage with the Manchu imperial families should be considered internal intermarriage of the Manchus.

The early Manchu rulers were apt to shape Manchu-Mongol relations with marriage diplomacy, in both defensive and offensive senses. The marriage promise could establish mutual trust and confidence between Manchu and Mongol rulers and constitute a *casus belli* when it was broken. For example, while Tüshiyetü Khan Oba of the Khorchin Mongol married Nurhachi's niece, he placed his Chakhar wife above the Manchu bride. This act offended Hong Taiji and led him not to trust Oba as his in-law and ally. When Hong Taiji denounced Oba for his "three crimes and nine sins," Oba's mistreatment of his Manchu bride was mentioned among the misbehaviors and Hong Taiji demanded that Oba return his Manchu wife and threatened to cut off all relationship with Oba, which would make Oba vulnerable to pressure from Ligdan Khan. Ultimately, Oba succumbed to Hong Taiji's pressure and asked Hong Taiji to pardon him for his offense.⁴¹

Apart from the Manchu princesses themselves, another movement of people involved in the Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage was that of human dowry. It has been mentioned above that a Manchu princess who married a Mongol prince would move to Mongolia with her dowry. As Jack Goody said, "dowry involves the transmission of property at marriage."⁴² In the case of Manchu imperial princesses, the property consisted of goods, livestock, and people. With regard to the goods, those were mainly exquisite handicrafts made by Han Chinese and Manchu

⁴¹ For the marriage diplomacy between Manchu and Mongol rulers in the early 17th century, see Nicola Di Cosmo, "Marital Politics on the Manchu-Mongol Frontier in the Early Seventeenth Century," in *The Chinese State at the Borders*, ed. Diana Lary (Vancouver & Toronto: UBC Press, 2007), 57–73.

⁴² Jack Goody, "Bridewealth and Dowry in Africa and Eurasia," in *Bridewealth and Dowry*, by Jack Goody and S. J. Tambiah (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 1.

craftsmen of the Imperial Household Department. In terms of the people, those were mostly Manchu *booi* bondservants and farmer households led by village heads (Ch. *zhuangtou* 莊頭, Ma. *jangturi*). Since this practice will be discussed extensively in the next chapter, here only the formal regulations of this practice will be introduced.

The institution of *ingji* originally can be found in the Mongol Empire, and the term *ingji* referred to the dowry bondservants bestowed on an aristocratic bride by her father. They were supposed to be the bride's share of her father's subjects and support the bride in the groom's family. This practice existed at least since the Kereyid khanate in the twelfth century.⁴³ In the era of the Mongol Empire, each Mongol noble's wife had her own *ordo* (palace tent) and the personnel and servants were partially formed from the *ingjis* she received at her marriage. For example, Ahmad Fanakati (d. 1282) originally served Chabui before she became the empress of Qubilai Khan (b. 1215, r. 1260–1294). Later, he entered the Yuan court with Chabui as her *ingji* and was entrusted by Qubilai Khan to be his financial minister.⁴⁴ Although the Mongol-Oirat Code (Mo. *Mongγol-Oirad čayaǰa*) of 1640 prescribed to Mongols that *ingji* should be mainly livestock except in the case of distinguished aristocrats, the practice of human dowry was widened after the Manchu-Mongol marital alliance was formed. In Mongolia under Qing rule, *ingjis* went to the family of an *efu* (imperial son-in-law) with a Manchu princess as human dowry

⁴³ In the *Secret History of the Mongols* (§ 140), Jaqa Gambu, Ong Khan's younger brother, once gave his daughter Ibaqa Beki two hundred servants as dowry. For the details, see Igor de Rachewiltz trans., *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, 2nd imp. with corr. (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 141, 791–792.

⁴⁴ The history of Ahmad's service of Chabui is not found in *Yuan shi* 元史 (The History of the Yuan Dynasty), but in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles). See W. M. Thackston, trans., Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'ut-t-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA.: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998), 448. For the biography of Ahmad, see Song Lian 宋濂 et al. eds., *Yuan shi* 元史 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1976), *juan* 205, 4558–4564; Igor de Rachewiltz, Chan Hok-lam 陳學霖, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 蕭啟慶, and Peter W. Geier, eds., *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1993), 539–557. For Ahmad as *ingji*, see Liu Yingsheng 劉迎勝, "Cong Ahema de shenfen tanqi 從阿合馬的身份談起," *Yuanshi Luncong* 元史論叢, vol. 9 (Beijing: China Radio and Television Publishing House, 2004): 136–150.

and as servants. This became part of the institutionalized practice of Manchu-Mongol marital alliance.⁴⁵

In history, nativization of those dowry bondservants accompanied with a princess to a new environment was not rare. During the Yuan period, the Mongol great khans married imperial princesses to Korean princes and kings to form Mongol-Korean marital alliances. Many people were selected to be human dowry of the Mongol princesses and went to Korea. They were also called “family members” (Ch. *qieliangkou* 怯憐口, Mo. *ger-iin kümüin* or *ger-iin köbüd*).⁴⁶ Many of them had stayed in the Korean court and some had become important ministers. For example, Bian Anlie 邊安烈 (K. Pyön Anryöl, 1334–1390) was appointed as one of the three generals and accompanied Budashri (Ch. Baotashili 寶塔失里, ?–1365), the great senior princess of Luguó (Ch. *Luguó da zhang gongzhu* 魯國大長公主) and the queen of the King Gongmin 恭愍 (1330–1374) of Koryŏ 高麗, to Korea in 1349. He later settled in Korea, married a daughter of a Korean minister, and became an eminent general and powerful minister in the court of the Koryŏ kingdom.⁴⁷ These Manchu *ingji* bondservants arrived in Mongolia with Manchu princesses who were arranged to marry with Mongol princes as their guards and servants. This group of people and institution were relevant to the Manchu-Mongol marital

⁴⁵ For Manchu-Mongol marital alliance as institution, see Du Jiayi, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yanjiu*, 241–257.

⁴⁶ For example, a Mongol official Qula’adai (Ch. Huladai 忽刺歹), later known as In Hu (Ch. Yin Hou 印侯, 1250–1311), was chosen to accompany the great senior princess of Qiguo (Ch. *Qiguo da zhang gongzhu* 齊國大長公主, 1259–1297), the queen of King Ch’ungnyŏr 忠烈, back to Korea in 1274. He was seen as a “family member” of the great senior princess of Qiguo. For his life in Korea, see Shu Jian 舒健, “Qieliankou yu Gaoli zhengju chutan—yi Menggu ren Yin Hou weili 怯憐口與高麗政局關係初探——以蒙古人印侯為例,” *Yuanshi ji minzu yu bianjiang yanjiu jikan* 元史及民族與邊疆研究集刊, vol. 23 (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2011): 36–45. For a general study on *ger-iin kö’üid* of Mongol imperial princesses in the Koryŏ kingdom under Yuan rule, see Li Jie 李杰, “Yuanchao ru Gaoli qieliangkou yanjiu 元朝入高麗怯憐口研究” (MA thesis, Yanbian University, 2015).

⁴⁷ For the study of Bian Anlie and the politics of the late Koryŏ kingdom, see Yeh Chuan-Hung 葉泉宏, *Chaoxian wangchao shida shi xin zhi yanjiu* 朝鮮王朝事大使行之研究 (New Taipei: Shang-ta United Co. Ltd, 2014), 12–25.

alliance during the Qing period. All of the Manchu princesses were stipulated to bring different numbers of Manchu bondservants as their dowry, including nurses, wet nurses, maidservants, bodyguards, cooks, and craftsmen. Most of those Manchu *ingji* bondservants were of Han Chinese origin, but some were of Manchu and Mongol origins. They arrived in Mongolia with the Manchu princesses. Though some of the Manchu *ingji* bondservants would be called back to Beijing after the Manchu princess died, the rest of them continued to stay in Mongolia hereafter as the Mongol princes' bondservants or tomb keepers of the late Manchu princesses generation by generation.

Once a Manchu *ingji* bondservant was chosen from the Imperial Household Department to be *ingji*, he or she would be removed from the register of the Imperial Household Department. It is reasonable to assume that they would acquire the autonomous Mongolian banner registration of Mongolia after their Manchu banner registrations were removed. This kind of status change or naturalization is an important mongolization marker for those Manchu *ingjis* and will be explored in detail in the fourth chapter.

Part I

The Great Shabi and Mongolization of Han Chinese Settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia

After Outer Mongolia submitted to the Qing Empire in 1691, Mongol-Han segregation was extended by the Qing government to Outer Mongolia. Inter-marriage between Mongol women and Han Chinese men was banned, and Chinese migration in Mongolia was prohibited without official permission. However, in practice, the Qing court did not have enough resources to enforce these regulations, and the Qing government only intervened when Mongol-Han disputes or conflicts happened. In spite of the segregation policy, some Han Chinese settlers (mostly merchants and farmers), violated the Qing laws, married Mongol women, raised children, and by learning the Mongol way of life managed to live peacefully with the Mongols in Mongolia. This part focuses on these mongolized Shanxi settlers and their descendants in Outer Mongolia. Drawing on Mongolian and Chinese sources, this part will delineate their background and life in Mongolia, demonstrate the changing process of their legal status and culture, and emphasize the critical institutional role of the Great Shabi, lay disciples of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu, in this process. Here I aim to explore the restrictions on migration created by the Qing regime based on legal status, the criteria that those Han Chinese settlers and their offspring needed to meet in order to be accepted and integrated into Mongolian society, and the limits of integration due to state policies and laws.

Chapter Two

The Great Shabi and Han Chinese Settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia

This chapter concerns the Great Shabi, the estate of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu, as the main mechanism of assimilating Han Chinese settlers and their descendants into Mongolian society. It begins with the origin and structure of the Great Shabi, and then conducted a survey on the relationship between the Great Shabi and Han Chinese settlers. At the end, the autonomous status of the Great Shabi is highlighted because the administrative and legal privileges it enjoyed could be seen as a pull factor in gaining the *shabi* status for the Han Chinese settlers.

The Origin and Structure of the Great Shabi

The origin of the Great Shabi was tightly linked with the development of Tibetan Buddhism in Khalkha region and the establishment of the incarnational system of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu.¹ The *shabi* (Mo. *šabi*) was a general term both for students and for monastic (or church) serfs and the Great Shabi (Mo. *yeke šabi*), in particular, was made up of disciples and personal subjects of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu. No matter whether one was a layman or lama, he would be seen as *shabi* once he was donated by his lord to or voluntarily sought refuge or help from the Jibzundamba Khutugtu. This institution came into being when the

¹ The Jibzundamba (T. rJe-btsun Dampa, Reverend Noble One) Khutugtu was the incarnate lama lineage and also the highest religious figure in Khalkha from 1639 to 1924. It was also known as the Bogda (Holy One) or Bogda Gegeen (Bogda Gegen as variant, Holy Brilliance) among Khalkha Mongols and Aru Bogda (Northern Holy One) among the Inner Mongols. It was believed that as the incarnation of Taranatha (1575–1634), the 'Jo-nang-pa hierarch visited Khalkha to preach Buddhism. During the time of the First Jibzundamba Khutugtu visiting Tibet, Taranatha's 'Jo-nang-pa lineage was claimed to be heresy and initiated into the dGe-lugs-pa (Yellow Hat) lineage by the Fifth Dalai Lama. For an introduction to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu, see Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, s.v. Jibzundamba Khutugtu.

princes of the seven banners of Khalkha Mongols² presented their subjects to Zanabazar (1635–1723), the First Jibzundamba Khutugtu, as offering of celebrating his enthronement in 1639.³ Since the subjects of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu were the largest such group of persons donated to an incarnate lama in Khalkha, they were called the Great Shabi.⁴ Later the population and wealth of the Great Shabi increased so much that Khalkha usually alluded to “the four *aimags* and the *shabi*” or even counted the *shabi* as the fifth *aimag*, albeit the Office of the Great Shabi did not have de-facto control of any territories, except the grasslands of the Darkhads.⁵

Later Mongol nobility and commoners continued to present humans (including subjects and orphans), herds, and cash to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu. Generally speaking, this kind of offering was due to one or more of five reasons: 1) to collect merits for their next life; 2) to patronize the Jibzundamba Khutugtu; 3) to let their relatives whose livelihoods were difficult be cared for by the Jibzundamba Khutugtu and his estate; 4) to evade obligatory services as border guards or patrols; 5) the Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia who married Mongol women offered their descendants to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu.⁶ The donations to the Great Shabi were mostly made by eastern Khalkha’s Tüshiyetü Khan’s *aimag*, and some by Setsen Khan’s *aimag*, the

² The seven banners was a term denoting all Khalkha people at that time.

³ Ts. Sonomdagva, *Manjiin zakhirgaand baisan üyeiin ar mongolyn zasag zakhirgaany zokhion baiguulalt (1691–1911)* (Ulaanbaatar: Mongolian Academy of Sciences Press, 1961), 92. Some scholars disagreed with 1639 being the year of Zanabazar’s enthronement. Tsedev argues that the year of his enthronement is 1640 (the White Metal Dragon year). See D. Tsedev, *Ikh shaw’* (Ulaanbaatar: Mongolian Academy of Sciences Press, 1964), 24. For the details of Zanabazar’s life, see Miaozhou 妙舟, “Zhebuzundanba zhuan lue 哲布尊丹巴傳略,” in *Qingdai Menggu gaoseng zhuan yiji* 清代蒙古高僧傳譯輯, ed. Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu zhongxin 中國社會科學院中國邊疆史地研究中心 (Beijing: China National Microfilming Center for Library Resources, 1990), 384–434, Charles R. Bawden, trans., *The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus of Urga* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1961), and L. Khürelbaatar, *Öndör Gegen-ü namtar* (Höhhhot: Inner Mongolian People’s Publishing House, 2009).

⁴ Tsedev, *Ikh shaw’*, 24.

⁵ Charles R. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 69.

⁶ Z. Ninjbadgar, *Jibzundamba khutagtyn shabiin zakhirгаа (XVII-XX zuuny ekhen)* (Ulaanbaatar: Arwin sudar, 2014), 15-16.

Shiliin Gol league of Inner Mongolia, and the Chakhars. Only few of the donations came from Khalkha's western *aimags*.⁷

In any of these donations made by Mongol commoners, the standard procedure was that a donator had to report this to his own banner *jasag* and master. Only after permission was granted by the banner authority, was this donation legally completed because this action involved changes in human and household registration. For example, in 1827 a Mongol *albatu* Gombo from Abaga banner of Inner Mongolia intended to present a boy Luusangdonjud, a purchased slave, to the Great Shabi as a disciple for his late grandfather's merit. But in the process of application Gombo had to report to not only the Jibzundamba Khutugtu and the Erdeni Shangdzodba, but also his banner prince and *taijis*. Since Gombo was a subject (*albatu*) of Taiji Erinchin, Gombo had to report any transfer of a person from one unit (Taiji Erinchin's) to another (the Shabi).⁸

The basic administrative unit of the Great Shabi was *otog* (Mo. *otoγ*).⁹ In the 18th century, the laymen of the Great Shabi were originally divided into twelve *otogs* (camp districts), distributed mainly in both the *aimags* of Tüshiyetü Khan and Setsen Khan, with the Darkhad in today's Khöwsgöl area. But the number soon expanded to seventeen. These *otogs* were called seventeen "large *otogs*" (Mo. *yeke otoγ*). Each *shabi* possessed their own exclusive land. A lay *jayisang* was assigned to administer each *otog*.¹⁰ The largest *otog* could consist of two to three hundred households: as large as a small banner and as small as twenty to thirty. Below *otogs*,

⁷ Tsedev, *Ikh shaw'*, 26.

⁸ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 92a-92b (DG7, VI, 25).

⁹ Why was *otog* still kept as the basic organization of the Great Shabi, not organized in *sumu* like other Mongol banners? Tayama argues that the reason would be that the Qing dynasty recognized the religious authority of Tibetan Buddhism and allowed the Great Shabi to keep their original household organization. See Tayama, *Shindai ni okeru Mōko no shakai seido*, 185.

¹⁰ A *jayisang* was responsible for investigating the numbers of the population, households, and livestock of the disciples and the revenue of the temples in Khüriye. For details of *jayisang*, see Ninjbadgar, *Jibzundamba khutagtyn shabiin zakhirгаа (XVII–XX zuuny ekhen)*, 71–72.

there were fifties or *bags (teams)*, headed by *sigülenggis* and the tens, headed by *darugas*.¹¹

Later with the population growth and new donation, the number of the *otogs* increased to thirty, seventy-five, and reached two hundred in the late Qing period.¹² For example, in 1905, there were seventeen large *otogs*, ninety-three small *otogs*, thirty independent *bags*, and five *khesegs (segments)* in other monasteries in the countryside, such as Erdene Zuu.¹³ Below shows the twenty-seven large *otogs* in 1915 which reflected the main structure of the Great Shabi during the late Qing period.¹⁴

No.	Large <i>otog</i> Designation	No.	Large <i>otog</i> Designation
1	<i>Daruga Sanji's otog</i> of West Khüriye	15	Lubsangnima's <i>otog</i> of Kharaga
2	<i>Daruga Dulamjab's otog</i> of West Khüriye	16	<i>Daruga Sükhe's otog</i> (Jablin)
3	<i>Daruga Mördindub's otog</i> of West Khüriye	17	Tabunang's <i>otog</i> headed by <i>daruga</i> Tseringdindub
4	<i>Daruga Dindub's otog</i> of the Erdeni Nomun Khan	18	Kheidchin's <i>otog</i> headed by <i>daruga</i> Damjin
5	Sonomdarjiya's <i>otog</i>	19	<i>Daruga</i> of Kheidchin Tunsag's <i>otog</i>
6	<i>Jayisang Süren's otog</i> of Shadar	20	Erkhe's <i>otog</i> headed by <i>khiya</i> Gombojab
7	<i>Daruga Shatar's otog</i> of the Tungalag Belgetü Khutugtu's territory	21	Erkhe's <i>otog</i> headed by <i>daruga</i> Tsendekhüü

¹¹ Sonomdagva, *Manjiin zakhirgaand baisan üyeiin ar mongolyn zasag zakhirgaany zokhion baiguulalt (1691–1911)*, 109. All of those official titles are of pre-Qing origins, not Qing creations, although B. Vladimirtsov points out that the term *sigülenggi* has a Manchu root of *šule* (tax collector). But Henry Serruys rejects this theory and argues that the Manchu word *šulinge* was in fact derived from the Mongolian one *sigülengge*, which had a Chinese etymology: i.e. *shouling* 首領 (leader). On the origins of those titles, see B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols: le féodalisme nomade*, trans. Michal Carsow (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1948), 181 and Henry Serruys, “Siülengge ~ šülengge,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 92, no. 1 (Jan. – Mar., 1972): 92–95.

¹² Tsedev, *Ikh shaw'*, 30. Ninjbadgar, *Jibzundamba khutagtyn shabiin zakhirгаа (XVII–XX зууны екhen)*, 77.

¹³ Sonomdagva, *Manjiin zakhirgaand baisan üyeiin ar mongolyn zasag zakhirgaany zokhion baiguulalt (1691–1911)*, 109.

¹⁴ Ts. Sonomdagva, *Mongol улсын засаг, зakhirгааны зokhion баигуулалтын өөрчлөлт, shinechlelt (1691–2013)*, exp. Ch. Banzragch, O. Batsaikhan, S. Ichinnorov, and Ts. Enkhee (Ulaanbaatar: Bembi san, 2013), 308–309.

8	<i>Daruga</i> Shagdar's <i>otog</i> of the Tungalag Belgetü Khutugtu's territory	22	Erkhe's <i>otog</i> headed by <i>daruga</i> Bütümji
9	<i>Daruga</i> Sandüi's <i>otog</i> of the Tungalag Belgetü Khutugtu's territory	23	Erkhe's <i>otog</i> headed by <i>daruga</i> Sambuu
10	<i>Jayisang</i> Solikhüü's <i>otog</i> of Yekhe Bargu	24	Manjshri's <i>otog</i> headed by <i>jayisang daruga</i> Jodob
11	<i>Daruga</i> Oyidob's <i>otog</i> of Güyen	25	The Darkhad's <i>otog</i> headed by <i>jayisang daruga</i> Bijiya
12	<i>Jayisang daruga</i> Ochir's <i>otog</i> of the Erdeni Khambo Khutugtu	26	The Darkhad's Northern <i>otog</i> headed by <i>jayisang daruga lama</i> Lubsangsonom
13	<i>Jayisang daruga</i> Geserjab's <i>otog</i> of Kharaga	27	The Darkhad's West <i>otog</i> headed by <i>jayisang</i> <i>lama</i> Choiyang
14	Mördindub's <i>otog</i> headed by <i>Jayisang daruga</i> of Mergen		

Table 1 The Twenty-seven Large *otogs* of the Great Shabi in 1915

The lamas were divided into *aimags*. These *aimags* were not the same as the *aimag* of Tüsiyetü Khan or Setsen Khan, but rather meant a division in a Buddhist monastery. This system was introduced to Outer Mongolia in 1652 by the first Jibzundamba Khutugtu after he returned from Tibet. He followed the model of the seven divisions of the Drepung (T. *'bras-spungs*) monastery in Lhasa and established seven *aimags* in the Nom-un Yekhe Khüriye (Great Monastery of the Dharma), also as known as Re-bu or Baraibung-Gejai-Gandan-Shaddubling (T. *ri-bo dge-rgyas dga-ldan bshad-sgrub gling*) or East Khüriye.¹⁵ Later the number of *aimags* expanded to twenty-eight in East Khüriye and four for Gandan-Techinling in West Khüriye at

¹⁵ See A. M. Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, ed. John Krueger, trans. John Roger Shaw and Dale Plank, vol. 1: 1892 (1971; repr., London: Curzon Press, 1997), 328. The *aimag* designations are modified to conform to the transcription format in this work.

the end of the Qing Dynasty and ultimately reached 30 before the institution was dissolved in 1924. Below is the list of the twenty-eight *aimags* of East Khüriye in 1889¹⁶.

No.	<i>Aimag</i> Designation	Number of Lamas	No.	<i>Aimag</i> Designation	Number of Lamas
1	Amduunar	600	15	Bargu	200
2	Makhamaya	550	16	Gatdublin	450
3	Jisa ¹⁷	500	17	Bandita ¹⁸	400
4	Sang	1,100	18	Jamyang sunga	600
5	Nomchi	400	19	Mergen nomun khan	350
6	Zoog	1,000	20	Lamanar	250
7	Dugar ¹⁹	500	21	Ürluud	450
8	Mergen khambo	350	22	Shülteen	1,000
9	Bizeya	400	23	Dondubling	300
10	Khüükhen noyan	300	24	Taisum-ling	400
11	Darkhan emchi	400	25	Doyinkhor ²⁰ -ling	350
12	Erkhe-yin toyin	700	26	Tsetsen toyin	650
13	Wang	500	27	Jidar	300
14	Erdeni khubilgan	450	28	Dashi-ling ²¹	400

Table 2 The Twenty-eight *aimags* of East Khüriye in 1889

The Amduunar *aimag* was named after the native place of those lamas who belonged to that *aimag*. They were from Amdo (Kökenuur) and followed Zanabazar back to Mongolia to give the people religious instructions because they were famous for erudition.²² Among those *aimags*,

¹⁶ Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, vol. 1, 52. I want to thank Dr. György Kara for helping me figure out the philological etymology of several names.

¹⁷ Jisa should be T. *spyi-sa*, place of common ownership.

¹⁸ It should be S. *Paṇḍita*, scholars who have mastered the five sciences.

¹⁹ Dugar is the Mongol distortion of T. *gdugs-dkar*, S. *Sitātapatrā*, name of the Tantric symbolic goddess of White Umbrella.

²⁰ Doyinkhor should be T. *dus-'khor*, S. *Kālacakra*, wheel of time.

²¹ It should be T. *bkra-shis gling*, island of good luck.

²² Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, vol. 1, 44.

some were of different responsibilities. The Jisa (also written as *jas*) *aimag* was responsible for the livelihood of monasteries and preparation of food and tea for monks; the Sang *aimag* served as the bursar of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu; the Zoog *aimag* was assigned to prepare food for the Jibzundamba Khutugtu.²³ Each *aimag* had a large yurt attached to a wooden structure as its own assembly hall (Mo. *duyang*, T. 'du-khang) and Buddhist images were kept there. However, since the lamas were all men, the nuns (Mo. *čibayanča*) were not subject to a specific administrative institution.

From 1719 to 1811, the donation from the khans of the four *aimags* of Khalkha and many Inner Mongolian princes (mostly from the Shiliin Gol league) to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu continued and in total there were 17,100 people (including 6,383 monks, 2,257 laymen, and 8,460 women and children), 3,786 households, 50,568 heads of large cattle, and 126,612 small cattle presented to the Great Shabi.²⁴

On the statistics of the population, household, and herds of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's Great Shabi, Tsedev conducted a comprehensive study and summarized his results in a table, based on the archives of the Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences.²⁵ Here I reproduce his table below:

Year	Household	Monk	Layman	Horse	Camel	Cattle	Sheep & Goat	Reindeer & Antelope	Otog
1764	8,513	8,412	61,286	102,013	11,117	203,201	117,533		
1773	12,122	11,267	72,604	211,491	21,066	215,928	1,775,413	259	
1776	12,441	12,069	73,354	24,479	225,389	227,550	1,544,641	226	
1788	14,670	14,873	75,054	37,896	29,747	39,484	144,734	97	
1792	14,889	15,339	76,415	289,130	29,611	332,516	1,257,938		
1794	15,262	16,153	78,270	304,676	31,758	334,402	1,335,081	109	

²³ On the responsibilities of different *aimags*, see S. Purevjav, *Khuw'sgalyn ömnökh ikh khüree* (Ulaanbaatar: National Bureau of Publication Affairs, 1961), 58.

²⁴ Tsedev, *Ikh shaw*, 25–26.

²⁵ Tsedev, *Ikh shaw*, 91.

1800	15,630	17,561	82,408	268,365	34,743	269,482	1,235,634		
1825	16,653	27,779	83,687	204,179	34,630	117,530	1,092,379		
1830	17,035	21,816	83,982	232,677	35,747	246,697	1,072,539		114
1849	15,856	21,349	79,121	132,429	19,181	195,853	700,667		
1852	14,424	21,323	76,041	120,527	15,993	168,770	537,869		
1855									
1858	13,652	20,072	79,650	84,194	11,536	84,194	46,984	65	
1861	12,969	24,587	72,214	183,296	26,531	282,794	574,970		
1864	13,459	22,349	74,425	134,137	19,091	198,141	555,972		
1867	12,606	22,352	73,264	111,299	16,266	159,272	424,288	1	
1873	9,916	21,115	63,898	85,782	13,768	72,359	311,612		
1882	9,869	22,184	66,163	94,450	11,069	89,155	319,665	13	139
1885	9,279	20,058	59,754	83,682	9,341	66,569	270,374		139
1888	8,900	20,359	57,325	84,965	8,713	69,240	290,102		141
1894	8,008	19,953	63,584	37,960	3,141	32,172	131,183		148
1897	7,616	19,284	52,496	29,268	2,492	26,653	100,335		149
1900	6,873	18,112	49,291	12,503	928	9,522	40,519		159
1903	6,197	14,272	38,798	2,619	223	1,944	9,312		154
1905			68,246						
1906			67,048						
1907			65,936						
1908			64,678						
1909	5,961	16,514	64,171	1,232	156	1,001	9,685		
1910	5,961								
1915	6,654	16,954	38,645	28,036	3,697	21,137	100,316		
1918	8,833	21,180	49,878	33,440	6,186	29,743	131,551		

Table 3 The Statistics of the Population, Household, and Herd of the Great Shabi

In the above table, we can see the Great Shabi steadily expanded from the mid-18th century up to its maximum in the 1830s. This may be partially attributed to the donations made by the Mongol princes and *taijis*. This situation developed and might have caused the Qing government serious troubles in maintaining sufficient human resources to fulfill military and regular duties in Outer Mongolia. In 1837, the Qing court decreed that the Mongol *taijis* should not donate able-bodied

albatus to the Living Buddhas as disciples, except their own slaves, serfs (*khamjilga*), illegitimate sons, and under- and over-aged commoners. The *shabi* population began to decline perhaps due to these restrictions and/or to the general population decline in Mongolia. After the 1911 Restoration, the Great Shabi aggrandized itself again because the previous Qing restrictions of *shabi* donations were nullified and requests to obtain the disciple status were mostly granted afterwards. We will come back to discuss the reason why the *shabi* status was so attractive to non-*shabis*. After the 1921 revolution, the Great Shabi offices were transformed into elective ones in 1923, no longer through appointment. The Great Shabi took a new name, Delger Yekhe Uula province, in the first provincial election of 1925. It only included the territories of the Darkhad and Uriyangkhai banner in today's Khövsgöl province. All of its estate no longer belonged to the monasteries.²⁶

The Great Shabi was administrated by the Erdeni Shangdzodba. A *shangdzodba* (T. *phyag-mdzod-pa*, treasurer) was originally a term for both the estate and the manager of an incarnate lama. The *shangdzodba* of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu was given an honorific title Erdeni ("precious" in Mongolian) to mark its superiority. The incumbent institution was the Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba's Great Shabi (Mo. *yeke šabi-yin erdeni Šangjodba-yin yamun*) in Mongolian archives. This body was in charge of the secular matters of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's ecclesiastical and lay disciples, including numerous *otogs*, 30 *aimags*²⁷ of Khüriye, 10 large *datsang* (T. *grwa-tshang*, monastic college), West Khüriye, Amur-Bayashkulangtu Hermitage, Dambadarjiya Hermitage, and Erdeni Zuu monasteries, etc. The

²⁶ Tsedev, *Ikh shaw'*, 61.

²⁷ Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, vol. 1, 328.

shangdzodba was parallel to the khambo lama, or abbot, whose main duty was to administer exclusively the religious matters in Khüriye.²⁸

The origin of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's *shangdzodba* can date back to 1651 when the Jibzundamba Khutugtu returned to Mongolia from Tibet. In his retinue, the *shangdzodba* was mentioned along with other clerics, such as *bagshi*, *gesgüi* (T. *dge-bskos*, proctor), and *soibon* (T. *bsa'i-dpon*, the head of a grand lama's staff).²⁹ In 1709 the Shangdzodba participated in the assembly of issuing the *Khalkha jirum* code.³⁰ From 1723 the Qing court issued seals to the Shangdzodba along with the Khambo lama.³¹

Below is a table of the Shangdzodbas from 1723 to 1911.³²

No.	Name	Dates	Years in Service
1	Dagbalhündüb	Late 1690s–?	?
2	Dorjiwangchug	?–1743	?
3	Punsug-Yarinpel	1743–1754	11
4	Sündübdorji	1754–1764	10
5	Gombodorji	1764–1765	1
6	Garmatsering	1765–1769	4
7	Damchoirabjai	1769–1807	38

²⁸ For the role and duty of a *shangdzodba* in a Buddhist monastery, see Robert James Miller, *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959), 89–91.

²⁹ This can be attested by the record in the *Erdeni-yin erike* (1841). For the full translation and annotation of the *Erdeni-yin erike*, see Galdan, *Erdeni-yin erike kemekü teiuke boloi*, trans. and annot. J. Gerelbadrakh (Ulaanbaatar: Mongolian National University of Education Press, 2007), 564. See Ninjbadgar, *Jibzundamba khutagtyn shabiin zakhirгаа (XVII–XX zuuny ekhen)*, 32, 56. Jagchid Sechin also mentioned this record on the first Jibzundamba Khutugtu's journey of Tibet, but it seems that he was not aware of this as the origin of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's shangdzodba and still only considered that this position existed before the conferral of seal of the Erdeni Shangdzodba in 1723. See Jagchid Sechin [Zhaqi Siqin 札奇斯欽], *Menggu yu Xizang lishi guanxi zhi yanjiu* 蒙古與西藏歷史關係之研究 (Taipei: Cheng Chung Book Company, 1978), 619, 642.

³⁰ This is found in the introduction of the *Khalkha jirum* code. See Dalizhabu 達力札布 [B. Darijab], “Ka'rka fagui” *hanyi ji yanjiu* 《喀爾喀法規》漢譯及研究 (Beijing: China Minzu University Press, 2015), 19–20.

³¹ For the seals of both offices and the narratives about the conferral of the seals, see Ninjbadgar, *Jibzundamba khutagtyn shabiin zakhirгаа (XVII–XX zuuny ekhen)*, 34–39.

³² Here I use the table made by Ninjbadgar. See Ninjbadgar, *Jibzundamba khutagtyn shabiin zakhirгаа (XVII–XX zuuny ekhen)*, 173–174.

8	Lubsanggonchug	1807–1811	4
9	Gombojab	1811–1836	25
10	Lubsangdashi	1836–1838	2
11	Agwaangchoimpel	1838–1843	5
12	Lubsangchültim	1843–1850	7
13	Namjaldorji	1850–1858	8
14	Lubsangbaljur	1858–1862	4
15	Tseringdorji	1862–1885	23
16	Sodnamdorji	1885–1886	1
17	Dashidorji	1886–1896	10
18	Badmadorji (of Amduunar <i>aimag</i>)	1896–1903	7
19	Badmadorji (of Wang <i>aimag</i>)	1903–1910 (as the Shangdzodba) 1911–1915 (as minister to assist religion and state, a new cabinet-level office of the Shangdzodba)	12

Table 4 The Shangdzodbas from 1723 to 1911

The Shangdzodba’s power and duty expanded with Qing concern on the Jibzundamba Khutugtu’s increasing dominance in Outer Mongolia. In 1754, the Qianlong emperor decreed that the Jibzundamba Khutugtu should not be able to manage the secular affairs of his own disciples since he was the highest living Buddha in Mongolia and would be too busy to deal with those matters. Therefore, Sendübdorji was appointed as the Erdeni Shangdzodba and responsible for managing all secular affairs of the Great Shabi.³³

³³ See Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, vol. 1, 346; Huang Chengxu 黃成埤 and Chen Lu 陳籙, *Menggu Yishi* 蒙古逸史 (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1917), 65. Li Yu-shu drew on both sources in his study on the Imperial Resident of Khüriye. See Li, “Kulun banshi dachen jianzhi kao,” 123–125. It is very possible that Pozdneyev and Huang/Chen both drew on a very similar source, if not the same, since both of them misspelled the name of Sündübdorji as Lundubdorji. Although the original edict was lost, this would still be plausible because this edict can be attested in both the Chinese and Russian sources. Pozdneyev argues that the post of the Erdeni Shangdzodba was established by the Qing court to intentionally deprive the administrative power of the

The death of the Second Jibzundamba Khutugtu was a chance for the Qing court to strengthen its control of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's subjects. After the Second Jibzundamba Khutugtu passed away in 1758, the Lieutenant General and the Mongol Imperial Resident of Khüriye Sanjidorji was appointed to manage the Great Shabi with the Erdeni Shangdzodba in 1763.³⁴ In 1767, the positions of the da-lama, assistant of the Shangdzodba, were founded in the Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba.³⁵ In 1822, the Shangdzodba was granted the same privilege and power to use red-column paper for recording official documents as well as the heads of four *aimags* of Khalkha and it had the power to directly send reports to the Manchu Imperial Resident of Khüriye.³⁶

One of the Erdeni Shangdzodba's responsibilities was to conduct a survey on the households and population of the clerical and lay disciples together with the number of livestock of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu every three years. The results of the survey were to be compiled into files and reported to the Imperial Resident of Khüriye.³⁷

Another responsibility of the Erdeni Shangdzodba was searching for criminals or suspects, and trying criminal cases and lawsuits of the Great Shabi. The Shangdzodba would be

Jibzundamba Khutugtu. However, some scholars, such as Jagchid Sechin, did not agree with this interpretation and considered this to merely show the Qing emperor's respect and sponsorship of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu. See Jagchid Sechin [Zhaqi Siqin], *Menggu yu Xizang lishi guanxi zhi yanjiu*, 642.

³⁴ According to Pozdneyev and Huang/Chen, the year of this imperial edict was issued in 1758. But the original edict was not found. See Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, vol. 1, 346; Huang and Chen, *Menggu Yishi*, 65. Also see Li, "Kulun banshi dachen jianzhi kao," 128–129, 131. Recently, Ninjbadgar found the original edict preserved in the Central Archives of Mongolia and argued that this appointment happened in 1763. See Ninjbadgar, *Jibzundamba khutagtyn shabiin zakhirгаа (XVII–XX зууны екhen)*, 45.

³⁵ Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, vol. 1, 353.

³⁶ Sonomdagva, *Manjiin zakhirгаанд байсан үйеийн ар монголын засаг захиргааны зөхйон байгуулалт (1691–1911)*, 100.

³⁷ Tuojin 托津 [Tojin], et al. eds., *Lifan yuan zeli 理藩院則例*, vol. 2, in *Gugong zhenben congkan 故宮珍本叢刊*, vol. 300, ed. Gugong Bowuyuan 故宮博物院 (Haikou: Hainan Publishing House, 2000), *juan* 60, 48 (p. 365); Borjigin Mönggödalai, rev. and annot., *Гадаяду Монгол-ун төр-йи жасагу ябудал-ун яамун қaulи жүил-үн биçиг* (Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House, 2006), 599.

fined two nines of livestock (Ch. *fa er jiu shengchu* 罰二九牲畜) by the Qing government if it was not able to catch criminals in a prescribed term.³⁸

The da-lamas were the Shangdzodba's assistants and advisors and the keepers of the Shangdzodba's seal during the period of retirement or resignation of the Shangdzodba. The assembly of the Shangdzodba and the da-lamas would be convened before the Buddha images trying the legal cases.³⁹ This practice shows the nature of the Great Shabi as a religious institution. From 1779 onward, one of the da-lamas had to be stationed at the Amur-Bayaskhulangtu Hermitage and also had to be responsible for administrating and judging the Han Chinese settlers and Mongol subjects in Ibeng and Bulgaltai and hosting the worship of the Khan Uul and Khentii Khan Mountains.⁴⁰

The Shangdzodbas controlled the treasury of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu and this power brought them a great fortune. For instance, the assets of the last Shangdzodba, Badmadorji, were in total 40 households, 222 subjects, 8 camels, 292 horses, 249 oxen, and 1248 sheep.⁴¹

The Great Shabi and the Shangdzodba systems were all Buddhist institutions in essence and enjoyed privileges granted by the central government. This practice has a historical background. In imperial China, Buddhism as an exotic religion was introduced in the first century and did not win pervasive imperial and popular patronage until the mid-fourth century. Buddhist monasteries and institutions were granted privileges in terms of taxations and duties and had a greater autonomy.⁴² Similar stories are recounted in Mongolia under the rule of

³⁸ Tuojin [Tojin], et al. eds., *Lifan yuan zeli*, vol. 2, *juan* 60, 47 (p. 364); Mönggödalai, rev. and annot., *Fadaγadu Mongyol-un törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun qauli jüil-ün bičig*, 598.

³⁹ Ninjbadgar, *Jibzundamba khutagtyn shabiin zakhirгаа (XVII–XX zuuny ekhen)*, 134.

⁴⁰ Ninjbadgar, *Jibzundamba khutagtyn shabiin zakhirгаа (XVII–XX zuuny ekhen)*, 68.

⁴¹ Tsedev, *Ikh shaw'*, 28.

⁴² However, Buddhist monasticism prevented monks from engaging in productive works, which conflicted with Confucian ideals of agricultural production. Moreover the privilege of taxation and *corvée* exemption and luxurious donations to monasteries also damaged the state finances. Therefore, Buddhism in imperial China was occasionally under state suppression. On the development and legacy of Buddhism in China, see Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in*

Qubilai Khan and Altan Khan of Tümed. After the Second Conversion of the Mongols under Altan Khan, Buddhism expanded from Tümed, as the center, to Eastern, Western, and Northern Mongolia.⁴³ As Tibetan Buddhism continued to thrive in the Khalkha and Qing incorporation of Khalkha in the 17th century, the Great Shabi as a Buddhist organization developed and was granted privileges in terms of taxations and duties and had greater autonomy from the Qing administrative system of people control: 1) the Great Shabi was exempt from the state-prescribed taxations and duties and the banner territorial limits; 2) the Great Shabi was in legal theory more autonomous and continued to use the *Khalkha jirum* code, rather than the *Lifan yuan zeli*.⁴⁴ Although studies have shown that distinction was quite blurry in practice, yet it still existed at least as an ideal. This section will discuss the social differences between the taxpayers, serfs, and disciples.

The Great Shabi was also not part of the Mongol civil administrative system. As has been mentioned, autonomous banners were the fundamental civil-military organization of the Mongols in Qing Mongolia. The population of each banner was divided into a varying number of *sumu*. A league captain general was appointed by the Court of Dependencies among the banner rulers. This structural design of Qing administration of Mongols was kept without major changes down to the demise of the Qing regime. In this structure, the *sumu* was supposed to be the

Chinese History (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959). For the anti-Buddhist persecutions and the economic factors (such as the loss of taxpayers and taxable farmlands due to pious donation to Buddhist monasteries) behind those movements, see Kenneth Ch'en, "The Economic Background of the Hui-ch'ang Suppression of Buddhism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19, no. 1/2 (Jun., 1956): 67–105.

⁴³ For the spread of Tibetan Buddhism (sometimes called Lamaism) in Mongolia, see Walther Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia*, trans. Geoffrey Samuel (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), chap. 3.

⁴⁴ The *Lifan yuan zeli* (Regulations and Substitutes of the Court of Dependencies) was compiled in 1811 by the imperial order. Its Chinese version was finished in 1815; the Manchu and Mongolian version in 1817. This compilation was based on the *Menggu lüli* and the regulations of Tibetan and Russian affairs were added to it. On the relation between *Menggu lüli* and the *Lifan yuan zeli*, see Dalizhabu 達力札布 [B. Darijab], "Menggu lüli ji qi yu Lifan yuan zeli de guanxi 《蒙古律例》及其與《理藩院則例》的關係," *Qingshi yanjiu* 清史研究, no. 4 (Nov., 2013): 1–10. For the study on the Mongolian version of the *Lifan yuan zeli*, see Jacques Legrand, *L'administration dans la domination sino-mandchoue en Mongolie Qalq-a: Version mongole du Lifan Yuan Zeli* (Paris: Institute des Hautes Études Chinoises, Collège de France, 1976).

institutional means of military mobilization and levy on the local level. Each *sumu* was composed of 150 taxpayers (Mo. *sumun-u arad*), aged 18 to 60 and surveyed every three years.⁴⁵ In the autonomous banners, Mongol princes and *taijis* as aristocrats were allowed to own their serfs or *khamjilgas* (numbering from 40 to 4 according to different ranks) from 1648 onward. Until 1789 there was no difference in levy and corvée between the *arad* and *khamjilga*. In 1789, the Qing government conducted a survey of the household registration to differentiate *khamjilga* from *arad*. In this survey, Mongol princes and *taijis* attempted to register those well-off *arad* families as their own *khamjilgas* which aroused a huge controversy.⁴⁶ The result of this trend was that the subjecthood of taxpayers became less strict and their independent status was strengthened. Once *taijis* and their serfs were exempt from state taxations and services, but after the end of the 18th century, *taijis* and their slaves, together with monasteries, were subject to state taxations.⁴⁷ In 1844, this practice was institutionalized. In the written laws of 1844, the new addition was that *khamjilgas* of *taijis* were included in the status categories under state levies.⁴⁸ In this process, two main trends can be summarized: 1) The dominant authority of *jasag*, as the public ruler in a banner was gradually reinforced; 2) the difference of status between human subjects under *jasag* and *taiji* was diminished. Many Qing regulations of Mongols were not put into practice or followed closely.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ This practice can be traced back to 1635 under the rule of Hong Taiji. See Shimada, *Shinchō Mōkorei no kenkyū*, 212, 217–218.

⁴⁶ Ts. Nasanbaljir, ed., *Ardyn zargyn bichig* (Ulaanbaatar: Mongolian Academy of Sciences Press, 1968), case no. 4, 14. For English translation of this case, see Š. Rasidondug, trans., *Petitions of Grievances Submitted by the People (18th–beginning of 20th century)*, collab. Veronika Veit (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1975), 10–11.

⁴⁷ Ts. Nasanbaljir, ed., *Ardyn zargyn bichig*, case no. 18, 54–55. For English translation of this case, see Rasidondug, trans., *Petitions of Grievances Submitted by the People (18th–beginning of 20th century)*, 48–50.

⁴⁸ This is also confirmed in Pozdneyev's travel accounts. He saw *khamjilgas* doing ferry and postroad services on his way to Amur-Bayashkulangu Hermitage in 1892. See Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, vol. 1, 10, 12.

⁴⁹ For the details of the process, see Futaki Hiroshi 二木博史, “Hoshō nai ni okeru heimin no kōso bueki futan: Shindai Haruha Mongoru no baai ホショー内における平民の貢租・賦役負担—清代ハルハ・モンゴルの場合,” *Nairiku Ajia kenkyū* 内陸アジア史研究 1 (1984): 25–40.

Han Chinese Settlers and Their Relationship with the Great Shabi in Qing Outer Mongolia

As it has been mentioned before, commoners came to Mongolia as merchants or tenants, and they faced many restrictions prescribed by the Qing authority. One of those restrictions was residential segregation. Han Chinese settlers were not allowed to live among Mongols. They were under the jurisdiction of Imperial Residents of Khūriye and the Office of Merchant-Commoner Affairs of Khūriye (Ch. *kulun guanli shangmin shiwu zhangjing chu* 庫倫管理商民事務章京處). In Khūriye and other towns in Mongolia, Han Chinese had to stay in their own district, that is, trading town. The registered Han Chinese merchants in the trading town of Khūriye were 558 and the total number of Han Chinese merchants in Khūriye was 1238 in 1813. The Han Chinese merchants in Khūriye were divided into twelve units and each of the units was led by a store head (Ch. *pushou* 鋪首). A store head was responsible for keeping the registration of each store and its hired workers in Khūriye.⁵⁰

As Joseph Fletcher had pointed out, Buddhist monasteries played a significant role in Han Chinese merchants establishing trade networks because they served as marketplaces and storages in the farthest steppe.⁵¹ Han Chinese settlers (mostly merchants and farmers) had arrived in Khūriye by 1720 and established a close relationship with the disciples of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu. Han Chinese residential areas and Mongol lamas' debts were two main issues between Han Chinese merchants and the Great Shabi. After Khūriye moved to the bank of the Selbi River in 1778, the Han Chinese merchants traded with lamas in Khūriye and by 1790 the Qing authority had noticed that lamas were providing Han Chinese merchants space for

⁵⁰ Sato Noriyuki 佐藤憲行, *Shindai Haruha Mongoru no toshi ni kansuru kenkyū: 18-seikimatsu kara 19-seiki nakaba no Furē o rei ni* 清代ハルハ・モンゴルの都市に関する研究—18世紀末から19世紀半ばのフレイを例に (Tokyo: Gakujutsu Shuppankai, 2009), 183–187.

⁵¹ Fletcher, “Ch’ing Inner Asia c. 1800,” 56.

storage and took care of their merchandise for sale. The Mongol lamas' debts owed to Han Chinese merchants and Han Chinese merchants and lamas living together in Khüriye became serious issues. In 1801, the Imperial Resident of Khüriye had to act as an intermediary between both sides and removed Han Chinese merchants from Khüriye to improve public security. By 1806 the problem was still unsolved and the houses built by Han Chinese merchants were still increasing. Ultimately Khüriye was moved to the north bank of the Tuul River due to the Fifth Jibzundamba Khutugtu's health issues in 1839, and those Han Chinese settlers who stayed in the old site of Khüriye and built new houses and fences were punished by the Qing authority in 1842. The problem of Mongol-Han mixed habitation was temporarily solved. In 1853, since the Fifth and Sixth Jibzundamba Khutugtu still did not have a long life after Khüriye was moved, the high lamas discussed the issue with the Panchen Erdeni and suggested that it would be auspicious to move Khüriye back to the former site. And this proposal was seconded by the heads of the four Khalkha *aimags* and ultimately approved by the Xianfeng emperor in 1853. But the original site of Khüriye had been occupied by Han Chinese settlers after Khüriye moved. Since moving the Han Chinese merchants to the original site of Khüriye would cost much money and the principle of Mongol-Han segregation had to be carried through, the imperial resident of Khüriye ultimately came to terms with east and west Khüriye as legal residential areas for Han Chinese merchants.⁵²

Han Chinese merchants in Khüriye had to rent storehouses from the Great Shabi because they were not allowed to purchase real estate in Mongolia according to Qing laws. Using Chinese and Manchu archives, Lai Hui-min illustrates the relationship between the Office of the

⁵² Sato, *Shindai Haruha Mongoru no toshi ni kansuru kenkyū*, chap. 5.

Shangdzodba and Han Chinese merchants.⁵³ Since the trading city was far from Khüriye and inconvenient for conducting business with lamas, Han Chinese merchants began to build their own storehouses with the lease of the Great Shabi. In 1842, the annual land rent for each storehouse was 600 taels of silver on average. Half of the rent would be allotted to the Great Shabi as pious donation, 1/5 of the rent to the Office of Merchant-Commoner Affairs of Khüriye, and the rest to the Office of the Imperial Resident of Khüriye. Since the debt of the disciples of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu owed to Han Chinese merchants had grown too much to pay back, the storehouses in Khüriye were sold to the Han Chinese merchants as repayment. Although the Qing laws prohibited usury and prescribed that monthly interest should not exceed 3%, this rule was often violated. The Imperial Resident of Khüriye also intervened in the debt issue of the Great Shabi. In 1897, the Imperial Resident of Khüriye suggested that the Great Shabi pay 40% of its original debt back to Han Chinese merchants, which was believed to be a usual and reasonable practice.⁵⁴

Han Chinese settlers came to Outer Mongolia around the Shunzhi era (1644–1661). It is documented that there were three brothers cultivating lands in Burgaltai by 1666.⁵⁵ Those Han Chinese settlers also served as tenants of the Great Shabi. As Sato Noriyuki has shown, the Kangxi emperor promoted military colonies (Ch. *tuntian* 屯田) in Khalkha in 1715 and the Yongzheng emperor decreed that military colonies were to be expanded to the valleys of the

⁵³ Lai Hui-min 賴惠敏, “Qingdai Kulun Shangzhuoteba yamen yu shanghao 清代庫倫商卓特巴衙門與商號,” *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 84 (Jun., 2014): 1–58.

⁵⁴ Lai, “Qingdai Kulun Shangzhuoteba yamen yu shanghao,” 41–44.

⁵⁵ That document is quoted in S. Nyamdorj, “Manj chin ulsyn üyeiin khalkha dakh’ khyatad tariachin irgediin tukhai /XVIII–XIX zuuny II khagas khürtel/,” in *ZhongMeng lishixue yanjiu wenji* 中蒙歷史學研究文集, ed. *ZhongMeng lishixue yanjiu wenji bianji bu* 《中蒙歷史學研究文集》編輯部 (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia University Press, 2015), 300.

Orkhon and Tuul rivers in 1724.⁵⁶ Sh. Natsagdorj and S. Purevjav both point out that by 1775, Han Chinese farmers had already begun to cultivate lands in Ibeng-Burgaltai, Orkhon, Selenge, and Baibulag, mostly in northern Outer Mongolia. Lands of the Great Shabi and other incarnate high lamas in Mongolia were rented out to Chinese tenants.⁵⁷ The scale of Han Chinese reclamation in Mongolia was also negatively correlated with trade. While Russo-Qing trade in Kyakhta was suspended, the Han Chinese merchants turned to become farmers and the number of Han Chinese farmers surged.⁵⁸ Sato Noriyuki argues that since 1817, the price of crops in Tüshiyetü Khan surged, and the issue of Han Chinese farmers in Mongolia became a central debate. However, the Qing authority ultimately vetoed a proposal allowing more Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia, choosing instead to maintain the policies of closing off in Mongolia. Undoubtedly, Han Chinese tenants also played a crucial role in providing crops for Mongols in urban areas, like Khüriye and Kyakhta.⁵⁹

The Privileges Granted to the Great Shabi under Manchu Rule

As personal subjects of the Jibuzundamba Khutugtu, the disciples had to provide the treasury of the Jibuzundamba Khutugtu and his monasteries' food, expenses (regular and occasional), and services as their main duties, basically non-monetary payment. That was called “offering tea” (Mo. *takil-un čai*). It was counted in yellow-tea units. Ten yellow-tea units

⁵⁶ Kungang 崑岡 et al., eds, *Qinding Daqing huidian shili (Guangxu chao)* 欽定大清會典事例（光緒朝）, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, ed. Xuxiu siku quanshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 《續修四庫全書》編纂委員會 (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Book Publication House, 1997), *juan* 179, 1-3 (801: 18–19).

⁵⁷ Natsagdorj firstly mentioned this reclamation, but it was wrongly dated as 1776. According to S. Purevjav's citation and quotation, the correct date should be 1775. See Natsagdorj, *Khalkhyn tüükh*, 116 and S. Purevjav, *Mongol dakh' sharyn shashny khuraangüi tüükh* (Ulaanbaatar: National Bureau of Higher, Special Middle, Technical Professional Education Press, 1978), 156–157.

⁵⁸ Nyamdorj, “Manj chin ulsyn üyeiin khalkha dakh' khyatad tariachin irgediin tukhai /XVIII–XIX zuuny II khagas khürtel/,” 301.

⁵⁹ Sato, *Shindai Haruha Mongoru no toshi ni kansuru kenkyū*, chap. 6.

equaled one camel, eight equaled one ox, two equaled one sheep. Anyone whose herds were under 50 yellow-tea units after conversion was exempt from this taxation.⁶⁰ Their contributions went to the various *jas* or treasuries of the *aimags* and *datsangs*, as well as the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's own pocket.⁶¹

The Great Shabi had to pay the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's personal debt. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, this had made the Great Shabi impoverished as the amount of the debt surged. For example, in 1900, 50,000 taels of silver from the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's treasury were paid to 19 shops in Khüriye and the money was drawn from the *otogs* of the Great Shabi.⁶²

As we know, the donations of human and herds to the Great Shabi was so large that the Qing emperor had to decree to limit it and secure the human resources for the Qing administration's miscellaneous *corvées*. To explain the incentives to obtain the *shabi* status, it is necessary to discuss the taxations, duties, and living conditions of the disciples under Manchu rule.

Under Qing rule, a disciple often owned more wealth and herds than non-disciples. It is possible to assume that the disciples led a more well-off life since the monasteries had been receiving generous donations from the Qing court and Mongol princes. Although we do not have a satisfying estimate average numbers of livestock owned by each *albatu* and *shabi* household in Qing Outer Mongolia because there existed no extensive studies of the Qing census of Mongolia today, Sh. Natsagdorj calculated the population and herds of Left-Flank Right banner of Tüshiyetü Khan *aimag* in the second half of the 19th century.⁶³ Since Tüshiyetü Khan *aimag* is

⁶⁰ Sh. Natsagdorj, *Sum, khamjlaga, shaw' ard* (Ulaanbaatar: Mongolian Academy of Sciences Press, 1972), 84.

⁶¹ Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia*, 161.

⁶² Tsedev, *Ikh shaw'*, 43.

⁶³ Here I cite the table made by Futaki. See Futaki, "Hoshō nai ni okeru heimin no kōso bueki futan," 25–40.

the main residential area of the Great Shabi, this data would be meaningful for us. Therefore, I draw on the statistics shown by Sh. Natsagdorj below.

Status	Household	Population	Horse	Camel	Ox	Sheep	Total (Herds)	Total of <i>Boda</i> (Large Cattle)	Average (Herds)	Average of <i>Boda</i> (Large Cattle)
Jasag (Duke)	1	1	203	303	41	451	998	7,887	N/A	N/A
Khamjilga of Jasag	369	1,504	475	603	76	3,080	4,234	2,715	11.5	5.6
Taiji	878	4,173	1,624	1,952	275	10,481	14,332	69,232	16.3	7.9
Khamjilga of Taiji	2,318	9,772	4,107	3,373	601	25,463	33,544	148,601	14.5	6.4
Albatu	2,326	9,460	3,830	3,572	803	21,760	29,965	14,343	12.9	6.2
Shabi in the Monastery of the Banner	226	877	527	990	166	8,520	10,203	3,882	45.1	17.2
Forty Monk Households	171	749	439	617	76	7,595	8,727	29,595	51.0	17.3
Total	6,289	26,535	11,205	11,410	2,038	77,350	102,003	45,828	16.2	7.3

*The way to convert herd to *boda*: 1 horse = 1 ox = 1 *boda*, 1 camel = 1.5 *boda*, 5 sheep = 1 *boda*

Table 5 Population and Herds of Left-Flank Right Banner of Tüshiyetü Khan *aimag* in the Second Half of the 19th Century

This table shows that in the second half of the 19th century the disciples had almost three times more herds than the taxpayers and *khamjilgas* (even *taijis*!) in the same banner. But the figure of 1918 (I. Maiskii) shows the situation changed during the Theocratic Era of Mongolia (1911–1919). See the table below.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Ivan M. Maiskii, *Orchin üyeiin Mongol (Awtonomit Mongol XX zuuny garaan deer)*, trans. Ts. Otkhon (Ulaanbaatar: Admon, 2005), 144–145.

Status	Horse	Camel	Cattle	Sheep and Goat	Total
<i>albatu</i>	7.1	1.5	7.1	44.3	60.0
<i>shabi</i>	7.2	1.7	7.4	41.6	57.5

Table 6 The Average Herds Owned by Each *Albatu* and *Shabi* in 1918

As seen above, in 1918, that situation changed drastically and disciples actually had a bit smaller herds than those of taxpayers, although there was not a big difference between the two groups. Evidently, the large number of poorer Mongol commoners who joined the Great Shabi to evade *corvée* ended up “diluting” the per capita wealth of the Great Shabi as an institution.

State taxation itself was also not the main factor affecting the wealth of disciples and of non-disciples since Qing taxations in Mongolia were rather low in theory. Different from China proper, where the Qing taxations were collected through direct monetary payments, the Manchu authority imposed rather low taxes through in-kind payments in Mongolia. After the division of *albatu* and *khamjilga*, only those *albatu* (taxpayers) were subject to this taxation. Most of the extractions by the Qing officials were supposed to pay regular expenses of administration in Mongolia. The Qing annual taxation rate of Mongols was at two sheep maximum out of 40 sheep or five horned cattle, and three wok full of grain per head of horned cattle. If a noble had subjects over 100 households, he would be allowed to take a horse, an ox, and a cart per 10 households on occasions of paying tribute to the emperor, league assembly and marriage.⁶⁵ Although the princes and *taijis* would be punished if they overcollected the prescribed tax, corruption and embezzlement were still persistent since the clerks and runners were not paid.⁶⁶ This kind of

⁶⁵ Tuojin [Tojin], et al. eds., *Lifan yuan zeli*, vol. 1, *juan* 12, 18 (p. 297); Mōnggōdalai, rev. and annot., *Tadayadu Mongyol-un törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun qauli jüil-ün biçig*, 156–157.

⁶⁶ This situation is also confirmed in A. Mostaert’s ethnography of Ordos Mongols in late Qing and early Republican era. See Antoine Mostaert, “Matériaux ethnographiques relatifs aux Mongols Ordos,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 2, no. 4 (1956): 254–255.

irksome practice often troubled the taxpayers.⁶⁷ Nevertheless it would be difficult for us to evaluate how serious it was in affecting their livelihood due to lack of sources.

The status of disciple was also lower in theory than the ones of *albatu* and *khamjilga*, but this was not necessarily a disadvantage for disciples. *Albatus* were able to be appointed as banner officials (Mo. *tüšimel*), such as *jalan-u janggi* (Ch. *canling* 參領, colonel) and *sumun-u janggi* (Ch. *zuoling* 佐領, captain). Disciples were not eligible for those public offices. However, disciples still had the right to be granted honorary official recognition with an official cap with a rank button, and their daughters, unlike ones of *khamjilgas*, were not required to serve as maids or human dowry for their masters. That would be a reason why people were still willing to become disciples in Qing Mongolia.⁶⁸

It was the miscellaneous exactions on produce levied by Mongol aristocracy, not the state taxations, that made *albatus* and *khamjilgas* more vulnerable than *shabis*. Since *albatus* were managed by the *jasags*, and *khamjilgas* were subjects of Mongol *taiji*, they were all liable to provide various *corvées* for the Qing state or the Mongol princes. The Mongol khans, such as Tüshiyetü and Setsen Khans, and high lamas, like Jibuzundamba Khutugtu, had to present Nine Whites annually as tribute to the Qing emperor.⁶⁹ Occasional embassies were dispatched as tributary and congratulatory missions to Beijing. Important or trusted Mongol princes would be summoned to Beijing and served as imperial guards. Although these services and tributes usually

⁶⁷ For those disputes and grievances, see Nasanbaljir, ed., *Ardyn zargyn bichig*.

⁶⁸ This situation can also be attested in the works written by contemporary writers. See Wang, *Menggu jiwén*, 123–125.

⁶⁹ Nine Whites consisted of one white camel and eight white horses in Qing code for Mongols. Tuojin [Tojin], et al. eds., *Lifan yuan zeli*, vol. 1, *juan* 17, 1 (p. 367); Mōnggōdalai, rev. and annot., *ᠮᠣᠩᠭᠣᠯ ᠤᠨ ᠲᠣᠷᠦ-ᠶᠢ ᠵᠠᠰᠠᠬᠤ ᠶᠠᠪᠤᠳᠠᠯ ᠤᠨ ᠶᠠᠮᠤᠨ ᠬᠠᠯᠢ ᠵᠢᠢᠯ ᠤᠨ ᠪᠢᠴᠢᠭ*, 205–207. On the different contents of the Nine Whites in different eras, see He Jinshan 何金山 and Chaolumen 朝魯門 [Cholmon], “Menggu zu gudai youmu tese de fachuxing chufa guiding 蒙古族古代游牧特色的罰畜刑處罰規定,” *Nei Menggu shehui kexue* 內蒙古社會科學 35, no. 2 (Mar., 2014): 96–101.

came with generous rewards from the emperor, the expenses of the journeys to Beijing and other precious gifts and bribes were far more burdensome for the Mongol taxpayers and subjects. The annual excursions costed on average nearly half of one million taels of silver and the services required around one thousand and five hundred men. One prince's trip to Beijing could cost 5,000 taels, including the expenses of camels drawing his belongings.⁷⁰ Mongol aristocracy also spent resources extravagantly on worship of nature deities and donations to the monasteries and lamas. Once a newly-incarnated Jibzundamba Khutugtu was found in Tibet, Mongol princes had to pay for his entourage from Tibet to Khüriye and make offerings in celebration of his enthronement. This was also the origin of the Great Shabi as mentioned. All of the expenses were supposed to be paid by the princes themselves, but ultimately were imposed on taxpayers and their own serfs and much more beyond one's expectation.⁷¹ Households that were liable to supply animals might not have a spare one or even any. Hiring them from others would be a necessary option, which might cost as much as buying the animal itself. If the animals died on the way, those households were accountable for replacing them.

Apart from the exactions, the *corvée* prescribed by the Manchu authority were also vexing to Mongol commoners. The maintenance of the watch-posts and postroad stations, shifts of the staffing at those posts, and taking care of the herds and running the farms for the imperial households and army.⁷² All of those services were unpaid and mostly irrelevant to production. As Charles R. Bawden points out, *corvée* was gradually converted into a money-tax system as

⁷⁰ Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia*, 102.

⁷¹ A report to the Qianlong emperor submitted by the Imperial Resident of Khüriye in 1783 shows how heavy the extractions demanded by Mongol princes from their subjects to meet their own expenses and the state-prescribed duties were. See Natsagdorj, *Khalkhyn tiiikh*, 185.

⁷² Sh. Natsagdorj has done an extensive research on *corvées* in Qing Mongolia. Mongols coined different terms for miscellaneous duties. The postroad and guard duties were called "far and near duties" (*khol oiryn alba*) for the distance one had to travel and the duty of theft policing was called "bad duty" (*muu alba*). See Natsagdorj, *Sum, khamjlaga, shaw' ard*, 58.

the economy of Mongolia developed into a more money-based one in the later 19th century.⁷³

The households made to perform the *corvée* who did not want to or were not able to fulfill their responsibilities would hire other people to perform the duties for them. As a youth, D.

Sükhbaatar (1893–1923), the revered leader of the 1921 revolutionary force, made a living from performing postroad service between Yekhe Khüriye and Bulgaltai for a better-off family.⁷⁴

Mongol taxpayers and serfs were bled dry by those tiresome exactions and duties.

Although by the end of the Qing Dynasty, the disciples were also impoverished and hardly in better shape than *albatús* and *khamjilgas* due to the heavy ecclesiastical taxes which increased parallel to the state and banner ones, lay disciples were exempt from the heavy-laden mandatory services of taxpayers, such as post road, guard, and militia. This privilege might have provide the disciples a more stable life. That would be the main reason why well-to-do people sought to enter the Great Shabi for tax and state *corvée* exemption. The less onerous duties of the disciples made the *shabi* status desirable to outsiders. One of those well-known cases of such donations was that of the Mergen Bandida Khutugtu, who in 1914 brought 50 more households of his own *shabi* with him to enter the Great Shabi. Another case happened in the same year that the Duke of Soyot Uriyangkhai banner Dalhasürüng made all of his banner, including subjects (137 nuns, 377 households, and 1,403 people) and herds (28 camels, 449 horses, 494 oxen, and 2,423 sheep), become *shabis* of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu.⁷⁵

Another advantage of the privilege granted to the Great Shabi is that the disciples of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu were exempt from banner territorial limits. According to the *Khalkha jirum*, since 1676, the disciples of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu were permitted to pastoralize in

⁷³ Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia*, 149.

⁷⁴ L. Bat-Ochir and D. Dashjamts, “Sükhbaatar the Supreme Hero,” in *Mongolian Heroes of the Twentieth Century*, ed. and trans. Urgunge Onon (New York: AMS Press, 1976), 146–147.

⁷⁵ Tsedev, *Ikh shaw*, 26–28.

any places of four Khalkha leagues, except the vicinities of Mongol princes' palace tents.⁷⁶ This would make the disciples less vulnerable to severe weather conditions and natural disasters since they could move at will to find a better grassland.

The Autonomous Status of the Great Shabi in Qing Law

The Great Shabi enjoyed a privilege of autonomous administration and jurisdiction over its own members. The Qing emperor granted the Great Shabi a prerogative of judging and administering themselves according to pre-Qing Mongolian law codes and regulations in some situations. That is reflected in that the Great Shabi continued to use their own law codes, like the *Khalkha jirum* and the *Ulaan khatsartu*, and distinctive administrative regulations, such as the *Yamun-u dürim*, and the *Khugarkhai nigurtu*.

The *Khalkha jirum* (Khalkha Regulations) is a collection of law codes and precedents from 1676 to 1770, drawn up by the Jibzundamba Khutugtu, the Erdeni Shangdzodba and the Khalkha Mongol nobilities headed by Tüshiyetü and Setsen Khans, for Tüshiyetü Khan's subjects and the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's disciples. It was later revised and amended. It contains 18 articles: 1 from 1676, 1 from 1709, and 16 from 1709, together with 321 sections. It covers the affairs concerning the military, post-road, theft, loan, Khüriye, disciples, and horse racing.⁷⁷ Even the Qing government imposed its own laws on Khalkha Mongol commoners in 1728 and after 1789 the *Khalkha jirum* was completely replaced by the Qing Mongolian codes (i.e. *Menggu lüli* and later *Lifan yuan zeli*), the *Khalkha jirum* was still used in the Great Shabi even after the Qing Dynasty demised. Serious cases, such as homicide and theft, always, and even

⁷⁶ Dalizhabu [B. Darijab], "Ka'rka fagui" *hanyi ji yanjiu*, 163, 204.

⁷⁷ Dalizhabu [B. Darijab], "Ka'rka fagui" *hanyi ji yanjiu*, 41.

minor cases sometimes, were decided according to the Qing codes. We will discuss this issue in detail later.⁷⁸

The *Ulaan khatsartu* (Red Covers) is a selected compilation of the 487 precedents adjudicated according to the mix of *Khalkha jirum* and Qing codes from 1821 to 1913.⁷⁹ It contains legal cases concerning post station, taxation, embezzlement, homicide, theft, gambling, and disputes between Han Chinese merchants and disciples.⁸⁰

The Office of Erdeni Shangdzodba had its own administrative regulations. The *Yamun-u dürim* (Regulations of Office) is a collection of the regulations used in the Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba, compiled in 1825. It stipulates the structure, officers, and their duties of the Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba. The *Khugarkhai nigurtu* (Damaged Covers) is a body of the official documents of the Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba. This collection shows the variant affairs of which the Office of the Great Shabi was in charge from 1820 to 1890, including taxation, Russo-Mongol relations, appointment of the Shangdzodba, renovation of temples and monasteries, and the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's imperial audience to Beijing.⁸¹

The legally autonomous status of the Great Shabi was gradually reduced as Qing codes were drawn on to adjudicate legal cases in the Great Shabi. In terms of the judgement system of the Great Shabi, there were three theories: 1) the legal cases of the Great Shabi were judged

⁷⁸ Even so, the Qing Mongolian laws were not followed strictly in Khalkha and those judges applied the Qing and Mongolian provisions with flexibility. See Hagihara, "Mongol Law of Qing Dynasty and Judgement System in Mongolia," 197.

⁷⁹ Batsukh Bayarsaikhan, Bayanbaatar Batbayar, and Baatarjab Lkhagvajav, ed., *Mongolyn shüün taslakh ajillagaany tүүkhен surwalj bichigt khiisen shinjilgee* (Ulaan khatsart) (Ulaanbaatar: Admon, 2010), 10.

⁸⁰ Natsagdorj argues that the cases in the *Ulaan Khatsartu* were decided according to the *Khalkha jirum*. In the recent study on the *Khalkha jirum*, Darijab argues that those cases in the *Ulaan Khatsartu* were not judged according to the *Khalkha jirum*, but the later decisions and precedents made by the Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba and the native Mongolian legal tradition shown in the *Ulaan Khatsartu* had faded. See Sh. Natsagdorj, *Ulaan Khatsartu* (Ulaanbaatar: Mongolian Academy of Sciences, 1956), 9; Dalizhabu [B. Darijab], "Ka'rka fagui" *hanyi ji yanjiu*, 143.

⁸¹ The originals of both documents are currently preserved in the National Library of Mongolia. For the introduction of both documents, see Dalizhabu [B. Darijab], "Ka'rka fagui" *hanyi ji yanjiu*, 143.

according to the *Khalkha jirum* throughout the Qing Dynasty and extended to the death of the Eighth Jibzundamba Khutugtu; 2) the legal cases of the Great Shabi were originally tried according to *Khalkha jirum*. But as Qing rule over Mongolia solidified, the *Khalkha jirum* was replaced by the Qing codes and the disciples were under the same judgement system; 3) the legal cases of the Great Shabi were judged according to a mix of the *Khalkha jirum*, the *Ulaan khatsartu*, and Qing Mongol codes. Having examined a bunch of archival documents concerning judgement of the Great Shabi preserved in the National Central Archives of Mongolia, Hagihara Mamoru argues that even though Qing codes had permeated the judgement system of the Great Shabi by the end of the Qing period, still, Qing law had not completely taken the place of the Mongolian tradition. The *Ulaan khatsartu* was still used in practice, but there is no evidence of the *Khalkha jirum* being still in use at that time. Therefore none of the previous three theories were completely correct. Hagihara's finding demonstrates the judicial autonomy of the Great Shabi was progressively undermined, but a remnant still remained.⁸²

The “disciples” (or monastic serfs) of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu were exempt from banner territorial limits. According to the *Khalkha jirum*, since 1676, the disciples of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu were permitted to nomadize in any area of Khalkha, except in the vicinity of the Mongol princes' palace tents.⁸³

The Great Shabi had fewer loads and duties than Mongol *albatu* and *khamjilga* commoners. One of the Great Shabi's duties was to supply the Office of the Imperial Resident of Khüriye post-road service and anything the office needed. According to the *Yamun-u dürim*, this duty was shared with the two *aimags* of Tüshiyetü Khan and Setsen Khan.⁸⁴ Besides the duties

⁸² For the detail of Mongolian and Qing codes used in the Great Shabi, see Hagihara Mamoru, *Shindai Mongoru no saiban to saiban bunsho* 清代モンゴルの裁判と裁判文書 (Tokyo: Sobunsha, 2006), part 1, chap. 4.

⁸³ Dalizhabu [B. Darijab], “Ka'rka fagui” *hanyi ji yanjiu*, 163, 204.

⁸⁴ For the details, see Ninjbadgar, *Jibzundamba khutagtyn shabiin zakhirгаа (XVII–XX zuuny ekhen)*, 123.

for the Office of the Imperial Resident of Khüriye, the Great Shabi were not obliged to serve other Mongol league heads and banner *jasags*.⁸⁵

A disciple would receive less severe penalty and fines compared to a Mongol *albatu* or *khamjilga* commoner. For example, if a Mongol commoner was found stealing livestock of the Great Shabi, one would be fined with twelve times nine male livestock or fourteen times nine female livestock by the authority.⁸⁶ But a disciple would only pay a penalty of ten times nine male livestock or twelve times nine female livestock if caught stealing the livestock of outsiders.⁸⁷

Religious organizations, bodies of clergy and their dependents, and particularly the Buddhist sangha have a long tradition in Chinese and Mongolian history of being refuges for people fleeing the law or disaster. This is regardless of whether the people involved in it were “really” monks or not. This role was to a certain degree tolerated by the state, but also limited. The disciples were under autonomous administration of the Office of the Shangdzodba. The concerns of the Qing government were the loss of taxpayers and soldiers, and they paid more attention to donations of Mongol commoners, especially *albatu*s, who were the bearers of the taxation and military services. But Han Chinese settlers, like merchants and farmers, did not have to perform those compulsory services and payments. Therefore, one would predict the threshold of entering the Great Shabi would be lower than entering the regular banner registration, since it would not be harmful to the Qing regime.

⁸⁵ Ninjbadgar, *Jibzundamba khutagtyn shabiin zakhirгаа (XVII–XX зууны екhen)*, 130.

⁸⁶ Dalizhabu [B. Darijab], “Ka’rka fagui” *hanyi ji yanjiu*, 160 [7: 3], 201 [7: 3].

⁸⁷ Dalizhabu [B. Darijab], “Ka’rka fagui” *hanyi ji yanjiu*, 161 [7: 9], 201–202 [7: 9].

Chapter Three

Mongolization of the Han Chinese Settlers and Their Descendants in the Great Shabi

This chapter examines the case of mongolization of Han Chinese settlers and their descendants in Qing Outer Mongolia. Using Chinese and Mongolian folk documents preserved in NCAM and MTAC, this case shows how illegal Han Chinese settlers from Shanxi and Zhili secured their families and property in the Great Shabi, a Mongolian Buddhist institution, to escape state surveillance. This chapter argues that those Han Chinese settlers had been culturally mongolized first and their descendants ultimately naturalized and fully integrated into Mongol society. They crossed the geographic, ethnic and legal boundaries prescribed by the Qing regime.

Mongolian and Chinese Pledges as Folk Documents

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a channel of mongolization of the Han Chinese settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia was the Great Shabi. The Great Shabi became a shelter for the Mongolian wives, descendants, and property of the settlers, who often donated all their family members and belongings to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu. All of these offerings were managed by the Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba. In this chapter, the backgrounds of the different archival documents and the cases they record will be examined. These Qing archival documents preserved in the National Central Archives of Mongolia reveal how Han Chinese settlers and their descendants were mongolized and integrated into Mongolian society. This will open a window to probe into a less-documented history of Mongol-Han interaction under Qing rule.

These archival documents consist of two kinds of pledges. The first type is an on-going and continuous compilation of transcripts of written pledges in Mongolian only on presenting Han

Chinese settlers' family and property to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu from 1768 to 1830, together with six originals of the aforementioned transcripts in Chinese and Mongolian only on Shabi donations made by Han Chinese donators. The second type is a collection of original pledges in Mongolian and Chinese on presenting Han Chinese settlers' family and property to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu in an investigation of illegal residence of Han Chinese Settlers in 1800. The first type of the pledges should be regarded as a bigger category. The types of pledges reflect different dimensions of the donations: the first one shows a long-term trend, and the second one demonstrates a specific case.

These pledge transcripts of the first type were probably copied and reorganized by Mongol scribes of the Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba. Comparing them to the six preserved originals, we can see the scribes faithfully copied the Mongolian originals of the pledges, even imitating the palm prints and Chinese signatures on the originals.¹ At the end of the pledge transcripts is the date of July 1837. This should be the date that they were copied.

In the first type of documents, there are 173 cases recorded in total.² The time begins in 1768 and ends in 1830. Among the 173 cases, only 19 lack a date when the pledges were submitted. Among the remaining 154 cases, 65 are dated to the Qianlong reign (1736–1795), 83 to the Jiaqing reign (1796–1820), and 6 to the Daoguang reign (1821–1850).

¹ For the palm prints, see NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 78a (JQ2, VII, 3). For the two drawings, see NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 58b (QL38, V, 30).

² The full name of the archives is *Engke Amuyulang Qayan-u tabin naimaduɣar on-ača qoyisi Nairaltu Töb . Tngri-yin Tedkügsen edüge Sayisiyaltai Iriügelü-yin arban tabuduɣar on kürtel-e Abay-a Abaya-narun wang beyile ɣasaɣ-nar ba jici Dari Gangɣ-a süriü . Čaqar naiman qosiɣu, ɣegün barayun qoyar Sönid . Tümed . Ulayan Čab-un čiyulyan-u ded terigün darqan beyile . Qaračin örtegen . irgečüd-ün gergeri köbegün-eče daray-a sira qara qosiɣud-ača öndür düri-yin gegegen-eče inaru edüge dörbedüger öndür düri-yin gegegen-ten-e šabi bolɣan ergügsen kümün-ü uy ergügsen bičigüd-i yosuɣar qayulju bičigsen dangsa .* The access number is M85 D1 KhN64.

Another type of written pledge was authored by illegal Han Chinese settlers who had been caught by Qing officials.³ This group of written pledges is related to an extensively enforced ban against illegal Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia. On May 13, 1800, an official treasurer (Mo. *ǰaisang nirba*) Gendendarjiya, a scribe Garmadashi, together with a deputy adjutant (Mo. *meyiren*) Dalangtai under *daruga jasag* Tsebagjab's banner, head of the three places, went to the areas of Kesigtü, Erkil Nugu, and Gurban Eber adjacent to the Selenge River⁴ in order to inspect Han Chinese settlers who stayed there and married women from the Great Shabi. In this inspection, 30 cases were found and each illegal Han Chinese settler had to hand in a written pledge, in Mongolian and Chinese, promising that he would go back to China proper in one or two years. 18 out of 30 cases were dated to May 12, 1800, the day right before the inspection was carried out. The remaining 12 cases were dated to May 14, 1800. This could imply that the inspection actually began before May 13, 1800 as is indicated on the cover page of the file. It could also mean that for those 18 cases their written pledges were produced beforehand because those pledgers had heard or been informed of the coming inspection. So far as we know, either situation could be possible, and no further information was collected. The bulk of the documents is a collection of those written pledges. In the classification of folk documents proposed by Zheng Zhenman 鄭振滿, the pledges in question fall into the second category, documents made by local commoners for official use.⁵ Since this is a record about a

³ The full name of that archival document is *Sayisiyaltai Iriügelü-yin tabuduyar on ĵun-u terigün sar-a-yin qorin-du . Selengge ǰool-un Kesigtü . Erkil Nuyu . Gurban Eber-tü-yin ĵerge ǰaǰar-iyar nutuylaju . šabinar-ača em-e abču qorǰuday sayuǰ-a irged-i . ǰayisang nirba Gendündarĵiy-a . bičigeči Garmadasi . ǰurban nutuǰ-un daruǰ-a ǰasay Čabyanǰab-un qosiyun-u meyiren Talangtai-nar-luǰ-a qamtu bayičayaǰsan Mongyol Kitad üsiüg-ün debter dangsa ene bui*. The access number is M85 D1 KhN39.

⁴ Kesigtü was also an important area providing agricultural products for residents of Khüriye. See Sato, *Shindai Haruha Mongoru no toshi ni kansuru kenkyū*, 339.

⁵ Zheng proposes his categorization system of folk documents in his interview, see Lin Jung-sheng 林榮盛 and Tseng Hsien-wei 曾獻緯, "Zheng Zhenman jiaoshou tan minjian wenxian yu difang shi yanjiu 鄭振滿教授談民間文獻與地方史研究," *Taida lishi xi xueshu yanjiu tongxun* 臺大歷史系學術研究通訊 17 (Oct., 2014): 27–29. Accessed May 7, 2016, http://homepage.ntu.edu.tw/~history/public_html/09newsletter/17/newsletter17.pdf.

group of local Han Chinese settlers of the same place and time, it should reflect the local situation as an ethnographic-like source.⁶

All of these pledge originals are written in both Chinese and Mongolian. Of the six originals found in the copies of NCAM stored in MTAC, all are written in Chinese and Mongolian. In the six originals, there is one submitted by Cheng Shenglian which contains the Chinese and Mongolian signatures written by those persons who were donated to the Great Shabi.⁷ In examining the handwriting of those names, it seems that they were written by the same person, not by every donated person. But the contents in Mongolian and Chinese are not exactly the same, and sometimes they can be very different with mutually exclusive information. For example, in the case of Han Bingyi, the Chinese section of the pledge clearly explains that the reason why Han Bingyi wants to donate his son Bayangmǒngke to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu is that Bayangmǒngke committed theft in Khūriye and could not sustain himself after being investigated by the Offices of the Shangdzodba. The Mongolian part of the same pledge only notes that Han Bingyi wants to have his son Bayangmǒngke enter the Great Shabi and the reason mentioned in the Chinese part is omitted. Furthermore, Han Bingyi's Mongolian name Khang Khutur is only seen in the Mongolian section.⁸ It is likely that the Mongolian and Chinese parts of the same pledge were created independently and neither was a literal translation of the other one.

That leads us to think about the identity of the pledge drafters. One possibility is the pledger himself drafted the pledge. In the previous case of Han Bingyi, only Han Bingyi himself

⁶ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: George Braziller, 2008).

⁷ MTAC-MGDZD, no. 015-024 (QL60, V, 28), pp. 0109–0110. For the transcript of this document, see NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, 73a–73b (QL60, V, 28).

⁸ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 86a–86b (JQ9, II, 25). For its original, see MTAC-MGDZD, no. 024-005, pp. 0011–0012 (JQ9, II, 24). The Mongolian transcript of the original pledge was made the next day.

knew the information. Another possibility is that Han Bingyi dictated what he wanted to say and let a Mongolian scribe write the Mongolian part. If a Han Chinese donator was not able to submit a pledge by himself, presumably his relative (such as a wife or brother), neighbor or local ruling *jasag* would draft the pledge for him and submit that on behalf of him.⁹ So far the evidence I have found does not reveal which theory would be more probable. I would suggest that it is possible for the Han Chinese pledgers to have the ability to write their pledges themselves.

In both types of pledges, the pledger summarizes his personal background, including domicile of origin, Chinese and Mongolian names, occupation, current residence, and the reason for coming to Mongolia. Comparing the latter set of written pledges with the former one, the pledger's associate and the time of his marriage are not mentioned in the one in question. But the situation and reason why the pledger married his wife and the estimated time the pledger promised to leave Mongolia are given in the written pledges. A typical pledge would include some, if not all, of the information below:

1. The time when the pledge was submitted;
2. The Chinese name of the nominal pledger or donator (Not necessarily corresponding to the actual donator);
3. The Mongolian name of the nominal pledger or donator (Not necessarily corresponding to the actual donator);

⁹ For an example of a Han Chinese donator's wife as pledge writer, see the case of Wang Jizhu. Wang said he let his wife Sampiljid write this pledge due to his health issues. But it also implies that this document could have been penned by the pledger himself if he was not sick. For the case of Wang Jizhu, see NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN39, p. 8b (JQ5, IV, 19). Regarding the cases of donators' relatives who acted on behalf of the donator, see the case of Zhang Loutai. Zhang Loutai died after going back to the Heartland. Therefore, it was his younger brother Khaisangtai who donated Zhang Loutai's Mongol widow and his son to the Great Shabi. For the case of Zhang Loutai, see NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 79b (JQ2, X, 29). For a local ruling *jasag* being involved in the donation, see the case of Li Shishui: A Han Chinese settler Li Shishui wanted to donate his children and herds to the Great Shabi. But he was not able to submit the pledge himself due to poor health. So the ruling *taiji* Badmajab stepped in and helped Li Shishui who was under his jurisdiction complete this donation to the Great Shabi. In this case, the pledge is likely drafted by the *taiji* Badmajab or his scribe. For the case of Li Shishui, see NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 88b–89a (JQ11, No Date).

4. The pledger's place of origin;
5. The pledger's occupation;
6. The pledger's associate;
7. The purpose why the pledger came to Mongolia;
8. The time when the pledger arrived in Mongolia;
9. The places where the pledger stayed in Mongolia;
10. The time when the pledger got married in Mongolia;
11. Name and background of the pledger's wife;
12. Name and background of the pledger's descendant;
13. Situations or reasons why the pledger intends to make the donation;
14. The content of the donation, including humans and animals;
15. The recipient of the donation;
16. Other information, including signature, witness, identity of the drafter, and the time the donator promises to leave Mongolia.

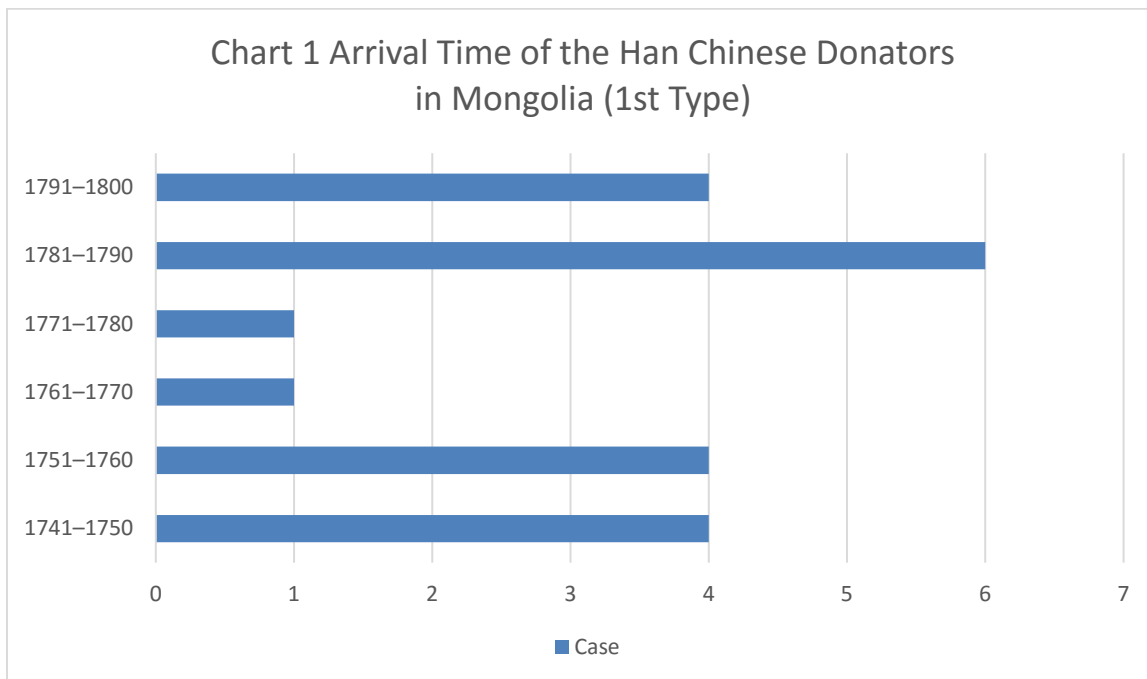
In this chapter, the two types of pledges will be examined to show the identities and lives of the two groups of Han Chinese pledgers and their families. A discussion of the two groups of donators follows. In the end, a comparison between the Han Chinese donators of the Great Shabi and other Han Chinese settlers in Outer Mongolia will be made to show the features of significance of those Han Chinese donators in question.

The Content and Long-Term Trend of the Donations Made by Han Chinese Donators

In this part, the first type of pledges will be adduced to show the identity and background of those Han Chinese donators, including their family members and property.

The number of the descendants of the Han Chinese donators is 426 in total. Among them, around 282 are male and 144 female. If we include their grandchildren and their Mongolian wives, the total number of people presented to the Great Shabi is 639.

The earliest Han Chinese donators recorded in these written pledges arrived in Khalkha Mongolia by 1743.¹⁰ According to the known twenty cases which had relatively-exact dates of arrival, we can make a chart of the arrival year of those Han Chinese settlers in Khalkha Mongolia as shown below.



We can see there is a steep drop between 1761 and 1780, only two Han Chinese donators arrived in Mongolia during this time period. It is possible that this drop was influenced by the incessant suspensions of the Russo-Qing trade during that time. But there might not be significant causal relationship between the two. The Russo-Qing trade was suspended three times: the first time in

¹⁰ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 71a (QL58, IX, 25).

1762 to 1768, the second time in 1779 to 1780, and the third time in 1785 to 1792.¹¹ The drop between 1761 and 1780 also occurred in the period of the first and second suspensions. But it seems that the third suspension had no such drastic influence on the decision of those Han Chinese settlers to come to Mongolia. We can also see a similar phenomenon in the investigation of 1800 in the next part, which likewise did not influence the number of arriving settlers.

Most of the places of origin or birthplaces of the donators are in Shanxi province. Among the total 173 cases, there are 103 in which the donator or pledger does not mention his place of origin or birthplace. Among the remaining seventy cases, at least sixty-five can be identified as those of Han Chinese settlers originating from Shanxi province. Two cases very vaguely mentioned that the pledgers were from China proper. Not all of the Han Chinese settlers directly entered Khalkha Mongolia from their places of origin. Some of them had lived in Inner Mongolia, such as Kalgan (Ch. Zhangjiakou 張家口), Ulaankhada (Ch. Chifeng 赤峰), and Dolonnuur (Ch. Duolunnuo'r 多倫諾爾) before they arrived in Outer Mongolia. The table below shows the details concerning the Han Chinese settlers' places of origin and relay stations mentioned in the first type of pledges.

Province (<i>sheng</i>)/case	Prefecture (<i>fu</i>), Department (<i>zhili zhou</i>), Independent Sub-prefecture (<i>zhili ting</i>) /case	County (<i>xian</i>)/case
Shanxi 山西/65	Datong 大同府/2	Tianzhen 天鎮縣/1
		Lingqiu 靈丘縣/1
	Daizhou 代州直隸州/1	N/A

¹¹ For the date of first suspension of Russo-Qing trade, some scholars, like Li Yu-shu, accept He Qiutao 何秋濤's argument that it began in 1764. See Li, "Kulun banshi dachen jianzhi kao," 155–163. But it has been shown in Manchu archives that that date should be 1762. On the date and analysis of the three suspensions of Russo-Qing trade, see Li Yongqing 鄺永慶 and Su Fenglin 宿豐林, "Qianlong nian jian Qiaketu maoyi sanci biguan bianxi 乾隆年間恰克圖貿易三次閉關辨析," *Lishi dang'an* 歷史檔案 3 (1987): 80–88.

	Fenzhou 汾州府/38	Fenyang 汾陽縣/16
		Xiaoyi 孝義縣/4
	Ningwu 寧武府/1	N/A
	Taiyuan 太原府/12	Qixian 祁縣/3
		Wenshui 文水縣/1
		Yuci 榆次縣/3
Xinzhou 忻州府/1	Dingxiang 定襄縣/1	
Zhili 直隸/5	Chengde 承德府/1	Chifeng (Ulaankhada) 赤峰縣/1
	Dolonnuur 多倫諾爾廳/1	N/A
	Zhangjiakou (Kalgan) 張家口廳/3	N/A

Table 7 Places of Origin and Relay Stations of the Han Chinese Donators (First Type)

Most of the Han Chinese pledgers mention their Chinese and Mongolian names when they introduce themselves in the written pledges. Mongolian names are even more often used. In the total 173 cases, there are 149 cases where the pledger's Mongolian name is used alone, and 125 cases where the pledgers use their Chinese names. Mongolian and Chinese names are both mentioned in 104 cases. Only in two cases are neither the Chinese nor Mongolian names of the pledgers mentioned. Generally speaking, their Mongolian and Chinese names seem to have no phonetic or semantic relation to each other.

It seems that those Han Chinese donators and their descendants could speak and write Mongolian. Given that the originals of the pledges are in Mongolian and Chinese with signatures of the donators and donated, one may confidently assume that they knew Mongolian speech and writing.

We know very little about the associates who accompanied the donators to Mongolia. They are mentioned only in nine cases from 173 cases. Some of the Han Chinese settlers arrived

in Mongolia with their family members, mostly their own brothers. Eight are the pledger's brothers, and one might be the pledger's fellow villager or friend. In one case, the donator Gelegjamtsan and his younger brother Lubsangdashi both lived in the Shabi of the Maitreya Monastery of Amdo *aimag*. And his brother was called a monk.¹² We will come back to this case later.

The donator's brother could also play the role of guarantor or witness of the written pledges or of an agent presenting his relative's wife and descendants to the Great Shabi. In one case, Khaisangdai assisted his deceased elder brother Bayangdai's family and acted as the representative of the extended family. He had rights to arrange his elder brother's family and to offer them to the Great Shabi. However, this might raise the issue of fairness in cases where the brother did not do his job well and wanted to profit at the expense of the donator's family.¹³ We will come back to this issue later.

Through examining the identity of those called to witness, it is possible to trace a local network of mutual assistance to which Han Chinese settlers belonged. Thus we see that those Han Chinese settlers who lived in the same place presented their families together. They should have known each other well. For example, Ma Ziyong, Li Zhizi, and Wang Zhongyin, and Wei Chilou were all under the *daruga* of Ibeng. It is likely that they lived in the same place, knew each other well, and presented their families and properties to the Great Shabi together. This kind of joint offering was not uncommon.¹⁴

The pledger's purposes in coming to Mongolia were mostly trading and their occupations mostly businessman. Among the 36 relevant cases, in 31 cases the pledger was doing business

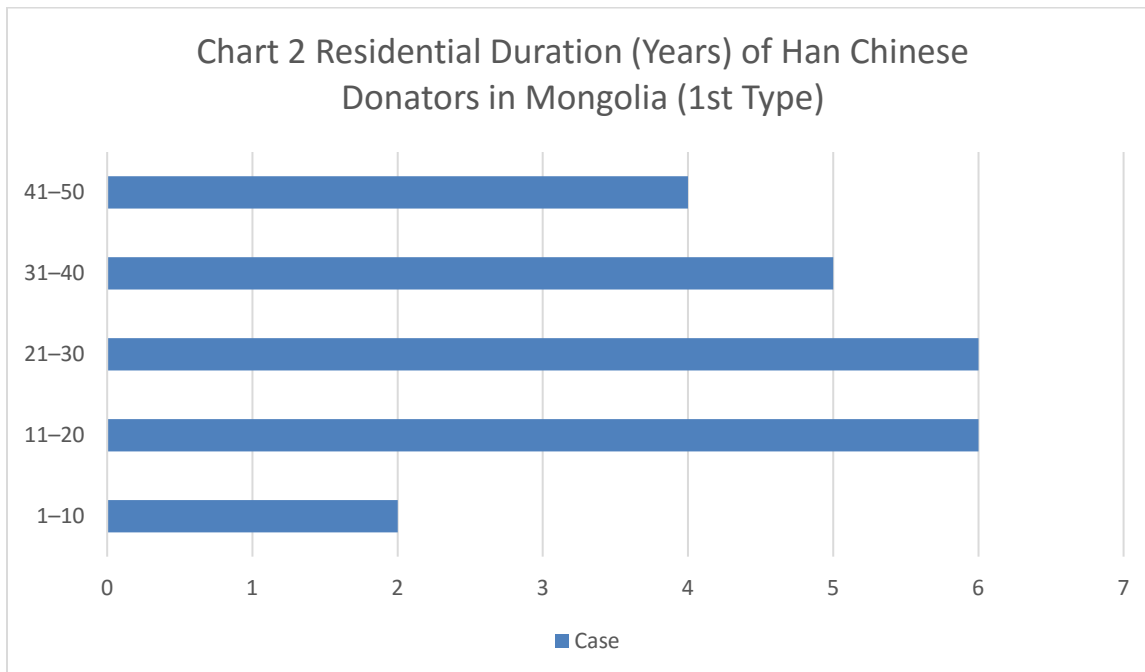
¹² NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 81b–82a (JQ5, III, 22).

¹³ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 79b (JQ2, X, 29).

¹⁴ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 72b–73a (QL59, X, 10).

and in one case also mentioned that giving loans and collecting interests was involved. In five cases, farming was their way to earn a living.

The average duration of their stay in Mongolia was around 26 years. In the available 22 cases, the figure of their average duration of stay is around 26.27 years. In those cases, there are also some cases that only give an approximate number like ten or over forty years.¹⁵ Here I take the minimum to calculate the average number. For example, “over ten years” would be taken as ten years. In one case, the donator arrived in Mongolia when he was fifteen years old.¹⁶ This is the youngest age to be found among all the cases. There are four other cases indicating that the pledger had arrived in Mongolia “a long time ago” or had been there “for many years.”¹⁷ The longest duration of stay is 50 years and the shortest is three years. Below is a chart of residential duration of Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia shown in the first type of pledges.



¹⁵ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 59b–60a (QL47, II, 8), 75a–75b (No Date).

¹⁶ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 66b (QL54, V, 16).

¹⁷ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 72b (QL59, X, 10), 80b (JQ2, IV, 20), 82b–83a (JQ5, V, 18).

When we look at the location of residence of the Han Chinese settlers, we will find that those Han Chinese settlers who donated persons to the Great Shabi were spread out in rural Mongolia, and were only in a minority of cases from the cities. Among the known 51 cases, we find only 11 cases in main cities of Khalkha, including eight cases in Khüriye (one indicates the trading town [Mo. *Maiyimaičing*] and one in West Khüriye with the Great Shabi), three in Kyakhta, and one in Uliastai. But there are more cases in small towns or Mongol banners in the countryside, especially in Ibeng (four cases). Two pledgers said that they stayed in Burgaltai and another two pledgers said that they lived in Usun Seger, a tributary of the Orkhon river. Those places were places where Yekhe Khüriye of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu had moved to in 1720 (Usun Seger) and 1723 (Ibeng) and were also estates of the Great Shabi.¹⁸ Those places, such as Ibeng, Burgaltai, and Usun Seger, were important farmlands which provided crops for residents of Khüriye.¹⁹ Other locations include Middle Rear Final banner of Sain Noyan *aimag* (known as Eyetei Güng banner, in today's Arkhangai province) headed by Jasag Ubushi (one case), Right-Wing Left banner of Tüshiyetü Khan *aimag* (known as Erdeni Daiching Wang banner, in today's Bulgan province) headed by Jasag Tsebagjab in Selenge, and Erdeni Zuu (two cases and one case specified trading area of Erdeni Zuu). Most of them lived in *otogs* under a Mongol *daruga* (chief), such as *daruga* Gonchug's *otog* and *daruga* Erkhe's *otog*. Most of the locations of the *otogs* are difficult to identify today because *otog* was not an official organization of the Qing administration and it is not documented in Qing maps of Mongol banners. Sometimes a river is given as the residential place in the pledges, such as the Orkhon River and the Urad River. Place

¹⁸ This can be attested in the *Erdeni-yin erike*. On the movement of Yekhe Khüriye, see L. Dugersuren, *Ulaanbaatar khotyn tüükhees: Nüislel Khüree* (Ulaanbaatar: State Publishing House, 1956), 13. While Khüriye moved in Usun Seger by 1720, Han Chinese merchants also lived around that. See A. M. Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, vol. 1, 63.

¹⁹ Sato, *Shindai Haruha Mongoru no toshi ni kansuru kenkyū*, 339.

names were also indicated like Bargu, and some were difficult to identify, such as Adaga (in Hentii?), Aru Tolbi, Sabartu, and Eyengki.

Some of the women who married the Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia were from or related to the Great Shabi. The rest of them were daughters of either unspecified Mongols or Han Chinese. Among all the seventy-three cases in which the relevant information is given, at least eleven cases show that the Han Chinese settler in question married women from the Great Shabi. There are two cases in which the Han Chinese settler married a Han Chinese settler's daughter. But in one of the two cases, although both the groom and bride were of Han Chinese origin, it is indicated in the source that their marriage was conducted in a Mongolian way. In that case, one horse, one ox, one pregnant cow, and one ram were given to the bride's family as bridewealth.²⁰

In most cases, the descendants of the Han Chinese settlers were offered by their biological parents. Not every Han Chinese donator was the biological father of the sons or daughters he presented to the Great Shabi. Only in three cases, with five sons in total, do those donated children have Chinese names and four of them have both Chinese and Mongolian names.²¹ Only one son in one case has a Chinese name only.²² Chinese names of the female descendants are not mentioned at all. The youngest female descendant to be presented to the Great Shabi was eight months of age and the oldest was forty-three years old.²³

Most of the Han Chinese settlers did not (or were not allowed to) bring their Mongolian wives and children back to China proper. This is often found in the pledges. In the case of Ha Biyong paying the lamas to take care of his family, Ha Biyong did not bring them back to Shanxi

²⁰ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 90a–90b (JQ13, IX, 13).

²¹ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 70a (QL58, IV, 29), 87a (JQ10, ?, 21), 93a–93b (DG10, II, 19).

²² NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 87a (JQ10, ?, 21).

²³ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 65a–65b (QL53, II, 24), 68a–68b (QL55, IV, 6).

and presented his family and animals to the Great Shabi.²⁴ Only in a very late case of Fan Dongsheng, was he allowed to bring his son back to China proper with him.²⁵

Apart from human offering, animals and goods were also included. In terms of animals, the five snouts of the Mongols were standard offering, such as horse, ox, cow, sheep, goat, and camel. Yak sometimes appeared in the inventory. The goods included yurts, mills, and crops.²⁶

The donator's specific allotment of animals to those pledged in his bequest was sometimes indicated in written pledges. In one case, the donator explained that he assigned half of his animal offering to his eldest son and his mother and the other half to raising his youngest son after subtracting the portion for tea offering to the Great Shabi.²⁷

Why did the Han Chinese settlers voluntarily choose to offer their wives and descendants to the Great Shabi? Several reasons below can be found in the written pledges.

One of the reasons was out of piety, to collect merits for one's elder relatives, to take refuge in the Buddha, or to receive the Buddha's protection for the donator's benefit in this life and the next. We have two examples. The first case is a Han Chinese donator Dashi who presents his family and animals to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu simply to take refuge in the Buddha in this lifetime and the next life.²⁸ The second case is of a Merchant-Commoner Khaisangdai, who lived in northern Tuulabi and married a Merchant-Commoner's daughter of similar status. This implies that Khaisangdai's father-in-law was likely to have married a Mongolian woman before. Khaisangdai claimed that he offered his wife, son and daughter plus animals to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu for protection in this and their next lives.²⁹ As we know, some of the Shanxi merchants,

²⁴ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 74a (No Date).

²⁵ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 93a–93b (DG10, II, 19).

²⁶ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 73b–74a (No Date), 82b (JQ5, IV*, ?).

²⁷ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 84a (JQ6, II, 4).

²⁸ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 76b (No Date).

²⁹ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 76a–76b (No Date).

such as the ones of Dashengkui, also had patronized Tibetan-rite Buddhist temples in Mongolia. According to Wang Yi, a tablet offered by Dashengkui in Siregetü Zuu shows that the merchants of Dashengkui had begun to donate the Siregetü Zuu (Ch. Xilitu Zhao 席力圖召) in Höhhot since 1724.³⁰ Given this, those Han Chinese merchants who settled in Mongolia might have established relationship with the Mongols through the network of Buddhist monasteries and some of them might have been familiar with and accepted Tibetan Buddhist practices and ideas, including collecting religious merits through making donations.

Another reason for those donations was to ensure the livelihood and security of the donors and their families. In some cases, the donor was sick or old, and would die soon, like the case of Li Shishui.³¹ In other cases, the donor was to leave for China proper, either voluntarily or through forced repatriation, after being caught by Qing officials for illegal residence in Mongolia. In the case of Ding Muding, he was found residing illegally and expelled by the Imperial Residents of Uliastai. The fact that he presented his family and belongings to the Great Shabi can be considered a case of the Shabi as a religious institution serving in some sense as a loophole in the law.³²

The Han Chinese donor's collateral relatives (or perhaps their fellow villagers who pretended to be their collateral relatives) staying in China proper might come to Mongolia and claim their share of the donor's property and cause the donor's wife and descendants to lose a significant part, if not all, of their property. Therefore, the Han Chinese donors specifically wrote these documents as testimony of permanent transfer of property. In the documents, the donors claimed that all his family and property belonged to the Great Shabi hereafter and had nothing to do with their collateral relatives. If their collateral relatives heard of the donors'

³⁰ Wang, "Transforming the Frontier," 170.

³¹ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 88b–89a (JQ11, No Date).

³² NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 88a (JQ10, VI, 11).

deaths in Mongolia in the future and arrived in Mongolia to try and seize the donators' properties, they would have no right to do that. Below are two examples.

The first case is Zhu Mingzi. Zhu wanted to make his family and property part of the Great Shabi. The donator Zhu's concern was that his fellow villagers in the Heartland (Ch. *neidi* 內地) who might falsely claim to be his relatives in order to obtain an illegal share of his property and his son. This claim might be false, but there might also be a case of one's own collateral relatives claiming shares of one's property and impoverishing one's own family. So the donator also wanted to prevent this kind of things happening after he died.³³ Again, the Shabi as religious institution served as a vehicle for denying recourse to those wishing to move wealth or dependents back to the Heartland. The second case of Chen Banzhang demonstrates this situation as well. In this case, the donator's concern is that his family's livelihood would be mired in difficulties if others who had learned of his death came to Mongolia under his brother's name to seize his property. Therefore, this document was considered testimony to assure his property would not be divided in any case and only at his family's disposal.³⁴

In general, the Great Shabi became a shelter for the families of the donators. Although this might be also seen as an "excuse" or "pretext" to seek refuge or protection for the donator's family in Mongolia, the language of "real motivation" and "excuse" is obstructive. Both can be at work together without conflict.

The donators did not necessarily try to hide their children's ambiguous ethno-legal status. Those sons were called *erlije* (half-breed or hybrid) by their father in one case.³⁵ And one donator himself was called *erlije*.³⁶ One Han Chinese donator's wife was called *erlijes* too.³⁷ Sometimes

³³ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 70a–70b (QL58, V, 11).

³⁴ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 79a–79b (JQ2, X*, 3).

³⁵ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 75b (No Date).

³⁶ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 84b (JQ7, II, 22).

the descendants being presented were called “Mongols” by their father.³⁸ However, a Han Chinese settler calling his own sons Mongols would be illustrative to discuss his own strategy of adaptation in Mongolia. We will come back to this case later.

In brief, in this set of archival documents, those Han Chinese settlers usually had been living in Mongolia for more than two decades, which was supposed to be illegal, and mostly presented their family and property to the Great Shabi voluntarily in order to be under the Jibzundamba Khutugtu’s protection, except one case in which the Han Chinese donator was expelled by the Imperial Resident of Uliastai. In the next section, a case will be drawn on to demonstrate this kind of situation in more detail.

A Case Study of One-Time and Collective Donation of Han Chinese Donators

As mentioned, there was an investigation of illegal Han Chinese settlers in Kesigtü, Erkil Nugu, and Gurban Eber in the valley of the Selenge River in May of 1800. In that survey, there are 30 cases recorded and these cases were not included in the previous record of pledges. Therefore, this should be treated as a special one-time event.

As a result of this investigation, eighty-two people in total were donated to the Great Shabi, of which were thirty-four sons and sixteen daughters of the Han Chinese donators. All the names of the nominal pledger or donator are written in Mongolian and Chinese forms. However, for each of their Mongolian names, although in all thirty cases the Mongolian form of their Mongolian name was given, only in thirteen cases was the Chinese form indicated. Similar to the situation of voluntary offerings, the extent of phonetic or semantic resemblance between their Chinese and Mongolian names in the involuntary offerings was unclear and seems to be low.

³⁷ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 86a (JQ8, III*, 26).

³⁸ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 77b (JQ1, VII, 25).

All Chinese names of the nominal pledgers or donators were indicated in all thirty cases in Mongolian and Chinese forms. However, for each of their Mongolian names, although in all thirty cases the Mongolian form of their Mongolian name was given, only in thirteen cases the Chinese form was indicated.

Regarding to the pledger's place of origin, the pledgers were mostly from Shanxi province. Twenty-nine were from Shanxi in all thirty cases and only one from Zhili 直隸. In the twenty-nine cases of Shanxi, the Han Chinese donators of the twenty-four cases originated from Fenzhou 汾州 prefecture, one from Xizhou 忻州, four from Taiyuan 太原 prefecture. In the sole case of Zhili province, the pledger was from Xuanhua 宣化 prefecture. Below is the table of their places of origin.

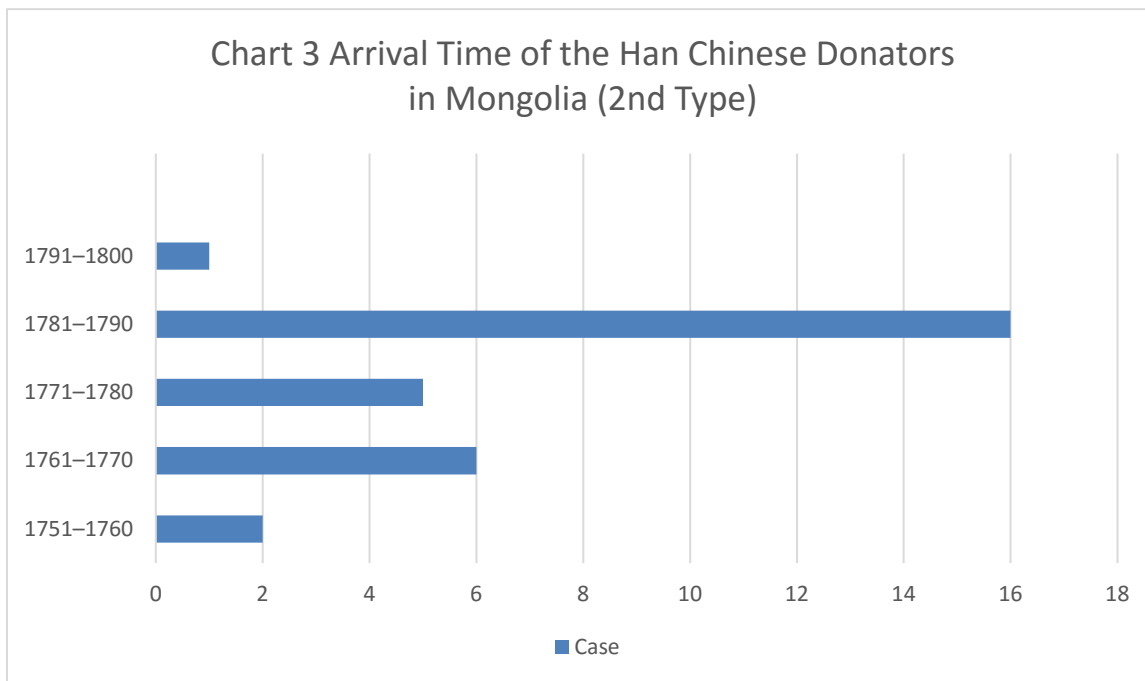
Province (<i>sheng</i>)/case	Prefecture (<i>fu</i>), Department (<i>zhili zhou</i>), Independent Sub-prefecture (<i>zhili ting</i>) /case	County (<i>xian</i>)/case	Town (<i>zhen</i>) or Village (<i>cun</i>)/case
Shanxi 山西省/29	Fenzhou 汾州府/24	Fenyang 汾陽縣/21	Huazhi 花枝村/1
			Jiabi 賈壁村/2
			Shicun 石村/1
			Wangquan 王圈鎮/1
			Yangquan 羊泉村/1
	Xiaoyi 孝義縣/4	N/A	
	Taiyuan 太原府/4	Qixian 祁縣/3	N/A
	Yangqu 陽曲縣/1	N/A	
	Xinzhou 忻州直隸州/1	Dingxiang 定襄縣/1	N/A
Zhili 直隸省/1	Xuanhua 宣化府/1	Wanquan 萬全縣/1	Ximalin 席麻林村/1

Table 8 Places of Origin and Relay Stations of the Han Chinese Donators (Second Type)

Most of these Han Chinese settlers were hired workers (18 of 30), possibly as tenants. Others were two farmers, a businessman (in Kyakhta), and a stonemith. The main reason for these Han Chinese settlers coming to Mongolia was poverty. They were not able to sustain themselves in the homeland. So they left their places of origin and headed north to Khalkha.

The earliest case of those captured Han Chinese settlers arriving in Khalkha was in 1759.

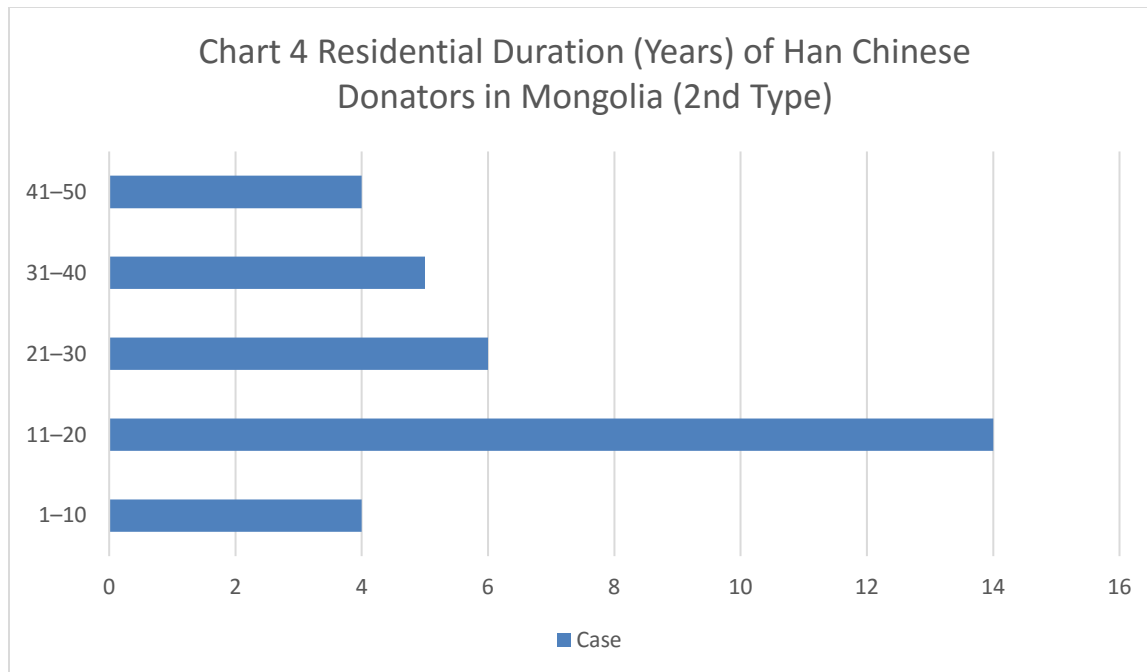
Below is a chart of their arrival time.



The average length of their residential duration in Mongolia was around twenty-one years.

However, if they had not been caught by the Mongol officials, they might have stayed longer.

Below is a table of residential duration of Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia based on the known data above.



All Han Chinese settlers in question lived in Kesigtü, Erkil Nugu, and Gurban Eber, adjacent to the Selenge River. However, most of them were residents of Kesigtü (23 of 30). Three were in Jasag Tsebagjab’s territory and one was in Tsewang *daruga’s* *otog*. One person vaguely said he lived around the Selenge River. The other two cases did not give any relevant information.

We find that the pledger’s wives were all from the Great Shabi. Some Han Chinese donators married more than one Mongolian wife. In the case of Wang Jizhu, Wang married two Mongolian women and before he married his second wife he donated his three sons born to his first wife to the Great Shabi.³⁹ Two cases show that the reason why those Chinese pledgers married the Mongolian woman was that their fathers were enlisted as disciples under the Great Shabi.⁴⁰ Compared to the Chinese part of the same document, the details about the pledger’s reason for coming to Mongolia, the duration of his staying in Mongolia, and his Mongolian wife’s personal background, especially the fact that the pledger married this Mongolian woman

³⁹ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN39, p. 8b (JQ5, IV, 19).

⁴⁰ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN39, p. 2a (JQ5, IV, 19).

because her father was a *shabi*, which are all found in the Mongolian part, are all left out in the Chinese part. For the pledger's place of origin, in the Mongolian part, it only indicates Dingxiang county, Shanxi province. In the Chinese part, it adds Taiyuan prefecture, which is more complete but inaccurate since Dingxiang county was under Xinzhou 忻州, not under Taiyuan, during the most of the Qing era.

It is found in one case that the pledger's son has a Chinese name, but he was born in China proper and came to Mongolia with his father. That pledger Chen Shouyi came to Mongolia with his son born in China proper. But he made a mistake of putting Fenzhou prefecture under Taiyuan. That was not accurate during the Qing era, but these kind of mistakes are often made in these documents. This might imply that they had stayed in Mongolia for a long time and had only vague memory of their hometowns.⁴¹

In the case of Ma Bao, the Han Chinese settler's grandchildren seem to have Chinese-style names. Compared to the Chinese part of the same document, the part about reporting to the imperial residents and the judges is absent. But it indicates that the *otog* which those Chinese *erlijes* belonged to was left undecided. Mao Bao's case also tells us that the Imperial Residents of Khüriye and judges of the Court of Dependencies should be informed about the transmission of people into the Great Shabi. And this principle should be applicable to other cases too.⁴²

When we put this and another pledge together, we can see the pledger Ma Bao had a fellow villager Ma Biao there.⁴³ Comparing the Ma Bao and Ma Biao cases, we can see the latter came to the same place ten years later than the former. Although they have the same surname and very similar given names (with the same radical "tiger"), it is uncertain whether they were brothers or even relatives at all. However, there might have existed a network of information

⁴¹ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN39, p. 13a (JQ5, IV, 21).

⁴² NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN39, p. 7b (JQ5, IV, 19).

⁴³ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN39, p. 7a (JQ5, IV, 19).

about Mongolia circulating between Kesigtü and Jiabi village. After Ma Bao arrived in Kesigtü, he could have passed the relevant information back to his place of origin in Shanxi. So later Ma Biao, also living in Jiabi village, came to Kesigtü.

The situation and reason why the pledger presented his family and property to the Great Shabi were obvious in this set of documents; that is, that they had all been caught by local Mongol officials and he might not have been able to bring his family members back to China proper. Therefore, donating them to the Great Shabi was an expedient strategy to secure their livelihood and property.

As for the content of the donation, it included humans, animals, and goods. For humans, the Han Chinese settler offered all his family members, including his wife, son, daughter, in-laws, and grandchildren, by and large. For animals, it included the five snouts in Mongolian culture: sheep, horses (some castrated), goats, cattle (oxen and cows), and camels. As for inanimate property, brick tea and Mongolian tents were included.

Regarding the recipient of these Han Chinese settlers' donations, except for two cases in which this is not indicated, twenty-eight cases give us the relevant information. In twelve cases, the offerings were allocated to *daruga* Tsewang's *otog*, eleven to *daruga* Dashidondub's *otog*, two to *daruga* Tsebdendorji's *otog* (Tsebdendorji also supervised the farmers), one to Jasag Tsewangdorji, and one to *daruga* Jamyang's *otog* (Jamyang also commanded the guards). Only in one case was the recipient left unspecified. Therefore, it is reasonable to say these offerings were often arranged as soon as they were presented. Of the twenty-eight cases, in only one is the receiver not confirmed to be the same as the *daruga* of the pledger's wife's *otog*; in another two cases no relevant information is given. It thus seems to be common that this kind of offering should be allocated to the *otog* from which the pledger's wife originated.

Having been caught, the pledgers generally promised to leave Mongolia in a certain period of time after settling their affairs. Excluding six cases which do not indicate relevant information, there are ten cases out of the twenty-four cases in which the estimated time to leave Mongolia given by the pledger was about two years. The pledgers promised that they would go back to their places of origin after collecting debts for their provision, within one year in four cases, and within one month in one case. And in six cases, the pledger did not offer any exact time but promised that he would leave for his place of origin after collecting debts. In three cases, the pledger stated that he was not able to leave Mongolia due to old age or ill health. There is no further indication or information on whether those pledgers ever fulfilled their promises.

Other information, such as the pledger's wife's health problems and the time when they became disciples, would also be included in the pledges.

In brief, as we have seen above, when the Han Chinese settlers had been caught by Mongol officials and were to be quickly repatriated to their place of origin, donating their family and property to Jibzundamba Khutugtu seemed like a reasonable emergency measure for them. However, we have no further evidence to prove that those Han Chinese ever kept their promises to go back to their place of origin in China proper. It is also possible that they went back to China proper within the time and came back to Mongolia later.

Ethnicity, Property, and State in Mid-Qing Outer Mongolia

In the previous sections, we can see the general features of the group of mongolized Han Chinese settlers. They were mostly from Shanxi and a few of them from Zhili (See Map 1). Those Han settlers arrived in Mongolia and stayed there for decades (For their distribution in Mongolia, see Map 2).

The response of the Qing state to this practice was rather late and its position was subject to wild swings. The standard Qing policy towards illegal Han Chinese settlers before the Jiaqing emperor was to recognize the status quo, enlist them in the register of Han Chinese settlers kept by the Court of Dependencies, and have them pay taxation. Although the Qing court would reiterate the official position of the policies of *closing off* after illegal Han Chinese settlements were found, repatriation of those illegal Han Chinese settlers was rarely an option and the Qing government did not want to cause social upheaval. Those illegal Han Chinese settlers also demanded to extend their residential period in Mongolia because they had not finished collecting their debts from indebted Mongols.⁴⁴

The Qing attitude towards Han Chinese colonization and was basically passive and not enthusiastic. The ban on Mongol-Han intermarriage in Mongolia was installed since the Kangxi period. But by the late Qianlong era, this ban was reconsidered and even lifted for a decade. In a case of a Mongol *taiji*, Khaiching (Ch. Haiqing 海青) of Gorlos married his daughter with a commoner called Liang Yidong 梁依棟 of 1777, though the officials of the Department of Dependancies proposed to that this marriage was illegal and invalid, the Qianlong emperor did not make this couple separate because, he said, Mongolian and Han Chinese peoples were all his subjects and both of the families agreed to this marriage without being forced.⁴⁵ In 1787, the ban on Mongol-Han intermarriage was officially lifted by the Qianlong emperor because more and more Han Chinese settlers settled in Mongolia and Mongol-Han intermarriage would become so frequent that this ban became unpractical.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ See Sato, *Shindai Haruha Mongoru no toshi ni kansuru kenkyū*, 341–352.

⁴⁵ *Qing Gaozong shilu* 清高宗實錄, in *Qing shilu*, vol. 9–27, *juan* 1045, 21–22.

⁴⁶ Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan 中國第一歷史檔案館, ed., *Qianlong chao shangyu dang* 乾隆朝上諭檔 (Beijing: Archive Publishing House, 1991), 13: 865–866.

If we see the resolution of 1787 as marking a deviation from the principle of Han-Mongol segregation and Qing policy towards Han Chinese colonization in Mongolia, the early Jiaqing reign should be viewed as a rectification of old Qing policy towards illegal Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia. In 1795, the Qianlong emperor abdicated the throne to his fifteenth son Yongyan 顥琰, later the Jiaqing emperor, but still retained power as the “Emperor Emeritus” (Ch. *taishang huang* 太上皇). The Jiaqing emperor was not able to exercise full power until Qianlong passed away in 1799. In the beginning of the period when the Jiaqing emperor assumed power, the Qing court seemed to strengthen the policies of *closing off* in Mongolia and made some experimental changes.

The first move was in 1801, which could be a response to the forementioned 1800 case to some extent. The Court of Dependencies presented a proposal to the Jiaqing emperor to handle the issue of Mongol-Han Chinese intermarriage in Outer Mongolia. According to the proposal, the imperial resident (Ma. *hebei amban*, Ch. *canzan dachen* 參贊大臣) of Uliastai reported that many Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia violated the Qing rules and married Mongolian wives. The imperial resident requested an imperial edict to instruct him how to deal with this issue. Since it would be unreasonable to separate those Mongol-Han couples, the ministers of the Court of Dependencies suggested that those Han Chinese settlers should be allowed to bring their Mongolian wives back to their places of origin in China proper. If some settlers were reluctant to follow this plan, they would be allowed to find other proper ways as they saw fit. If there were still other cases of Mongol-Han liaison happening after the proposal was announced, the violator would be cangued for three months, given one hundred blows from the bastinado, and repatriated back to his place of origin. A Mongol family who married their daughter to a Han Chinese settler would also be punished accordingly. The relevant *taiji* or *janggin* who allowed this to happen

would also be fined for three nines of cattle, while the relevant ruling Mongol *jasag* would lose half of his annual salary as punishment. This proposal was granted by the Jiaqing emperor in October of 1801.⁴⁷ The resolution of 1801 would be the first time to see the procedure of the Qing court towards the Mongol wives of illegal Han Chinese settlers, and it was an unprecedented move for the Qing court to allow them to settle in China proper.⁴⁸

The second move occurred in 1803. The Jiaqing emperor ordered Han Chinese settlers in Outer Mongolia to be expelled as they had penetrated the territories of Jasag Tsewangdorji, Tsebagjab and the Jibzundamba Khutugtu and began to transform the grassland into farmland, which would be harmful for the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's nomadic subjects' livelihoods. The Imperial Resident of Khūriye Yūndendorji suggested the Jiaqing emperor suspend this action in his palace memorial since Han Chinese settlers had settled in Outer Mongolia for many years, had commercial and conjugal ties, and Mongols were willing to keep those Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia. The Jiaqing emperor sanctioned his suggestion and ordered him to give each Han Chinese settler a permit, maintain their registration, and prevent new illegal Han Chinese immigration. After those settlers who had married Mongolian wives died, their wives should be given to *jasags* as slaves (Ch. *nu* 奴, probably *khamjilga*) or to Jibzundamba Khutugtu as subjects (Ch. *shu* 屬, here denotes *shabi*) depending on who their master was.⁴⁹ As was discussed above, Han Chinese settlers donated their Mongolian wives to the Great Shabi. It

⁴⁷ Tuojin [Tojin] et al., eds. *Qinding Daqing huidian shili (Jiaqing chao)* 欽定大清會典事例（嘉慶朝）, *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中國史料叢刊, col. 3, vols. 641–700 (Taipei: Wen-hai Publishing House, 1991), *juan* 742, 5. This edict was also found in the form of a poster (Ch. *gaoshi* 告示) in the National Central Archives of Mongolia. So it is believed that this order had been publicized by Mongol officials in Yeke Khūriye. Here I cite the copy preserved in MTAC-MGDZD, no. 025-001, pp. 0001–0004 (JQ6, IX, ?). Partial quotation of this document can be found in Lai, “Qingdai Kulun Shangzhuoteba yamen yu shanghao,” 15.

⁴⁸ For the abolition of Mongol-Han intermarriage ban issued by the Qianlong emperor and the resumption of the ban decreed by the Jiaqing emperor, see Zhao Yang 趙陽, “Qian Jia shiqi Meng Han tonghun jinli feizhi kao 乾嘉時期蒙漢通婚禁例廢止考,” *Nei Menggu daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 內蒙古大學學報（哲學社會科學版）41, no. 6 (Nov., 2009): 25–28.

⁴⁹ *Qing Renzong shilu* 清仁宗實錄 in *Qing shilu*, vols. 28–32, *juan* 118, 16.

seems that the Qing court did not recognize this practice which had been carried out for decades until 1803. Since the descendants born to those Mongolian wives are not mentioned in this resolution, there is no evidence to prove that the donations of the descendants of the Han Chinese settlers were recognized by the Qing government. But it is reasonable to assume that this regulation was applicable to their descendants.

The resolution of 1803 was treated as a precedent in the case of Liang Shiji 梁士佺 in 1824 which mentioned that resolution. However, it is doubtful that this plan of 1803 was actually put into practice, at least on a wide scale. In the Liang case, the *janggjin* of the Lifan yuan performed his duty in a perfunctory manner and did not expel those illegal Han Chinese settlers in Ibeng. The number of illegal Han Chinese settlers continued to grow.⁵⁰

Given the fact that the donations to the Great Shabi in question continued from 1803 to 1830, it is clear that those donations were legalized by and conformed to the resolution of 1803. Although it is still not confirmed that there was any Han Chinese settler who brought his own family back to China proper according to the resolution of 1801, we know that the donations were still being practiced after 1801. That means that those donations were their intentional choice since the Han Chinese settlers had a chance to bring their family back to China proper. In the case of Fan Dongsheng, he had to report to the Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba that he had three sons in Mongolia and gained permission from the General and Grand Duke of the banner where he stayed to bring one of his three sons (maybe the youngest one) back to China proper. The reason why Fan Dongsheng only brought one son back to China proper was not mentioned

⁵⁰ *Qing Xuanzong shilu* 清宣宗實錄, in *Qing shilu*, vols. 33–39, *juan* 66, 34–37.

in the document.⁵¹ In this case, these sons had Chinese names, and so were probably not “mongolized.” However, this kind of case is quite rare.

In Qing history, the *shabi* donation could be seen as a form of *touchong* 投充 in terms of seeking protection and escaping bankruptcy, debts and taxes. In the early chaotic years of the Qing, a mass of Han Chinese people, from the urban area and countryside, would offer themselves, together with their whole families and estate, to bannermen as slaves. Under the protection of their masters, those Han Chinese would be cultivators of the farmland allotted to bannermen by the emperor.⁵² Although *touchong* had been found flawed and prohibited by the Shunzhi emperor in 1647, this ban was never put into practice and *touchong* existed until the end of the Qing. Their Manchu masters usually did not measure the land presented by their Han Chinese slaves. So the Han Chinese slaves would conceal the actual measure of their presented estate and paid less rent to their Manchu lords. Those Han Chinese slaves were also allowed to keep part of the real estate to raise their relatives.⁵³ The difference between the *shabi* donation and *touchong* was that in the former situation those donated Han Chinese changed their status to Mongol *shabi* and in the latter one those Han Chinese as bannermen’s slaves were not able to acquire Manchu status. This *shabi* donation and *touchong* as ways of seeking protection and escaping bankruptcy, debts and taxes can be compared to similar Eurasian institutions.⁵⁴

⁵¹ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 93a–93b (DG10, II, 19).

⁵² Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 228.

⁵³ Lai Hui-min, *Tianhuang guizhou: Qing huangzu de jieceng jiegou yu jingji shenghuo* 天潢貴胄：清皇族的階層結構與經濟生活 (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1997), 167–169.

⁵⁴ For instance, the *shabi* donation can be viewed as analogous to the *waqf* or pious endowments which were used in Islam to protect property from taxes and families. *Waqf*, also known as *habous* in Maliki School of Islamic law, is a socio-legal institution in the Islamic world and its origin can be traced up to the time of the Prophet Muhammad (c. 570–632). It means the act of endowment of charity and the endowment itself in Islamic law. A proprietor, out of the pious intention, pronounces part of the yields of one’s property (in Islamic law one-third of net assets in maximum for a deceased founder and no size constraint for the one created inter vivos) to one’s own family members (and their descendants) or public institutions (usually Mosques or other religious institutions, like schools or convents) as beneficiaries. The former as public *waqf* is a central form in Central Asia. The *waqf* property may not be alienated with the beneficiaries, that is, not be donated, traded, and inherited. The founder of the *waqf* has the right to design

It should be noticed that a few of the donated children were bought (or adopted) from local Mongols by their adoptive Han Chinese master (or foster father). And in all such cases those children originated from the Great Shabi. In one case, a commoner purchased a son from an incarnate lama.⁵⁵ From the concern of fiscality (the pressure for administrative units dependent on requisitions from specified subject populations to maximize the number of subject families), male children should not leak out of the banners because they are seen as an important human resource as soldiers and taxpayers. In this case, it is likely that the donator did not have a wife, or he and his wife might not have had sons. The incarnate lama's son was not eligible for military mobilization and other corvée duties since his status would also be that of disciple. So the donator bought a child from an incarnate lama of the Great Shabi to be his son (or else his personal slave—it may have been hard to distinguish these statuses in practice). The time when the donator arrived in Mongolia is not indicated in this document. The donator had both Chinese and Mongolian names. In another case of purchase, we can see that the donator also purchased

the policy which determines how usufructory rights will be passed down from one generation to the next. It was common for male founders to use family endowments to support other male beneficiaries, usually a father for his sons. By making a pious endowment, the founder hoped to earn religious merit in the next life. But the practical functions should not be ignored behind the rhetoric of pious motivation expressed by founders of family endowments. David S. Powers argues that a family *waqf* could be made for several reasons: as a legal means to secure an estate from confiscation or sale, from severe division among a wide group of descendants, spouses, and siblings (this is enforced by the Islamic inheritance laws), or as an action showing kindness toward a husband. However, its main purpose is to avoid property fragmentation, to guarantee the right of the beneficiaries to claim revenues of the endowment, to get rid of the effects imposed by the Islamic inheritance laws, and to reduce the fragmentation of the quantity of estate available as bequest for the founder's relatives. Written documentations play a role once a dispute over control of a *waqf* endowment occurred after the death of its founder. It is impossible to separate the endowment from the institution like the Great Shabi. In both systems, donators give their own property (lands or herds) to the monasteries (or mosques), incidentally or not so incidentally earning religious merit, and then live off the partial produce of the land. The donators did lose the measure of absolute control over the donated property, but got a much more powerful protection from government taxation or confiscation. The entry of *Encyclopaedia of Islam* on *waqf* offers a general introduction to its origin and different forms. See P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), s.v. Wakf, accessed May 7, 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/wakf-COM_1333. On the Maliki family endowment or private *waqf*, see David S. Powers, "The Malik Family Endowment: Legal Norms and Social Practices," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25, no. 3 (Aug., 1993): 379–406. For public *waqf* in Central Asia, see R. D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia: Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480–1889* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

⁵⁵ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 58a (QL32, XI, 16).

(or ‘borrowed’) a son from the Great Shabi, like the previous case, and returned him to the Great Shabi after 21 years.⁵⁶ In the third case, the donator paid back the debt for Dashidondub and he was given Dashidondub in return.⁵⁷ The banner officials were informed of and played the role of witness in this case. Maybe it was because this case involved financial and human transaction, it also involved a movement of people from one administrative container to another. As Mostaert reported, when a Han Chinese wanted to join a banner and enlisted as a Mongol commoner in Inner Mongolia, he had to be assigned to a certain *jasag* or *taiji*. This would be confirmation that Han Chinese settlers became involved in slave purchases as fellow Mongols and that the Mongolian mode of master-subject relationship could be extended to Han Chinese.⁵⁸

The issue of purchasing persons is also seen in the donations. The format of the pledges of the Han Chinese donations to the Great Shabi here are similar to documents of slave emancipation in Qing Outer Mongolia. These documents were first collected and published by Sh. Natsagdorj; Futaki Hiroshi later analyzed thirty documents of slave emancipation dated from the 1750s to 1780s. In document No. 22, a Mongol commoner Lubsangchoikhur let his nephew Donjid inherit his property. Besides aiding his next life, Lubsangchoikhur donated his three “sons” (*köbegüd*) to the Lord Nomun Khan (supposed to be an incarnate lama) along with herds to support their livelihood in 1768.⁵⁹ In this case, Lubsangchoikhur’s deeds shared many common features with the donations made by the Han Chinese settlers. Furthermore, since *köbegün* (plural *köbegüd*) means son and “boy” in Mongolian, the difference between adopting

⁵⁶ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 65b (QL53, V, 21).

⁵⁷ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 75a (No Date).

⁵⁸ This situation is noted by Mostaert in his ethnography of Ordos Mongols from 1906 to 1925. See Mostaert, “Matériaux ethnographiques relatifs aux Mongols Ordos,” 245.

⁵⁹ Futaki Hiroshi, “Shindai Haruha Mongoru no dorei kaihō bunsho ni suite 清代ハルハ・モンゴルの奴隷解放文書について,” in *Tōyō hōshi no tankyū: Shimada Masao Hakushi shōju kinen ronshū* 東洋法史の探究—島田正郎博士頌壽記念論集, ed. Shimada Masao hakushi shōju kinen ronshū kankō iinkai 島田正郎博士頌壽記念論集刊行委員会 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1987), 24–25. For the thirty documents of slave emancipation, see Sh. Natsagdorj, *Mongolchuudyn öw öwlökh erkh* (Ulaanbaatar: Mongolian Academy of Sciences Press, 1971).

and purchasing a son or concubine is rather blurred. In mid-Qing (roughly 1750 to 1835, the time period of those donations by Han Chinese settlers) Mongolia, there was an ongoing process of the elimination of slavery as a status, together with the slaves being reassigned to *khamjilga* or *albatu* categories.⁶⁰ The main reasons stated for emancipation of one's own slaves were the religious piety and kindred-like affection. But the slaves had strong intention to emancipate themselves, which also played an important role in the process.⁶¹ The cases in this chapter were part of an effort to regularize status categories and tighten up lines. In this process, Han Chinese merchants and their wives, natural children, and adoptees/slaves seem to get shunted into the Shabi category, not the *khamjilga* or *albatu* one. The late Qing (post-1850) picture of neat clear population categories is one produced by the mid-Qing administrative work, not a pre-existing state in which the Qing incorporation "messed up." Similarly Jonathan Schlesinger argues that the late-Qing purity of the Mongol environmental space is one produced by mid-Qing administrative work.⁶² This process of Shabi donation in question can also be seen as first a spontaneous action or strategy by Han Chinese settlers, but later becoming part of state-sanctioned administrative work. This measure clarified the vague category of status for Mongol-Han hybrid and envisioned a pure and clear populational environment as a natural thing, although it was one the Qing regime itself created.

The other side of the slavery issue is the peculiar way in which slave purchase was the reverse of donation to the Great Shabi. In one, the purchaser paid to get labor or reproductive potential. In the other, the donator paid others to take labor or reproductive potential off his own

⁶⁰ O. Oyunjargal, "Sum, khamjlagyg yalgakh shardlaga: Saishaalt yeröoltiin üyeiing Tüsheet khan aimgiin jisheen deer," in *Chin uls ba mongolchuud*, eds. S. Chuluun, Khurcha, Oka Hiroki (Sendai: Center for Northeast Asian Studies, Tohoku University, 2014), 103–117.

⁶¹ Futaki, "Shindai Haruha Mongoru no dorei kaihō bunsho ni tsuite," 37–38.

⁶² For the Qing endeavor to maintain the environmental "purity" of its Mongolian borderland from 1750 to 1850, see Jonathan Schlesinger, *A World Trimmed with Fur: Wild Things, Pristine Places, and the Natural Fringes of Qing Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017).

hands. It is an interesting parallel to the anthropological analysis of bridewealth and dowry. It has been argued that bridewealth appeared in a society in which women provided important labor in agriculture and dowry in a society in which women were dependent on their husband for economic support.⁶³ In modern ethnography of Inner Mongolia, a similar case of Han Chinese dairy farming families in Hulun Buir showed that the women generally contribute income much less than men and were seen more as consumers because they often worked at home doing milking and housekeeping.⁶⁴ So the the payment to the Great Shabi was like dowry to sustain the donated people and newly-wed brides. This would imply that in Qing Mongolia there was a labor surplus and that such families were more consumers than producers. But we need more research on the population and labor issues in Qing Mongolia to prove this theory.

Payments that went along with the donation to the Shabi also had a strange similarity to the *kharamji* (Mo. *qaramji*, care), a payment which a master emancipating his servants/slaves gave to the the prince or high lama to take care of them.⁶⁵ As Futaki points out, this payment could be paid by the slave who might present herds or money to his master in advance.⁶⁶ A person effectively disposing of people he had previously been expected to take care of gave also some money to make it acceptable. In the *kharamji*, the money went to the emancipated slave, but in the Shabi donations the money went to the new donator who willed power of care over the persons to make it more acceptable for them take responsibility for this person.

The merchants used the Shabi to separate their property from their family in the Heartland or home-town organization, as well as to avoid property confiscation or damage from

⁶³ Goody, "Bridewealth and Dowry in Africa and Eurasia."

⁶⁴ Burton Pasternak and Janet W. Salaff, *Cowboys and Cultivators: The Chinese of Inner Mongolia* (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1993), 262–263.

⁶⁵ The *kharamji* is also called *bey-e-yin kharamji* or *beyes-ün kharamji* (care of body).

⁶⁶ Futaki, "Shindai Haruha Mongoru no dorei kaihō bunsho ni tsuite," 38. Here I would like to thank Samuel Bass for pointing this out to me.

enforcement of regulations on illegal residence. This is a good part of the driving force behind the *Shabi* as well. This very mechanism was not absent in imperial China as well. After Buddhism entered China in the first century, it gradually won the imperial and popular patronage by the fifth century. Privileges of taxation and corvée exemption were granted to those official temples and monasteries. During the sixth century and the later portion of the Tang period (755–907), because of political and social turbulence, selling ordination certificates became popular after the An Lushan Rebellion and the growth of registered monks surged and gaining a religious status was viewed as a means to get exemption from state taxations and corvée services.⁶⁷ The Chinese peasantry was vulnerable to unstable social milieu and tended to avoid strenuously the risk of military services. Buddhist monasticism provided the peasants a protective shield and prevented them from incessant threats of plundering and war. Therefore, Buddhist monasteries owned landed and movable properties and conducted commerce and usury. They played the roles of business and sanctuary. Official and imperial concerns were loss of taxpayers and shortage of tax income for the state. Complaints by officials over the issues of fraudulent monks and private ordinations were common. Forceful laicization was imposed on those unregistered or privately ordained monks if they were caught. Anti-Buddhist movements were even occasionally launched by the emperors.⁶⁸

The purposes of the *shabi* donations made by Han Chinese settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia differed in characteristic ways from those made by Han Chinese merchants in China proper. In late imperial China, merchants patronized Buddhist monasteries. In Timothy Brook's study on the gentry during the late Ming period, he compares the modes of pious donations made by merchants and the gentry and argues that the Buddhist monastery was an arena for the gentry

⁶⁷ Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, trans. Franciscus Verellen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 52.

⁶⁸ Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, 43–44.

to express their identity as a distinct strata and the gentry made donations to gain symbolic capital in local societies in order to resist dominance of state and public authority. But merchants patronized Buddhist monasteries as individual activities rather than as collective actions. Their patronage of Buddhist monastery was seen as an investment in infrastructural facilities necessary to business. A monastery could also be helpful for merchants or their customers in providing opportunities (as a marketplace), resources (like loans), and services (such as accommodation) for them. Those monasteries patronized by merchants were usually in or near on the main transportation routes.⁶⁹ Comparing this case to the Ming-era pious donations studied by Brook, the notices of Han Chinese settlers (mostly merchants) made in Qing Mongolia, except for the common element of piety, those donators may see their actions more as an expediency to settle their families rather than as a way to show their collective identity or invest in the infrastructure of Mongolia. To be sure we have no clear evidence to argue that all—or even any—of the donated people ultimately received Buddhist instructions. But the line between “religious” and “secular” *shabi* would not be so sharp. In Buddhist practice and theory, donations produce merit—that is just a fact. All donations are a mix of purposes which cannot not be teased out, and in fact are never particularly clear to begin with.

As a religious institution, giving people to the Shabi was a form of ordination. The practice of giving sons to lamas is similar to the one of giving sons to the Shabi. They all have to pay a fee to the teacher. It is a form of hiring a teacher. This is why all donations of people were accompanied by livestock—this was the “tuition” for the Shabi as students. In practice, religious instruction might not really take place. From one perspective it is ordination with a tuition attached to it, from another perspective it is paying someone to take care of your wife and/or

⁶⁹ Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1993), 220–221.

children, which as we have seen is the opposite of slave purchase, just as dowry is the opposite of bridewealth.

Acculturation of Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia also embodied adoption of a Mongolian name, language, religious practices, and customs. As we have seen, they and their descendants had Mongolian names,⁷⁰ possibly knew how to speak and write Mongolian, had Mongolian herds, lived in Mongolian yurts, married Mongolian women, and possibly practiced Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism. Before they died or went back to China proper, they even donated their family members and property to the Great Shabi, a Mongolian Buddhist institution, as other Mongols did, regardless of whether they did this for securing them, collecting religious merits, or escaping state surveillance. Their wedding customs were also influenced by Mongols. There are two cases where a Han Chinese settler married another Han Chinese settler's daughter. But in one of the two cases, although both of the groom and bride are of Han Chinese origin, it is indicated in the source that their marriage was conducted in a Mongolian way.⁷¹ In that case, one horse, one ox, one pregnant cow, and one ram were given to the bride's family as bridewealth. Granted that, according to the *Khalkha jirum* code, a marriage would be valid between two ordinary Mongol families only when alcohol, together with sheep viscera, horns, and hooves are given as bridewealth and witnesses were present at the wedding ceremony, it is difficult to say that their wedding was conducted in an entirely typical Mongolian way, even though, for the Han Chinese couple, their wedding was a Mongolian one from their own perspectives.

Intermarriage is usually seen as an important threshold of assimilation by scholars. We can see many Han Chinese settlers married Mongol women and had children. Some of their

⁷⁰ Patricia Ebrey argues that using Chinese-style surname is a distinctive way to symbolize Han Chinese identity. See Patricia Ebrey, "Surnames and Han Chinese Identity," in *Negotiating Ethnicities in China and Taiwan*, ed. Melissa J. Brown (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1996), 19–36.

⁷¹ NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 90a–90b (JQ13, IX, 13).

Mongolian wives belonged to the Great Shabi. This kind of Han-Mongol liaison would be of use for those Han Chinese husbands since they could gain important networking in business and win support from the original families of their Mongolian wives.

Identificational assimilation may be also applicable to some of the descendants of those Han Chinese settlers. The descendants being presented were called “Mongols” by their fathers. This might indicate that their fathers considered them Mongols, though we are not sure by what reasons and to what extent their descendants could be seen as Mongols. We have no way of knowing if the descendants themselves agreed to take that mark of identity.

Once those descendants of the Han Chinese settlers were included in the register of the Great Shabi, their background as Han Chinese descendants would be lost in the official archives. In the archives of the household registration of the Great Shabi, only the head and number of people in each household were documented.⁷² As mentioned above, one’s status mattered in the socio-legal sense in the Qing Empire, which is different from most modern nation-states, like the US. Therefore, the fact that the descendants of the Han Chinese settlers entered the Great Shabi and crossed the threshold of Mongolian identity in the legal sense means they would lose their status as commoners, supposedly inherited from their fathers, and have different obligations and provide services to the Qing state.

Most of the Han Chinese settlers would be seen as having achieved acculturation and marital assimilation. But their descendants should have been more absorbed into the host society since they acquired the *shabi* status and were considered Mongol by their fathers. But we still have to bear in mind that those Han Chinese settlers might take this kind of donations both as a voluntary pious deed and a strategy to evade state supervision. They still had their agency, even

⁷² For a sample of this kind of records, see P. Delgerjargal, S. Nyamdorj, S. Batdorj, and B. Lkhagvabayar, eds., *Ikh Khüreenii guchin aimag: barimt bichgiin emkhetgel (1651–1938 on)* (Ulaanbaatar: Mönkhiin üseg, 2015), 25–26.

under the pressure of the Qing regime since this kind of donations began as a local practice, but was ultimately recognized, partially or fully, by the Qing court in 1803. To those Han Chinese settlers and their descendants, acquisition of the Mongol status was a subjective religious and livelihood decision, but their actions would not have succeeded without objective identification by the local Mongolian authority, which was granted by the Qing state. This kind of negotiation continued to exist between those Han Chinese settlers, Mongol Buddhist authority, and the Qing state.

This chapter examined the case of mongolization of Han Chinese settlers and their descendants in Qing Outer Mongolia. Using Chinese and Mongolian folk documents preserved in NCAM and MTAC, this case shows how illegal Han Chinese settlers from Shanxi and Zhili secured their families and property in the Great Shabi, a Mongolian Buddhist institution, to escape state surveillance. Those Han Chinese settlers began to come to Khalkha Mongolia by 1743. Most of those Han Chinese settlers from North China, mostly from Shanxi province, crossed the Great Wall north to Khalkha Mongolia and stayed there for several decades. Getting too old or too sick to return their place of origin or being caught by local Mongol officials, they presented their wives and offspring, voluntarily or not, to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu as his disciples along with livestock and property, as other Mongols did, in order to gain religious merits, acquire a legal status for them in Mongolia, and to save them from deprivation and starvation. It was very likely that their descendants had crossed the Han-Mongol ethno-legal boundary and most, if not all, of them became Mongol afterwards. The most important thing was that they were accepted by local Mongols. The Han Chinese settlers and their descendants often obtained the right of abode within one generation in Outer Mongolia. This chapter argues that

those Han Chinese settlers had been socio-culturally mongolized first and their descendants ultimately naturalized and managed to be fully integrated into Mongol society. They crossed the geographic, ethnic and legal boundaries prescribed by the Qing regime.



Map 1 Place of Origin and Relay Station of the Han Chinese Donators (Black Circle)



Map 2 Locations of the Residence of Han Chinese Donators in Qing Outer Mongolia

Part II

Manchu-Mongol Imperial Intermarriage and Mongolization of Manchu Settlers in Qing Mongolia

In the first part of this dissertation, we discussed the cases of mongolization of Han Chinese migrations in Qing Mongolia. In those cases, we saw that the Great Shabi as a Tibeto-Mongol Buddhist institution played a significant role. Hereafter we will focus on the mongolization of Manchu settlers in Qing Mongolia. The Manchu settlers in question were Manchu princesses and their dowry bondservants (Mo. *ingji*). In this part, the fourth chapter will introduce Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage as the main institution at work and how its function as a vector of moving people and its dynamics changed over time. This institution originated from Manchu-Mongol marital alliance and has been explored as background in the introduction. Although the Manchu princesses married Mongol princes and stayed in Mongolia, they were not highly mongolized because they never lost their Manchu status and still depended on the support from Beijing. After introducing further details on the institution and its background, the fifth chapter will examine several examples to delineate the process of integrating the Manchu settlers into Qing Mongolian society and the different levels of their adaptation to Mongolian culture and identity.

Chapter Four

The Manchu-Mongol Marital Alliance and Imperial Intermarriage as Vector of Human Movement

This chapter will introduce Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage as the main institution at work and how its function as a vector of moving people and its dynamics changed over time. As previously mentioned in the introduction, this institution originated from Manchu-Mongol marital alliance. The institution of centrally-directed marriage is important because it became a systematic practice of Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage by 1737. This system was a vector of movement for Manchu princesses and their dowry bondservants. Although the Manchu princesses married Mongol princes and stayed in Mongolia, they were not highly mongolized because they never lost their Manchu status and still depended on the support from Beijing. However, mongolization of the dowry descendants they brought to Mongolia were more extensive and continuous. In this chapter, the institution of the dowry bondservants will be introduced and discussed in next chapter.

Centrally-Directed Marriage and the Design of Manchu-Mongol Imperial Intermarriage

During the Qing era, Manchu-Mongol marital alliance was an institutionalized practice guided by many relevant rules and elaborate rituals. The institution of centrally-directed marriage (Ch. *zhìhūn* 指婚) was one of the conventions. As mentioned above, as the great khan of the Jin state and the patriarch of the Aisin Gioro lineage, Nurhachi had the power to order women in whole his own lineage to marry chiefs or princes of other peoples, including the Mongols for political interests. When Hong Taiji had just mounted the throne after Nurhachi

passed away, he did not have the status of patriarch like his father. Therefore, being the great khan, he would have to stipulate that if any prince or minister wanted to marry his own sons and daughters, he had to report his desire to the great khan first. Anyone who violated this rule would be severely punished by the great khan.¹ For example, in 1628, Ajige, Hong Taiji's younger brother and the Head of the Bordered White banner broke the rule by trying to arrange his younger brother Dodo's marriage. So Hong Taiji demoted Ajige's post as punishment.²

This practice of centrally-directed marriage remained between Manchu and Mongol after the Manchu conquest of China. However, the final decision of Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage was in the hands of the Prince Regent Dorgon or the Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang Bumbutai while the Shunzhi emperor was too young to exercise political power. Even the selection of the Shunzhi emperor's first and second empresses, who were both Khorchin Mongol princes' daughters, was made by Dorgon and the Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang 孝莊.³

This centrally-directed marriage was kept in practice during the Kangxi and Yongzheng reign. The Qianlong reign marked a big leap in the development of this institution. As time went by, the population of the Qing imperial family grew into a large body of people. In 1738, the Qianlong emperor ordered that the centrally-directed marriage be restricted to within the ranks of close imperial lineages. Only those distant imperial lineages who were given separate edicts from

¹ Ding Yizhuang discusses the institution of directed marriage among Manchus and considers it a product of the Manchus' traditional patriarchy and a means of controlling bannermen. See Ding Yizhuang 定宜莊, "Directed Marriage (*zhi-hun*) and the Eight-Banner Household Registration System among the Manchus," trans. Mark C. Elliott, *Saksha: A Review of Manchu Studies* 1 (1996): 25–30.

² *Qing Taizong shilu* 清太宗實錄, in *Qing shilu*, vol. 2, *juan* 4, 10.

³ See Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan 中國第一歷史檔案館, ed., *Qingchu nei guoshiyuan manwen dang'an yibian* 清初內國史院滿文檔案譯編 (Beijing: Guangming Daily Press, 1989), 2: 273 and Guksa pyeonchan wiwonhoe 國史編纂委員會, ed., *Hyochong sillok* 孝宗實錄 in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (Seoul: National Institute of Korean History, 1955–1963), *kwen* 7, 31–32 (HC2, X, 15) 孝宗二年十月己未.

the emperor would be included within the scope of centrally-directed marriage.⁴ Close imperial lineage was interpreted to mean the Kangxi emperor's descendants. Originally the female members of the imperial clan were mostly given to Mongol princes and their sons. In 1751, the male descendants of the families of the Eight Banners dignities were also included into the pool of selection as imperial sons-in-law.

However, by the time of the mid-Kangxi period, most of the Manchu nobility were reluctant to cooperate with this policy and tried to prevent their daughters from marrying Mongol princes. The Manchu nobles would have their daughters secretly engaged to the sons of the dignitaries in Beijing first and then report the accomplished fact to the emperor. Du Jiaji argues that it was because 1) the daughters of the Manchu nobles preferred urban life in Beijing to rural life in Inner Mongolia; 2) their customs were different from Mongols and they worried it might cause problems; 3) the Manchu brides and their parents would miss each other because the brides lived in Mongolia far away from their parents and there were also restrictions on them visiting Beijing. Worried that it might be difficult to maintain the practice of the Manchu-Mongol marital alliance, in 1759 the Qianlong emperor issued an edict prohibiting secret intermarriage between Manchu nobles to reassert the principle and importance of Manchu-Mongol marital alliance. The only exception to the reporting requirement was that voluntary intermarriage between Manchu and Mongol nobles would be permitted, in which case the intermarriage could be reported to the throne late, after the wedding ceremonies were held. Under the Qianlong emperor's rule, the regulation of Manchu-Mongol marriage became stricter.⁵

In the Jiaqing and Daoguang reigns, the Qing emperors stuck to the principle of restricting Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage to close imperial lineages. The elaboration of

⁴ *Qinding Daqing huidian zeli (Qianlong chao)* 欽定大清會典則例（乾隆朝）, in *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vols. 620–625 (Taipei: The Commercial Press, 1983), *juan* 1, 3–4.

⁵ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yanjiu*, 249.

codes on Manchu-Mongol marital alliance developed into a full-fledged system and the institutions of imperial examination of potential Mongol imperial sons-in-law and “reserved *efu*” (Ch. *beizhi efu* 備指額駙, Mo. *epü jīyaqui-dur beledgegülkü*) were established during this era. The Jiaqing emperor was to limit the range of imperial intermarriage to the descendants of the Yongzheng emperor. He also initiated the institution of imperial examination of the Mongol imperial sons-in-law in order to inspect their appearance and character in 1805.⁶

The reserved *efu* system was the Daoguang emperor’s new creation and its origins are still in debate among Qing historians. Zhao Yuntian believed that this system was created in the early Daoguang period because this system was not found in previous Qing law codes and regulation but only in the Daoguang version of the Regulations and Substatutes of the Court of Dependencies (compiled in 1826).⁷ Du Jiaji dated the origin of this system to 1817 with an edict of the Jiaqing emperor. In that edict, the Jiaqing emperor ordered the Court of Dependencies to inform the Mongol princes that all of them must report the names and background of their sons who were fifteen to twenty years old to the Court of Dependencies for arranging Manchu-Mongol intermarriage. Any Mongol princes who did not abide by this rule would be punished by the Qing government.⁸ Choiji even dated the origin of this system back to 1737 at the beginning of the Qianlong period. He analyzed a Qing document in Mongolian, passed on to him by Du Jiaji, and argued that the thirteen banners of Inner Mongolia had been ordered to submit the name list of those who were qualified to be imperial sons-in-law to the Court of Dependencies in 1737 and this was seen as regular procedure by 1767. The thirteen banners are listed first in this

⁶ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yanjiu*, 249–250.

⁷ Zhao Yuntian 趙雲田, “Qingdai de ‘beizhi efu’ zhidu 清代的‘備指額駙’制度,” *Gugong bowu yuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊, no. 4 (1984): 28–37, 96.

⁸ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yanjiu*, 253.

Mongolian document.⁹ Responding to Choiji's argument, Du Jiayi reframed his idea and called the system of reserved *efu* before 1817 "one in the broad sense", and the system after 1817 "one in the narrow sense" because he thought the similar practice of the reserved *efu* had existed during the Kangxi period.¹⁰ To me, Choiji's argument seems to be convincing because in the Kangxi emperor's edict the particular thirteen banners were not indicated and emphasized. But one may still question how effectively the rule was enforced. Even if the regulation had been issued in 1737, it still might have been only loosely observed by the Mongol princes. Therefore, by 1737 the system of reserved *efu* may have come into place in thirteen particular banners in Inner Mongolia. However, it probably remained ineffective and the Mongol princes were reluctant to obey the rule. The 1817 edict issued by the Jiaqing emperor could thus be seen as a reaffirmation of the previous practice, one ultimately codified in the 1826 version of the Regulations and Substatutes of the Court of Dependencies.

In this system reserved *efu*, only the Mongol princes of the thirteen specific banners belonging to seven *aimags* in Inner Mongolia were considered by the Qing emperors to be regular objects of Manchu-Mongol marital alliance. The thirteen banners were 1) Khorchin Left-Flank Middle banner, 2) Khorchin Right-Flank Middle banner, 3) Baarin Right banner, 4) Kharachin Right banner, 5) Khorchin Left-Flank Front banner, 6) Khorchin Left-Flank Rear banner, 7) Khorchin Right-Flank Front banner, 8) Naiman banner, 9) Ongni'ud Right banner, 10) Tümed Left banner, 11) Aohan banner, 12) Kharachin Middle banner, 13) Kharachin Left banner. In the thirteen banners of these seven "*aimags*," every Mongol prince had to report their sons who were fifteen to twenty years of age and eligible for being chosen as imperial sons-in-law to

⁹ Qiaoji 喬吉 [Choiji], "Guanyu Qingdai 'beizhi efu' chansheng de niandai: cong yizhu yifen Mengwen dang'an 'lifan yuan xingwen' tanqi 關於清代'備指額駙'產生的年代: 從譯注一份蒙文檔案《理藩院行文》談起," *Menggu xue xinxi* 蒙古學信息, no. 1 (2004): 11–22, 31.

¹⁰ Du Jiayi, "Qingchao Man Meng lianyin zhong de 'beizhi efu' xutan 清朝滿蒙聯姻中的'備指額駙'續談," *Yantai daxue xuebao (zhixue shehui kexue ban)* 煙臺大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 26, no. 3 (Jul., 2013): 78–81.

the Court of Dependencies. And the Court of Dependencies would deliver the information to the Court of the Imperial Clan (Ch. *zongren fu* 宗人府) for evaluation and selection. In 1839, the range of the age of the Mongol princes' sons was expanded from thirteen to twenty-three years of age.¹¹ This system has been seen as a reflection of the stability of Qing rule in Mongolia and the gradual weakening of the Manchu-Mongol alliance that occurred once Mongols were no longer a vital threat after the pacification of the Zünghars in 1758.¹² With the reaffirmation of this system during the Jiaqing period, in practical sense, the number of eligible Manchu princesses was greatly decreased on the Manchu side since the Jiaqing emperor redefined the range of choosing Manchu princesses to be the Yongzheng emperor's descendants. On the Mongol side, the chance for a Mongol princes' son to marry a Manchu imperial princess was also significantly reduced. The title and dowry received from the Qing emperor were also not as prestigious and valuable as before. So they were more inclined to arrange voluntary marriage with daughters of rich and prestigious Manchu princes outside the ranks of centrally-directed marriages. The evidence of the statistics also documents this trend. From the Jiaqing period to the end of the Qing era, there were only 16 cases of Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage that were arranged by the emperor, but 156 cases of voluntary Manchu-Mongol intermarriage between Manchu and Mongol princes. The latter type outnumbered the former by almost ten times.¹³

As previously stated, Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage was a vector of human movement to Mongolia during the Qing period. Firstly, this human movement included the Manchu princesses themselves. The practice of Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage continued for 300 years (1612–1912). The known total number of cases of Manchu-Mongol

¹¹ *Qinding Daqing huidian shili (Guangxu chao)*, juan 978, 3–5 (811: 699–700).

¹² Zhao, "Qingdai de 'beizhi efu' zhidu," 37.

¹³ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 254–255, 280.

imperial intermarriage under Qing rule was 595. Of the 595 cases of Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage, 432 Manchu princesses married Mongol princes and 163 Mongol princesses married Manchu princes.¹⁴ Of the 595 cases, 130 were between Khorchin Mongol and the Manchu imperial family, which constitutes the largest share of the cases.¹⁵ It is thus fair to say that the Qing rulers sent on average almost two princesses to Mongolia each year. This kind of frequent intermarriage reflected the importance of Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage and also pushed a large number of people, mainly the human dowry of Manchu princesses, from the Heartland to Mongolia.

The importance of the Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage to the Qing emperors was also reflected in the marriage ceremony. Many rituals and regulations determined by several ministries regulated the marriage ceremony for cases of Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage. First, the emperor (or the empress dowager) assigned a marriage between eligible persons in the relevant Manchu and Mongol families. This was called *cihun* 賜婚 (*marriage bestowal*) in Chinese. The day for the betrothal was to be properly chosen by the Imperial Astronomical Bureau (Ch. *qintian jian* 欽天監). Then the Court of the Imperial Clan would inform both families of the assigned date for the betrothal and on that day both families had to go to the imperial palace, respectfully receive the edict, and thank the emperor for his grace. For the betrothal ceremony with an imperial princess, the Mongol imperial son-in-law had to bring one camel, eight horses, and eighty-one sheep and ninety bottles of wine to the Meridian Gate (Ch. *wumen* 午門, this was the formal regulation by 1761) and the gifts for engagement would be

¹⁴ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 3, 258–259.

¹⁵ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 13.

received by the Imperial Household Department. On that day, engagement banquets would be held in the imperial palace by the emperor and the empress dowager.¹⁶

In terms of gifts for the wedding, those were still mainly animals, but the quantity was much greater than for the engagement. It included eighteen horses with full gear and ornamentation, eighteen suits of armor, twenty-one horses without gear and ornamentation, six camels, eighty-one sheep, and ninety bottles of liquor. All of these gifts were supposed to be ready at the Meridian Gate for presentation to the Imperial Household Department at dawn of the wedding day. The wedding ceremony and banquet would be held in the imperial palace. After the banquet, the Manchu imperial princess would be escorted by imperial guards to the Mongol imperial son-in-law's mansion in Beijing.¹⁷ After the wedding, the princess would go back to visit her parents with the imperial son-in-law. In the beginning of the Qing dynasty, this visit happened on the next day of the wedding, but later it took place on the ninth day of the wedding.¹⁸

Apart from the elaborate marriage ceremony, the Qing government also granted high and honorable titles to the respective Manchu princess and her Mongol husband. This practice followed an enduring and stable system. Below is a table of the grades and titles of Manchu princesses¹⁹:

Rank	Chinese Title	Manchu Title	Mongolian Title	Background
1	<i>gulun gongzhu</i> 固倫公主	<i>gurun i gungju</i>	<i>ulus-un güngjü</i>	daughter of empress
2	<i>heshuo gongzhu</i>	<i>hošoi gungju</i>	<i>qošoi güngjü</i>	daughter of imperial concubine

¹⁶ *Qing Gaozong shilu*, juan 852, 10; Qinggui 慶桂 et al., eds., *Guochao gongshi xubian* 國朝宮史續編 (Beijing: Beijing Ancient Book Publishing House, 1994), juan 22, 180.

¹⁷ For the details of the marital ceremony of Qing imperial princes, see Kungang et al., eds, *Qingding Daqing huidian shili* (*Guangxu chao*), juan 325, 1–26 (803: 202–214).

¹⁸ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 303.

¹⁹ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 299.

	和碩公主			
3	<i>junzhu</i> 郡主	<i>hošoi gege</i>	<i>qošoi abaqai</i>	daughter of prince of the first rank (Ch. <i>heshuo qinwang</i> 和碩親王)'s main wife
4	<i>xianzhu</i> 縣主	<i>doroi gege</i>	<i>törö-yin abaqai</i>	daughter of prince of the second rank (Ch. <i>duoluo junwang</i> 多羅郡王)
5	<i>junjun</i> 郡君	<i>beile i jui doroi</i> <i>gege</i>	<i>beyile-yin keiken törö-yin abaqai</i>	daughter of prince of the third rank (Ch. <i>duoluo beile</i> 多羅貝勒)'s main wife or of prince of the first rank's concubine
6	<i>xianjun</i> 縣君	<i>gūsai gege</i>	<i>qosiyun-u abaqai</i>	daughter of prince of the fourth rank (Ch. <i>gushan beizi</i> 固山貝子)'s main wife or of prince of the second rank's concubine
7	<i>xiangjun</i> 鄉君	<i>gung ni gege</i>		daughter of prince of the fifth rank (Ch. <i>ru bafen gong</i> 入八分公) or of prince of the third rank's concubine

Table 9 The Grades and Titles of Manchu Princesses

The daughter of a prince whose rank was lower than the fifth grade was generally called *zongnü* 宗女 (daughter of the imperial family).

Below is a table of the ranks and titles of Mongol imperial sons-in-law²⁰:

Rank	Chinese Title	Manchu Title	Mongolian Title	Background
1	<i>gulun efu</i> 固倫額駙	<i>gurun i efu</i>	<i>ulus-un tabunang</i>	husband of daughter of empress
2	<i>heshuo efu</i> 和碩額駙	<i>hošoi gungju i hošoi efu</i>	<i>qošoi güngjü-yin qošoi tabunang</i>	husband of daughter of imperial concubine
3	<i>junzhu yibin</i> 郡主儀賓	<i>hošoi efu</i>	<i>qošoi tabunang</i>	husband of daughter of prince of the first rank (Ch. <i>heshuo qinwang</i> 和碩親王)'s main wife
4	<i>xianzhu</i> 縣主儀賓	<i>doroi efu</i>	<i>törö-yin tabunang</i>	husband of daughter of prince of the second rank (Ch. <i>duoluo junwang</i> 多羅郡王)
5	<i>junjun yibin</i> 郡君儀賓	<i>doroi beile i efu</i>	<i>törö-yin beyile-yin tabunang</i>	husband of daughter of prince of the third rank (Ch. <i>duoluo beile</i> 多羅貝勒)'s main wife or of

²⁰ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 311.

				prince of the first rank's concubine
6	<i>xianjun yibin</i> 縣君儀賓	<i>gūsai efu</i>	<i>qosiyun-u tabunang</i>	husband of daughter of prince of the fourth rank (Ch. <i>gushan beizi</i> 固山貝子)'s main wife or of prince of the second rank's concubine
7	<i>xiangjun yibin</i> 鄉君儀賓	<i>gung ni gege i efu</i>		husband of daughter of prince of the fifth rank (Ch. <i>ru bafen gong</i> 入八分公) or of prince of the third rank's concubine

Table 10 The Ranks and Titles of Mongol Imperial Sons-in-Law

The above tables reflect the theoretical system of the ranking of the Manchu princesses and their husbands in the Qing period. However, in practice there were many exceptions in the Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage in which the rank of Manchu princesses and their Mongol husbands were fixed at a higher level than expected. For example, according to the Qing regulations, a Manchu princess born to a Manchu prince of the first or second ranks and his wife's dowry bondservants should not be given a title upon marriage. However, if she married a Mongol prince, she would be granted the title of *xianjun* by exceptional imperial favor.²¹ Besides, while there was a daughter of lower member of imperial clan whose age was suitable for a Mongol prince, if the title of the Mongol prince was to be promoted, she would be granted the new title of the Mongol prince. Such exceptions were needed to show favor to valued vassals. For example, in 1702 the daughter of the Bulwark-General of the State (Ch. *fuguo jiangjun* 輔國將軍) Fudali, raised in the inner palace, was assigned to marry Tsewangjab, prince of the first rank of Khalkha's Jasagtu Khan *aimag*. However, Fudali's title was too low to let his daughter be given any title from the emperor upon marriage. In order to make Fudali's daughter's status match Tsewangjab's, the Kangxi emperor unusually granted her the title of *junjun*, the fifth rank

²¹ *Daqing huidian (Qianlong chao)* 大清會典（乾隆朝）, in *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 619, *juan* 1, 7.

of princess, and then Tsewangjab was *doroi efu* 多羅額駙, known as *junjun yibin*, fifth rank of princess.²²

If an imperial son-in-law achieved military merit or made contribution for his earnest service to the dynasty, both the imperial son-in-law and his Manchu wife would receive a promotion in titles. For example, when Tsering (? –1750) married the Chunque 純愜 princess, the Kangxi emperor's tenth daughter, he was given the title *hošoi efu* of the second rank. After he defended Khalkha successfully against the Zünghar army in Erdeni Zuu in 1732, Tsering was awarded the title of *gurun i efu*. His deceased wife the Chunque princess was also promoted posthumously as *gulun zhang gongzhu* 固倫長公主.²³

In order to maintain the respected status of Manchu princesses in the families of Mongol imperial sons-in-law, the Qing court was not only lavish in giving various valuable dowry goods (which will be discussed in detail later), but also made some regulations to prevent their status as main wife being infringed upon. For example, it was stipulated that if a Mongol imperial son-in-law married another woman as his main wife after his original Manchu main wife who was an imperial princess passed away, he would be stripped of his title as imperial son-in-law.²⁴ However, this rule was not always applied. In 1737 Dondub *taiji* of the Naiman *aimag*'s main wife, a Manchu princess, died of illness. The next year he married another woman as his main wife. The Court of Dependencies memorialized to the Qianlong emperor asking whether Dondub's title of *gushan efu* should be revoked. The Qianlong emperor allowed him to keep his

²² *Qinding waifan Menggu huibu wanggong biao zhuan* 欽定外藩蒙古回部王公表傳, in *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 454, *juan* 61, 12. In his biography, it was said that Tsewangjab married a *xianju* and he later was promoted to be *hošoi efu*. That would be incorrect. Since in his palace memorial to the Yongzheng emperor, he did not mention the awards received from the Kangxi emperor. See *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan* 中國第一歷史檔案館, trans. and ed., *Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe chuanyi* 雍正朝滿文朱批奏折全譯 (Hefei: Huangshan Publishing House, 1998), 2: 2076.

²³ Bao Wenhan 包文漢 and Qi Chaoketu 奇·朝克圖 [Ch. Chogtu], eds., *Menggu huibu wanggong biao zhuan* 蒙古回部王公表傳, col. 1 (Höhhöt: Inner Mongolia University Press, 1998), *juan* 70, 482.

²⁴ *Qinding daqing huidian zeli (Qianlong chao)*, *juan* 141, 34.

title.²⁵ This kind of promotion policy also extended to their offspring. A Manchu princess and Mongol prince's son would be given a high title, such as *taiji* or *tabunang*. Both were non-ranked honorary titles for the descendants of Mongol nobility. The title *tabunang* was especially reserved for the descendants of the non-Chinggisid Mongol princes, like Kharachin and Tümed, who were Jelme's offspring. Both were of four grades in rank. The titles of their ranking can be seen in the table below²⁶:

Grade	Chinese Title	Background
1	<i>yideng taiji</i> 一等台吉 or <i>yideng tabunang</i> 一等塔布囊	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>gulun gongzhu</i>'s son 2. <i>heshuo gongzhu</i>'s son 3. <i>heshuo qinwang</i>'s son
2	<i>erdeng taiji</i> 二等台吉 or <i>erdeng tabunang</i> 二等塔布囊	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>junzhu</i>'s son 2. <i>duoluo junwang</i>'s son 3. <i>duoluo beile</i>'s son
3	<i>sandeng taiji</i> 三等台吉 or <i>sandeng tabunang</i> 三等塔布囊	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>xianzhu</i>'s son 2. <i>junjun</i>'s son 3. <i>xianjun</i>'s son 4. <i>gushan beizi</i>'s son
4	<i>sideng taiji</i> 四等台吉 or <i>sideng tabunang</i> 四等塔布囊	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>xiangjun</i>'s son

Table 11 The Ranks and Titles of Sons of Manchu Princesses and Mongol Princes

Originally, a son born from a Mongol prince's non-Manchu concubine was also allowed to receive the same title as the one born from his Manchu main wife. After 1779, however, the son's title would depend on his father's title.²⁷ Therefore, the son whose mother was a non-Manchu concubine would not be granted the same title as his consanguineous brothers born by the Manchu main wife. However, for those Manchu princesses who married Manchu officials

²⁵ *Qing Gaozong shilu*, juan 82, 16.

²⁶ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 313.

²⁷ *Qingding Daqing huidian shili (Guangxu chao)*, juan 973, 8–9 (811: 654).

and nobilities, their sons were not eligible for being granted this kind of honorary title. Therefore, this institution was reserved for Mongol princes and their Manchu main wives.

The Manchu rulers sent imperial princesses to Mongolia to form alliances with the Mongol princes. This strategy was praised by the Qianlong emperor for being as successful as the marriage alliances (Ch. *heqin* 和親) of ancient Chinese dynasties.²⁸ The Manchu princesses could connect Mongol nobles with Manchu emperors in Beijing and become a political and cultural bridge between the ruling Manchu elites and local Mongol *taijis* and commoners. But that link could only be actualized if the Manchu princesses stayed in Mongolia with their Mongol husband. Therefore, the Qing rulers set up a series of restrictions to keep Manchu princesses in Mongolia; the details of the restrictions and their development will be explored in the next section.

The Low Mongolization of Manchu Princesses in Qing Mongolia

As mentioned above, many Manchu princesses married Mongol princes during the Qing era. However, it seemed that the Manchu princesses were not mongolized. This low mongolization was reflected in several aspects.

First, although the Manchu princesses married the Mongol princes, their names were still kept in the records of the Court of the Imperial Clan. They still maintained their Manchu status. This institution was possibly due to the influence of the Ming court.²⁹ In 1652, the Court of the Imperial Clan was established to take charge of the affairs concerning the imperial family. This institution kept records of the population of the imperial family and each member's age for

²⁸ Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 157.

²⁹ For the Ming establishment of the Court of the Imperial Clan, see Charles O. Hucker, "Ming Government," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8, *The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644*, pt. 2, eds., Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 28.

arranging marriage. Each marriage of an imperial family member was to be recorded in the imperial genealogy (Ch. *yüdie* 玉牒).³⁰

Second, all the residences, yearly salary, and allocated lands of the Manchu princesses were provided by the Qing emperors for their living expenditure and allocation. This made the Manchu princesses dependent on their original family and maintained their ways of life in Beijing. When Manchu princesses went to Mongolia with the Mongol imperial sons-in-law, the Qing government would build and maintain Chinese-style residences, made of bricks and tiles, for them. By 1648, the Qing government had built a residence for Hong Taiji's eldest daughter who married Bandi, Mongol *taiji* of Aohan.³¹ According to the Hetu Archives of the Liaoning Provincial Archives, the Kangxi emperor ordered that residences for the *gurun i gungju* Yongmu 雍穆 be prepared in 1673 and residences for the *hošoi gungju* Chunxi 純禧 in 1692–1693. The Yongzheng emperor ordered residences be built for the *hošoi gungju* Shushen 淑慎 in 1727–1728 and for the *hošoi gungju* Duanrou 端柔 in 1735. In some cases, the residences included Mongol *gers*. For example, the Yongzheng emperor ordered materials for building Mongol *gers* to be prepared for the Hehui 和惠 princess in 1730.³² Among the extant Manchu princess's residences, the one built for the Kejing 恪靖 princess in Guihua (today's Hōhhot) is a typical example which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

³⁰ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yanjiu*, 3, 243.

³¹ Ji Yonghai 季永海 and He Puying 何溥滢, trans., *Shengjing Neiwu fu Shunzhi nian jian dang* 盛京內務府順治年間檔, *Qingshi ziliao* 清史資料, 2nd series, no. 21 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1981), 204.

³² For an extensive list of the Qing Manchu princesses' residences, see Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yanjiu*, 315–317.

Manchu princesses and the Mongol imperial son-in-laws received silver and silk cloth as their salary yearly. In 1789, the Qianlong emperor modified the yearly salary for the Manchu princesses and the Mongol imperial sons-in-law according to the following table³³:

Title	Pre-1789		Post-1789	
	Yearly salary in silver (tael)	Yearly salary in silk cloth (bolt)	Yearly salary in silver (tael)	Yearly salary in silk cloth (bolt)
<i>gulun gongzhu</i>	1,000	30	1,000	30
<i>gulun efu</i>	300	10	300	10
<i>heshuo gongzhu</i>	200	12	400	15
<i>heshuo efu</i>	200	9	255	9
<i>junzhu</i>	150	10	160	12
<i>junzhu yibin</i>	100	8	100	8
<i>xianzhu</i>	100	8	110	10
<i>xianzhu yibin</i>	50	5	60	6
<i>junjun</i>	50	6	60	8
<i>junjun yibin</i>	40	4	50	5
<i>xianjun</i>	40	5	50	6
<i>xianjun yibin</i>	30	3	40	4
<i>xiangjun</i>	30	4	40	5
<i>xiangjun yibin</i>	20	3	0	0
<i>liuping gege</i> 六品格格	0	0	30	3
<i>liuping gege efu</i> 六品格格額駙	0	0	0	0

Table 12 Annual Salary for Manchu Princesses and Mongol Imperial Sons-in-Law

No yearly salary was given to *taiji* and *tabunang*, except those who inherited the post of *jasag* of their banners before 1729. After that year, those *taijis* who had no official posts were given a

³³ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yanjiu*, 317–318.

hundred taels of silver as yearly salary under certain situations, such as being granted a privilege to serve in the inner palace.³⁴

The most possible way to increase mongolization of the Manchu princesses might be the residential limitation. In order to influence the Mongols through the Manchu princesses, the Qing rulers wanted to keep the Manchu princesses and their Mongol husbands in Mongolia. In theory, all the Manchu princesses should stay in Mongolia with their Mongol husbands. First, the Qing government issued a series of regulations concerning Manchu princesses and Mongol imperial sons-in-law's visits to Beijing and lodging. Many of the Mongol imperial sons-in-law had residences in Beijing. This situation consisted of three types. The first type was when the Mongol imperial sons-in-law and their families lived in Beijing permanently. Such sons-in-law only went back to Mongolia occasionally and their descendants continued to marry Manchu or Han Chinese officials. The second type was the Mongol imperial sons-in-law who served in the Forbidden Palace and stayed in Beijing during their periods of service, while they often moved between Mongolia and Beijing. The third type was that of Mongol imperial sons-in-law who stayed in Beijing for a long while and who returned to Mongolia later. Their descendants usually visited Beijing to serve in the court.³⁵ During the Kangxi period, there were some Mongol imperial sons-in-law who stayed in Beijing, such as Tsering, who lived in the Forbidden Palace during his childhood and later was appointed to be the first head of Sain Noyan *aimag*. However, he did not stay in Beijing for a long time and would fit in the third category above.³⁶

On only limited occasions could Manchu princesses visit their parents and Mongol imperial sons-in-law have an imperial audience. It had been prescribed during the Shunzhi period

³⁴ *Qinding Daqing huidian zeli (Qianlong chao)*, juan 141, 39.

³⁵ Liu Jinzao 劉錦藻, *Qingchao xu wenxian tongkao* 清朝續文獻通考, in *Shitong* 十通, no. 10 (Taipei: The Commercial Press, 1987), juan 285, 10290.

³⁶ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 292–294.

that all Manchu princesses and their Mongol imperial sons-in-law had to report to the Court of Dependencies and request imperial permission in advance before visiting Beijing to see their family and receive an imperial audience. This rule was reiterated in 1724. In 1742, a *gūsai gege* who married Lubsangdondub, Mongol tabunang of Kharachin, visited Beijing without asking imperial permission. After this was exposed, the Court of Dependencies proposed that her salary be suspended for a year, but the Qianlong emperor declined this proposal and forgave her. Originally, a Manchu princess would not be eligible to visit her parents in Beijing until 10 years had passed. In 1767, the Qianlong emperor re-affirmed that rule and directed the Court of Dependencies that any request to visit Beijing from a Manchu princess who married a Mongol prince less than 10 years previously should be turned down automatically, except in case of attending a funeral of her close relative. But such special cases should be reported to the Court of Dependencies first and then would only be allowed with imperial approval. In 1806, a Manchu princess came to Beijing several times to deliver her appeal in a lawsuit to the emperor, which was considered improper by the Jiaqing emperor. Therefore, he reasserted the rule again and ordered that the responsible banner *jasag* be punished for any violation together with the Manchu princess and Mongol imperial son-in-law.³⁷ Although the ten-year interval for visiting Beijing for Manchu princesses was seen as cruel and difficult for the Manchu princess, it was still not abolished until 1823 by the Daoguang emperor. After then, all Manchu princesses' requests to visit Beijing, with proper and sound reasons, were to be reviewed only by the Court of Dependencies and approved by the emperor.³⁸

Unlike the discouraging attitude of the Qing court toward the Manchu princesses returning to Beijing, Mongol imperial sons-in-law were encouraged to visit Beijing and to make

³⁷ *Qing Renzong shilu*, juan 158, 25.

³⁸ *Qing Xuanzong shilu*, juan 48, 27–28.

imperial audiences regularly in order to show their loyalty and submission to the emperor. There were two occasions to pay an imperial audience, annual and battue rotas. According to the *Regulations and Substatutes of the Court of Dependencies*, for the annual rota (Ch. *nianban* 年班), which was similar to the *sankin kōtai* 參勤交代 or alternate attendance system in Tokugawa Japan, the Mongol khans, *jasags*, princes, *taijis*, and *tabunangs* should be divided into three groups and each one should arrive in Beijing by the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month (in the lunar calendar) every year and participate the yearly celebration for the New Year's Day at the imperial palace with the other nobles, officials, and foreign envoys. For the battue rotas (Ch. *weiban* 圍班), in 1681, the Mongol princes presented a large area of grassland around the Jehol (or Rehe) area to the Kangxi emperor. Then that place was turned into a hunting ground called the Muran Hunting Park (Ch. *mulan weichang* 木蘭圍場). From the Kangxi and Jiaqing periods, the Qing emperor held imperial hunts as military exercises at this site in the autumn. It was called the Muran Autumn Battue (Ch. *mulan qiuxian* 木蘭秋獮). The Mongol khans, *jasags*, princes, *taijis*, and *tabunangs* were divided into three groups (six groups for Khalkha Mongols later and four groups for Oirat Mongols nomading in Chakhar territory), each to bring in his own cavalry and underlings to participate in the imperial hunts as their service to the emperor. The imperial audiences and banquets would be held at the Garden of Ten Thousand Trees (Ch. *wanshu yuan* 萬樹園) in the Summer Palace of Chengde.³⁹ In addition, it was determined in

³⁹ The *sankin kōtai* system was the policy of the Tokugawa shogunate forcing the *daimyo* 大名 of every *han* 藩 to move regularly between his fief and Edo. The purpose of this policy was to consolidate control over the major feudal lords. For details of this system, see Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, *Tour of Duty: Samurai, Military Service in Edo, and the Culture of Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008). For the regulations concerning yearly and battue audiences, see Tuojin [Tojin] et al., eds., *Lifan yuan zeli, juan 16*, 1–7 (pp. 344–347); Mönggödalai, rev. and annot., *Гадаяду Монгол-ун төр-үй жасагу ябудал-ун яамун қauli жүил-үн биçиг*, 205–207. For the similarity of the *nianban* system and *sankin kōtai*, see Sechin Jagchid, “Mongolian-Manchu Inter-marriage in the Ch'ing Period,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 19 (1986): 81. For the institution and practice at Muran, see Mark C. Elliott and Chia Ning 賈寧, “The Qing Hunt at Mulan,” in *New Qing Imperial History*, 66–83. For nomad elites to

1749 that the *sula* (i.e. non-ruling) Mongol imperial sons-in-law who served no position in the inner palace or the banner were also to be divided into three groups and each one to make an imperial audience once every three years.⁴⁰

There were residential restrictions for the Manchu consort of a Mongol prince visiting Beijing. She would have to live in her mother's residence, and her retinues would stay in the Inner and Outer Hostels (Ch. *neiguan* 內館 and *waiguan* 外館).⁴¹ Inner Mongolian *jasags* and imperial sons-in-law were allowed to stay in Beijing each time for 40 days, and Manchu Imperial princesses and commandery princesses for 60 days. The term would not be extended except under special conditions, such as illness or pregnancy.⁴² While Manchu princesses and Mongol imperial sons-in-law stayed in Beijing, they would receive stipends from the Qing government, differentiated according to rank.

Even the funeral and burial of a Manchu princess in Mongolia was guided by the Qing court. The Qing government was also responsible for arrangement of funerals and burials of a Manchu princess and Mongol imperial son-in-law. When a Manchu princess or Mongol imperial son-in-law passed away, the Qing court would send officials to mourn over her or him, and the sacrificial offerings, such as calves, sheep, wine, and paper, together with an elegy would all be prepared by the Qing court.⁴³ The location of the Manchu princess and Mongol imperial son-in-law's tomb was usually in the territory of the Mongol banner where they lived in or an adjacent area. For example, the Yongmu 雍穆 princess, Hong Taiji's fourth daughter, who was married to

serve as attendants in royal hunt was a common Eurasian practice. See Thomas T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 14–15. For the ecological problem created by Muran, see David A. Bello, *Across Forest, Steppe, and Mountain: Environment, Identity, and Empire in Qing China's Borderlands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 222.

⁴⁰ *Qinding Daqing huidian zeli (Qianlong chao)*, juan 141, 7.

⁴¹ *Qinding Daqing huidian zeli (Qianlong chao)*, juan 141, 19.

⁴² *Qinding Daqing huidian zeli (Qianlong chao)*, juan 141, 20.

⁴³ *Qinding Daqing huidian shili (Guangxu chao)*, juan 991, 11 (881: 812).

the Jorigtu *qinwang* Biltagar of Khorchin in 1633, was buried in Chandmani (Ch. Qiandemen 前德門) of Khorchin Left-Flank Middle banner (in the territory of present-day Jarud banner).⁴⁴

Since the Manchu princesses buried in Mongolia and their tombs will be the main issues in the next chapter, a detailed, but not exhaustive, table shows the distribution of their tombs below⁴⁵:

Tomb Occupant	Year of Burial	Province (or Autonomous Region) and Country	Village (Sumu) County (or Banner) and City
Zhunzhe 肫哲 princess	1648	Jilin 吉林, China	Jingshan 靜山 Township, Da'an 大安 City
Hong Taiji's eldest daughter	1654	Inner Mongolia, China	Chifeng 赤峰 City
Wenzhuang 溫莊 princess	1663	Liaoning 遼寧, China	Yi 義 County, Jinzhou 錦州 City
Yongmu 雍穆 princess	1678	Inner Mongolia, China	Aohan Banner, Tongliao 通遼 City
Gongque 恭愆 princess	1685	Liaoning, China	Shengbei 瀋北 New District, Shenyang 瀋陽 City
Shuhui 淑慧 princess (1 st burial)	1700	Inner Mongolia, China	Xinli 新立 Village, Dushi 都希 Sumu, Baarin Right-Flank Banner, Chifeng city
Duanzhuang 端莊 princess (original site)	Before 1671	Liaoning, China	Hongbaoshi 紅寶石 Mountain, Shenyang City
Shuhui princess (2 nd burial)	1703	Inner Mongolia, China	Bayankhoshuu Mountain, Baarin Right-Flank Banner
Wenke 溫恪 princess	1709	Inner Mongolia, China	Songshan 松山 District,

⁴⁴ Zhang Bozhong 張柏忠, "Qing gulong yongmu zhang gongzhu mu 清固龍雍穆長公主墓," *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 文物資料叢刊 7 (1983): 127–133.

⁴⁵ This table is made based on Han Quan 韓佺, "Qingdai huangzu nüxing muzang yanjiu 清代皇族女性墓葬研究" (PhD diss., Nankai University, 2014), 82.

			Chifeng City
Duanmin 端敏 princess	1710	Inner Mongolia, China	Faku 法庫 County, Shenyang City
Duanjing 端靜 princess (1 st burial)	1719	Inner Mongolia, China	Kharachin Banner, Chifeng City
Duanjing princess (2 nd burial)	1722	Inner Mongolia, China	South bank of the Sibe 錫伯 River, Kharachin Banner, Chifeng City
Rongxian 榮憲 princess	1728	Inner Mongolia, China	Baarin Right-Flank Banner, Chifeng City
An unidentified <i>duoluo junzhu</i> (her tomb known as the tomb north of the <i>beise</i> 's residence [Ch. <i>beizi fu houfen</i> 貝子府後墳])	After 1735	Inner Mongolia, China	Baarin Right-Flank Banner, Chifeng City
Chunxi 純禧 princess	1741	Jilin, China	Tongyushan 通榆山 Township, Tongyu 通榆 County
Duanrou 端柔 princess	1754	Liaoning, China	Faku County, Shenyang City
Hejing 和敬 princess (cenotaph)	1782	Jilin, China	Huaide 懷德 County, Siping 四平 City
A <i>heshuo gege</i> , Dorgon's great-great-granddaughter	1826	Inner Mongolia, China	Taipingzhuang 太平莊 Village, East of Hōhhot
A <i>xianjun</i> , <i>beise</i> Zaixi 載錫's daughter	c. 1868–1875	Inner Mongolia, China	Sicun 四村 Village, Hōhhot
Kejing 恪靖 princess	1735	Mongolia	Ulaanbaatar City

Table 13 List of Tombs of Manchu Princesses in Mongolia and Manchuria

If a commoner's wife in traditional China died, she would be buried with her husband in his family cemetery. But this was not the case in Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage; since the Manchu princesses were of imperial blood and had higher rank, they were allowed to have

individual tombs, although only after 1792. And after their Mongol husbands died, they would be buried in their wives' tombs. Usually their tombs would be named after the deceased Manchu princess's title, not her Mongol husband's title.⁴⁶

However, even the residential restrictions were not maintained by the Qing court since the late Kangxi period. Before 1710, all the Manchu princesses who married Mongol princes had to be buried in Mongolia after they passed away. However, this practice was broken in the late Kangxi reign. The first Manchu princess to marry a Mongol prince and be buried in Beijing was the Chunque princess, also called the Sixth Princess. The Chunque princess who married Khalkha Mongol prince Tsering, had her tomb built in Beijing in 1710, outside of the Anding 安定 Gate of the Forbidden Palace; her husband Tsering was later buried with her after he died in 1750.⁴⁷ The Hejing 和敬 princess, who had married Khorchin Mongol prince Sebdanbaljur, was allowed later to be buried in Beijing after she died in 1792; after that all Manchu princesses and their Mongol husbands were buried in Beijing without sending their coffins back to their husband's appanage in Mongolia. Only cenotaphs were erected in the Mongol princes' original banners for commemoration.⁴⁸

In the Qianlong period, an example of a Manchu princess and her husband staying for a long time in Beijing, was that of the Hejing 和敬 princess and her husband Sebdanbaljur of Khorchin Left-Flank Middle banner. The Hejing princess was the Qianlong emperor's third daughter, but since her two elder sisters had died two years after birth, she was actually seen as the eldest imperial princess. Since her mother, the Xiaoxian 孝賢 empress, who was the

⁴⁶ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 330.

⁴⁷ Mengkebuyin 孟克布音 [Möngkebuyan], "Menggu Nawang fudi lishi shenghuo jishi 蒙古那王府邸歷史生活紀實," *Nei Menggu daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 內蒙古大學學報 (人文社會科學版), no. 4 (1991): 52–53.

⁴⁸ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 327–328.

Qianlong emperor's favorite companion, passed away only a year after the Hejing princess's marriage, the Qianlong emperor missed his eldest daughter too much to let her leave for Mongolia.⁴⁹ Therefore, the Hejing princess and her husband were able to remain in Beijing by special permission. Their son also served in the imperial palace and stayed in Beijing. This case became the precedent for later imperial princesses' families who stayed in Beijing. During the Jiaqing and Daoguang period, the number of the Mongol imperial sons-in-law and their Manchu wives who stayed in Beijing kept increasing continually. As Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792–1841), a famous Qing literati and official, stated, “Mongol princes had merit as inner ministers in the founding of the dynasty, married imperial princess from generation to generation and their sons were the emperor's nephews, standing guard in the inner palace [...] And their residences were close to each other's in the inner city of Beijing or else they were granted mansions in Haidian 海淀 area by the emperor.”⁵⁰ By 1910, there were already twenty-seven Mongol princes living in Beijing, twenty-six of whom were imperial sons-in-law.⁵¹ The Mongol princes were from Khorchin, Kharachin, Tümed, Aohan, Baarin, and Naiman *aimags* in Inner Mongolia, Sain Noyan, and Tüshiyetü Khan *aimags* in Khalkha, Alashan Khoshud and Zünghar of the Oirat.⁵²

For the Qing emperors, the Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarital alliance was an enduring policy and institution. This was shown in their tight control of Manchu princesses and their marriages. The Qing emperors highly valued the closeness and importance of the Manchu-Mongol marital alliance. For example, when the Qianlong emperor visited the realm of Khorchin Mongols, he wrote a poem praising how the Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage strongly

⁴⁹ For the death of the Xiaoxian empress and the political disturbance resulting from the Qianlong emperor's grief, see Mark C. Elliott, *Emperor Qianlong: Son of Heaven, Man of the World* (New York: Longman, 2009), 41–44.

⁵⁰ Gong Zizhen 龔自珍, *Gong Zizhen quanji 龔自珍全集* (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1975), 3: 223.

⁵¹ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 284–285.

⁵² For the details on each of the Mongol princes staying in Beijing, see Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 285–297.

ties the Mongols “beyond the pass” together with the Manchu imperial family.⁵³ The Inner Mongols were the first Mongols to submit to the Qing regime, especially the Khorchin Mongols. The Khorchins were also the most loyal Mongol *aimag* to the Qing dynasty. Their steady and sincere effort was also recognized and honored by the Qing court. For example, in the “Imperially Commissioned Genealogical Tables and Biographies of Princes and Dukes of Mongols and Muslim Tribesmen of the Outer Vassals,” the introductory section to the Khorchins praised their leading status among the twenty-four *aimags* of Inner Mongols for their long history of imperial intermarriage and loyal military service for the Qing dynasty.⁵⁴ The Qianlong emperor believed that this policy had made a great difference to Qing supremacy and thought that the loyalty of the Khorchins was the key to Qing success in ruling the northern nomads, something which no previous Chinese dynasty had done successfully.⁵⁵ The Manchu-Mongol marital alliance definitely played a significant role in Qing rule over the Mongols.

To the Mongol nobility, marrying a Manchu princess was an honor and a privilege which would elevate one’s status among other Mongol nobles. This was documented in Qing sources. For example, in 1706, the Kangxi emperor ordered his thirteenth daughter, the Wenke princess, to marry the Ongni’ud prince Tsangjin; later in the same year he visited the newlyweds. When the Kangxi emperor entered the territory of Ongni’ud Right-Flank banner, the Ongni’ud aristocrats and commoners led by Tsangjin prostrated themselves on the left side of the road to welcome him. Tsangjin greeted the emperor after expressing gratitude for how through the

⁵³ See Zhang Mu 張穆, *Menggu youmu ji* 蒙古游牧記 (Taipei: Wen-hai Publishing House, 1965), *juan* 1, 19–20.

⁵⁴ *Qinding waifan Menggu huibu wanggong biao zhuan*, *juan* 17, 6 (454–345).

⁵⁵ Heshen 和珅 and Liang Guozhi 梁國治 et al., eds., *Qinding Rehe zhi* 欽定熱河志, in *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, vol. 495, *juan* 21, 20 “Chu Gubeikou 出古北口” by the Qianlong emperor Hongli 弘曆.

imperial grace the Ongni'ud people had been living in peace, and said that he felt more honored that the emperor married the princess to him and visited his banner.⁵⁶

This kind of feeling of honor among the Mongol princes who married Manchu princesses is also documented by western explorers. For example, in 1892, A. M. Pozdneyev met the Tüshiyetü Khan Dorji-rabdan's caravan while he was travelling to Yeke Khüriye. According to him, the family of Tüshiyetü Khan was proud of their privilege of constant intermarriage with the Manchu imperial family and their esteemed status and title of *qinwang* (the first-rank prince) granted by the Qing emperor.⁵⁷

However, relations between Manchu princesses and Mongol imperial sons-in-law were not always harmonious. During the early Qing era, the Manchu princesses were often arrogant and looked down on their Mongol husbands. The situation became so serious that Nurhachi had to advise the Mongol imperial sons-in-law that they should not be afraid of his daughters and report their improper deeds to him immediately. He also ordered his daughters that they should not bully their Mongol husbands and warned that they would be punished mercilessly if they dared to violate his order.⁵⁸ But Nurhachi also confessed to a Mongol imperial son-in-law that the reasons why his daughter was reluctant to marry a Mongol prince was that Mongolia was extremely cold and she was afraid living there without *kang* 炕 (bed-stove).⁵⁹ In other words, the Manchu princess was used to sedentary life and would be reluctant to switch to Mongolian nomadic life.

⁵⁶ Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan, ed., *Kangxi qijuzhu* 康熙起居注 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1984), 2007.

⁵⁷ Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, 422–423.

⁵⁸ Kanda Nobuo 神田信夫, et. al. trans. and annot., *Mambun Rōtō* 滿文老檔 (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1956), T'ai-tsu 60, 2: 885 (AF9, I. 3).

⁵⁹ Kanda Nobuo, et. al. trans. and annot., *Mambun Rōtō*, T'ai-tsu 60, 2: 888–889 (AF9, I, 6).

When a dispute or fight occurred between a Manchu princess and a Mongol son-in-law, it was never simple and might lead to a serious political outcome. So the Qing emperors treated it very carefully. For instance, in 1771, an unsuccessful attempted murder case that happened in Tümed Right-Flank banner almost endangered the practice of Manchu-Mongol marital alliance. In that case, the Qianlong emperor's younger female cousin married Tümed *beise* Khamugbayaskhulang's son Nasuntegüs in 1759. However, their marriage was not satisfying to either and they later separated without a formal divorce. In 1770, the princess reported to her father, the Cheng prince Yunmi 允祕 that she had been almost poisoned to death by Nasuntegüs's son's wet nurse and that Nasuntegüs might have abetted the crime. This presented a serious dilemma to the Qing emperor: if the process and result of an investigation did Nasuntegüs an injustice and was not convincing to the other Mongol princes, it would leave them with negative impressions toward the emperor and discourage them from marrying their sons with Manchu princesses in the future. Therefore, he paid close attention to this investigation and criticized his ministers for accusing Nasuntegüs of culpability just because of the pressure from the Manchu princess's family. Although Nasuntegüs was ultimately put to death, his crime was trying to poison his elder brother, which was later found in the process of investigation, rather than attempting to murder his Manchu wife. In this way, the Qianlong emperor showed his impartiality to the Mongol nobility and made the Manchu princess happy and also satisfied her family.⁶⁰

In the eyes of some late-Qing Mongol literati, Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage and Manchu princesses became a controversial topic.⁶¹ For example, Lubsangchoidan (1873–1928) was an Inner Mongol critic of Buddhism and nationalist who supported modern education

⁶⁰ For this lawsuit, see Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yanjiu*, 356–361.

⁶¹ Ding Yizhuang 定宜莊, *Manzu de funü shenghuo yu hunyin yanjiu* 滿族的婦女生活與婚姻研究 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1999), 302–307.

and the independence of Mongolia.⁶² In his work *Mirror of Mongol Customs*, he argued that Mongol princes had preferred to marry Manchu princesses ever since the Qing regime was established, and this was the Manchu emperors' strategy of ruling Mongols. He gave two reasons why the Manchu emperors were willing to marry their princesses to Mongol princes: 1) the Mongol princes were Chinggis Khan's descendants and of noble lineage, so Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage was an equal match on both sides; 2) at that time, the Mongols commanded a powerful army and the Manchu emperor had to form an alliance with the Mongols and acquire the ruling power of the Mongols through imperial intermarriage.⁶³

According to Lubsangchoidan, the Mongol princes were jealous of each other and wanted their own Manchu brides. However, Mongol commoners were not pleased with seeing their princes marry Manchu princesses from Beijing. First, it cost great money for the Mongol princes; money that would be collected from Mongol commoners, adding a heavy financial burden on their backs. So Mongol commoners of poor Mongol banners did not wish their *jasags* to marry Manchu princesses. He also blamed the Manchu princesses for the Mongol princes' sales of banner grasslands to pay their debts since marrying Manchu princesses cost great money for the Mongol princes.⁶⁴

Moreover, the Manchu princesses' deeds spoiled Mongol women's traditional virtue. Lubsangchoidan compared the Manchu princesses to Mongol women and thought the latter were better than the former because the latter were more diligent and possessed traditional Mongol

⁶² On Lubsangchoidan, his political stance, and his work *Mirror of Mongol Customs*, see Xiao Jun 小軍, "Guanyu Luobusangquedan zhuanxie 'Menggu fensu jian'dongji de yi kaocha 關於羅布桑卻丹撰寫『蒙古風俗鑑』動機的一考察," *Meng Zang xiankuang shuangyuebao* 蒙藏現況雙月報 15, vol. 6 (Nov., 2006): 50–62. Xiao Jun found in Japanese archives that Lubsangchoidan promoted the independence of Mongolia and tried to persuade Inner Mongol princes to support the government of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu in Mongolia after 1911.

⁶³ Lubsangčoyidan, *Mongyol-un jang ayali-yin üyilebüri*, annot. Kh. Dambijalsan (Höhhöt: Inner Mongolian People's Press, 1981), 56.

⁶⁴ Lubsangčoyidan, *Mongyol-un jang ayali-yin üyilebüri*, 58–59.

virtues. The Mongol princes' families disintegrated after marrying Manchu princesses.⁶⁵

Moreover, the Manchu princesses set a bad model for Mongol women. For example, the Mongol women used to be good at needlework and did not care about cosmetics. However, the Manchu princesses were born in rich families and considered needlework beneath them. So they did not learn needlework at home and loved to apply cosmetics. The Mongol nobles' daughters saw this and followed their practice. So needlework as an old Mongol practice was lost.⁶⁶

Lubsangchoidan lamented that at the beginning of Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage, times were good for the Mongols. Later, however, Mongol society gradually fell into destitution year by year and the Manchu nobles' hearts also became evil. Not wanting to marry off good Manchu princesses to Mongol princes, they instead replaced them with their distant relatives' daughters. He also mentioned how the Manchu princesses rarely gave birth to children. Ordinary Mongols gossiping about this said that Manchu princesses took contraceptive drugs in advance because they did not want to have Mongol babies.⁶⁷

He also saw that the Manchu princess brought a sedentary life style to Mongolia and changed Mongolian culture. For example, nomadic Mongols used to live in tents. From the time that Mongol princes began to marry Manchu princesses, sedentary houses were built with bricks and stones, wherever the princesses lived.⁶⁸

The Manchu princesses in Mongolia were not supposed to be mongolized in order to carry out their political missions as imperial agents in Mongolia. Thus, mongolization of the Manchu princesses was low. They were economically dependent on the support of Beijing and maintained their connection with their imperial family. Although they had to stay in Mongolia,

⁶⁵ Lubsangčoyidan, *Mongγol-un ǰang ayali-yin üyilebüri*, 327

⁶⁶ Lubsangčoyidan, *Mongγol-un ǰang ayali-yin üyilebüri*, 260–261.

⁶⁷ Lubsangčoyidan, *Mongγol-un ǰang ayali-yin üyilebüri*, 58–59.

⁶⁸ Lubsangčoyidan, *Mongγol-un ǰang ayali-yin üyilebüri*, 22.

this kind of residential restriction began to be loosened by the Qing emperors beginning in the late Kangxi period. The most important indicator was that they never lost their Manchu status. Their Mongol husbands and in-laws treated the Manchu princesses differently because of their distinguished imperial background. In the eyes of late Qing Mongol literati, the Manchu princesses did not conform to Mongolian cultural norms and brought a sedentary lifestyle to Mongolia.

The Manchu Princess's Dowry and the Institution of ingji Bondservants

Lubsangchoidan mentioned that in the late Qing and early Republican era, there were many Han Chinese who had acquired Mongol status. When the Manchu princesses married Mongol princes, many Han Chinese followed them to Mongolia and became Mongols.⁶⁹ However, his impression might not be fully correct because most of the people who followed the Manchu princesses to Mongolia were in fact Manchu *booi* bondservants.

As we know, it was stipulated that all Manchu princesses would bring differing numbers of Manchu bondservants as their dowry, including nurses, wet nurses, maidservants, bodyguards, cooks, and craftsmen, according to their ranks.⁷⁰ The earliest record of Manchu *ingjis* dates back to 1633. Five Manchu and Mongol couples and seven maidservants accompanied the Yongmu princess to Mongolia.⁷¹ Later *ingji* bondservants of imperial princesses were chosen from *booi* bondservants of the Imperial Household Department while the *ingjis* of commandery princesses (Ch. *junzhu* 郡主) and daughters of imperial princes of collateral lineages were sent by their own families. Most of the Manchu *booi* bondservants were of Han Chinese origin, but some were of

⁶⁹ Lubsangcōyidan, *Mongyol-un jang ayali-yin üyilebüri*, 41–42.

⁷⁰ Besides humans, various gifts, utensils, lands, and pawnhouses were bestowed to Manchu princess as dowry from the emperor. For the details, see Teng Deyong 滕德永, “Qingdai gongzhu de zhuanglian 清代公主的妝奩,” *Ningxia shehui kexue* 寧夏社會科學, no. 4 (Jul., 2016): 196–202.

⁷¹ Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’anguan, ed., *Qingchu nei guoshiyuan manwen dang’an yibian*, 1: 11.

Manchu and Mongol origins. In any case, they arrived in Mongolia together with their mistress. After the Manchu princess passed away, some of the Manchu *ingji* bondservants might be summoned back to Beijing, but the rest of them continued to stay in Mongolia thereafter as the Mongol princes' bondservants or tomb keepers of the late Manchu princesses' generation after generation. The Mongol princes often delineated land adjacent to the late Manchu princesses' tombs and gave it to the Manchu *booi* bondservants who became the tomb keepers. They would have to live there permanently, either cultivating the land themselves or renting it to Han Chinese tenants. According to the *Regulations and Substatutes of the Court of Dependencies*, Manchu *ingji* bondservants were allowed to be tomb keepers, guards, and ordinary servants, but were not to serve as armored cavalymen alongside Mongol banner commoners.⁷²

The Manchu *ingji* bondservants chosen from the Imperial Household Department were to be removed from the registration list of the Imperial Household Department. In 1815, an imperial memorial in Han Chinese indicated a customary practice in which a bannerman of the Imperial Household Department was selected to be *ingji* bondservants, then his name was deleted from the official record of the Office of Accounts (Ch. *kuaiji si* 會計司), the Imperial Household Department.⁷³ It is reasonable to assume that they would acquire the autonomous Mongolian banner registrations of Mongolia after their Manchu banner registrations were removed.

Ethnically, the Manchu *ingji* bondservants were mostly Manchu, Mongol, and Han Chinese.⁷⁴ There were people under “head of bondservant” (Ma. *booi da*), “village heads,” and

⁷² Tuojin [Tojin], et al. eds., *Lifan yuan zeli*, juan 25, 14 (p. 50); Mönggödalai, rev. and annot., *Gadayadu Mongyol-un törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun qauli jüil-ün bičig*, 326.

⁷³ FHAC-JCHZ, no. 05-0578-032 (JQ20, VII, 2).

⁷⁴ Some of the *ingji* bondservants were Wu Sangui 吳三桂's former subordinates from South China. They had Chinese-style surnames. After the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories was pacified, those people were captured by the Qing army. Later they were brought to Beijing and enlisted as house slaves of Manchu *booi* bondservants (probably *sin jeku*) under the Imperial Household Department. While the Duanjing 端靜 princess married Kharachin prince Galsang in 1692, they were chosen to be Duanjing's *ingji* (or *ingji albatu*) and arrived in Mongolia with her. In the late nineteenth century, there were two hundred more households, including about twenty households as the

those who had committed an offense and been given to high official such as *booi*. With regard to their professions, they were heads of bondservants, kitchen guards, bodyguards, carriage guards, underlings (Ma. *baitangga*), eunuchs, wet nurses, maidservants, cooks, etc.⁷⁵ *Ingji* bondservants could also serve as informers to keep Mongol princes under surveillance for the Qing emperors.⁷⁶

At the beginning of the Qing dynasty, the dowry of Manchu imperial princesses was stipulated by the Qing emperor. When Hong Taiji gave his eldest daughter to the Aohan prince Bandi, he also bestowed a great amount of presents upon his daughter, including animals, attire, jewels, furniture, and utensils. To Bandi, Hong Taiji gave saddles, attire, and furniture.⁷⁷ The dowry of Manchu nobles' daughters was treated more flexibly and was up to the prince himself.⁷⁸ A document of established precedents concerning the dowry of a commandary princess is dated to 1792.⁷⁹

Besides movable assets, the Qing emperor usually allocated the Manchu princess and Mongol imperial son-in-law certain farmlands as their manor. It was also called *yanzhi di* 胭脂

late *efu* (imperial son-in-law)'s tomb keepers, and about one hundred and seventy households as the princess's tomb keeper in the village Arban Ger (Ch. *shijia'r* 十家兒).

⁷⁵ FHAC-JMLZ, no. 03-0173-1042-007 (QL1, V, 17).

⁷⁶ For instance, the rebellion of Chakhar Prince Burni was secretly reported to the Kangxi emperor by Sinju, a steward (Ch. *zhangshi* 長史) of a Manchu princess. See *Qing Shengzu shilu* 清聖祖實錄, *juan* 53, 21. In Tümed Right banner, there was a legend about the origin of the Xiafu da-lama 下府達喇嘛 temple (also known as Huining 會寧 temple). It said that the local Tümed grand duke (Mo. *beyise*) planned to mutiny against the Qing emperor and the temple was originally built to be his palace after his revolt succeeded. However, his wife, a Manchu prince's daughter, found out his plot and sent an envoy to Beijing to inform the Qing emperor. The Qing emperor dispatched an official to investigate this case. After his plan had been exposed, the grand duke was afraid of the Qing investigation. Therefore, he ordered Buddha images to be made and turned the palace into a temple to deceive the Qing official. The Qing official saw the temple and did not interrogate the grand duke. Later the grand duke was sent to Beijing and secretly poisoned to death by the Qing court. Henceforth, the government office of Tümed Right banner moved to Heichengzi 黑城子, and the palace continued to be a lamasery. For this second case, see Shen Mingshi, ed., *Chaoyang xianzhi*, *juan* 8, *siguan* 寺觀, 15a.

⁷⁷ *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan*, ed., *Qingchu nei guoshi yuan Manwen dang'an yibian*, 1: 11. Also see *Qing Taizong shilu*, *juan* 13, 9, 27–28.

⁷⁸ *Qing Shizu shilu* 清世祖實錄, in *Qing shilu*, vol. 3, *juan* 67, 7–24.

⁷⁹ This document recording these precedents is found in Toyo Bunko, see Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 309–311.

地 in Chinese, in which *yanzhi* transcribes to the Mongolian *ingji*.⁸⁰ For example, the Shuhui princess, Hong Taiji's fifth daughter, married Sebdan, a Mongol prince of Baarin. Her manor had an extent of 500 *qings* 頃 (around 3,072 hectares).⁸¹ The Wenke 溫恪 princess married Tsangjin, Mongol prince of Ongni'ud Right-Flank banner, and the Kangxi emperor allocated 48 *qings* (around 295 hectares) of uncultivated land south of the Yingjing 英金 river and east of the Red mountain as her manor. Many Han Chinese settlers were hired to cultivate that area of land for which they paid rent to the Wenke princess yearly. This area was called West Water Land (Ch. *xishuidi* 西水地).⁸² Similar was the Chunque 純愬 princess's manor which lay in the territory of Chakhar, to the east of the Kejing princess's manor. By the end of the Qing dynasty, it reached 7,000 *qings* (around 43,008 hectares).⁸³

In discussion of women and property in premodern China, dowry has been seen as a form of inheritance to daughters. The dowry a bride brought with her was sequestered from the property of her husband.⁸⁴ But this was not the case for Manchu princesses. The Manchu imperial princesses did not have ownership of their dowry, but only the right of use (usufruct).⁸⁵ The assets and real estate granted to Manchu princesses from the emperor were supposed to return to the Imperial Household Department after the princesses passed away. But it was not

⁸⁰ Du Jiaji incorrectly claims that the term *yanzhi di* means the farmland given by the emperor for using the income generated from the farmland to purchase cosmetics (Ch. *yanzhi* 胭脂). See Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 319.

⁸¹ *Balin youqi zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui* 《巴林右旗志》編纂委員會, ed., *Balin youqi zhi* 巴林右旗志 (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House, 1990), 726–727.

⁸² Wu Yuzhou 吳宇周, “Heshuo Wenke gongzhu de yanzhi di — xishui di 和碩溫恪公主的胭脂地—西水地,” *Hongshan wenshi* 紅山文史 4 (1991): 104–105.

⁸³ Mengkebuyin [Möngkebuyan], “Menggu Nawang fudi lishi shenghuo jishi,” 55.

⁸⁴ On general introduction to women and property in China, see Kathryn Bernhardt, *Women and Property in China, 960–1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999). On dowry wealth as a form of inheritance for women in Qing China, see Susan Mann, “Dowry Wealth and Wifely Virtue in Mid-Qing Gentry Households,” *Late Imperial China* 29, no. 1 supplement (Jun., 2008): 64–76.

⁸⁵ For discussion of the dowry and property of Manchu imperial princesses, see Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 153–156.

uncommon for the emperor to return that property to the imperial son-in-law in a show of imperial favor. In 1820, *efü* Sodnamdorji, who married the Zhuangjing 莊敬 princess, the Jiaqing emperor's third daughter, memorialized that he was grateful that the emperor had bestowed back on him the previous establishments in which he and the princess had lived in Beijing but which had been returned to the Imperial Household Department after the princess passed away in 1811.⁸⁶

The specific size of the human dowry of each Manchu imperial princess was stipulated in the beginning of the Qing dynasty. In the previous case of Hong Taiji's eldest daughter marrying Aohan prince's son, those who followed the princess to Mongolia were the princess's wet nurse and her husband, together with five couples of Manchu and Mongol bondservants and seven young girls.⁸⁷ Later in 1652, the Shunzhi emperor revised this regulation and made it more extensive, covering the Manchu nobles⁸⁸:

Chinese Title	Manchu Title	Bondservant	Farmer Household
<i>heshuo gege</i> 和碩格格	<i>hošoi gege</i>	8	5
<i>duoluo junwang nü</i> 多羅郡王女	<i>doroi gege</i>	7	4
<i>duoluo beile nü</i> 多羅貝勒女	<i>beile i jui doroi gege</i>	6	3
<i>gushan gege</i> 固山格格	<i>gūsai gege</i>	5	2
<i>zhenguo gong nü</i> 鎮國公女	<i>kesi be tuwakiyara gurun be dalire</i> <i>gung ni gege</i>	4	2

⁸⁶ Qi Meiqin 祁美琴, "Gongzhu gege xiajia waifan Menggu suixing renyuan shixi 公主格格下嫁外藩蒙古隨行人員試析," *Manzu yanjiu* 滿族研究, no. 1 (2011): 30.

⁸⁷ Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan, ed., *Qingchu nei guoshi yuan Manwen dang'an yibian*, 1: 11.

⁸⁸ *Qing Shizu shilu*, *juan* 67, 7–24. For the number of wet nurses and their husbands, no specific regulation was stipulated in this case.

<i>fuguo gong nü</i> 輔國公女	<i>kesi be tuwakiyara gurun de</i> <i>aisilara gung ni gege</i>	3	2

Table 14 Human Dowry of Each Manchu Princess (Shunchi Reign)

In 1666, a new rule on the restriction of the human dowry's identity was added. The daughters of a first rank general (Ch. *zhenguo jiangjun* 鎮國將軍, Defender-General of the State) and a second rank general (Ch. *fuguo jiangjun* 輔國將軍, Bulwark-General of the State) were allowed to bring a Manchu couple, and three Mongol and Han Chinese couples with them as human dowry. However, the daughter of a third rank general (Ch. *fengguo jiangjun* 奉國將軍, Supporter-General of the State) and a fourth rank general (Ch. *feng'en jiangjun* 奉恩將軍, General by Grace) were not allowed to bring any Manchu persons as their bondservants, but only three Mongol and Han Chinese couples. The daughter of a close member of the imperial clan was allowed to bring only two Mongol and Han Chinese couples.⁸⁹ In 1770, this rule was revised again by the Qianlong emperor⁹⁰:

Chinese Title	Female bondservant	Agricultural Household
<i>Junzhu</i> 郡主	6	4
<i>Xianzhu</i> 縣主	4	3
<i>Junjun</i> 郡君	3	2
<i>Xianjun</i> 縣君	2	2
<i>Xiangjun</i> 鄉君	2	0

Table 15 Human Dowry of Each Manchu Princess (Qianlong Reign)

⁸⁹ E'rtai 鄂爾泰 [Ortai] et al., eds., *Baqi tongzhi* 八旗通志 (Changchun: Northeast Normal University Press, 1985), *juan* 60, 1192.

⁹⁰ *Qing Gaozong Shilu*, *juan* 852, 11.

Besides the female bondservants and farmer households given to the Manchu princesses, the Mongol imperial son-in-law was also allowed to select a certain amount of Mongol commoners, or taxpayers, from his banner to be his own personal subjects (*Mo. qamjily-a*). They were exempt from mandatory military service and corvée of the Qing government and only served as the Mongol imperial son-in-law's servants, guards or retainues. Although their status would be reversed after the Mongol imperial son-in-law passed away, they could still continue to serve the Manchu princess and her descendants with imperial permission.

For the number of the persons given to each Mongol prince, *taiji*, and *tabunang* as his own serfs (i.e. *khamjilga*), see the table below⁹¹:

Title	Number of the persons given to each Mongol prince, <i>taiji</i> , and <i>tabunang</i>
<i>gulun efu</i>	40
<i>heshuo efu</i>	30
<i>duoluo efu</i>	20
<i>xianzhu yibin</i>	20
<i>junjun yibin</i>	20
<i>taiji</i> and <i>tabunang</i> of the first rank	15
<i>taiji</i> and <i>tabunang</i> of the second rank	12
<i>taiji</i> and <i>tabunang</i> of the third rank	8
<i>taiji</i> and <i>tabunang</i> of the fourth rank	4

Table 16 Number of the Persons Given to Each Mongol Prince, *taiji*, and *tabunang*

Along with the *booi* bondservants and *khamjilga*, there were also officials and guards who followed Manchu princesses to Mongolia as their retainues. In 1692, the Kangxi emperor ordered bodyguards to be given to all Manchu princesses and Mongol imperial sons-in-law.⁹² Later, the Qianlong emperor issued an order stipulating the number of officials accompanying

⁹¹ *Qinding Daqing huidian zeli (Qianlong chao)*, juan 140, 58–59.

⁹² *Qing Shengzu shilu*, juan 157, 5–6.

Manchu princesses in 1760, and the regulations were re-affirmed in 1786. For *gurun i gungju*, her retinue included one steward (Ch. *zhangshi* 長史) of the third grade, one guard of the first grade, two guards of the second grade, two guards of the third grade, and two managers of ceremonies (Ch. *dianyi* 典儀) of the sixth grade. For *hošoi gungju*, her retinue was fewer than the former: one steward of the fourth grade, two guards of the second grade, one guard of the third grade, and two managers of ceremonies of the sixth grade and seventh grade followed her to Mongolia. Each Manchu imperial princess also had one eunuch in her retinue.⁹³ The officials and guards were selected from the Imperial Household Department. Their descendants did not have to inherit the duties of their parents and did not have to stay with the Manchu princesses in Mongolia. After the Manchu princess died, the duty of her guards also ended and the guards could return to Beijing.⁹⁴

It is not easy to determine the number of people who entered Mongolian lands as part of the human dowry of the Manchu princesses. Here I can only provide the rough estimate given by Qi Meiqin. Following the different Qing regulations for the Manchu princesses' human dowry, she estimates the total population following the Manchu princesses to Mongolia was around 3,000 to 5,000.⁹⁵

In this chapter, we have examined the institution of Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage, which worked as a vector moving people into Mongolia, and how it changed over time. Its background was the Manchu-Mongol marital alliance. The Qing rulers wanted to strengthen the ties between the the imperial family and its Mongol allies through intermarriage,

⁹³ Tuojin [Tojin] et al., eds. *Qinding Daqing huidian shili (Jiaqing chao)*, juan 3, 1–2.

⁹⁴ Qi, “Gongzhu gege xiajia waifan Menggu suixing renyuan shixi,” 29.

⁹⁵ For the standard and calculation of the estimation, see Qi, “Gongzhu gege xiajia waifan Menggu suixing renyuan shixi,” 31–33.

like other Eurasian empires. All of the Manchu princesses were allowed to bring a stipulated number of Manchu bondservants as their dowry, including nurses, wet nurses, maidservants, bodyguards, cooks, and craftsmen. According to the *Regulations and Substatutes of the Court of Dependencies*, Manchu *ingji* bondservants were allowed to be tomb keepers, guards, and usual servants, but should not serve as armored cavalrymen as Mongol banner commoners did. The Manchu bondservants who accompanied an imperial princess were chosen from the Imperial Household Department and those who followed a commandery princess (Ch. *junzhu* 郡主), or a daughter of imperial princes of collateral lineages, were sent by their own families. Most of the Manchu *booi* bondservants were of Han Chinese origin, but some were of Manchu and Mongol origins. They arrived in Mongolia in the entourage of the Manchu princesses. After a Manchu princess passed away, some of the Manchu *ingji* bondservants might be summoned back to Beijing, while the rest of them continued to stay in Mongolia hereafter as the Mongol imperial son-in-law's bondservants or tomb keepers of the late Manchu princess from generation to generation. The Mongol prince often demarcated land adjacent to the late Manchu princess's tomb and gave it to the Manchu *booi* bondservants who became the tomb keepers. They would have to live there permanently, to cultivate the land themselves or to rent it to Han Chinese tenants. Some of them gradually became integrated into Mongolian society and acquired Mongolian identities. The next chapter will explore their lives in Mongolia and the phenomenon of their mongolization in the long run.

Chapter Five

Mongolization of Manchu Settlers as Human Dowry and Their Descendants

As introduced in the last part of the previous chapter, the institution of Manchu *ingji* bondservants and its composition was important to the Manchu-Mongol marital alliance during the Qing period. The Manchu *ingjis*, as guards, servants, and craftsmen, accompanied Manchu princesses who were arranged to marry Mongol princes. They were new settlers in Mongol banner territories. The topic of *ingjis* as main Manchu settlers and human dowry of Manchu princesses has been touched on by several scholars. But no systematic research has yet been done on their interaction with and integration into local Mongol society, and especially on the change of their status and the process of mongolization in the socio-legal sense after they were assigned to follow Manchu princesses to Mongolia.

Previous Studies on Manchu ingji Bondservants in Qing Mongolia

As far as is known, the mongolization of Manchu *ingjis* was firstly documented in a Japanese research report in 1914. The Manchu *ingjis* were categorized as bondservants under Mongols and viewed as a special mongolized group among the Mongols. Two groups of *ingjis* were mentioned in that report: one was the Bahu people in Zhengjia Tun 鄭家屯 village, Khorchin Left-Flank Middle Banner (also known as Darkhan Wang Banner) and the other was the *ingjis* of the Rongxian princess in Baarin Right-Flank banner.¹

¹ Ishimitsu Saneomi 石光眞臣 et al., eds., *Tōbu uchimōko chōsa hōkoku* 東部內蒙古調查報告, vol. 1 (Tokyo: *Tōbu Uchimōko Chōsa Hōkoku* Hensan Iin, 1914), 5: 83–84.

Owen Lattimore was the first western scholar writing in English to notice the mongolized Manchus in Mongolia. In his work *The Mongols of Manchuria* (1934), he mentioned that in Jasagtu Khan banner of Jirim League there was a group of people called Manchu-Mongols, who had followed a Manchu princess who had married a Mongol prince during the Qianlong period (1736–1796), and took this group of people as a case “illustrating the processes of ‘change of race’ which historically are of such importance in Manchuria.”² They were the offspring of the princess’s bondservants of her human dowry. Lattimore clarified that their origin was supposed to be Han Chinese and calling them Manchu-Mongols was misleading. They had socially been Mongols for over one hundred years.³ But Lattimore’s judgment did not take into account the status of the people since they were all *ingjis* and hence Manchu bannermen in the sense of Qing ethno-legal categorization. A few years later, Akiba Takashi 秋葉隆 also visited the Manchu village of Jasagtu Khan banner and documented the Manchu origin of the residents without mentioning their historical link of being the descendants of human dowry of the Manchu princess.⁴

Jagchid Sechin mentioned Manchu *ingjis* and their situation of mongolization while he discussed Manchu-Mongol intermarriage. He correctly pointed out that these Manchus were “assimilated into the Mongolians but they still maintained their special life style and Peking dialect.” With regard to the Manchu *ingjis* who settled around Dingyuan Ying 定遠營, the capital city of Alashan, he mentioned that the Manchu *ingjis* who had followed the Manchu princess to Alashan were viewed as the banner *jasag*’s personal subjects and thus differed from

² Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria*, 228.

³ Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria*, 215, 229–232.

⁴ Akiba Takashi 秋葉隆, *Manzhou minzu zhi/Manshū minzokushi* 滿洲民族誌, trans. Dang Xiangzhou 黨庠周 (Xinjing [Changchun]: Cultural Association of Manchukuo and Japan, 1938), 65–70. Here I cite the reprinted version in *Wei Manzhouguo shiliao* 偽滿州國史料 (Beijing: China National Microfilming Center for Library Resources, 2002), 23: 709–716.

other Mongol commoners until 1912. They were also never appointed to hold important posts in the banner because of their special status.⁵ But his account on those people was only a brief description without any further discussion.

Using published sources and interviews, Tong Jingren 佟靖仁 would be the first scholar to do a survey of the Manchu people in Inner Mongolia as a whole. In his work, he pointed out that many contemporary Manchu villages of Inner Mongolia were originally settlements of Manchu *ingjis* established during the Qing period. He also mentioned the origin and cultural change of the Manchu *ingjis* around Höhhot, the Arban Ger Manchu Township (Ch. *Shijia manzu xiang* 十家滿族鄉) of Kharachin Right banner, and Manzu Tun village of Khorchin Right-Flank Front banner. He further noted the acculturation of the Manchus and described the reason why the descendants of Manchu *ingjis* became mongolized through Manchu-Mongol intermarriage and cohabitation.⁶

Status Change and Mongolization of Manchu Settlers as Human Dowry in the Socio-Legal Sense

Voluminous surveys and monographs on the ethnic origin, organization, and status of Manchu *booi* bondservants have been written in Chinese and English.⁷ Ethnically, the Manchu

⁵ Jagchid Sechin, “Mongolian-Manchu Intermarriage in the Ch’ing Period,” 85. Unfortunately, he left no citation or source to his readers to trace concerning to the Manchu *ingjis* in Alashan. He probably drew on his personal experience when he accompanied De Wang in the 1940s.

⁶ Tong Jingren 佟靖仁, *Nei Menggu de Manzu* 內蒙古的滿族 (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia University Press, 1993), 85, 140.

⁷ In the English academic circle, Preston M. Torbert’s work would be the first comprehensive research on the Qing Imperial Household Department in the first half of the Qing period. See his book *The Ch’ing Imperial Household Department: A Study of its Organization and Principal Functions, 1662–1796* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1977). Chen Kuo-tung 陳國棟’s article on the categorization and organization of Manchu *booi* bondservants was a welcome contribution and clarification of former studies. See Chen Kuo-tung 陳國棟, “Qingdai neiwufu baoyi sanqi renyuan de fenlei ji qi qixia zuzhi: jianlun yixie youguan baoyi de wenti 清代內務府包衣三旗人員的分類及其旗下組織：兼論一些有關包衣的問題,” *Shihuo yuekan (Resumed)* 食貨月刊 (復刊) 12, no. 9 (Dec., 1982): 5–23, reprinted in his book *Qingdai qianqi de yue haiguan yu shisan hang* 清代前期的粵海關與十三行 (Guangzhou: Guangdong People’s Publishing House, 2014), 381–418. Hereafter, the page number indicates the latter version. Lai Hui-min’s article on the source concerning the Imperial Household

ingji bondservants were mostly Manchus, Mongols, Han Chinese, and even Koreans. They were people under the jurisdiction of the “heads of bondservants” (Ma. *booi da*) and “village heads” (Ma. *jangturi*). Some of them were convicts given to high officials as *booi*, together with their descendants.⁸

Generally speaking, the organization of Manchu *booi* bondservants under the Imperial Household Department was socially modeled on the structure of the Eight Banners but with some differences, such as the lesser number of companies (Ma. *niru*, Ch. *zuoling* 佐領) in each banner and the nonhereditary leadership of the companies and *hontohos* (Ch. *guanling* 管領).⁹ The bondservants were divided into three types of groups: 1) people under the *niru*, led by *nirui janggin*, 2) *sin jeku*, under the *hontoho*, led by the *hontoho*, later also called *booi da* (literally head of *booi* bondservants), 3) *jangturi* (overseer of Chinese serfs or tenants, literally “village head,” Ch. *zhuangtou* 莊頭), administrated by the Office of Accounts (Ch. *kuaiji si* 會計司). No matter which of these three groups they belonged to, all were enlisted in the register of the *boois* of Upper Three banners (Ch. *shang sanqi* 上三旗) and seen as Manchu in the socio-legal sense. Only those cultivators of Han Chinese origin under village heads were seen as commoners in the socio-legal sense.

Department was a useful bibliographical survey. See Lai Hui-min, “Qingdai neiwufu dang’an ziliao jianjie 清代內務府檔案資料簡介,” *Jindai Zhongguo shi yanjiu tongxun* 近代中國史研究通訊 12 (Sep., 1991): 155–157. In Chinese, the first book-length survey on the Imperial Household Department is Qi Meiqin’s book *Qingdai neiwufu* 清代內務府, new ed. (Shenyang: Liaoning Ethnic Publishing House, 2008). Citation refers to the Liaoning edition. As the appendix of Qi’s book (Liaoning version), an overview of the studies on the Imperial Household Department written by Lee Dian-jung 李典蓉 is an informative survey. See Lee Dian-jung, “Qingdai neiwufu yanjiu zongshu 清代內務府研究綜述,” in *Qingdai neiwufu*, 250–275.

⁸ FHAC-JMLZ, no. 03-0173-1042-007 (QL1, V, 17).

⁹ Torbert, *The Ch’ing Imperial Household Department*, 60–61. But there is evidence showing that in practice the leadership of *hontoho* became hereditary since the 18th century. See Chen Kuo-tung, “Qingdai neiwufu baoyi sanqi renyuan de fenlei ji qi qixia zuzhi,” 393–396.

However, there is still a lacuna in the field of Manchu *booi* bondservants concerning the Manchu *booi* bondservants being granted to Manchu princesses and accompanying them to Mongolia as their human dowry. How if at all did their status change after being assigned to a princess as guards and bondservants? If their status did change, was this change reversible? How could this process be delineated? The Zhang Zhiren and Gang Yupu case of 1815 sheds light on these issues.¹⁰

In the Zhang and Gang case, Zhang Zhiren's ancestors as Manchu *booi* bondservants had been given to the Hewan 和婉 princess who married Deleg of Baarin Right banner, Inner Mongolia in 1749. Gang Yupu's uncle, as a Manchu *booi* bondservant, was given to the Hejia 和嘉 princess who married Fulonggan 福隆安, the second son of the famous Manchu general and minister Fuheng 傅恒 (1720–1770). Zhang Zhiren's descendants and Gang Yupu himself reported that they were confused about whether they were eligible to take the civil examination as regular Manchu *booi* bondservants; because while their ancestors were once Manchu *booi* bondservants, later their names were struck off from the roster of the Imperial Household Department. The final decision was that they were allowed to take the civil examination since their cases were different from that of the whose names were deleted from the official roster of the Imperial Household Department because of criminal conviction. This case confirms that in usual Qing practice, once a Manchu *booi* bannerman of the Imperial Household Department was selected to be an *ingji* bondservant, then his name was deleted from the official record of the Office of Accounts in the Imperial Household Department. In the Zhang Zhiren case, it is reasonable to assume that they would have acquired a new Mongol status of membership in the autonomous Mongolian banner where they dwelt after their Manchu status was removed. It

¹⁰ FHAC-JCHZ, no. 05-0578-032 (JQ20, VII, 2).

would be most plausible to assume that their status was the same as *khamjilga* (Mongol princes' personal subjects) in terms of their duties, but with some sort of difference from other *khamjilgas*. This was socio-legal mongolization of the Manchu *booi* bannermen who settled in Mongolia with Manchu princesses. Their status was changed from Manchu to Mongol and fixed in the Mongol society.

Apart from taking the civil exams, the status seems to have been irreversible. The memorial recommended that their names should be provided to the Board of Rites by the original *honto* of the original banner, which implied that their original status was *sin jeku*. Since their names were not permitted to be recorded in the register of the banner as village heads of the Imperial Household Department, their status was not reversible. The Qing ministers worried that this means of taking the civil exam would be seen as a shortcut to restore Manchu bannerman status to the Manchu *ingjis*, so it was stipulated that their descendants who did not take the civil exam had to stay at the princess's residence.

As we have seen above, the exploitation of the civil examination as an excuse to restore one's former bannerman status was blocked by the Qing emperor and his ministers. However, there was still another way to recover one's Manchu bannermanship after one's original masters (i.e. the Manchu princess and Mongol imperial son-in-law) had passed away.

In 1708, the Kangxi emperor considered the population of criminals who were sent to Beijing and whose property was confiscated was too numerous and useless. It was not worth the money spent on feeding them. Therefore, he ordered that henceforth those criminals should be allocated to imperial princes and princesses, or else attached to the imperial estates. And later the Imperial Household Department proposed that Manchus, Mongols, Koreans, dismissed officials, and craftsmen who were enlisted as *sin jeku* and whose property had been confiscated were to be

kept under the *hontoho* (Ch. *guanling* 管領), while the Han Chinese domestic slaves who were not allowed under the *hontoho* should be given to the imperial estates. This proposal was approved by the emperor.¹¹

This policy continued until Muheliyen's proposal to reconsider the policy in 1737. In Muheliyen's palace memorial, he proposed to stop enlisting Manchu criminals as *ingjis* and let the Manchu criminals who were assigned as *ingjis* be pardoned and return to their original banners. His concern was the dignity of the Manchus as the foundation of the Qing Empire and the insult to this dignity resulted from mongolization of Manchus in Mongolia. It was also about numbers—to preserve the population of Manchus.¹² Although the imperial endorsement is not found in this imperial memorial, the Bandi case of 1738 shows that the Qianlong emperor granted Muheliyen's proposal.¹³

There was more than one Qing minister whose name was Bandi; this minister Bandi was presumably the one appointed as minister of the Court of Dependencies in 1691 to 1700.¹⁴ It is unclear what crime he had committed. According to a Manchu routine memorial, he might have offended the princess.¹⁵ It is very possible that he and his descendants were given to the Kejing princess since his name and former post appeared in the roster of the Kejing princess's followers as *ingji*.¹⁶ In this case, it was the opinion of the imperial son-in-law Dondubdorji (Dondob Dorji in Manchu) which had to be consulted, not that of the Kejing princess, because the latter had passed away in 1735 and the people were consequently allotted to Dondubdorji and the two sons

¹¹ Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan, ed., *Kangxi chao manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi* 康熙朝滿文朱批奏折全譯 (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1996), 1286, no. 3175.

¹² FHAC-QCHZ, no. 03-1349-007 (QL2, V, 11).

¹³ *Qing Gaozong shilu*, juan 80, 259.

¹⁴ *Qing Shengzu shilu*, juan 150, 661. For Bandi's tenure of ministership of the Court of Colonial Affairs, see Qian Shifu 錢實甫 ed., *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao* 清代職官年表 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1980), vol. 1, 188–192.

¹⁵ IHP-NDD, no. 167277-016, pp. 4–6 (QL3, IV, 24).

¹⁶ FHAC-JMLZ, no. 03-0173-1042-007 (QL1, V, 17).

born to the Kejing princess by the Qianlong emperor in 1736. Later in a palace memorial of 1738, memorialized by the banner commander of Höhhot Talmashan, Bandi and other *booi* bondservants, 206 in total, were allowed by the Qianlong emperor to not move to Khalkha because they were of no use to the imperial son-in-law and therefore they were allowed to return to their original banners and companies.¹⁷ Based on the Bandi case, it is fair to say that Muheliyen's proposal was granted. But this did not mean that all of the Manchu *booi* bondservants who were formerly of bannerman status would return to their original status after 1737 without the permission of the princess, imperial son-in-law or their descendants; *booi* bondservants were given to the princess as her dowry and personal subjects and she and her family had the right of deciding the disposition of those subjects.

The third possibility for the Manchu *booi* bondservants to regain their Manchu status is the rearrangement of dowry after their princess died. Since the dowry of a princess was part of the imperial property, it was supposed to be returned to the emperor if a princess died. For example, after the Kejing princess passed away, the number of underlings of the imperial son-in-law Dondubdorji in Höhhot reached 657 in total in 1738. Among them, the number of human dowry was ninety-nine. The number of Mongols who married Han women was fifty-six. All of them were moved to Khalkha. However, the sixty-five cultivators as human dowry who had been moved were placed with those in Beijing, and given to the pawnhouse.¹⁸ We will come back to this issue in the next section.

In brief, the Manchu *ingji* bondservants would lose their original Manchu status and acquire a new, partially Mongol, status during the Qing period. When a princess passed away, her human dowry would be reallocated and some of the *booi* bondservants might be sent back to

¹⁷ IHP-NDD, no. 167277-016, pp. 4–6 (QL3, IV, 24).

¹⁸ IHP-NDD, no. 167277-016, pp. 4–6 (QL3, IV, 24).

Beijing and regain their Manchu status. But this revocable process still required the permission from their masters (i.e. Manchu princesses, Mongol imperial sons-in-law, or their descendants). As it was seen in the previous Bandi case, after 1737, due to a concern about losing former Manchu *booi* bannermen, some of the princesses' *ingji* followers could return to their original Manchu status if they had formerly served as *sin jeku*. But as we have seen in the case of the Kejing princess, in which her *ingji* bondservants were allowed to be handled by her surviving Mongol husband and inherited by her own sons, though the Qing emperor allowed former *sin jeku* who followed Manchu princesses to Mongolia to resume their former Manchu status, the number of those former Manchu *sin jeku* who were allowed to regain their bannerman status could not be allowed to be too large since that would cause considerable loss of property for the family of Mongol imperial sons-in-law. The Qing emperor was determined to respect the decision made by Mongol imperial sons-in-law or their descendants on this issue. No matter what, it would be safe to say that all Manchu *booi* bondservants as *ingji* who ultimately stayed in Mongolia were assimilated into Qing Mongol society and in the socio-legal sense became Mongols as *khamjilga*.

Mongolization of Manchu Settlers as Human Dowry in Qing and Modern Inner Mongolia

As discussed in the previous section, the Manchu settlers as *ingji* in Mongolia would be mongolized first in the socio-legal sense. Once they were assigned to be *ingji* by accompanying Manchu princesses, their Manchu status would be partially erased, recoverable with their master's permission though. In this section, four cases of Manchu settlers will be discussed showing the different dimensions of social integration, acculturation, and changing ethnic identity in the process of mongolization.

I. The *ingjis* of the Kejing and Other Princesses in Höhhot and Khalkha

The Kejing (Ma. *ginggun elhe*) princess (1679–1735) was the sixth daughter of the Kangxi emperor and usually called the Fourth Princess during her life since her two elder sisters did not survive into their majority. She was chosen to marry Dondubdorji, Khalkha Mongol prince of Tüshiyetü Khan *aimag* in 1697. This marriage was intended to consolidate the Manchu-Khalkha relationship after the submission of the Khalkha Mongols in the Dolonnuur Assembly of 1691. However, the Kejing princess became pregnant soon after the wedding ceremony and so she did not immediately return to Outer Mongolia with Dondubdorji. She stayed in Beijing and did not go to Mongolia until 1700. By that time, Dondubdorji's grandfather Chakhundorji had passed away. The next year, Dondubdorji succeeded to the title of Tüshiyetü Khan and had to go back to Mongolia with his wife the Kejing princess. The Kangxi emperor ordered two of his sons to escort the Kejing princess back to Mongolia. Her retinue included stewards, officers of the Imperial Household Department, inner tea servants, meal servants, bow makers, treasurers, stable managers, herd managers, camel drivers, cooks, underling, herders, etc. But the Kejing princess only stayed in Outer Mongolia for a year. She returned to Beijing in 1701 and seems to have never visited Outer Mongolia again. The reason may be the continuing menace from the Zünghars and the frequent clashes between Zünghar and Khalkha. However, lingering in Beijing was not proper for a Manchu princess who married a Mongol prince. Taking into account the issues of security, propriety, and location near to Beijing, Höhhot became the ideal choice for the Kejing princess's new mansion. The construction project of the Kejing princess's new residence in Höhhot began in 1703 and was finished in 1705. Today, her residence is the best-preserved mansion of any princess of the Qing dynasty.¹⁹

¹⁹ For the Kejing princess and her life, I follow Guo Meilan 郭美蘭's work on the Kejing princess's life and her marriage to Dondubdorji. Guo Meilan drew on Manchu and Chinese archival documents to paint a comprehensive

The Kejing princess moved into the newly-built mansion of Höhhot with her retinue and *ingjis*, in total eighty-one people, at the end of 1705. Then in the spring of 1706, another thirty-four households with furniture and utensils were shipped to Höhhot escorted by one *janggin* (adjutant) and twenty soldiers. After that, the Kejing princess stayed in Höhhot for thirty years until she passed away in 1735. Her coffin was shipped back to Beijing first and ultimately to the Khan Uul Mountain, south of present-day Ulaanbaatar, where she was buried in 1736.²⁰

In local gazetteers and oral anecdotes of Höhhot, the Kejing princess was called *haibang gongzhu* 海蚌公主, which was believed to be the Chinese form of *hebei gungju* (councillor princess) in Manchu. It was argued that the Kejing princess was called *hebei gungju* because she was powerful and deeply involved in local political affairs. It was said that she had moved three times after making her residence in the Höhhot region. Firstly, she stayed in Qingshuihe 清水河, then moved to Guihua 歸化 (the old city of present-day Höhhot). Finally, she moved into the aforementioned mansion. The area of Qingshuihe was assigned to the Kejing princess's husband Dondubdorji as his pasturage, and his subjects grazed there from the time the couple moved to Höhhot.²¹ The Kejing princess's garden in the local police office (Ch. *xunjian si* 巡檢司) still

picture of this topic. See Guo Meilan, “Kejing gongzhu yuanjia Ka’rka Menggu Tuxietu han bu shulue 恪靖公主遠嫁喀爾喀蒙古土謝圖汗部述略,” in *Ming Qing dang’an yu shidi tanwei* 明清檔案與史地探微 (Shenyang: Liaoning Nationality Publishing House, 2012), 213–224.

²⁰ In 1949, the Mongolian Academy of Sciences conducted an excavation of the tomb of the Kejing princess. For the preliminary survey of the tomb of the Kejing princess in Outer Mongolia, see Ts. Damdinsuren, *Günjiin süm* (Ulaanbaatar: Science Publishing House, 1961). According to an oral history, the site of that tomb was chosen and built by a group of people from the south (China proper). See Z. Oyunbileg and J. Naranchimeg, *Günjiin süm (tüükh, arkhityektur)* (Ulaanbaatar: Admon, 2016), 147.

²¹ Jin Qicong 金啟琮, “Haibang (Hebe) gongzhu kao 海蚌 (Hebe) 公主考,” in *Monan ji* 漠南集 (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia University Press, 1991), 104–119.

exists in Qingshuihe,²² and that office of Qingshuihe independent sub-prefecture had previously served as her temporary residence. The adjacent area was also given to her as her estate.²³

After the Kejing princess died, the way her *ingji* were dealt with is a window for us to observe how Manchu princesses' *ingji* and estates would be handled. In 1736, one year after the death of the Kejing princess, Tongzhi, grand minister superintendent stationed in Höhhot and minister of the Board of War, with other officials, sent a palace memorial to the Qianlong emperor to request imperial clarification on how to deal with the Kejing princess's *ingjis* and estate.²⁴

According to that palace memorial, while the Kejing princess was alive, she had granted some of her subjects to her husband's three sons. After the Kejing princess passed away, Dondubdorji followed her previous precedent and finally suggested that her son Genjabdorji be allowed to inherit all of the princess's subjects. As for the stores and houses of the princess's estate, since Genjabdorji had married a commandery princess, he was allowed to manage them until he went back to Khalkha.

This document also shows the composition of the Kejing princess's Manchu *ingjis*. It included Manchu and Chinese *booi* bondservants, village heads, and the Manchu convicts, who were previously officials, and their descendants (they were supposed to be *sin jekus*). One of the families owned a pawn house.²⁵ The total number was over 400. Originally, there were eight-one

²² Enkun 恩埜 comp., Wenxiu 文秀 rev., and Lu Menglan 盧夢蘭 ed., *Xinxiu Qingshuihe ting zhi* 新修清水河廳志, *Nei Menggu lishi wenxian congshu* 內蒙古歷史文獻叢書, vol. 7 (Höhhot: Yuanfang Publishing House, 2009), *juan* 5, 100; Zhong Xiu 鍾秀 and Zhang Zeng 張曾, *Gufeng shilue* 古豐識略, in *Nei Menggu shizhi* 內蒙古史志, vols. 27–28 (Beijing: China National Microfilming Center for Library Resources, 2002), 27: 146–147.

²³ Enkun comp., Wenxiu rev., and Lu ed., *Xinxiu Qingshuihe ting zhi*, *juan* 6, 105.

²⁴ FHAC-JMLZ, no. 03-0173-1042-007 (QL1, V, 17).

²⁵ Granting pawn houses to Manchu princes and princesses who got married and set up separate households became a regular institution to the Qing emperor since 1747. Although this institution did not yet exist by the time of the Kejing princess, running pawn houses seemed to be an efficient way to increase the income of a princess. Besides, renting the houses to merchants was also another way to increase the income for Manchu princes and princesses. The houses were usually the property of the Imperial Household Department and bestowed by the emperor. On the

people together with thirty-four households that followed the Kejing princess to Mongolia.

Assuming one household consisted of five people, there were around 251 people in her Manchu human dowry by 1706. By 1736, it had grown to 400 more people. They were dispersed in several places, mostly around Beijing and Höhhot.

The number of Kejing princess's *ingjis* eventually reached one thousand. They formed the Fuxing Yingzi 府興營子 (in present-day Xincheng 新城 district, the New Town of Höhhot during the Qing era) and Xiaofu 小府 villages (present-day Huimin 回民 district, Höhhot). According to Bao Muping, the structure of *baishins* (house in Mongolian) in Fuxing Yingzi and others around Höhhot are similar. The Fuxing Yingzi was like an enclosed village surrounded by walls. The open space in the east of the Fuxing Yingzi served as a place for assembly or gathering.²⁶ Every house was connected with each other. This architectural structure implies that the Manchu settlers as human dowry were segregated from local Mongol and Han Chinese residents.

There were also some farmers and herders in Taipingzhuang 太平莊 (present-day Saikhan district, Höhhot)²⁷ and the horse-grazing area in the Daqing mountain (the area in between Wuchuan 武川 county, Mahuaban 麻花板 of the Xincheng district, Höhhot, and Shuiquan 水泉 village). Many of them later became local landlords. The Manchu settlers acting

institution of granting pawn houses to Manchu princes and princesses, see Teng Deyong, “Qingdai neiwufu dui fengfu wanggong he gongzhu caiwu de guanli 清代內務府對分府王公和公主財務的管理,” in *Qing gongshi yanjiu* 清宮史研究, vol. 11, eds. Qingdai gongting shi yanjiu hui 清代宮廷史研究會 and Wenhua bu Gongwang fu guanli zhongxin 文化部恭王府管理中心 (Beijing: Culture and Art Publishing House, 2014), 44–45.

²⁶ Ho Bohei 包慕萍 [Bao Muping], *Mongoru ni okeru toshi kenchikushi kenkyū: yūboku to teijū no jūso toshi fufuhoto* モンゴルにおける都市建築史研究：遊牧と定住の重層都市フフホト (Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten, 2005), 46–49.

²⁷ But this narrative has been challenged by recent findings, which will be discussed in later passages.

as human dowry were assimilated by local Mongolian culture and were later identified as Mongols because of their constant intermarriage with Mongols.²⁸

During the Qing period, the Manchu *ingjis* lived in the mansion of the Kejing princess or in her manor. The Kejing princess who married Dondubdorji of Tüshiyetü Khan *aimag* and stayed in Höhhot was also given 48,375 *mu* (around 2,972 hectares) of uncultivated land from the Kangxi emperor as her manor around the area of Qingshuihe 清水河, outside of the Shahukou 殺虎口 Pass in the Great Wall. Although the reclamation was disturbed by official messengers there (possibly for delivering urgent messages between Beijing and the Zünghar frontline) and the permits of reclamation were returned to the Qing court in 1714, the princess's subjects still cultivated crops there. After the Kejing princess passed away and the imperial son-in-law Dondubdorji went back to Outer Mongolia; he was not able to manage the farmland there. Therefore the Qianlong emperor agreed to give Dondubdorji 9,675 taels of silver for compensation and let commoners rent the farmlands. In addition, the areas of Sirkhamoritu (northeast of Qingshuihe) and Ulaanbaishing (northwest of Qingshuihe) were once local Mongols' grasslands. After Dondubdorji and the Kejing princess moved to Qingshuihe, both areas were allotted to Dondubdorji's subjects as their pasturage. The original Mongol residents in both areas were relocated to other places. After Dondubdorji moved back to Outer Mongolia, both areas were returned to their original residents.²⁹

In local and oral histories, the Kejing princess's manor was called "the land of four villages and waters" (Ch. *sicun shui di* 四村水地). This area included Taipingzhuang, Xinzhuangzi 辛莊子, Maidar village 美岱村, and Khashaatu 黑沙圖 in east Guihua (present-day

²⁸ Tong Jingren, *Huhehaote Manzu jianshi* 呼和浩特滿族簡史 (Höhhot: Höhhot Committee of Nationality Affairs, 1987), 42–45; Tong, *Nei Menggu de Manzu*, 85.

²⁹ *Qing Gaozong shilu*, *juan* 18, 464–466.

Jiucheng 舊城 district, the Old Town of Höhhot during the Qing era). This area covered more than 20,000 *mu* (at least 1,229 hectare). However, according to a recently discovered archival document from 1738 in the Tümed Left Banner Archives of Höhhot, this area of farmlands was not originally the Kejing princess's manor, but the one given to the commandary princess who married the Kejing princess's son Genjabdorji from the Qianlong emperor. However, the residents in this area were still previous subjects of the Kejing princess since they were given to her son Genjabdorji. The ownership of this area belonged to Genjabdorji and his Manchu wife and rent was collected. A canal called Yongfengqu 永豐渠, was dug from the Dahei 大黑 River, a branch of the Yellow River, and irrigated over 100 hectares of the farms in this area. Every village had two representatives to manage this channel together. Annual water rent per *mu* was 2 maces (Ch. *qian* 錢). This situation continued until the Republican era. With the change of jurisdiction of the mansion of the Kejing princess, the Kejing princess's *ingjis* were incorporated into the local household registration. In 1938, they were classified as Mongol commoners under Tümed Special Banner of Suiyuan since they had settled there for generations and were considered Mongols.³⁰

Some places can be identified as the Kejing princess's manor through the six stone inscriptions in memory of the Kejing princess and her steward. Her manor was organized into small villages (Ch. *niuju* 牛犂).³¹ The places where *niuju* was mentioned were Wuyan Jinkou 五眼井口, Laoniuwan 老牛灣, Lamawan 喇嘛灣, Zhashaoyan 柵稍塢, Chengzhui liang 城嘴梁,

³⁰ Bu Yingzi 卜英姿, "Kejing gulun gongzhu yangshan di jiexi 恪靖固倫公主養贍地解析," in *Qing gongshi yanjiu*, vol. 11, 206–213.

³¹ The term *niuju* originally meant two oxen which draw a plough or harrow. Later it meant a small village. For the definition of *niuju*, see Yan, *Hanzu yimin yu jindai Nei Menggu shehui bianqian yanjiu*, 195.

Chahekou 岔河口, Qingshuihe, Chaotianhao 朝天壕, Naobaoliang 腦包梁, Yushuwan 榆樹灣,
etc.

Below is a table of stone inscriptions³²:

Title	Location	Time of Erection	Erector and Author
Inscription of Her Imperial Highness, the Fourth Princess (Ch. <i>si gongzhu qiansui bei</i> 四公主千歲碑)	Kouzishang 口子上 village, Qingshuihe	1721	Erected by local people
Inscription of the Fourth Princess (Ch. <i>si gongzhu bei</i> 四公主碑)	Kouzishang 口子上 village, Qingshuihe	N/A	Li Xinggui 李興貴, Squad Leader (Ch. <i>bazong</i> 把總) of Wuyanjing Bao 五眼井堡 and Yang Chaofeng 楊朝鳳, Student by Purchase (Ch. <i>jiansheng</i> 監生)
Inscription in Memory of Benevolent Administration of the Fourth Princess (Ch. <i>si gongzhu dezheng bei</i> 四公主德政碑)	Chahekou 岔河口 village, Wangguiyao 王桂窯 township, Qingshuihe	1721	Zhang Tengyuan 張眷遠, Expectant Appointee of Department Magistrate (Ch. <i>houshuan zhizhou</i> 候選知州), Zhuang Xingzu 莊興祖, Chief (Ch. <i>shouling</i> 首領), Jiang Shilong 蔣世隆, farm manager of Chahekou, <i>niujus</i> of Lamawan, Zhashao,

³² For the information below, see Bu, “Kejing gulun gongzhu yangshan di jiexi,” 210–211. For the Inscription in Memory of Benevolent Administration the Fourth Princess and Inscription in Memory of Benevolence of Huang Zhong, see Enkun comp., Wenxiu rev., and Lu ed., *Xinxiu Qingshuihe ting zhi*, 171–173.

			Chengzhuiliang, Chahekou, Chaotianhao, Qingshuihe, Naobaoliang
Inscription in Memory of Beneficent Governance by the Fourth Princess (Ch. <i>si gongzhu dezheng bei</i> 四公主德政碑)	Laoniuwan 老牛灣, Qingshuihe	N/A	Erected by local farmers and herders
Inscription in Memory of Benevolent Administration by the Fourth Princess (Ch. <i>si gongzhu dezhen bei</i> 四公主德 政碑)	Yinkuangshan 銀礦山, Qingshuihe	1727	N/A
Inscription in Memory of the Benevolence of Huang Zhong (Ch. <i>Huang gong hui Zhong rende bei</i> 黃公諱忠仁德碑)	Unknown	1727	Erected by all people under the <i>niujus</i> Huang Zhong administrated. Written by Li Xusheng 李旭升, vice-minister of the Board of Revenue and Regular Metropolitan Graduate (Ch. <i>ci jinshi chushen</i> 賜進士出身)

Table 17 Stone Inscriptions in Memory of the Kejing Princess and Huang Zhong

Through the six inscriptions, it shows the management of the manor of the Kejing princess and the role of her *ingji* in that. From the Inscription in Memory of the Benevolent Administration by the Fourth Princess, it says that by 1727 it has been over thirty years since the reclamation began. So if we took the minimum as 30 years, it implies that by 1697, the year when the Kejing princess was married, she was given her manor of Qingshuihe. According to the Inscription of

the Fourth Princess at Kouzishang and the Inscription in Memory of Benevolent Administration by the Fourth Princess at Chahekou, the manor of Kejing princess, the affairs of reclamation at Qingshuihe was administrated by the imperial guards Huang Zhong 黃忠 and Tong Shoulu 佟守祿. In the Inscription in Memory of the Benevolence of Huang Zhong, it says that Huang Zhong served the Kejing princess while he was young, and was awarded the position of the imperial guard of the first grade by the emperor. He was in charge of reclamation affairs, offering oxen to cultivators, and was kind enough not to collect rent when harvest was poor.

Intermarriage between the *ingjis* and local Mongols would be an indicator of social integration of the *ingjis* of the Kejing princess with local Mongols. After one hundred years, in 1884, there is a case of dispute over bigamy between a *ingji* man and two local Mongol families.³³ In this case, the protagonist was a man called Yetuu (Ch. Yetao 葉桃), whose father was an *ingji* called Rabdan-dorji (Ch. Alabutengduo'rji 阿拉不滕多爾濟) and whose mother was a Mongol. Because his parents had both passed away, his maternal uncle Namjilmaa and his paternal aunt separately arranged different marriages for Yetuu. Therefore, Chiktanbu (Ch. Qiketambu 齊克坦布), father of one bride-to-be and a Mongol vanguard lieutenant, sued the Establishment of the Princess (Ch. *gongzhu fu* 公主府) on charges of bigamy and Namjilmaa pleaded his case. This case shows that the *ingjis*' descendants married local Mongols. Although there is no research or data to show the scale or degree of this phenomenon, it would be reasonable to say that this situation would be extensive since they had been living with Mongols for generations and their status had been changed to Mongol.

³³ This case is found in the Archives of Tümed Left Banner. The document is written in Chinese and its access number is 80-4-489. I was not able to access the original document so far. Here I cited it as seen in Liu Huan 劉歡, "Qingdai Guihua cheng Tumote diqu Menggu nüxing wenti tanjiu—yi Guihua cheng Tumote fudutong yamen sifa dang'an wei hexin 清代歸化城土默特地區蒙古女性問題探究——以歸化城土默特副都統衙門司法檔案為核心" (MA thesis, Inner Mongolia Normal University, 2014), 26–27.

Some Manchu *booi* bondservants still remained in Höhhot as tomb keepers (Mo. *ḷulačīn*) for the late *hošoi gege* and her husband Genjabdorji. As we know, the tomb of the Kejing princess was in Khalkha and her *ingjis* were also moved to Mongolia. However, her son Genjabdorji and his Manchu wife stayed in Höhhot and were buried there. According to the *Gazetteer of the Mansion of the Princess*, in the east of Maidar village, southeast of the mansion of the princess, lay the tomb of Genjabdorji and the *hošoi gege*, also known as the Old Tomb. Four families stayed there as tomb keepers, namely the Li 李, Dong 董, Meng 孟, and Han 韓 families. Their status was Manchu before, but they later acquired Mongol status. Among the four families, the Dongs were the most powerful and the Mengs the weakest.³⁴

It is fair to say that the Manchu *ingjis* had experienced marital assimilation and partial socio-legal assimilation. However, we do not have any documented evidence to show how much they were culturally assimilated. Since they served in the mansion of the princess and would have to communicate with many Mongol nobilities and other Mongol servants, it would be fair to say that they had also experienced acculturation to some extent. However, it is difficult for us to evaluate this question so far. They might still have maintain some collective and distinct identity since they still lived separately from local Mongols. There are no further sources to document their possible identificational assimilation in this case. In the next case, we will explore this topic with more material.

II. The *Manju-nar* of Khorchin Right-Flank Front Banner

The second case is the *Manju-nar* in Khorchin Right-Flank Front banner (also known as Jasagtu Khan banner) of Jirim League. The founder of Jasagtu Khan banner was Khorchin

³⁴ *Gongzhu fu zhi* 公主府志 (Unpublished manuscript, Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Science Library), *Gongzhu fu lingmu* 公主府陵墓, 5–7. I would like to thank Sermoon for acquiring a copy of this manuscript for me.

Tüshiyetü Khan Oba's younger brother Budachi. In 1626, Oba and Budachi had an audience with Nurhachi and Budachi was granted the title *Jasagtu-düren* by Nurhachi. In 1636, Hong Taiji gave Budachi the title *Törö-yin Jasagtu junwang* and made him the *jasag* (ruler) of Khorchin Right-Flank Front banner. His banner ranked as the second highest banner among the ten Khorchin banners. It was also one of the 13 banners whose ruler was reserved as a future imperial son-in-law.

The first Manchu princess married into Khorchin Right-Flank Front banner was Jaisangwu's second daughter. Jaisangwu was Nurhachi's younger brother Shurgachi's son. His daughter was born in 1617. After her father died in 1625, she was raised by her uncle Jirgalang. In 1634, she was married to Norbu Taiji of Khorchin, Budachi's fifth son and head of *Akinar nutug*.³⁵ She died in 1638.

There were still three other Manchu princesses who came to *Jasagtu Khan* banner through Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage. The second one was Hong Taiji's elder brother Daishan's fifth daughter who was arranged to marry Budachi's son Dorji in 1628. However, since both were too young to marry, the wedding was held in 1638. She died in 1646. The third one was Shurgachi's sixth son Jirgalang's daughter. She was betrothed to marry Norbu Taiji in 1642. She died in 1664; Norbu Taiji died in 1687. The fourth one was Daishan's ninth daughter who married Dorji in 1650; she died in 1673.

After the fourth Manchu princess arrived in Khorchin Right-Flank Front banner in 1650, the next one had to wait over one hundred years. In 1779, the Kangxi emperor's great-grandson

³⁵ In an oral history, this Norbu Taiji transformed into a young Mongolian warrior called Orbu-Rinchen. See Wulan 烏蘭 [Ulaan], "Huashuo Manzutun 話說滿族屯," in *Xing'an wenshi ziliao* 興安文史資料, no. 4, ed. Xing'an meng zhengxie wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui bangongshi 興安盟政協文史資料委員會辦公室 (Ulaanhot: Committee on Literal and Historical Sources, Xing'an League People's Political Consultative Conference, 1994), 219. I would like to thank Dr. Li Zhiguo 李治國 for providing me this article.

doroi beile Yongyuan's daughter, whose title was *xiangjun*, married Dashidondub, *jasag* of the banner.³⁶

These *ingji* people are probably the ancestors of the Manchu residents (Mo. *Manju-nar*, plural form of Manchu in Mongolian) in present-day Khorchin Right-Flank Front banner. Today, most of them live in Manzu Tun 滿族屯 (Manchu village) Township in the northwest of Khorchin Right-Flank Front banner, Khinggan League, Inner Mongolia. It is the only Manchu village located in the pastoral area of China. The Manchu-Mongols were also called the “sixty-household Manchus” by local people in Jasagtu Khan banner. Although the origin of the “sixty households” of Manchu is not attested in any historical documents, it was possible that the number sixty was the sum of the thirty Manchu *booi* bondservants of the Manchu princess and the thirty personal subjects of the Mongol prince.³⁷

The Manchu residents might have been Manchu *booi* bondservants who came to Mongolia in the train of Manchu princesses before 1644. Nevertheless, in historical documents, the origin of the Manchus who accompanied the princess to Jasagtu Khan banner was Chinese serfs or tenants under the village heads of seven surnames. In 1902, a dispute on land arose in Khorchin Left-Flank Front banner (also known as Bingtu banner). In a report to Tu Jingtao 涂景濤, magistrate of Kangping 康平 county, Bingtu *junwang* protested that the seven villages in his territory had been occupied by the village heads of Jasagtu Khan for a long time. Tu investigated this case, and gave us an overview of the village heads. In the survey of the dispute, the seven

³⁶ For the detailed history of Manchu princesses in Khorchin Right-Flank Front banner, see Du Jiaji's brief overview in Urtubayar et al., eds., *Jasaytu jiyiin wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar* (Hulun Buir: Inner Mongolia Culture Press, 2007), 23–32 and Wuritubaya'r 烏日圖巴雅爾 [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala: Keyou qianqi Manzu Tun shilue* 札薩克圖郡王旗滿族那拉——科右前旗滿族屯史略 (Höhhhot: Inner Mongolia Education Press, 2008), 10–13. I would like to thank Dr. Christopher P. Atwood for providing me the Mongolian version of this book.

³⁷ Urtubayar et al., eds., *Jasaytu jiyiin wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar*, 50–52 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 20–21.

villages were 1) Changgangzi 長崗子, 2) Huanzidong 獾子洞 (including Xujiawobao 徐家窩堡), 3) Shizhuangzi 石莊子, 4) Shijiazi 十家子 (including Jiawobao 家窩堡), 5) Liubangtun 劉邦屯, 6) Dashandixia 大山底下, 7) Dongpingdingshan 東平頂山 and Xipingdingshan 西平頂山 (including Zhouwobao 周窩堡). Although they were called seven villages, among them there were eleven large and small villages. By that time, there were 347 households in total in that area, including 136 Mongol and 211 Han Chinese households. It was said that this group of people were mainly composed of people of six different surnames, that is, the Gaos 高, Dongs 董, Yangs 楊, Zhous 周, Liangs 梁, and Lius 劉. During the Shunzhi period, their ancestors followed a Manchu *hošoi gege* who was going to marry the Jasagtu *junwang* and came to Inner Mongolia. Entering the territory of Jasagtu Khan banner, they heard the weather was extremely bitter in the north and were too frightened to proceed more than halfway. So they lingered around the area of the Xiushui 秀水 River (in present-day Faku county, Liaoning province). Later they found the open land beyond the Willow Palisade was fertile and decided to break ground there. As time went by, the people of the six families developed into the seven villages and the *jasag* of Jasagtu Khan banner send his *meyirens* and *jalans* to collect land rent yearly. The local people and the Jasagtu Khan agreed that the rent could be collected to pay for the sacrifices to the deceased Manchu princess and a stone stele was raised supposedly to attest to this agreement in Chang Gangzi. Then six groups of cultivators under Jasagtu Khan moved to this area to open ground too. They belonged to six other surnames: the Hans 韓, Jins 金, Gus 顧, Dus 杜, Zhaos 趙, Wangs 王. The status of these cultivators was supposed to be commoners during the Qing period. Since the farmlands expanded beyond the village heads' control, they even rented out part of the lands to other tenants. However, the Bingtu *junwang* had informed the

Board of Punishment in Mukden, protesting the illegal occupation of his banner land by Jasagtu Khan's subjects. Although the Jasagtu *junwang* argued that the land had been granted to him by the emperor for paying the expense of the offering to the deceased princess, there were no written records to prove that such as an imperial order had in fact been issued and the stone stele also did not mention this order. Therefore, it was ordered that this land should be returned to the Bingtu *junwang*, and the village heads and cultivators should be allowed to keep their farms, but be registered under the jurisdiction of Bingtu Khan banner. The order also stipulated that they pay rent to Bingtu Khan banner and part of the rent should be transferred to Jasagtu Khan banner.³⁸ In this case, although there was no written evidence to prove these local people were the *ingji*'s descendants, scholars have believed this story was not groundless since in fact there was a Manchu princess who married Norbu Taiji of Jasagtu Khan banner during the Shunzhi period.³⁹

Though the name of Manchu princess who married Norbu Taiji is not found in historical documents, in Jasagtu Khan banner, local people used to call her Samagatsetseg. This meaning

³⁸ Here I cite the quotation of *Kangping xian zhi* in Urtubayar et al., eds., *Jasaytu jiyün wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar*, 53–57 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 22–23. For the detail of this dispute, see Xu Shichang 徐世昌 et al. eds., *Dongsansheng zengluo* 東三省政略 (Changchun: Jilin Literature and History Publication House, 1989), *juan* 2, 62–75.

³⁹ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 489. For the origin of the Manchu people in Jasagtu Khan banner, there were two other versions of the story. According to Tong Jingren's survey, the Manchu *ingjis* arrived in Jasagtu Khan banner during the Kangxi and Qianlong periods. They were the Manchu princess's slaves (Mo. *boyol*, Ma. *booi*) and sixty odd people in total. They were in service of the princess and specialized in 72 professions, including doctor, blacksmith, and wet nurse. The Manchu princess's husband was called Orbu, a Khorchin Tüshiyetü Khan Oba's descendant. He was permitted by the emperor to nomadize anywhere he wished. In another version, according to local gazetteer, the one who married the Manchu princess Samagatsetseg was Orburinchin. He was a wrestler who won the competition in Khorchin Right-Flank Middle banner and suppressed a Muslim rebellion with a hundred thousand-strong Mongol cavalry in 1721. Therefore, the Kangxi emperor betrothed his daughter to him. He brought the Manchu princess back to Jasagtu Khan banner with Manchu *ingjis*. They settled in Wangye Miao 王爺廟 (Prince Temple). In 1840, their descendants left Wangye Miao and moved to Tügtei-yin Jilga. However, both stories do not correspond to historical evidence. No records showed that there was a Manchu princess married to a Mongol prince of Jasagtu Khan banner during the Kangxi period. See Tong, *Nei Menggu de Manzu*, 128 and *Ke'rqin youyi qianqi zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui* 《科爾沁右翼前旗志》編纂委員會, ed., *Ke'rqin youyi qianqi zhi* 科爾沁右翼前旗志 (Hulun Buir: Inner Mongolia Culture Press, 1991), 76.

of her name had two interpretations. Some believed this term was actually *sabirgan cecike* (a small black bird with a white forehead and a symbol of happiness) in Manchu.⁴⁰ Others believed this should be *samaga tsetseg* (lotus) in Khorchin Mongolian dialect. This name might not only refer to the first Manchu princess, but also the second Manchu princess after the first one passed away.⁴¹

After the two princesses passed away, there were two theories about the location of their tombs. One argued that their burials were in Shara Burgasu in southern Jasagtu Khan banner (in present-day Tongyu 通榆 county, Jilin province), which was closer to Norbu's residence. Others argued that the princess might have died in Agui Sangrub, Badaranggui *sume*, with their tombs located at the foot of the Samaga Mountain. Most local people would follow the later theory because 1) Agui Sangrub was originally Norbu Taiji's pasture appanage; 2) as Norbu Taiji was an imperial son-in-law and the ruler of Agui Sangrub, he had priority to select any place as his family's graveyard in Agui Sangrub; 3) Samaga Mountain was named after the Samagatsetseg princess.

However, the Tomb of the Princess was moved from Samaga Mountain to its present-day location in Yamun Ail (also known as *gongzhu ling* 公主陵 “Tomb of the Princess” in Chinese). Due to the time of moving the Tomb of the Princess, no historical records remain and only oral history is left. In one story, the Qing emperor believed a rumor that the cemetery was an auspicious land which would bless descendants of the princess in the competition for the Manchu throne. Therefore, the emperor dispatched his ministers to investigate the validity of this rumor and ordered the Tomb of the Princess to be moved to another place if necessary. The Qing

⁴⁰ Tong, *Nei Menggu de Manzu*, 134.

⁴¹ Urtubayar et al., eds., *Ĵasaγtu jiyiin wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar*, 81–82 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 30–31.

officials found this rumor was not groundless and secretly moved the Tomb of the Princess to the present-day location.⁴²

The other story argued that it was due to a conflict between later Jasagtu Khan's and Norbu Taiji's descendants. Jasagtu Khan thought his descendants were not as sharp and outstanding as Norbu Taiji's because Norbu Taiji and the Tomb of the Princess had occupied an auspicious and blessed land. Therefore Jasagtu Khan arbitrarily exercised his power to force Norbu Taiji's descendants to move the tomb during Prince Utai's term (1881–1911).⁴³

In northern Jasagtu Khan banner, a shrine called Debseg Temple worshipped the deceased Manchu princess. It was built in Tuulaitu Shili at the southern foot of the Khara Yamaatu Mountain. That temple belonged to Akhinar *nutug*. During the Qing period, this shrine was called Buyan Kharaatu temple or Buyan Yaruutu temple. This shrine was built by people of Akhinar, Khüütü, and Chokhoichin *nutugs* in celebration of the marriage of Norbu Taiji of Akhinar *nutug* and the Manchu princess. Therefore, this shrine was also called Princess Temple. In that temple, there was an imperially-inscribed board on which the Manchu title of the Princess Temple was written.⁴⁴

For the tomb guards who were the *ingjīs*' descendants, they were called *yamun ger-iin kümüis* (Ch. *yamufang ren* 衙木坊人) or *yamuchin* (Ch. *yamuqin ren* 衙木沁人) in Mongolian. The *yamuchins* were divided into three groups according to their jobs: 1) *julachin* (one who took care of the altar candles and domestic affairs), 2) *budaachin* (one who took care of crops and

⁴² Urtubayar et al., eds., *Jasagtu jiyün wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar*, 83–88 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 31–32.

⁴³ Urtubayar et al., eds., *Jasagtu jiyün wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar*, 89–92 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 33–34.

⁴⁴ Urtubayar et al., eds., *Jasagtu jiyün wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar*, 79–80 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 29–30.

food for offering sacrifice and all *yamuchins*), 3) *malchin* (one who took care of herds for offering sacrifice and all *yamuchins*).⁴⁵

Among the six surnames of sixty households, the main one was the Wang family. They belonged to the Plain White banner in Beijing.⁴⁶ For their origin, they were the descendants of the imperial Wanggiyan surname of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234).⁴⁷ Since the Manchu princess's mother was from the Wanggiyan family, therefore the princess's *ingjis* were from her mother's family. The Wang family once resided in Agui Sangrub and took care of the Tomb of the Princess. However, they moved to Tügtei-yin Jilga probably due to the argument with Prince Utai around the late Qing period. Some members of the Wang family moved to Ulaanmodu.⁴⁸

Today most of the descendants of *Manju-nar* live in Manzu Tun township, Khorchin Right-Flank Front banner of Khinggan league, Inner Mongolia. The total measure of the area was 4,340 km² (around 1,676 mi²) and its total population was 4,357 in 2008. 36% of the total population was Manchu, 62% Mongol, and other peoples 2%.⁴⁹ Grasslands constitute most of the territory of the Manzu Tun township. Today, the main economic sector of Manzu Tun is herding.⁵⁰

So far, no historical documents have been found describing the mongolization of Manchu *ingji* bondservant settlers in Manzu Tun before the late Qing era. We can only utilize materials of

⁴⁵ Urtubayar et al., eds., *Ĵasaγtu jiyün wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar*, 95 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 35.

⁴⁶ Ji Wenhui 季文慧, "Ke'rqin youyi qianqi Manzu Tun Manzu xiang Manzu chunjie xisu tanxi 科爾沁右翼前旗滿族屯滿族鄉滿族春節習俗探析" (MA thesis, Inner Mongolia Normal University, 2013), 9.

⁴⁷ Tong, *Nei Menggu de Manzu*, 133.

⁴⁸ Urtubayar et al., eds., *Ĵasaγtu jiyün wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar*, 105–106, 112–114 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 39–41.

⁴⁹ Urtubayar et al., eds., *Ĵasaγtu jiyün wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar*, 2 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 1.

⁵⁰ Tong, *Nei Menggu de Manzu*, 128.

oral history and ethnography to piece together the situation during the late Qing and early Republican period.

Acculturation would be the first impression when one studies the culture of the Manchu people in Manzu Tun. The descendants of Manchu *ingji* bondservant settlers in Manzu Tun currently have been speaking Mongolian for generations. A contemporary ethnography of Manzu Tun shows that local Manchu people speak a Mongolian dialect with Manchu heritage and Chinese influence. More than 130 Mongolian words used by the local Manchu people were considered to be of Manchu origin by the locals. According to Guan Yuzhang's survey of 1988, a seventy-seven-year-old lady did not speak Manchu but she could understand the Manchu words spoken by an interviewer. She was from the Wang family of Manchu and spoke fluent Mongolian.⁵¹

In terms of religion, the Manchu people in Manzu Tun worshipped Chagaan Oboo (white oboo) in the Tübtei valley for many years. There was a legend that a diviner-lama who followed the Manchu princess to Mongolia suggested building an oboo in this area to bless and protect the Manchu settlers and their herds. Traditionally every family would elevate one senior member to join the yearly cult of Chagaan Oboo on the second day of the fifth month in the lunar calendar. Sheep and cattle would be slaughtered for sacrifice. Cultural activities were prohibited by the

⁵¹ The historians, ethnologists and folklorists who worked in this area all confirmed that Mongolian was the most prevalent language, and Chinese was spoken by the generation under thirty. Students learned Mongolian and Chinese at school. Generally speaking, no one knew Manchu in Manzu Tun. Nevertheless, the Manchu residents mostly, if not all, claimed that they spoke a Mongolian dialect, which preserved some Manchu vocabulary. For Guan's survey, see Tong Jingren, *Nei Menggu de Manzu*, 145. For local Manchu people's view points toward their language, see Wu Weiwei 吳偉偉, "Minzu rentong de duochong biaooshu: Manzu Tun Manzu minzu rentong yanjiu 民族認同的多重表述——滿族屯滿族民族認同研究" (MA thesis, Inner Mongolia University, 2010), 23. For the list of Manchu-Mongol common words, see Urtubayar et al., eds., *Ĵasaγtu jiyün wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar*, 105–106, 112–114 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 39–41.

Communist government during the Cultural Revolution and were gradually resumed after 1978. This practice was generally seen as an influence of Mongolian nomadic culture.⁵²

Besides this, the Manchu residents also held the *Im Ganjuur* recitation assembly yearly and prayed for blessing and fortune. The local Manchu people thought that this reciting assembly was similar to the worship of the horse god for local Mongols in the sense of ceremony. It was also related to the aforementioned cult of Chagaan Oboo. The *Im Ganjuur* recitation assembly would held on the sixth day of the seventh month in the lunar calendar because by that time the herds were fat and the weather would be pleasing. The senior members of the five largest families in Manzu Tun were used to gathering to discuss the *Im Ganjuur* recitation assembly. In their discussions, the host and handlers would be decided and the herds for sacrifice would be selected from each family. The recitation assembly would continue for five days. During the recitation assembly, lamas would be invited from neighboring temples to chant Buddhist sutras, wrestling and horse racing would be held, and fiddlers and reed pipe players would be invited to tell stories in alliterated verses (*Mo. üilger qolboy-a*), a typical Mongolian traditional performing art.

The local Manchu custom of Spring Festival also showed extensive Mongolian cultural influence and Manchu cultural heritage. For example, the meat the Manchu people would prepare was mainly mutton and beef in line with their pastoral way of life like their Khorchin Mongol neighbors. On the twenty-third day of the twelfth month in the lunar calendar, the Manchu people would conduct the fire cult, in which the ritual procedure was similar to the Mongolian fire cult during the late Qing period, such as offering whole sheep, sticky rice porridge, jujube, dairy products, sugar, alcoholic drink, and incense, all led by senior male family

⁵² Urtubayar et al., eds., *Ĵasaγtu jiyiin wang-un qosiyun daki manĵunar*, 271–282 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 122–129.

members. At the breakfast of the lunar New Year's Day, the *deeji* (the first or choicest part of food or drink) would be offered to the deities, a practice like that of the Mongols.⁵³

Though the Manchu people's language and culture had been greatly influenced by local Khorchin Mongols, they still kept aspects of the traditional Manchu way of life. For example, during the Spring Festival, the Manchu people in Manzu Tun made frozen food, such as frozen dumplings and buns stuffed with sweetened bean paste, which was a traditional Manchu practice.⁵⁴ The Manchu people in Manzu Tun lived in *gers* (Mongol yurts), like their Khorchin Mongol neighbors. After the mid-1960s, the Mongol yurts were gradually replaced by sedentary houses which maintained aspects of more traditional Manchu architectural features in Manchuria.⁵⁵ In a typical Manchu residence there was a three-section compound in the shape of a hoof, and the door facing the south. In the houses, there were *kang* 炕 (bed-stoves) to keep the bed and house warm, and the chimneys were located on the east and west sides of the house.⁵⁶

Apart from acculturation, marital assimilation had also been in process for a long time. The principle of ethnic exogamy had been followed by Manchu people in Manzu Tun for hundreds of years. Local Manchu residents insisted on marrying local Khorchin Mongols, and the intermarriage between two local Manchu families was forbidden because local Manchu people believed that they had common ancestors from the same family.⁵⁷ Most of the marital practices, such as marriage proposals, engagement, presenting betrothal gifts, and setting the wedding date, were similar to local Khorchin Mongols. However, they still preserved some

⁵³ Ji, "Ke'rqin youyi qianqi Manzu Tun Manzu xiang Manzu chunjie xisu tanxi," 11,15–16, 21.

⁵⁴ Ji, "Ke'rqin youyi qianqi Manzu Tun Manzu xiang Manzu chunjie xisu tanxi," 12.

⁵⁵ Ji, "Ke'rqin youyi qianqi Manzu Tun Manzu xiang Manzu chunjie xisu tanxi," 15.

⁵⁶ Tong, *Nei Menggu de Manzu*, 134–136.

⁵⁷ Wu, "Minzu rentong de duochong biao shu: Manzu Tun Manzu minzu rentong yanjiu," 26–31.

distinct Manchu practices, such as the manner of proposing and a banquet for sisters-in-law.⁵⁸ Furthermore, on the way to the groom's place, the bride's mother did not follow with the bride.⁵⁹ For the Khorchin Mongols, on the third day after the marital ceremony, the bride's family would visit the groom's family with many gifts. For the Manchus in Manzu Tun, this visit took place on the fifteenth day. After the visit, the bride would go back to her parents' home with sheep to show her gratitude to her parents.⁶⁰ The Manchu people were still keeping their own traditional culture despite cohabitation and intermarriage between them and local Mongols after many generations.⁶¹

Identificational Mongolization of local Manchus in Manzu Tun was a complex issue because their ethnic identity as Manchu actually had experienced a process of forgetting and reconstruction. The project of ethnic identification was conducted in China in the late 1950s and the official status of local Manchu people should have been officially fixed by that time. But before 1949, their Manchu identity might have been more blurred and unstable. According to Akiba Takashi, when he visited Manzu Tun in 1936, he asked Milin, a local prominent elder, about the Manchu origin of local people. Milin, however, denied their Manchu origin and argued for their Mongol ancestry. His justification was that Mongol culture was dominant there and there was no evidence to show any previous origin as Manchu bannermen.⁶² Therefore, there would have been a process of reshaping and reconstructing Manchu identity through historical

⁵⁸ Siyoo Chün, *Qorč'in barayun γar-un emünetü qosiyun-u Manjunar-un qurim-un jang üile-yin sudulal* (Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House, 2012), 128–130, 149.

⁵⁹ Tong, *Nei Menggu de Manzu*, 137–139.

⁶⁰ Urtubayar et al., eds., *Ĵasaytu jiyün wang-un qosiyun daki manjunar*, 271–282 and Wuritubaya'r [Urtubayar] et al., eds., *Zhasaketu junwang qi Manzu nala*, 122–129.

⁶¹ For the marital customs of the Manchu people, Siyoo Chün's ethnography is the most comprehensive research by far. For proposal customs and banquets for sisters-in-law, see Siyoo Chün, *Qorč'in barayun γar-un emünetü qosiyun-u Manjunar-un qurim-un jang üile-yin sudulal*, 128–130, 149.

⁶² Akiba, *Manzhou minzu zhi*, 66–67.

memory for the local people in Manzu Tun after 1949.⁶³ But the details are still not clear and more extensive historical research and well-conducted fieldwork is called for.

In short, the Manchu people of Manzu Tun should be seen as a result of the Mongol-Manchu cultural contact and reconstruction of the Manchu identity. In terms of the extent of mongolization, acculturation and marital assimilation has been proceeding for more than two hundred years. But structural and identificational assimilation was a back and forth process, rather than a straight-forward and one-way course.

III. The *Julachins* in Baarin Right-Flank Banner

The third case is the *julachins* in Julachin village of Chagaanmören *sumu*, Baarin Right-Flank banner, Chifeng Municipality (former Juu Uda league). They were the *ingjis* of the Shuhui 淑慧 princess and the Rongxian 榮憲 princess.

The Shuhui princess (Ma. *sure wesihun gurun i gungju*, Mo. *sečen degedü güriin güngjü*) Atu (Ch. Atu 阿圖) was born in 1632 as Hong Taiji's fifth daughter. She was also called the grand elder princess (Ch. *da zhang gongzhu* 大長公主) because she was the Kangxi emperor's aunt. In the imperial memorials she was also called old princess or Baarin princess.⁶⁴ In 1643, she married Sakhulag (Ch. So'rha 索爾哈), son of the Bayud prince Enggüder.⁶⁵ However, the Shuhui princess survived her husband Sakhulag's early death in the early Shuzhi period. In 1648, Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang of Borjigid agreed to marry her daughter, the Shuhui princess, to

⁶³ On the cultural sinicization and reconstruction of Manchu identity through historical memory, see Liu Zheng'ai 劉正愛, *Shu yan wu fei Manzu: yixiang lishi renleixue yanjiu* 孰言吾非滿族：一項歷史人類學研究 (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2015).

⁶⁴ Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan, ed., *Kangxi chao manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi*, 1541, no. 3724, and 1669, no. 4155.

⁶⁵ For Sakhulag, see Dharma, *Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütü*, annot. Choiji, 2nd ed. (Höhhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House, 2000), 201.

Sebten, *jasag* of Baarin Right-Flank banner. In 1700 the Shuhui princess passed away in Beijing, and her body was delivered back to Baarin Right-Flank banner and buried there.⁶⁶

There were 300 households of Manchu *booi* bondservants, including miscellaneous craftsmen, who accompanied the Shuhui princess as *ingji*. They were later organized under the administration of a colonel into two companies among a total of twenty-six companies in Baarin Right-Flank banner.⁶⁷

Where did these *ingji* come from? One theory argues that most of them were Manchu and Han Chinese who were ultimately assimilated by Mongols after moving to Inner Mongolia. Another theory was that the *ingjis* were Mongols in Beijing, perhaps Khorchin Mongols, who had previously gone to Beijing with Mongol princesses who married Manchu nobilities as *ingjis*. Later those Mongols were chosen to be *ingjis* of Manchu princesses and went back to Mongolia. It has been argued that Han Chinese could not accompany Manchu princesses as *ingjis* to Mongolia because during the Qing period Han Chinese were not allowed to go to Mongolia without official permission.⁶⁸ However, contemporary fieldwork in Julachin village does not support this theory since no local residents claimed any Khorchin ancestry.⁶⁹ Others, such as Nachin, follow a more eclectic theory arguing that some might be originally Manchu and Han Chinese, but that they were not the main components of the *ingjis*. The total households of the *ingjis* were unlikely to be up to three hundred and their population was too large to be

⁶⁶ For the brief biography of the Shuhui princess, see Tang Bangzhi 唐邦治, *Qing huangshi sipu* 清皇室四譜, Jingdai Zhongguo shiliao congkan 近代中國史料叢刊, col. 1, vol. 8 (Taipei: Wen-hai Publishing House, 1966), *juan* 4, 184–185.

⁶⁷ *Balin youqi zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui*, ed., *Balin youqi zhi*, 7.

⁶⁸ G. Sirabchamsu, *Šangdu keyibüng kürdü balyasu* (Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House, 2001), 10n1. Sirabchamsu argued that this was recorded in the Qing archives. However, he did not give any further information about the archival document he cited.

⁶⁹ Naqin 納欽 [Nachin], *Koutou xushi yu cunluo chuantong: gongzhu chuanshuo yu zhulaqin cun xinyang minsu shehui yanjiu* 口頭敘事與村落傳統——公主傳說與珠臘沁村信仰民俗社會研究 (Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House, 2004), 73.

mongolized. It is also impossible for nomads to assimilate sedentary peoples.⁷⁰ Moreover, most of the *julachins* identified their origin as Mongols.

According to oral history, for example, the origin of the Wang 汪 family was neither Manchu nor Han Chinese, but Mongol. Their ancestors were Chakhar Mongols who came from the Yizhou 義州. After Ligden Khan of Chakhar passed away in 1634, his wife and son ultimately submitted to Hong Taiji in 1635. They were relocated to Yizhou and reorganized into the Eight Banners. Therefore, while the Shuhui princess married Sebten in 1648, some of the Chakhar Mongols might have been allocated to be *ingjis* following the princess to Mongolia.⁷¹

However, the origin of the *julachins* not only included Manchu, Han Chinese, but also Sibe, Daur, and Gūwalcha (Ch. Gua'rcha 卦爾察). This may be documented by the Old Genealogy of the Supreme Princess Goddess, a Mongolian manuscript mainly concerning history of Baarin Right-Flank banner. Below are the two relevant sections:

mön tere qayan ökin degüü güngjü-yi Se wang-dur sečin [sic, for sečen] degedü ulus-un güngjü kemen ergümjilejü qayiralaqui čay-tur . yurban jāyun öröke Manju ulus tümen lang-un tariy-a-u [sic, for tariyan-u] yaǰar . irgen-luya Šib [sic, for Šibege] Qoolača [sic, for Gūwalca] qayiralaba inǰi Dayurad Šibege ulus-i čöm qayiralayad . šitügen ügei kemejü qayučin Mongyol-un bičimel G'anjuur-i qayirala kemen jarliy bayulyan šangnaqu .⁷²

While the emperor bestowed the title of the Wise Supreme Imperial Princess on her younger sister, and betrothed her to the Prince Se [Sebten], three hundred households of Manchu people, as well as ten thousand taels worth of farmland, together with Han Chinese commoners, Sibe, and Gūwalcha peoples. [...The princess] took pity on

⁷⁰ Naqin [Nachin], *Koutou xushi yu cunluo chuantong*, 68–73. Nachin himself is a native *julachin*.

⁷¹ Naqin [Nachin], *Koutou xushi yu cunluo chuantong*, 72.

⁷² Anonymous, “Erkim degedü güngjü mama-yin wang noyad-un qayučin-u ündüsün-ü bičig,” in *Sayisaltu-yin jokiyal-un tegübüri* (Chifeng: Inner Mongolia Science and Technology Press, 2007), 6: 336, 338. I would like to thank Tamir for bringing this source, which she also utilized in her MA thesis, to my attention. For her Mongolian transcription and translation, see Taimi’r 泰米爾 [Tamir], “Balın youqi yu Shuhui gongzhu 巴林右旗與淑慧公主” (MA thesis, Inner Mongolia University, 2014), 50. My rendition differs slightly from Tamir’s interpretation, but her interpretation is generally convincing and reliable. For the transcription of Gūwalca, see Giovanni Stary, *A Dictionary of Manchu Names: A Name-Index to the Manchu Version of the “Complete Genealogies of the Manchu Clans and Families of the Eight Banners”* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 589.

the dowry servants, Daur, and Sibe people for having nothing to worship, and gave the order to grant a handwritten Kanjur in old Mongolian script [to them].

In the section about the episode of the marriage between the Shuhui princess and Sebtan, not only Manchu and Han Chinese commoners, but also the Sibe, Daur and Gūwalcha peoples were mentioned in the list of the *ingjis*. These peoples were considered to be “New Manchus” (Ma. *ice manju*), in contrast with “Old Manchus” (Ma. *fe manju*). The classification of Old and New Manchus could be based on the time of incorporation into the Eight Banners and place of origin. Old Manchus were the people who joined the Banners before the founding of the Qing regime, and New Manchus were the people who joined the Banners after Manchu conquest of China, including indigenes of Kuyala, Ningguta, and the Ussuri River Basin in northern Manchuria. This definition changed in different periods of the Qing dynasty. Before 1644, Old Manchu referred to those people who aligned with the Jurchen-Manchu power before Nurhachi’s death while after 1644 that term indicated the groups who were already of Manchu status by 1644. Some Qing contemporaries argued that Old Manchus were only those who had already entered the Banners when Hong Taiji called on his people to abandon the name Jushen or Jurchen and adopt Manchu as the new designation for his followers.⁷³ Despite the difference in definition of Old and New Manchus, there was no doubt that the Sibe, Daur and Gūwalcha peoples were considered New Manchus.⁷⁴

As we are reminded by the case of the Kejing princess, her *ingjis* must have been allocated from the Manchu *booi* bondservants and village heads under the Imperial Household Department. Although their cultural and social backgrounds were diverse, their status was

⁷³ Fuge 福格, *Tingyu Congtan* 聽雨叢談, 3rd pr. (1984, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1997), *juan* 1, 2.

⁷⁴ For the definition of Old and New Manchus, see Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 85n173. For the discussion of the Sibe, Daur and Gūwalcha peoples as New Manchus, see Loretta E. Kim, “Marginal Constituencies: Qing Borderland Policies and Vernacular Histories of Five Tribes on the Sino-Russian Frontier” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2009), 60–63.

definitely Manchu bannerman. In the case of the Shuhui princess, the so-called Han Chinese *ingjis* were also possibly registered as village heads. The cultural and ethnic diversity of the composition of the *ingjis* of the Shuhui princess could be seen as a reflection of the early stage of the practice of *ingji* of the Qing regime since the Department of Imperial Household and the regulations of the *ingji* had just been established and not full-fledged by the time of her marriage.⁷⁵

In the 1530s, part of Khorchin Mongols moved to the region of the Non River (Ch. Nenjiang 嫩江), and the Sibe, Gūwalcha, and Daur peoples were forced to pay tribute to them and became their subjects. Under Hong Taiji and the Shunzhi emperor, since some Khorchin Mongols were incorporated into the Mongol Eight Banners, the Sibe people were also divided into companies. It was possible that some of the Daur and Gūwalcha peoples under Khorchin Mongols were also included into the Mongol Banners at that time. By the time of the marriage of Shuhui princess and Sebtan in 1648, the Sibe, Gūwalcha and Daur people were probably drawn from the Mongol Banners as her human dowry.⁷⁶

Beside the Manchu *ingjis* of the Shuhui princess, the origin of the Manchu *ingjis* of Baarin Right-Flank banner should also include those who were with the Rongxian princess. She was born in 1673 to the Rong concubine Lady Majia 馬佳 as the Kangxi emperor's third daughter. In 1691, she married Sebtan's grandson Ürgün, and died in 1728.⁷⁷ There were 240

⁷⁵ On the founding of the Imperial Household Department, there are several theories. Qi Meiqin argues that it had taken shape in 1636 and Du Jiayi suggested a later date of 1637. Torbert argues that the ultimate establishment of the Imperial Household Department is 1661, but the institutionalization of these duties began in the 1630s. See Qi Meiqin, *Qingdai Neiwufu*, 39; Du Jiayi, *Qingdai baqi guan'zhi yu xingzheng* 清代八旗官制與行政 (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2015), 279; Torbert, *The Ch'ing Imperial Household Department*, 20–21.

⁷⁶ For the incorporation of the Sibe people into the Khorchin Mongols and later the Mongol Banners, see Wu Yuanfeng 吳元豐 and Zhao Zhiqiang 趙志強, "Xibo zu you Ke'rqin Menggu qi bianru Manzhou baqi shimo 錫伯族由科爾沁蒙古旗編入滿洲八旗始末," *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 5 (1984): 61.

⁷⁷ Tang, *Qing huangshi sipu*, 194–195. Dharma, *Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütü*, 199.

households of people following the Rongxian princess to Baarin Right-Flank banner. Many of them were artisans and it would be convenient to have them build temples and palaces.⁷⁸ It is very likely that they served the Rongxian princess and mixed with the *ingjis* brought by the Shuhui princess. However, they will not be covered in this chapter due to the scanty information left in historical sources.

After the Shuhui princess passed away, 40 households of *ingji* bondservants called *julachins* (Mo. *ǰulačīn*, lamp-lighters) were selected to move to Chagaanmören *sumu*. They built the tomb for the late princess, and took care of her tomb. Later as their population increased, they were called the hundred households of *julachins* (Mo. *ǰulačīn ǰayun ger*). Chagaanmören *sumu* is located in northern Baarin Right-Flank banner. The Chagaanmören River flows through the *sumu* from northeast to southwest. It is a fertile land for farming and herding. The *sumu* center today is Aru Bulung. Its administrative jurisdiction covered Chagaanmören *gachaa*, Modun Dumda *gachaa*, Julachin *gachaa*, Damajin village, Bayansina village, and Ganggan administrative village. These in turn were comprised of several natural villages: Aru Bulung, Modun Dumda, Modun Ekhi, Khadan-Engger, Damajin, Bayansina, Sheertu, Dörben Ger (Ch. Sijiazi 四家子), Jirükhe Engger, Ganggan Süme 崗根廟, Dersu Eki, and Ganggan. The area of so-called Julachin village was composed of four natural villages (also known as *yingzi* 營子): Aru Bulung, Modun Dumda, Modun Ekhi, and Khadan-Engger, under three *gachaas*, Chagaanmören, Modun Dumda, and Julachin. For the local *julachins*, this Julachin village was a community connected by common origin and religious practice.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Cheng Shun 成順, “Gulun Shuhui gongzhu he gulun Rongxian gongzhu 固倫淑慧公主和固倫榮憲公主,” in *Balin youqi wenshi ziliao* 巴林右旗文史資料, vol. 1 (1985; repr., Baarin Right-Flank Banner, Chifeng: Committee of Culture and History, Political Consultative Conference of Baarin Right-Flank Banner, 2009), 127.

⁷⁹ *Balin youqi zhi* bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Balin youqi zhi*, 11. Naqin [Nachin], *Koutou xushi yu cunluo chuantong*, 62–63.

As mentioned above, after the Shuhui princess died in Beijing in 1700, 40 households were selected out of 300 households of *ingjis* to be *julachins* for the late princess. They gradually moved into the area of the current Julachin village. The tomb of the Shuhui princess is located on the west bank of the Chagaanmören River. The *julachins* lived in the adjacent area of the Tomb of the Princess.

According to Nachin, there were seven surnames of Han Chinese origin among the *julachins*, Guo 郭, Tong 佟, Zhao 趙, Ma 馬, Wang 汪, Tian 田, and Wu 武. According to an old man of the Guo family, their ancestor was Han Chinese from Zunhua Department, Hebei Province. He originally served as cook for the Manchu princess. Before the Shuhui princess died, her last will was to let the Guo family cook be responsible for taking care of her eldest son Ochir's tomb. Today, the Guo family is still handling the largest red tomb which was believed to be Ochir's tomb. After the Tomb of the Princess was established, the Guo cook was chosen to be one of the *julachins*, and moved to the Julachin village. He had seven sons who were later called "seven fathers"; they were ancestors of the Guo family in Julachin village. Their tombs were in the Tuzi 兔子 mountain. In the yearly worship of Tomb-sweeping Day, all the members of the Guos had to visit the Tuzi mountain and offer sacrifices to their ancestors. The offering included bean sprouts, baked pancakes, and liquor. According to Nachin, all of the *julachins* had been mongolized after being in Mongolia for several generations despite their non-Mongol origins.⁸⁰

It is plausible that acculturation was an aspect of the mongolization of the *julachins* since they had lived with Mongols in Baarin Right-Flank banner for hundreds of years. Language adoption would be an apparent marker. In a Wechat message to the author on September 19,

⁸⁰ Naqin [Nachin], *Koutou xushi yu cunluo chuantong*, 68–69.

2016, Tamir, who conducted fieldwork in Julachin village in 2014, revealed that nowadays all the *julachins* speak Mongolian and no one speaks Manchu.⁸¹

The economic life of the *julachins* was also mongolized or similar to their Mongol neighbors. Before 1949 they generally relied on herding and farming. In terms of herding, the main animals were the five snouts of the Mongols. Although it was said that there was some rich man who owned 1,000 sheep during the republican era, most herders were very poor and had only one cattle, one cow, one to two horses, and several sheep. Since herding was not able to support their livelihood, many of them would graze animals for the rich families of nascent villages, including those of *meyiren* (deputy lieutenant colonels), staff officers, and merchants. The main herding method was sedentary pastoralism, and only practiced nomadism sometimes. For their way of farming, extensive agriculture was the normal practice for the *julachins*. The traditional practice of Mongolian agriculture was *mansazi* 漫撒子 (literally “spreading seeds casually”) in Chinese. Firstly, seeds were spread evenly in the farmland. Then horses were driven over to trample the farmland as a form of ploughing. After rain, the crop seedlings grew and they waited for the crops to ripen for harvest by autumn. According to local old *julachins*, they had been following this old practice for 200 years since the Qing era. Broomcorn millet (or proso millet) and buckwheat were the two main crops cultivated in Julachin village. However, the quality of harvest was indeed dependent on the nature and weather conditions. If the weather was good, the harvest would be sufficient for a family’s yearly consumption and might leave some surplus. If the weather was difficult, the harvest would be very bad and even not enough for next year’s seeds. In the early Republican era, the herding area was converted into farmland. Therefore, the agricultural economy of this area also changed. A poor household had to share a

⁸¹ Tamir, Wechat message to author, September 19, 2016.

plough with another one and each family supplied half of the seeds and cattle for pulling the plough. Both families would share the yield of the harvest evenly. A rich household would supply cattle, seeds and farming utensils, and a poor household their own labor power. The rich household would take 2/3 of the yearly harvest, and the poor one 1/3. Later, the tenant system was introduced. The rich household rented their farmland to the poor. The former would take 70 to 80% of the yearly yield and their tenants the rest. Before 1949, transportation was also a source of income for the *julachins*. They might carry table salt by ox cart from the Eji Lake of Üjümüchin Left-Flank banner to the Salt Bureau and local farmers, even to Chifeng. Besides this, they might also ship crops, firewood, and dried dung to the county town of Linxi county. Some households of the *julachins* were specialized in the transportation business and even made a fortune. Handicraft was also an important sector of the *julachins*' economic life. Wooden and iron utensils were mostly made by hand. Carpenters made carts, Mongol yurts, saddles, doors, and windows. Leather craftsmen made leather ropes and clothes. Blacksmiths produced headgears, pipes, and knives.⁸²

As with the local Baarin Mongols, Tibetan Buddhism was the most widespread religion among the Julachins. Some of them also followed shamanic practices. The only temple of Julachin village was the Julachin Temple, located in Khadan-Engger natural village, on the north bank of Chagaanmören River. For this reason, Khadan-Engger was also called Temple village (Ch. *miao yingzi* 廟營子). The old temple was built in 1854. It was also called His Lordship's Temple (Ch. *taiye miao* 太爺廟) because it was sponsored by the *jasag* prince of Baarin Right-Flank banner. The facade of the temple looks like a palace. The Tibetan Kanjur acquired by the Shuhui princess was preserved in this temple. As it was mentioned before, the old temple was

⁸² Naqin [Nachin], *Koutou xushi yu cunluo chuantong*, 74–76.

destroyed by Wu Junsheng in 1914. In 1918, the *julachins* formed a group, headed by a lama called Damrinsürüng, to collect funding for rebuilding the temple. This new temple had shrines to Shakyamuni, Padmasambhava, Yama, Yamāntaka, and the main deity Baldan Lhamo (T. *dpa ldan lha mo*). Every sixth month in the lunar calendar, a *cham* dance (also known as *tsam*) was performed in the temple. The temple was supported by ten hectare of farmland. This was rented out to tenants whose land rent formed part of the annual revenue of the temple. At its apex there were 300 lamas in this temple, although by 1949 the number had declined to fifty lamas. In 1966, the temple was torn down and only four lamas were in the temple at that time. In addition to the Julachin Temple, there were also eleven oboos, two sacred trees, and another temple called the Temple of Nine Deities (Ch. *jiushen miao* 九神廟) in Julachin village. These were also connected to the cult of the Shuhui princess.⁸³

The core of religious belief of the *julachins* was the cult of the Shuhui princess and their religious practice was interwoven with the duties as the tomb keepers. This would be a symbol of their Manchu heritage. As introduced before, the Shuhui princess was praised by the local Baarin Mongols. Two of her merits were the constructions of the Princess Bridge and the Yuanhui 圓會 Temple, also known as West Great Temple (Ch. *Xida miao* 西大廟) and *Tegüs büridkeltü süme* in Mongolian. Crossing the Shara Mörön River, the Princess Bridge was built in 1660 to facilitate local communication and transportation. The Yuanhui Temple was established in 1667 on the west side of the Baarin prince's mansion. The Shuhui princess invited a lama called Erdeni Gabji from Lhasa and made him the *da-lama* of the Yuanhui Temple. This temple originally contained three buildings and gradually expanded to 128 buildings by 1922. The

⁸³ Naqin [Nachin], *Koutou xushi yu cunluo chuantong*, 76–77.

temple was dedicated to Shakyamuni and there were 750 lamas staying in the temple at apogee. This temple was demolished in 1966, during the Cultural Revolution.⁸⁴

The cult of the Shuhui princess was linked to her tomb. After the Shuhui princess passed away in Beijing, her body was taken back to Baarin Right-Flank banner. Originally she was buried in Sainbulag on the Baldankhara Mountain (present-day Bayankhan Mountain). After her husband Sebten died, her tomb was moved to the southwest side of the Fenghuang 鳳凰 mountain (present-day Gegeenshoron Mountain) and buried with Sebten. In 1703, her tomb was ultimately moved to the west bank of the Chagaanmören River, north of the Ox Mountain (Ch. Gongniushan 公牛山). The Kangxi emperor personally wrote three epitaphs for the three burials to praise the virtues and merits of the Shuhui princess. Later, the son of the Shuhui princess was also buried next to her tomb. His son's tomb was called the Official's Tomb (Ch. *guanling* 官陵). The *julachins* offered sacrifice to the Shuhui princess as an incarnation of Green Tara (Mo. *noyoyan dari eke*). She was also respectfully addressed as *güngjü mama* in Mongolian. During the Cultural Revolution, the Tomb of the Princess was pulled down and the cult of the Shuhui princess was forbidden. The tomb was allowed to be rebuilt and the cult resumed in 1986. Selected by the Arjia Rinpoche of the Kumbum Monastery, the new site was decided to be in the southeast of Chagaanmören *sume*. The construction project of the new Tomb of the Princess was completed on August 1989 and a large naadam festival was held for three days to celebrate this event.⁸⁵ The resumption of the cult of the Shuhui princess and the restoration of the Tomb of the Princess reflects their importance for the *julachins*.

⁸⁴ Balin youqi zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Balin youqi zhi*, 637. Tamir, “Balin youqi yu Shuhui gongzhu,” 60.

⁸⁵ For the Shuhui princess's deeds and her tomb, see Naqin [Nachin], *Koutou xushi yu cunluo chuantong*, 80–85. For the three epitaphs, see Zhang Mu, *Menggu youmu ji*, *juan* 3, 139–141.

The organization of holding the sacrifice offering to the Shuhui princess was mainly orchestrated by the *julachins*. This organization of staff was divided into two groups: secular and sacred ones. The structure and titles of the secular staff resembled the Qing institution of the banner system, including general manager (Ma. *uheri da*), assistant manager (Mo. *kündü*), cook (Mo. *čüs*), and assistant (Ma. *bošokū*, Mo. *bošoyu*).⁸⁶ The general manager was the organizer of the whole offering ceremony and the medium between the worshippers and the Shuhui princess as a deity. During the Qing era, on the day of offering, the general manager was given as much respect as the prince. Even if the prince walked into the hall of the general manager, he did not have to stand up to greet the prince. Later this practice changed, and the general manager went to greet the prince at the prince's hall. He was also responsible for managing the natural resources of the graveyard of the Shuhui princess and trying legal cases during the offering. All the expenses of the offering to the late Shuhui princess were paid by the treasury of the Tomb of the Princess. Not only did the estate on which the tomb was built belong to the Tomb of the Princess, but it also possessed the donations given by other worshippers. The tomb owned its own herds (Mo. *gegen sürüg*) which were exempt from taxation by the *sumu*. They were maintained by tenants and part of its yield went to the treasury of the Tomb of the Princess.

The *julachins* seem to have been a special and separate group among the local Baarin Mongols during the Qing era. As mentioned, during the Qing era, a post of colonel was created under the adjutant (Mo. *jakiruychi janggi*, Ch. *guanqi zhangjing* 管旗章京) to be responsible for affairs concerning the *ingjis*.⁸⁷ Although this post was not a standard one in the banner administrative system in Qing Mongolia, a similar one could also be found in Baarin Left-Flank

⁸⁶ The structure of this organization also contained some elements of the Manchu social system, i.e. *mukūn da* (head of a clan). See Naqin [Nachin], *Koutou xushi yu cunluo chuantong*, 153.

⁸⁷ For the local administrative system of Baarin Right-Flank banner, see Aqitu 阿其圖 [Achitu], “Balin youqi modai wangye Jaga’r 巴林右旗末代王爺扎噶爾,” in *Balin youqi wenshi ziliao*, vol. 1, 119–120.

banner. That post was the manager-adjutant of *törö-yin gege*'s followers (Ch. *guanli duoluo gege gensui zhangjing* 管理多羅格格跟隨章京), and it seemed to be higher ranking than the one of Baarin Right-Flank banner.⁸⁸ Although further information about both posts is still lacking in historical sources, it is likely that in Baarin banners there were ad hoc official positions responsible for the administration of the *ingjis*.⁸⁹

There is no survey on the intermarriage between the *julachins* and local Mongols. So it would be difficult for us to evaluate the extent of marital assimilation of the *julachins* by Mongols. But it should be safe to say that they were assimilated in identification since the *julachins* had been identified as Mongols and they accepted this marker. Although some of the *julachins* still claimed their non-Mongol ancestry, their ethnic identity was as Mongols.

IV. The Bahu People in Khorchin Left-Flank Middle Banner

The fourth case is the Bahu people (Ch. *bāhu ren* 八戶人 or *báhu ren* 拔戶人) in Langbu-yin Tobu *gachaa* (village)⁹⁰ of Khorchin Left-Flank Middle banner, Jirim League. During the Qing era, this banner was known as Darkhan Wang banner. They originally lived near the Faku 法庫 Gate, modern Faku 法庫 County in Shengyang 瀋陽 City, and Liaoning 遼

⁸⁸ Anonymous, *Mengzang yuan diaocha Neimeng ji yanbian geqi tongji baogao* 蒙藏院調查內蒙及沿邊各旗統計報告, in *Nei Menggu shizhi*, vol. 7 (Beijing: China National Microfilming Center for Library Resources, 2002), 45. I would like to thank Hsu Fu-hsiang 許富翔 for informing me of this source.

⁸⁹ Elsewhere, in Khorchin Right-Flank Middle banner, known as Tüshiyetü banner, the *ingjis* were treated as a separate category in the population survey conducted by Japanese researchers. It is very likely that Manchu *ingjis* were treated differently to some extent, even though they had acquired the status of *khamjilga* and legally became Mongols. See Sata Kojiro 佐田弘治郎, *Tojūgyōto ōki jijō* 圖什業圖王旗事情 (Dairen [Dalian]: Investigation Division, General Affairs Section, South Manchuria Railways Company, 1927), 36. Here I cite the reprinted version in *Jindai Zhongguo bianjiang waiwen wenxian ziliao congkan* 近代中國邊疆外文文獻資料叢刊, col. 1 (Hong Kong: Fuchi College Publishing, 2015), 29: 374.

⁹⁰ The term *tobu* means “hut for hunters” in Mongolian.

寧 province during the Qing era. The Bahu people were the descendants of Manchu *ingjis* who came to Mongolia during the Qing era.⁹¹

The history of the intermarriage between Darkhan princes and Manchu rulers goes back to the early seventeenth century and continued through the entire Qing era. Among the descendants of Manggus, the ancestor of the Darkhan and Öndör princes, many of them married daughters of Manchu nobilities. In 1639, his grandson Kitad, the first Öndör prince,⁹² married the Duanjing 端靖 princess, the third daughter of Hong Taiji. The first Darkhan prince Manjushiri married Nurhachi's grandson Yoto's eldest daughter in 1628 and later Chuyen's daughter in 1639. In 1670, Manjushiri's grandson Bandi married the Duanming 端敏 princess, the third daughter of Jidu 濟度, the second son of Jirgalang. In 1747, Bandi's grandson Sebtenbaljur married the Hejing 和敬 princess, the third daughter of the Qianlong emperor.⁹³ The Manchu princesses must have brought *ingji* bondservants to Mongolia. The Bahu people were supposed to be descendants of those bondservants, though it would be difficult to trace the details. According to Burensain, after arriving in Mongolia, the *ingjis* were firstly re-organized and enlisted in the register of the banner. Some of them would be registered as banner commoners. Others might become the tomb keepers.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Burensain's work on the Bahu people would be the most recent and complete one so far. Here I have relied on his treatment. See Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain ボルジギン・ブレンサイン], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei* 近現代におけるモンゴル人農耕村落社会の形成. Tokyo: Kazama Shobo, 2003.

⁹² The title of Öndör prince referred to Kitad and his descendants who succeeded to the title of the prince of the second rank (Ma. *doroi giyūn wang*) after 1649. Kitad was known as Öndör prince because of his superior merit and height (Mo. *öndör*). The tombs of Kitad and the Duanjing princess were located in the Darkhan Wang banner and guarded by ten households of *julachins*. For the details of the Öndör prince, see Li Jingtang 李景唐, "Wendu'r wangfu xiaoshi 溫都爾王府小史," *Nei Menggu minzu daxue xuebao* 內蒙古民族大學學報, no. 1 (1982): 41–49.

⁹³ Du, *Qingchao Man Meng lianyin yianjiu*, 30, 32–33, 43.

⁹⁴ It was quite rare for *ingjis* to not be registered as personal subjects of the Darkhan princes (i.e. *khamjilga*), but as commoners (i.e. *albatu*). This kind of things was unknown in other banners. Even if this was true, it should be seen as a special case in Qing Mongolia. See Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei*, 193.

Three theories were popular among the locals regarding the origin of the name Bahu, relating to the place Faku. Some argued that it was named after the Bargu Mountain near Wangyeling 王爺陵 village and later transformed into the current form Bahu. The second theory was that the Faku Gate was called *fakū jase* (the border of a stone dam in a river for catching fish) in Manchu and it was said that Manchus who lived there used this way of fishing. The third theory was that in 1664 people of eight households lived around the Faku Gate, so they were named *bāhu ren* (which means people of eight households in Chinese). No matter what, it is plausible that *baqu* in Mongolian originated from the pronunciation of *fakū* in Manchu.⁹⁵

In the Survey of Khorchin Left-Flank Middle banner made by the Manchukuo government, published in 1939, the ancestry of the Bahu people was depicted vaguely as Han Chinese or Manchu, and it was confirmed that they had become commoners of that banner.⁹⁶ According to a recent fieldwork conducted by Burensain, the Bahu people admitted their ancestry as *ingjis* from Faku County of Liaoning province and considered themselves as having all become Mongols. Originally, they were tomb keepers of the deceased Darkhan prince and the Manchu princess. In 1899, a dispute arose between the Bodolgatai prince and the Darkhan prince for the revenue of the land adjacent to the tombs. The following year, after the dispute was intermediated successfully, the tomb keepers were all moved back to Zhengjia Tun 鄭家屯 village, Darkhan Wang Banner.⁹⁷

The Bahu people in Langbu-yin tobu *gachaa* were composed of people of nine surnames, the Cao 曹 (The first settlers), Wang 王, Zhang 張, Niu 牛, Liu 劉, Cao 曹 (Different from the

⁹⁵ Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei*, 191–192.

⁹⁶ Mansyūkoku kokumuin kōankyoku 滿州国国務院興安局 ed., *Kōan Nan-shō Kajishin Sayoku Chūki jittai chōsa hōkokusho* 興安南省科爾沁左翼中旗實態調查報告書 (Shinkyō [Changchun]: Khinggan Bureau, General Affairs State Council, Manchukuo, 1939), 123.

⁹⁷ Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei*, 190.

first settled Caos), Lang 郎, De 德, and Zhang 張 (different from the former one) families. However, not all of the families were related to the ruling banner family. For example, the ancestor of the Lang family was originally an *ingji* of Khorchin Left-Flank Rear banner, but moved to Khorchin Left-Flank Middle banner for an unidentified personal reason.⁹⁸

The history of the Cao 曹 family could be viewed as a miniature of the natualizing process of the Bahu people. They were the first family to settle in Faku county. Their ancestors were from Caojiazhuang 曹家莊 village of Yining 義寧 county, Jinan prefecture, Shandong province. They came to Mongolia as bodyguards of a Manchu princess who married Ji Daye Noyan. This Ji Daye Noyan was the first Öndör prince Kitad and so that princess should be the Duanjing princess. Since they got married before the Qing conquest of China, it would be unlikely that their ancestors came directly from Shandong. They might be Han Chinese settlers who had moved to Manchuria from Shandong before 1639 and even had been incorporated into the Manchu banner system as Chinese bannermen.⁹⁹ After the Duanjing princess passed away, their ancestors remained in Mongolia and served the Darkhan prince's family and acquired some kind of quasi-Mongol banner commoner status in Mongolia.¹⁰⁰

The religious belief of the Bahu people was mainly Tibetan-rite Buddhism, like other local Mongols, and was connected with the political history of Inner Mongolia. By 1939, they worshipped Shakyamuni, Tsongkhapa, Chinggis Khan, and Avalokitesvara at home. By 1999,

⁹⁸ Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei*, 196–197.

⁹⁹ Many of Han Chinese settlers from Shandong arrived in Manchuria before 1644 and they became the main source of Chinese bannermen. See Ding Yizhuang, Guo Songyi 郭松義, James Z. Lee 李中清, and Camerron Campbell [Kang Wenlin 康文林], *Liaodong yimin zhong de qiren shehui: Lishi wenxian, renkou tongji yu tianye diaocha* 遼東移民中的旗人社會：歷史文獻、人口統計與田野調查 (Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2004), 121–125.

¹⁰⁰ Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei*, 190–198, 236.

the most popular deity became Mao Zedong, along with the Tenth Panchen Erdeni, Shakyamuni, Avalokiteśvara, White Tara, Green Tara, the deity of Medicine Buddha (Otachi Burkhan), the God of War (Geser Bogda for Mongols or Lord Guan for Chinese), and Mañjuśrī following, but not Chinggis Khan. Burensain argues that the decline of the Chinggis Khan cult in the 60 years was due to the Chinese political agenda in which Chinggis Khan was seen as the founder of the People's Republic of China and a Chinese national hero, not just a Mongol one.¹⁰¹

The Bahu people also worshipped their ancestors and this was a way to show their identity as descendants of *ingjis*. The four annual sacrifices to ancestors of the Bahu people were related to their history as *ingjis*. These kind of practices differed from local Mongols, who had only two sacrifices annually, and local Han Chinese people, who had three. This practice originated from the sacrifices to the tombs of Darkhan princes and Manchu princesses. The items of offerings the Bahu people prepared were more similar to the Mongols. They would offer dairy products, butter, stir-fried proso millet, and red dates. They burnt Tibetan-style incense, not Chinese-style joss paper.¹⁰²

Before 1939, most of the Bahu people were herders and animal husbandry was their main mode of production. At that time, the main animals were horses and cattle. But in recent decades, they have mostly become settled farmers and no grassland for herding remains in the territory of Langbu-yin tobu village.¹⁰³

Marital mongolization of the Bahu people was also apparent. After moving to Faku county, they all married Mongols from their own and other adjacent banner. For example,

¹⁰¹ Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei*, 305–311.

¹⁰² Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei*, 298–302.

¹⁰³ Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei*, 303–305.

predecessors of the Wen 溫 family in Wangyeling village originated from Beijing and came to Mongolia as *ingjis* with a Manchu princess.¹⁰⁴

Among the several main families of the Bahu people, the De family was only one whose ancestry could be identified as Manchu by genealogical records. According to Burensain, the original genealogy of the De family was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution and the current one was reconstructed by drawing on an old family member's recollections. Their original Manchu surname is unidentifiable today. One of their ancestors called Suniha lived in Yang Xiangguo Tun 楊相國屯 village in northern Shenyang before 1644. After the Qing army entered the Shanhai Pass, Suniha followed the army to Beijing. The De family might have moved to Mongolia with the Duanming princess as her *ingjis* in 1670. According to the genealogy of the De family, they began to adopt this Han-style surname in their third generation. In 1999, there were several hundred households of the De family living in Khorchin Left-Flank Middle banner. Seven households lived in East Zhanggu *gachaa* and six in Langbu-yin tobu *gachaa*. Two hundred more households of the De family lived in Dalin 大林 township, Tongliao City. By that time, they all used Mongolian, married Mongolian women, and their customs were in common with local Mongols. In East Zhanggu *gachaa*, even though they lived in a Han Chinese community, they still maintained their Mongolian identity. They had been seen as mongolized Manchus by local people.¹⁰⁵

Some of the Bahu people lived around the tombs of Darkhan princes and the Duanming princess in Wangyeling village, Sijiazi 四家子 township, Faku county. A post of *yamun i da* (Head of Office) was established to take care of the tombs. The fieldwork conducted by

¹⁰⁴ Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei*, 194.

¹⁰⁵ Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei*, 199–203.

Burensain in 1999 shows that the total population was around 1,700 and their ancestors came from Beijing to Mongolia as *ingjis*. After arriving in Mongolia, their household registration would change to Mongol and they would marry Mongol women there. In ethnic identity, they were all registered as Mongols under the Chinese communist regime. Before 1949, most of the Bahu people there spoke Mongolian, but in the late 1990s they no longer used it. Many of the residents had relatives in Khorchin Left-Flank Middle banner, but they rarely kept in contact with them.¹⁰⁶

As we have seen above, mongolization of the Bahu people was shown in the dimensions of acculturation, structural, marital, and identificational assimilation. They used Mongolian for daily communication and married local Mongol women. They were nomads by 1939, but later became farmers. This was related to sedentarization. They still preserved some distinctive features of ancestor worship, which were connected with the sacrifice to the princess tombs and demonstrated their ancestry as Manchu *ingjis*.

The last but not the least thing is identificational mongolization, even civic mongolization, of the Manchu *ingjis*. Here the most representative case would be Tümen-öljei, a Mongol from Jalaid banner of Jirim League, Inner Mongolia. According to his oral history, his grandfather's grandfather was Han Chinese from Ji'nan prefecture, Shandong province, and came to Jalaid banner of Heilongjiang province (today under Khinggan League) as an *ingji* bondservant of a Manchu princess. Tümen-öljei moved to Gorlos Front banner in his younger years and later participated in the Togtokhu's uprising of anti-Chinese reclamation in 1906.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Borjigin Burensain [Borujigin Burensain], *Kingendai ni okeru mongorujin nōkō sonraku shakai no keisei*, 327–328.

¹⁰⁷ For a brief biography of Togtokhu, see G. Navaangnamjil, "A Brief Biography of the Determined Hero Togtokh," in *Mongolian Heroes of the Twentieth Century*, trans. Urgunge Onon (New York: AMS Press, 1976), 42–76. Historical judgment of Togtokhu's uprising is controversial. On the Mongol side, he was seen as a hero of the Mongol people for fighting against Han Chinese reclamation and colonization in Inner Mongolia. On the Qing side, he was seen as a Mongol bandit who created chaos in Inner Mongolia. See *Menggu zu tongshi bianxiezhu* 《蒙古族

When he was fifty, he moved to Khorchin Right Flank Front banner.¹⁰⁸ Tümen-öljei's claim to be a descendant of an *ingji* may be doubted, because nothing could be found in Qing records on the intermarriage between Jalaid princes and Manchu imperial families. However, Tümen-öljei's self-identification as an *ingji*'s offspring is unquestionable as is the fact that his interests conformed to the local Mongol ones and he would sacrifice his life to protect the grassland for the common interests of the Mongols.

Taken together, this chapter firstly shows the phenomenon of naturalization or socio-legal mongolization of the Manchu *ingjis* in Qing Mongolia. As we have demonstrated, once a Manchu bondservant was assigned as a princess's *ingji*, his name would be taken off the register of the Imperial Household Department and enlisted as *khamjilga* of the Mongol prince after arrival in Mongolia. Then four cases of mongolization of Manchu settlers in Qing Mongolia were examined by drawing on Manchu, Chinese, and Mongolian sources. The result shows that the process of mongolization was not always one-way and straightforward, but multivalent and could be reversed, as in the case of Manzu Tun. The descendants of *ingjis* had to adopt a mobile pastoral life, learn the Mongolian language, and marry Mongols since they settled in the Mongol steppe. They could also be sedentarized and conduct farming, like the Bahu people and as other Mongols who were involved in the process of sedentarization since the late twentieth century. Tibetan Buddhism became the common religion of the descendants of the Mongolized *ingjis* and local Mongols and the descendants of the *ingjis* attended worship ceremonies and patronized Tibetan Buddhist temples together. Tibetan Buddhism should be viewed as glue for the Mongol-

通史》編寫組 ed., *Menggu zu tongshi* 蒙古族通史 (Revised ed., Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House, 2001), 3: 256–263.

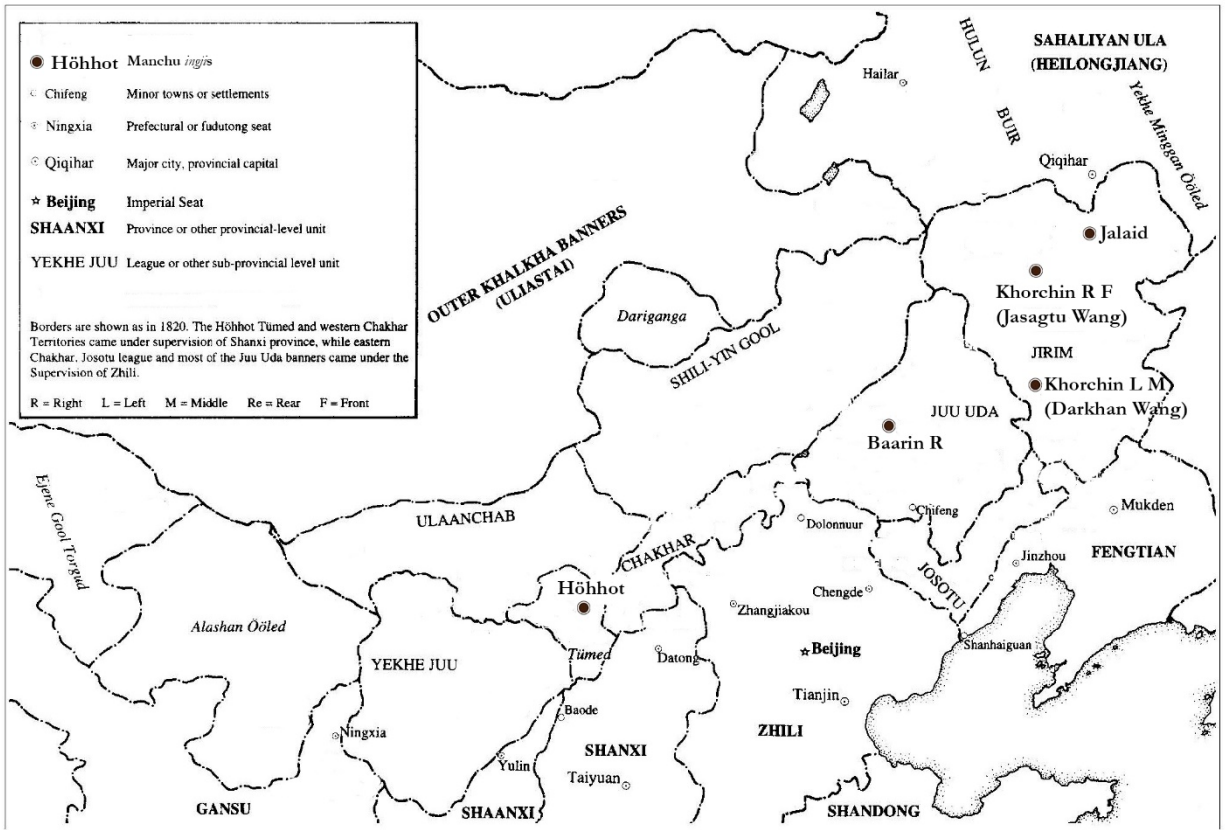
¹⁰⁸ Lu Minghui 盧明輝, ed., *Taoketaohu shiliao ji* 陶克陶胡史料集 (Höhhhot: Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region Historical Association, 1965), 3–6.

ingji relationship. As we have seen, Manchu princesses promoted Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia and won support from local Mongols.

In terms of the ethnicity of the Manchu *ingjis* during the Qing period, to the Qing emperors, the status and ethnic identity of the *ingjis* of the Kejing princess was determined by the needs of the state and the services they could provide; to the *ingjis* themselves, even their status and ethnicity was forced to change to Mongol due to the imperial decisions, though they still had some ways to resume their original Manchu identity like taking the civil examination. However, both the Manchu *ingjis* and the Qing emperors did not have full control of changing the identities of any *ingjis* without negotiating with the master of the *ingjis*, that is, the Manchu princess or the Mongol prince (as we have seen in the case of the Kejing princess). Even for the *ingjis* who did not regain their Manchu status, they still managed to preserve their memory of Manchu origin and maintain their own group identity among the Mongols.

Though mongolization of the descendants of *ingjis* has been ongoing for centuries, they still enjoyed some degree of residential and administrative separation and preserved a unique group consciousness. This kind of group consciousness could be sustained by their heritage as bondservants of Manchu princess. Three of the five cases mentioned the cult of late Manchu princesses as an important religious belief of the *ingjis*. The case of the Kejing princess was the only exception since her tomb was moved to Khalkha and not in Höhhot.

Last but not least, one should notice that the aforementioned cases are those who preserved their historical memory or ethnic identity. Otherwise, it would be almost impossible for me to ascertain their identity and background. There might exist descendants of the Manchu *ingjis* who had been fully mongolized and lost their historical memory in Mongolia. It is just impossible for me to document them.



Map 3 Locations of Manchu *ingjis* in Qing Mongolia

Conclusion

Nativization, Buddhism, Chinese Migration, and Ethno-Legal Identity in Early Modern and Modern Eurasia

In the previous chapters, it has been demonstrated that the Qing state formed different socio-legal statuses and ethnic identities based on the mindset of Qing imperial ideology on judgment of the ecological environment and human disposition/character among Qing subjects. Relevant boundaries and prohibitions were created based on such differences, like ethnic segregation, geographical separation, lifestyle/professional distinction, and prohibition of intermarriage between different peoples. In Qing borderlands and frontiers, local big men and chieftains were granted prerogatives and power to rule. The Qing rulers implemented these kinds of institutions on account of the principle of ethnic sovereignty and the politics of difference in order to avoid thorny inter-ethnic disputes and riots and in order to run the empire with a small government.¹ As Mark Elliott argues, ethnicity of Manchu and Han Chinese under the Qing regime was constructed along with these differences and relationships. Therefore, examining these differences and the border-crossing of Manchu, Mongol and Han Chinese peoples discussed in this dissertation is helpful for us to understand how ethnicity was formed and changed in the Qing Empire.

¹ For the divide and rule policy on Qing frontier, see Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600–1800*, 127, 332; Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 67, 311. On Qing principle of maintaining a small government and relying on indigenous people and communities, see William T. Rowe, *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 48–49. For the discussion of the ecological aspect of Qing frontier policy, see Bello, *Across Forest, Steppe, and Mountain*. Recently, Jonathan Schlesinger's work also explores the pristine nature of Mongolia and Manchuria as a Qing construct, see his book *A World Trimmed with Fur*.

The Qing emperors knew the divide and rule policy well. Nevertheless, for the Manchu rulers and their subjects, there were still concerns that made crossing the boundaries demarcated by the Qing state inevitable and necessary. As we have discussed in the previous chapters, the Qing court needed Han Chinese merchants to provide necessities and supplies for military campaigns against nomadic powers in the Mongol steppe, mainly the Zünghars. Mongolia also became a moderator of pressure of the booming Chinese population and a refuge from famine and natural disaster. So we can say the Qing policies of *closing off* was not to isolate Mongolia from China proper, but to control and oversee Han Chinese immigration into Mongolia. Han Chinese in northern China also liked to go beyond the pass for reclamation and trade. These became the earliest Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia during the Qing period. Manchu settlers went to Mongolia for different reasons, but still in the service of their holy lords (Ma. *enduringge ejen*, i.e. the emperor). As an important piece of the puzzle of Manchu-Mongol marital alliance, the Manchu princesses and her *ingji* bondservants were sent to Mongolia for consolidating the bond between Mongol princes and their Manchu rulers. However, it would be reasonable to say that the Manchu settlers themselves were more reluctant to go to Mongolia than Han Chinese settlers since they had no personal, vested incentives. This also explains why some Manchu *ingjis* would plead with the Qing court to permit their descendants to take the civil examination. Some Manchu officials also had the concern that mongolization of Manchu bondservants should be taken as a serious issue. Therefore, it should be fair to say that Han Chinese immigration into Mongolia was partially voluntary and partially initiated by the Qing state, but Manchu entry into Mongolia was mainly mobilized by the Qing government.

The different naturalization processes of the Han Chinese and Manchu settlers in Mongolia also shaped the altered features of their process of mongolization. To the Han Chinese

settlers, they were illegal immigrants who had been staying in Mongolia for decades. For them, cultural, marital and even identificational mongolization began first, and donations to the Great Shabi could be regarded as naturalization or socio-legal mongolization which came at last as a form of religious offering or means of property protection. To the Manchu princesses who married Mongol princes, their migration was out of political need to form Manchu-Mongol marital alliance. They were economically dependent on Beijing and never acquired the Mongol status. They were not supposed to be mongolized in order to carry out their missions as imperial agents in Mongolia. Therefore, their level of mongolization was very low. To the Manchu *ingji* migrants, their immigration was authorized by the Qing state and in the juridical and administrative sense, they acquired their new Mongol status as *khamjilga* upon arrival in Mongolia. Once the princess as their mistress passed away, some of them might be delivered back to their original banners and regain their Manchu status as *booi* bondservants, which meant that their mongolization process was revocable. Only those who remained in Mongolia continued their mongolization process, but they still maintained their group consciousness and residential and administrative exclusion from local Mongols. So we can say that the Manchu *ingji* settlers actually became Mongol first and then learnt to be Mongol later. The immigration of the Han Chinese and Manchu settlers into Mongolia was initiated by the Qing government, but the Qing government wanted to keep the consequence of mongolization at a minimal level. This attitude was shown in the reassertion of the Han-Mongol segregation of 1801 and 1803 and the Muheliyen's proposal of 1737 to let the Manchu criminals who were assigned as *ingjis* return to their original banners.

The Han Chinese and Manchu settlers in question married Mongolians, and adopted Mongolian culture and identity. But in this research, the clear marker of mongolization would be

socio-legal mongolization or naturalization. In the cases of Khalkha, the *shabis* of Han Chinese origin acquired legal status as Mongols after the processes of acculturation, marital and identificational assimilation were initiated. In the cases of *khamjilgas* of Manchu *ingji* origin in Inner Mongolia, naturalization should be seen as the beginning of their mongolization process and then followed by cultural, marital and identificational assimilation. Though their process of mongolization was different, it was common in both cases that both Han Chinese and Manchu settlers were all shunted into the categories of personal subjects, either under princes or high incarnate lama. To explain this phenomenon, it is important that *shabi* and *khamjilga* both were not like *albatu* as part of the regular league-banner-sumu system. The Qing state might not pay much attention to the register of both *shabi* and *khamjilga* since both of them did not constitute the source of Mongol military force, and the Qing rulers respected the autonomy and authority of Mongol princes and high incarnate lamas. Therefore, it would be perfect for the mongolized Han Chinese and Manchu settlers to acquire their Mongol status through channels with a lower “threshold” of entry.

As we have seen above, the Han Chinese and Manchu settlers had adopted Mongolian practices (donating their family to the Great Shabi), and fought for the interests of the Mongols (joining the uprising of anti-Chinese reclamation). It seems that they had changed their self-identity from Manchu or Han Chinese origin to Mongol and, more importantly, they were accepted by the Mongol society. One might ask what criteria the Han Chinese and Manchu settlers and their offspring needed to be integrated into Qing Mongolian society.

One possible answer to this question would be intermarriage. For the Han Chinese immigrants, intermarriage with Mongol women might have provided them a venue to enter the local network, and their Mongol in-laws and friends would become their customers and reliable

informants in Mongolia. As we have seen in the third chapter, however, the Han Chinese settlers often married women of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu's disciples who were also of Han Chinese origin. This connection also created a good opportunity for them to donate their families and property to the Great Shabi. It would be reasonable to assume that the Han Chinese settlers learned about Tibeto-Mongol Buddhism or even converted to that religion through their Mongol wives. As for Manchu settlers, Manchu-Mongol imperial intermarriage was the most important dynamic governing immigration. Like the Han Chinese settlers, intermarriage between Manchu *ingjis* and local Mongols would definitely be beneficial to establish ties with Mongolian society. But this factor would not be very significant in our cases since we were actually lacking enough sources.

As we have mentioned above the Qing government did not support any ethnic cohabitation or inter-ethnic marriage because it was felt that inter-ethnic contact (Ch. *zachu* 雜處) might cause ethnic conflicts. But the Han Chinese merchants and Manchu princesses and their human dowry not only crossed the cultural boundary, but also went through the socio-legal boundary. Here I would argue that as imperial agents, these border-crossers could be seen as collaborators of the empire as what they had done upheld the solidarity and stability of the Qing Empire. Their actions of border-crossing built contacts and connections between the different peoples of the Qing Empire.

Another key part of the answer may be religion, especially Tibeto-Mongol Buddhism. This feature would be almost ubiquitous in both cases of Han Chinese and Manchu settlers. The Great Shabi as a Buddhist institution incorporated the offerings of the Han Chinese settlers and provided all kinds of social inculcation and economic protection. Buddhism also supplied a common cultural language and mindset for Han Chinese settlers to communicate with Mongols,

manipulate their interaction, and ultimately fulfill their needs through religious belief and familial welfare. It has been shown that sponsorship of Tibeto-Mongol Buddhist temples and copying of Buddhist sutras were considered to be invaluable deeds by the Manchu princesses and made them accepted and praised by Mongols. Their *ingji* bondservants and their progeny, who later stayed in Mongolia and became tombkeepers and Buddhists, maintained their contact with the families of Mongol princes and local Mongols. Although the descendants of the Manchu *ingjis* might still retain residential and administrative separation from Mongol commoners, they held annual offerings of the princesses and Buddhist ceremonies with Mongols. Buddhism not only offered Manchu *ingjis* and Mongols a spiritual tie, but also a sphere of interaction.

Buddhism as Medium of Interaction among Qing Subjects and Qing as a Buddhist Empire

This finding provides us a chance to explore another side of the issue on the Qing as a Buddhist empire. In the perspective of the new Qing historians, the Qing emperors usually identified themselves as Bodhisattva, especially Mañjuśrī, or Chakravartin, the “wheel-turning king” and protector of the Dharma.² In the first half of the Qing dynasty, the Qing emperors enthusiastically upheld Buddhism and were also practitioners of Buddhism, if not pious believers, even though they might favor different traditions, either Tibetan or Chinese Buddhism. Even later, their funerary rites were still conducted in the Tibetan and Han Buddhist way.³ For example, the Yongzheng emperor adhered to Chinese Chan Buddhism and his successor Qianlong was famous for his penchant for Tibetan Buddhism.⁴

² David M. Farquhar, “Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch’ing Empire,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38, no. 1 (Jun., 1978): 5–34. Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*, 210–212.

³ For the Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist influence on private rituals of the Qing emperors, see Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, chap. 8.

⁴ The Yongcheng emperor published works to promote Chan Buddhism. For his interest in Chan Buddhism, see Huang Pei, *Autocracy at Work: A Study of the Yung-cheng Period, 1723-1735* (Bloomington: Indiana University

No matter whether it was Chinese or Tibetan Buddhism, recent scholarship on Buddhism and Qing political culture suggest that Buddhism should be seen as a universal religion and imperial ideology for the Qing cosmopolitanism,⁵ regardless of its internal diversity.⁶ The recent studies on Buddhist pilgrimage to Mt. Wutai (C. Wutaishan 五臺山, “Five-Terrance Mountain,” Ma. *U tai šan alin* or *sunja cokcihiyan alin*, Mo. *Utai ayula*, T. *ri bo rtse lnga*, “Five-Peak Mountain”) are an excellent example for this synthetic perspective.⁷ Mt. Wutai was famous for the earthly abode of Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisatva of Wisdom, and a sacred site in Chinese Buddhism since the fifth century. By the 18th century, Mt. Wutai had attracted Buddhist pilgrims, including lamas, lay people, aristocracy and even emperors, from China proper and Inner Asia, especially Tibet, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Guidebooks and maps of Mt. Wutai were produced and stone steles of pilgrimages were erected. Tibetan and Mongolian guidebooks and maps incorporated old Chinese legends of the Mt. Wutai. Inter-ethnic trade and Mongol burial was omnipresent in the Wutaishan.⁸ Learned from their Ming predecessors, the Qing emperor even promoted

Press, 1974), 42–47. For Qianlong as a reverent believer of Tibetan Buddhism and his close relationship with Rolpai Dorje, the Third Changkya Khutugtu, see Elliott, *Emperor Qianlong*, 72–75.

⁵ Johan Elverskog has coined this term “Qing cosmopolitanism” and defined it as “the ability of the various peoples within the Manchu state to see, think and act beyond the local, be they Mongol, Tibetan, Manchu, or Chinese.” But it “did not obviate pre-existing conceptualizations.” Therefore, the ideas of being Mongol, Tibetan, or Chinese might retain some of their original contents and to some extent be influenced and changed within Qing cosmopolitanism. See Johan Elverskog, “Wutai Shan, Qing Cosmopolitanism, and the Mongols,” *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 6 (Dec., 2011): 255–256.

⁶ Samuel M. Grupper has explored the Mahākāla cult in the early Qing court and its linkage with the Chakhar. See Samuel M. Grupper, “The Manchu Imperial Cult of the Early Ch’ing Dynasty: Texts and Studies on the Tantric Sanctuary of Mahākāla at Mukden” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1980) and “Manchu Patronage and Tibetan Buddhism during the First Half of the Ch’ing Dynasty: A Review Article,” *Journal of the Tibet Society* 4 (1984): 47–75. Evelyn S. Rawski has shown the connection between Qing court rituals and Tibetan Buddhism. See Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, Chap. 7.

⁷ The sixth issue of *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* discusses the issue of Mt. Wutai and Qing culture. Karl Debreczeny’s extended introductory article explores the historical background of this issue. See Karl Debreczeny, “Wutai shan: Pilgrimage to Five-Peak Mountain,” *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 6 (Dec., 2011): 1–133. Lin Shih-Hsuan drew on Manchu archives to explore the western tours of the Qing emperors. See Lin Shih-hsuan, “Zhonghua Weizang: Qing Renzong xixun Wutaishan yanjiu 中華衛藏：清仁宗西巡五臺山研究,” *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術叢刊 28, no. 2 (Dec., 2010): 45–102 and “Manwen wenxian yu Qingdi xixun Wutaishan yanjiu 滿文文獻與清帝西巡五臺山研究,” in *Zhongguo minzu guan de tuancheng* 中國民族觀的擄成, ed. Chou Whei-ming 周惠民 (Taipei: National Chengchi University Press, 2013), 161–209.

⁸ Isabelle Charleux, *Nomads on Pilgrimage: Mongols on Wutaishan (China), 1800–1940* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

Tibetan Buddhist traditions among Chinese-speaking Buddhist monks.⁹ To Qing Mongol subjects, pilgrimage to Mt. Wutai not only facilitated their contact with other peoples or constituencies under the Qing and formed a Pan-Qing identity, but also created a new conceptualization of the Mongol people which was originally limited to the aristocracy and extended the category to tax-paying commoners (*albatu*).¹⁰ The Wutaishan Mountain became the highlight of the confluence of Chinese and Inner Asian people and cultures and might form a constant and mutually supportive community to some extent.¹¹

The Qing Empire has been depicted as a Buddhist empire by its Mongol subjects and modern scholars. Johan Elverskog argues that in the 19th century Ordos writers envisioned the Qing as a Buddhist empire,¹² thus relativizing the distinction of Mongol and Han—although different, both were “together” compared to Muslims or Catholics. To attract Mongol allies, the Kangxi emperor accused Galdan Boshogtu Khan of the Zünghars of being a convert to Islam for his collaboration with Muslim leaders and merchants in Tarim Basin, showing Kangxi himself to be a genuine and firm patron of Tibetan Buddhism.¹³ The legend of Khalkha’s submission to the Qing Empire implied that Mongols preferred Buddhist Qing rule to Eastern Orthodox Russian rule. In that story, the First Jibzundamba Khutugtu persuaded Khalkha princes to seek refuge and protection from the Qing Empire, rather than the Russian empire, because Russians did not

⁹ Gray Tuttle, “Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan in the Qing: The Chinese Register,” *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 6 (Dec., 2011): 163–214.

¹⁰ Elverskog, “Wutai Shan, Qing Cosmopolitanism, and the Mongols.” This process of forging a new Mongol identity under the Qing Empire is also explored in his book *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism, and the State in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006), 135–146, 159–162.

¹¹ Johan Elverskog and Gray Tuttle both have argued that there existed a stable solidarity of Inner Asian (mainly Manchu, Mongol and Tibetan) people. Han Chinese were excluded from that community. But Isabelle Charleux found that the cultural and linguistic gap has always been a barrier for Mongol, Tibetan and Han Chinese pilgrims. For the discussion in detail, see Charleux, *Nomads on Pilgrimage*, 335–337.

¹² Elverskog, *Our Great Qing*, 94–104.

¹³ David Brophy, “The Junghar Mongol Legacy and the Language of Loyalty in Qing Xinjiang,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 73, no. 2 (Dec., 2013): 240.

believe in Buddhism and their customs, speech and dress were different from Mongols. If we consider the fact that the Eastern Orthodox Church was the state religion of Russia at that time, it should be safe to say that Khalkha Mongols were in favor of submission to the Manchus because they did not want to be governed under Russian Orthodox rule.¹⁴ Similarly, Danzin Rabjai, a famous Mongol lama, performed weather magic to help the Qing army against the British fleet in the Opium War.¹⁵

As we know, the Qing Empire was established on Tibetan Buddhism, especially the dGe-lugs-pa tradition, as its ideological background, and it was reflected in Qing visual culture. As Patricia Berger argued, a painting commemorating the return of the Torghuds of 1771 and the unification of Mongols under the Qing flag was titled Ten Thousand Dharmas Return as One (Ch. *wanfa guiyi* 萬法歸一), a phrase embodying Buddhist universalism.¹⁶

As mentioned above, many scholars have explored the role of Buddhism in Qing political and visual culture. Nevertheless, Buddhism as the common religious belief for most Qing subjects had a major sociological significance in inter-ethnic contact in Qing borderland. In the cases of mongolization above, one might ask if the commonality of religion played a role in easing the border transition for Han Chinese and Manchu settlers in Qing Mongolia. When we examine the interaction of Han Chinese people and Manchu *ingjis* with Mongolian Buddhist institutions, we might answer the question in the affirmative. Although it was not clearly mentioned in the archives that the Han Chinese settlers and their descendants patronized Tibetan

¹⁴ Miyawaki Junko has written an article to disprove the historical validity of this legend. See Miyawaki Junko 宮脇淳子, "How Legends Developed about the First Jebtsundamba: In Reference to the Khalkha Mongol Submission to the Manchus in the Seventeenth Century," *The Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 52 (1994): 46–67.

¹⁵ Michael Kohn, *Lama of the Gobi: The Life and Times of Danzan Rabjaa, Mongolia's Greatest Mystical Poet* (Ulaanbaatar: Maitri Books, 2006), 104.

¹⁶ Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 30. For the analysis of this painting, see Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, chap. 1.

Buddhist temples or monasteries, their *shabi* donation and their intention to receive religious merit and blessing were similar to Mongol Buddhist believers. Manchu princesses and her *ingjis* in Mongolia were more likely to be Tibetan Buddhists. Therefore, the sponsorship of Buddhist temple construction and worship ceremony also created a sphere of *communitas* for Mongols and Manchu settlers. It can be argued that this was a sphere of (partially) common interaction that would relativize ethno-legal-service boundaries. And that also explains nicely why the Buddhist institution was the gateway between the different statuses and identities in Qing Mongolia: because Buddhism provided a spiritual bond and socio-cultural lingua franca for Sino-Mongol and Manchu-Mongol interaction in everyday life.

In Chinese and Inner Asian history, Buddhism had been patronized by the emperors and seen as an institution of facilitating integration for the empire. “Buddhism, more than any other cult, brought the empire, the aristocracy, and the common people into contact,” Jacques Gernet comments on Buddhism in medieval China.¹⁷ In the Buddhist idea of Tibetan tradition, politics and religion are not meant to be two isolated fields and have tangled connections embodied in the Tibetan phrase *chos srid zung ’brel*.¹⁸ The Tibetan and Tangut empires both made Buddhism the state religion because Buddhism was an international religion and a cultural language for all its subjects.¹⁹ The ’Phags-pa Lama of the Sa-skya order was appointed as State Preceptor under Qubilai Khan of the Mongol empire.²⁰ The Manchu Qing Empire did share the interest in

¹⁷ Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, 235.

¹⁸ Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 18–19.

¹⁹ Sam van Schaik, *Tibet: A History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 30–31. Shi Jinbo 史金波, *Xixia Fojiao shi lue* 西夏佛教史略 (Taipei: The Commercial Press, 1993), 20–23.

²⁰ Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 143.

Buddhism for legitimation and social integration with the Tang, Tibetan, Tangut and Mongol empires.

Chinese Migration and Identity in Early Modern and Modern Inner and Southeast Asia

This project also can be part of the bigger issue of history of Chinese migration and Chinese identity in the early modern and modern Eurasian context. Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia is a very interesting comparable case to this project. I would argue that crossing the “Great Wall” (*guanwai* 關外) was sociologically comparable to going overseas (*haiwai* 海外). What happened to Han Chinese settlers beyond Qing internal and external boundaries did not make much difference. Qing’s internal boundaries were in many ways comparable to those between one country and another, and/or Inner Asia was not all that different in the relevant sociological features from Southeast Asia, i.e. nomadism does not make Inner Asia very distinctive. Therefore, my research is in dialogue with Southeast Asian studies of “overseas Chinese” and how they eventually acquire or do not acquire identifications with their new residences.

As far as we have seen, whether in Mongolia or Southeast Asia, Han Chinese settlers were mostly men, Buddhists and/or Daoists, married local non-Chinese wives, and still kept their primary professions, i.e. farming, handicraft, and business, although they did own herds through examining their inventory of donations.²¹ As Wang Gungwu had argued, Chinese sojourning in Southeast Asia could be found in three forms or stages: 1) when the sojourners were all male; 2) when the men who had local wives produced hybrid offspring and formed new

²¹ Wang Gungwu 王廣武, *The Chinese Overseas: From Earthbound China to the Quest for Autonomy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 4–5, 35, 47, 57.

communities; 3) when new male migrants arrived and intermarried with those mixed-blooded women.²² Han Chinese settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia also had the same development. Under Manchu rule, females were not allowed to leave China proper and this ban made the male migrants or sojourners leave to go overseas or beyond the pass without bringing their family.

It seems that, in Qing Outer Mongolia, mongolized Han Chinese settlers and their descendants had not formed a third category in Qing Mongolian society. There was no evidence to show that the Mongol-Chinese hybrids (*erlije*) developed their own distinct culture and identity. They were all seen as Mongols by their Han Chinese fathers and local Mongol society. The case of Manchu-Mongol hybrid *ingjis* was more complicated. Some of them, such as the in Manzu Tun, did regain Manchu identity in modern China. But they had not developed a separate intermediate society among Mongols during the Qing era either. In some Southeast Asian countries, such as the Philippines and Thailand, there was quite a bit of assimilation of Chinese immigrants going on, while in others, like Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia, less so. In Southeast Asian countries, the extent and level of assimilation of Han Chinese settlers in the Philippines and Thailand, as a minority into the local ethnic majority such as Filipino and Thai, has been believed to be higher than those in Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia.²³ But the factor of the religion of Overseas Chinese in the process of adaptation and assimilation is salient. It has been argued that Buddhism in Thailand played an important role for integration of Han Chinese settlers into the local majority. In his article on the comparison of the cultural change and persistence of overseas Chinese in Java and Thailand from the 17th to 19th century, G. William Skinner indicated that the third generation of overseas Chinese in Thailand adopted Thai names,

²² Wang, *The Chinese Overseas*, 56–57.

²³ For the different levels of cultural adaptation of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, see Cao Yunhua 曹雲華, *Bianyi yu baochi: Dongnanya huaren de wenhua shiyong* 變異與保持：東南亞華人的文化適應 (Taipei: Wu-nan Book Inc., 2010).

customs, and values and were virtually assimilated into local Thai society, but those in Java still had their Chinese names and identified themselves as Chinese, and they kept their distance from local Indonesian society even after having inhabited the land for several generations. Skinner argues that this difference was based on historical factors. He focuses on the difference of political structures and legal and administrative restrictions in Thailand and Java. In the colonial society of Java, Chinese migrants were subject to residential ghettos and legal distinctions followed ethnic lines. Most of the Chinese were used by Dutch colonizers as intermediaries to deal with the trade with local Javanese and thus they usually enjoyed a higher status and richer economic base. Therefore, ethnic Chinese in Java were less motivated to be assimilated into Javanese society since that meant becoming people who were lower in social status and poorer in economy. The ethnic Chinese who were acculturated were moved into the category of Peranakan (the local-born) in Java and they had a synthesis of Chinese and Indonesian cultures.²⁴

Unlike Peranakan in Java, the local-born hybrids of Chinese in Thailand had much lower barriers of assimilation and were given wider freedom to identify themselves as Thai or Chinese, based on the jurisdictional system they chose. In Skinner's analysis, intermarriage with local Thai women made Chinese male immigrants' descendants assimilate more easily with no presence of mass Chinese education and nationalism like those in Java. The ethnic composition of the residential area also mattered. A Chinese family in a far-flung Thai community would be assimilated into the Thai society faster than one in the center of the Chinese quarter in Bangkok.

Skinner also stresses that religion made a difference in the assimilation process of ethnic Chinese in Thailand. Most Han Chinese immigrants believed in Chinese popular religion, which blended Confucianism, Daoism, and Mahayana Buddhism, which was similar to Theravada

²⁴ For the details of the historical background of Chinese migration in pre-modern Southeast Asia, see Philip A. Kuhn, *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), chap. 2.

Buddhism, followed by the people of Thailand. Many descendants of Han Chinese settlers in Thailand would go to Thai Buddhist temples and conduct their funerals in the Thai Buddhist way. But this kind of religious adaptation rarely happened among Han Chinese immigrant communities in Java, even the Indonesian government had promoted Islamic belief among Han Chinese groups.²⁵ In the Catholic Philippines, this situation was different. More than 70 percent of Chinese immigrants and their descendants identified themselves as Christians, mostly Catholics, and only less than 10 percent of them as Buddhists. During the era of Spanish colonial rule (1571–1898), due to the colonial rulers' distrust of the fast-growing Chinese population of settlers and merchants, non-Christian Chinese were subject to residential restriction, deportation, or even masscre by the Spaniards.²⁶ Therefore, conversion to Catholicism would bring trust and connection with the Spaniard colonizers and local Filipinos. However, Christian Chinese Filipinos were still very flexible toward their religious belief. As some modern surveys show, one can generally attend Christian church and still be a devotee of Buddhism.²⁷ Therefore, to them, religious conversion had pragmatic virtue, like Buddhism to the Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia.

This similarity of the outcome of ethnic Chinese assimilation in early modern Mongolia and Thailand also lends us a possible way to compare different early modern colonial regimes.

²⁵ G. William Skinner, "Change and Persistence in Chinese Culture Overseas: A Comparison of Thailand and Java," *Journal of the South Seas Society* 16 (1960): 86–100. Skinner later admitted that the case of Vietnam would diminish the validity of his argument since the indigenous religion was at large derived from China, but the offspring of Chinese immigrants took much more time to be assimilated into Vietnam society than those in other Buddhist countries in Southeast Asia. Philip A. Kuhn argues that Chinese immigrants in Vietnam managed to maintain their Chinese identity through finding brides from China or Sino-Vietnamese hybrid daughters for their first sons. That helped them and their descendants preserve their Chinese identity. See G. William Skinner, "Creolized Chinese Societies in Southeast Asia," in *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, ed. Anthony Reid (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 73 and Kuhn, *Chinese among Others*, 81.

²⁶ Richard T. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity, and Culture, 1860s–1930s* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 55–56.

²⁷ Aristotle Dy, "Chinese Buddhism and Ethnic Identity in Catholic Philippines," *Contemporary Buddhism* 13, no. 2 (Nov., 2012): 241–262.

As we have seen, the Han Chinese and Manchu immigrants' societies in Mongolia would bear some resemblance to that in Thailand. In the early modern Thai and Mongolian societies, native leaders controlled political power, unlike Java under Dutch colonial rule; legal and administrative barriers of assimilation were low and could be evaded; intermarriage and religion (i.e. Buddhism) were channels to facilitate deeper connections between indigenes and immigrants. Given our conclusion that Mongol secular and clerical elites and leaders might have autonomy and power to some extent, which might just be a bit less than the Thai elites, the so-called Manchu colonial rule over Mongolia might be seen as less extensive and centralized than the Dutch colonial rule over Java, and hence more comparable to the Thai case.

This study has shown that linguistic assimilation happened to the Mongolized Han Chinese settlers and their descendants. However it might not be considered to be an important indicator of identity change. For the aforementioned Han Chinese settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia, it was very possible that most of them had learned to speak Mongolian, and probably write it too. But this would be a practical strategy of adaptation for them in Mongolian society. Modern ethnographic studies of Inner Mongolia also show that early on Han Chinese migrants learned Mongolian, but later on they never did. In Ma Rong 馬戎's fieldwork in Ongni'ud banner of the late 1980s, the earliest Han Chinese immigrants, usually over 70 years of age, were able to speak Mongolian fluently. Nevertheless, the middle-aged Han Chinese residents were able to speak some Mongolian. Youngsters rarely had a command of spoken Mongolian.²⁸ Ma's fellow researcher Bao Zhiming 包智明 argues that the first generation of Han Chinese settlers

²⁸ Ma Rong 馬戎, "Migrant and Ethnic Integration in the Process of Socio-economic Change in Inner Mongolia: A Village Study," in *Ethnic Relations in China* (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 2008), 464, 479–480. This article mentions the case of Miao Sheng, a 75-years-old Han Chinese farmer. His parents moved to Sanyefu 三爺府 village in 1928 when he was 14. They were the first group of Han Chinese settlers in this village. All residents were Mongol herders and Miao Sheng's parents brought farming to this village. He spoke Mongolian fluently.

spoke fluent Mongolian on the grounds of daily communication with local Mongols. But from 1947 to 1989, when the village was under communist control, the number of Han Chinese settlers had increased eighteen times and constituted three fourth of the total villagers. Therefore new Han Chinese settlers did not have to learn Mongolian and still could maintain good communication with neighbors. In local schools, schoolchildren were taught in Chinese. Therefore, using Mongolian gradually lost its practicality.²⁹

In contemporary Kōkenuur (Ch. Qinghai 青海), a contact zone of Han Chinese, Tibetans and Chinese Muslims (also known as the Hui people), local Han Chinese used Buddhism as a tie to collaborate with Tibetans and to alienate local Chinese Muslims. But Sino-Tibetan intermarriage was limited due to different levels of education, professions, and customs.³⁰ To the Han Chinese, intermarriage was not considered an efficient way to form connection with Amdo Tibetans, but Buddhism drew both closer. In our cases, Han Chinese settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia might take intermarriage as a means to build a tie with local Mongols and secure their family and property through the Great Shabi. In Qing Mongolia, Sino-Mongol and Manchu-Mongol relations and intermarriage were not limited because of level of education, profession, and customs. Han Chinese settlers violated Qing rules to marry Mongol women and were willing to offer their family members and property to the Great Shabi, a Tibetan Buddhist institution.

²⁹ Bao Zhiming 包智明, “Biandong zhong de Mengmin shenghuo: Sanyefu cun shidi diaocha 變動中的蒙民生活：三爺府村實地調查,” *Shehuixue yanjiu* 社會學研究 1 (1991): 52–57.

³⁰ Chris Vasantkumar, “Han at *Minzu*’s Edges: What Critical Han Studies Can Learn from China’s ‘Little Tibet,’” in *Critical Han Studies: The History, Representation, and Identity of China’s Majority*, eds. Thomas Mullaney et al. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012), 234–256.

Ethnicity, State, and Empire in Pre-modern and Modern China

Finally, this dissertation has offered an extensive discussion on ethnicity, state and empire in a comparative perspective, focusing on how state categorization matters in shaping ethnicity in early modern China. Qing historians have been debating the issue of ethnicity in early modern China for two decades: Is ethnicity a modern creation or pre-modern phenomenon? For the first group of the theorists, who worked on formation of Manchu identity in the Qing Empire, Pamela Kyle Crossley suggests that cultural and hierarchical ideas of civilization and space gradually yielded to emerging racial theories of identity at the end of the Qing.³¹ She argues that Manchu did not become an ethnic group until its members were allowed to choose their own identity and were gradually marginalized in the wave of capitalism and nationalism in the late Qing period.³² She coined a term “constituency” to call the pre-modern categorization of peoples, such as Manchu, Mongol, Han Chinese, Tibetan and Turki.³³ They were categorized and divided according to Qing imperial ideology. For the other group of theorists, like Mark C. Elliott, the idea of ethnicity should be historicized to testify its validity as an analytical idea; institutions are taken as one of the chief ways to form ethnicity in pre-modern society. Elliott argues that the role of the Eight Banners system was essential in the making of Manchu ethnicity.³⁴ However, to me, the point is not only to debate which factor was more influential in the process of ethnicity-making, but to find out how the subject people, whose identity categories were imposed by imperial ideology and institutions, managed to manipulate and break those restrictions and how far they could reach. For the illegal Han Chinese settlers in Outer Mongolia,

³¹ Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*, 271.

³² Pamela Kyle Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 222–223.

³³ Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*, 3, 6.

³⁴ Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 354.

they violated the Qing law, learned Mongolian and had Mongolian names, married Mongol women, raised their children, and made a living there. Even though they kept good relations with local Mongols without making trouble, they were still not always allowed to stay in Mongolia because of their status as commoners. In the design of Qing ethnic policy, illegal Han Chinese settlers in Mongolia were like walking bombs and might cause Mongol-Han disputes at anytime. The Han Chinese settlers could escape Qing surveillance through bribes or other means, but they were still not able to change their descendants' identities and make them legally stay in Mongolia. Therefore they offered their family members to Jibzundamba Khutugtu and became members of his Great Shabi to acquire Mongolian legal status first and then Mongolian ethnic identity. This dissertation has shown that ethnicity was a religious and livelihood decision for the Han Chinese settlers, state service for the Manchu settlers, but was also conditioned by the Mongolian social institution and local authority, and the legal regulations of the Qing state. Therefore we can say that ethnicity in late imperial China should be considered as a restless negotiation between individuals, local authorities and institutions, and the state.

Today, ethnicity is seen as something “from below,” but the Qing thinking on ethnicity was “top-down” and connected to environment and state service.³⁵ Qing borderland formation was structured by the human-environment relationship: Manchus as game hunters in the forest of Manchuria, Mongols as livestock herders in the steppe of Mongolia, indigenous peoples whose

³⁵ In his discussion on the nature of the categories, such as rusticated bannermen (Ch. *xia tun qiren* 下屯旗人), serfs (Ch. *zhuangding* 莊丁), and commoners (Ch. *minren* 民人) in Qing Manchuria, Christopher M. Isett argues that the elements of communities were “not linked on the basis of a priori or shared ‘ethnicity,’ so much as on the grounds of juridical categories that served state power interests.” These kinds of administrative and juridical categories might differentiate from the ethnic categories. For example, compared to *nikan*, which referred to all people living in the Han Chinese style, *minren* would make a distinction to Han Chinese serfs within the banner system. But the imperial discourse on these categories remained volatile. The Kangxi emperor took the bannermen and commoners in a more administrative sense. However, later the Qianlong and Jiaqing emperors used those terms in a more ethnicized sense and stressed their genealogical and cultural origins. See Christopher M. Isett, *State, Peasant, and Merchant in Qing Manchuria, 1644–1862* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 43–56.

agency was protected by parasites and malaria, and Han Chinese as crop cultivators in the plains of China proper. The administrative systems of those peoples were formulated based on this relationship, such as the banner system for Manchus, the *jasag* system for Mongols, the naïve chieftain system for southwestern non-Han peoples, and the county (Ch. *junxian* 郡縣) system for Han Chinese.³⁶ Besides the various ecological and administrative systems, Han Chinese and Mongols were different because they served the Qing emperor in different ways. Mongols served as bannermen—an identity different from, but also similar to, the eight banners. Han served as commoners, taxpayers and officials. *Khamjilga* and bondservants served by supplying goods for powerful authorities, as did the *shabi*. But it was particular banner and irgen service that was connected in Qing discourse with ideas of ethnicity—which meant that members of the *shabi*, like *khamjilga*, bondservants, and slaves, did not really have as much “ethnicity” in Chinese idea. In other words, the ethnic stereotypes of the Mongols as a “martial race,”³⁷ an honest and loyal people, living from the herds, etc., that needed to be preserved was applicable in full only to the banner *albatu*. Buddhist subjects were less directly subject to this because they did not serve the Qing militarily anyway; hence it was easier to integrate Han Chinese into them.

It is meaningful to make a historical comparison between the state-prescribed status of Qing China and the state-designated nationality or ethnicity (Ch. *minzu* 民族) of modern communist China. Through examining formation of the Zhuang 壯 people in present-day Guangxi and Yunnan, Katherine Palmer Kaup points out that the essence of the minority policy in China was more a process from the top down, rather than a response to a bottom-up petition

³⁶ Bello, *Across Forest, Steppe, and Mountain*, 2–3.

³⁷ In Great Britain, the martial races include the Highlanders, Gurkhas and Sikhs, who are famous for their bravery and military skills. They were viewed as peoples who were naturally ‘martial’ in the British military and popular images. For a historical development of this racial ideology, see Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857–1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004).

by those who shared a common Zhuang identity. There were no people who called themselves “Zhuang” prior to the ethnic identification (or nationality/ethnic classification) in the 1950s, only dozens of groupings based on locality and genealogy. The communist state utilized this special policy of ethnic identification to incorporate the isolated minority groups into the new Chinese regime.³⁸ Stevan Harrell shows the great internal diversity of the Yi 彝 people in linguistic and cultural features. The different groupings were only related to each other through historical interaction.³⁹ They all stress on theoretical division between state-conferred nationality (*minzu*) and self-perceived ethnicity.

I argue that Qing legally-prescribed categorization of status, such as bannerman and commoner, should be seen as a parallel of the ethnic or *minzu* identity of modern China. As Stevan Harrell argues, the peoples of Southwest China lived their lives as members of local communities and it was not necessary for entering a new legal status to erase other attributes of ethnicity, such as language and religion, but they simply added another layer on their original ethnic identity in different senses.⁴⁰ Change of identity is not just about individual-centered “manipulation” of “changeable identities” but negotiating with state-defined legal categories. Nevertheless, the Qing civilizing project that happened in Southwest China did not happen in Inner Asian frontiers until the last decade of the Qing Empire. Similar to the Qing identification of the Mongols and the Manchus, the building of the Zhuang people shows that ethnic

³⁸ Katherine Palmer Kaup, *Creating the Zhuang: Ethnic Politics in China* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000). The case of the Hui 回 people, discussed by Dru C. Gladney, is similar to the Zhuang. See Dru C. Gladney, *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1991), *Ethnic Identity in China: The Making of a Muslim Minority Nationality* (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998), and *Dislocating China: Reflections on Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

³⁹ For the historical interaction or “kinship” of different local groupings of the Yi, see Stevan Harrell, “The History of the History of the Yi,” in *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, ed. Stevan Harrell (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 63–91; Stevan Harrell, ed., *Perspectives on the Yi of Southwest China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001).

⁴⁰ See Stevan Harrell, *Ways of Being Ethnic in Southwest China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002).

identification is a way to mobilize those who are out of the Chinese state's reach.⁴¹ Political factors come into play in the process of ethnic identification. Scholars had viewed assimilation as a way to reduce cultural distance between contending groups, rather than as the erasing of one's ethnic identity.⁴²

Modern communist China as a multinational state modeled itself on the Soviet Union.⁴³ The similarity of both regimes should not be underrated. In his survey on the nations and nationalism in the Soviet Union, Terry Martin argues that the Soviet Union was an "Affirmative Action Empire" and managed to maintain territorial integrity despite the centrifugal influence of decolonization on non-Russian peoples. At the end, he concludes, "The Soviet Union is not a nation-state."⁴⁴ Post-imperial China also faced a similar struggle and the Chinese communists took a similar solution to their Russian comrades by recognizing the status of ethnic minorities, and ultimately succeeded in keeping most of the Chinese Inner Asian frontiers under control. In his analysis, Stevan Harrell points out that China has never become a nation-state like France or Japan.⁴⁵ I agree with his observation; modern China is still vastly influenced by the Qing imperial legacy. Chinese people have still been subject to difference and identification initiated by the state and treated differently according to their identity and locality. Today, issues of ethnic minorities, migration, and frontiers are still important challenges to Chinese leaders and the state.

⁴¹ Kaup, *Creating the Zhuang*, 20, 53.

⁴² Michael Banton, "The Direction and Speed of Ethnic Change," in *Ethnic Change*, ed. Charles F. Keyes (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), 50.

⁴³ Zhou Minglang 周明朗, "The Fate of the Soviet Model of Multinational State-Building in the People's Republic of China," in *China Learns from the Soviet Union, 1949-Present*, ed. Thomas P. Bernstein and Li Hua-yu 李華鈺 (Lanham and Boulder: Lexington Books, 2010), 477–478. Nevertheless, we should notice that Chinese communists did not copy the soviet model of ethnic identification and multinational state-building. For the differences between the Chinese ethnic identification and policies and Soviet model, see Thomas S. Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011).

⁴⁴ Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 461.

⁴⁵ Harrell, *Ways of Being Ethnic in Southwest China*, 326.

Qing history is a useful key to understand modern Chinese history and students of modern Chinese ethnicity and state can still be inspired by Qing history. This study is a first step to understanding Han and non-Han Chinese migration and their nativization in the Mongolian frontiers under Qing rule. The lives and adaptation of their nativized Han Chinese descendants in modern Mongolia and Inner Mongolia will be another project in the future.

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Abbreviations

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- FHAC-JMLZ: *Junjichu Manwen lufu zouzhe*, First Historical Archives of China, Beijing
FHAC-QCHZ: *Qianlong chao Hanwen zouzhe*, First Historical Archives of China, Beijing
FHAC-JQHZ: *Jiaqing chao Hanwen zouzhe*, First Historical Archives of China, Beijing
IHP-NDD: *Neige daku dang'an*, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan
MTAC-MGDZD: *Menggu guojia dang'anju Zhongwen dang'an*, Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, Taipei, Taiwan
NCAM-AOES: Archive for the Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba, The National Central Archives of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia
NPM-QCZ: *Gongzhongdang Qianlong chao zouzhe*, National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan

Reign:

- AF: Abkai Fulingga (Ch. Tianming 天命)
DG: Daoguang 道光
HC: Hyochong 孝宗
JQ: Jiaqing 嘉慶
QL: Qianlong 乾隆

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Appendix I

Transcription and Translation of the Cited Archival Document (from NCAM and MTAC)

The National Central Archives of Mongolia (NCAM)

1. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 58a

*Tngri-yin Tedkügsen-ü yučin qoyaduḡar on ebülün dumdadu sarayin 16-du .
irgen Ĵan Kiiün Šung kemekü Looči
degereki-yin gegegen-e ergükü-yin ućir . öćüken kümün bi
Tngri-yin Tedkügsen arban qoyaduḡar on qaburun dumdadu
sarayin arban tabun-du . šabınar-un Dondub qubilıyan-aća
dörben nasutai Dariĵab neretü köbegün-i tabun toloyai
böś-iyer qudaldıĵu abuḡsan bile . ene köbegün-diir-iyen
em-e . ger abću öġbe öćüken kümün bi . sanabasu
ene köbegün-iyen
degereki-yin šabi bolıyay-a geĵü bile edüge ene Dariĵab-yi
em-e . ger . qoyar üker yučin qoni imay-a-tai .
Deger-e ergübe . eyimü-yin-tula yuyuruqu anu .
Šangĵodba-tan-u erkim yaĵar-aća ene Dariĵab-yi
šabi-yin yeke dangsan-dur ayulaqu aĵiyamu .
ene daruy-a Dećin-yin otoytu*

QL32, XI, 16 [January 5, 1768]. A commoner Zhang Chunshun [in transliteration], [Mongolian name] Loochi reports making a donation to His Holiness [i.e. the Jibzundamba Khutugtu]. On QL12, II, 15 [March 25, 1747], my insignificant self bought a four-year-old son called Darijab from the incarnate lama Dondub of the Great Shabi with five bolts of cotton. I had this son get married and bought him tents. My insignificant self would like to make this son a disciple of Your Holiness. Now I have offered you this Darijab, his wife, two oxen, and 30 sheep and goats. On requesting this, I beg the Shangdzodba's honorable office to place this Darijab in the grand register of the Shabi. This is to *daruga* Dechin's *otog*.

2. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 64b¹

*Tngri-yin Tedkügsen-ü tabın qoyaduḡar on namurun sigül sarayin edür ügei . Püngyoopu .
Püngyoši ĵingsi yaĵar-un dotor nere Wangĵingwui . minu nasu yeke bolĵi, bi dotor yaĵar-a qariĵu*

¹ This document is a transcript of MTAC-MGDZD, no. 009-007, pp. 0040–0043.

čadaqu ügei . minu kübegün dörbe . yeke küü Dalai . qoyadıyar küü Gombo . yurba-duyar küü Darma . dörbedüger küü Bar Dalai . mön terigün küü Čerin . 2-duyar küü Dondob . 3-duyar küü Sambuu . 4-düger küü Abada . eden ni-yi adayı üker tabi . qoni yamay-a tabi-yi Gegen-e šabi bolyaju ergübe . yerü eden ni-yi dotur kümün üge yaryaju qaisi kereg üge čuugiqu metü bolbasu . Wangjīnwui bi dayay-a .

QL52, IX [October 11–November 9, 1787]. I, Chinese name Wang Zhengwei, originated from Fenyang county of Fenzhou prefecture [in Shanxi province]. I am not able to return to the Heartland [China proper] due to old age. I have four sons: the eldest one Dalai, the second one Gombo, the third one Darma, and the fourth one Bar Dalai who has four sons: the eldest one Tseren, the second one Dondub, the third one Sambuu, and the fourth one Abada. Together with 50 horses and oxen, and 50 sheep and camels, I will present them to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu as disciples.

Moreover, later on, if anyone from the Heartland comes to argue [over the people and property], I Wang Zhengwei will follow.

3. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 65b

*tabin yurban on ĵun-u dumdadu sarayin qorin [n]igen-dü
mayimai-yin irgen Toryan Dalai kemegči Čorĵi-yin šabi-yin
Ayar-a Čoytu-ača 13 nasun deger-e-yi abuysan Bayan kemegči
34 nasutai küü-ben . mön gedürgü šabi-dur bučayaju
bariba kemegsen-ü temdeg .*

QL53, V, 21 [June 24, 1788].

A document stating that the merchant-commoner named Torgan Dalai has returned to the Shabi his boy named Bayan, who was acquired when 13 years of age from Ayara Tsogtu, the disciple of Tsorĵi, and who is now 34 years old.

4. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 70a–70b

*Tabin naimadıyar on 5 sarayin 11-dü
Šabi bolyaqu bičig kigsen kümün-ü dotor [sic, for dotor-a] ner-e
Ĵu Mingji . Mongyol ner-e anu Bayar . nasu ĵaran qoyar .
uy yaĵar Sangsi Nang Üfü-yin kümün . bi edüge
mayimai deger-e sayuju bain-a . minu küü qorin yurban
nasutai . ner-e anu Čedengĵab . egüni bi öberün
sanay-a-bar
Šangĵodba noyan-tan-a ailadqaju šabi bolyaqu-yin
tulada . egüni qoyin-a minu töröl törögsen-ü
yaĵarača kümün ireĵü . man-u töröl-yin kümün
kemen buliyalduqu mayad ügei tula . temdeg*

bolyaju bičig ergübe .
Egüni mal tabun üniy-e .

QL58, V, 11 [June 18, 1793].

The person who drew up this document, on joining the Shabi, is called Zhu Mingzi in the Heartland, with the Mongolian name of Bayar. I am sixty-two years old. My native place is Ningwu prefecture, Shanxi province. I am currently living by trading. My son is twenty-three years old. His name is Tsedenjab. I willingly present him to you, Lord, or the Shangdzodba as a disciple. Hereafter, since there might be people coming from my native place to dispute my livestock and claiming to be my kinsmen, the written document was presented here. The [presented] animals are five cows.

5. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 71a.

tabin naiman on yisiün sar-a-yin qorin tabun-du .
ene bičig kigsen kümün dotor-a ner-e Libaji
Tngri-yin Tedkügsen-ü naiman on-du . Erdeni
Ĵuu-yin yaĵar-a mayimai kijü yabuĵad . Ringsa-u
keüken Bombuu-yi arban naiman nasutai-du gergei
bolyan abuba . ene darqan güng-i [-ün] qosiyun-u
kümün. egünče qoyar köbegün yarbai . yeke küü
qorin dörben nasutai . ner-e Luusang . baĵ-a
küü arban nasutai . ner-e Gomboĵab . minu nasu
ebügen bolba . qoyin-a darqan güng-i-eče nekekü
mayad ügei tula . ene qoyar küü-yi arban
boda-tai Čorĵi blam-a-du bariĵu . šabi bolyaba .
qoyin-a ene kereg mayad ügei . ene bičig-i
yarĵaju üĵebesü bolon-a . ene bičig-i Libaji
beyeber kiküi-dür Liluyun dergede baiba .

QL58, IX, 25 [October 29, 1793]. The author of this document, called Li Baji in the Heartland, after coming to Erdeni Zuu and doing business in the eighth year of Qianlong [1743] married Ringsa's daughter Bombuu who was eighteen. She was a person of Darkhan Güng banner. From this person two sons were born. The elder one is twenty-four years old and his name is Luusang. The younger one is ten years old and his name is Gomboĵab. I have become old. Since I might die in Darkhan Güng [banner] later, I presented the two sons with ten *bod* of cattle to Tsorĵi lama as disciples. Later this business might be uncertain. This document may be produced for examination. This document was written by Li Baji in person and by my side was Li Luyun.

6. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 72b

Tngri-yin Tedkügsen-ü tabin isiündüger [sic, for yisüdüger]-yin on ĵula sarayin arban-du
ene bičig kigsen kümün Ibeng-iin yaĵar-un daruy-a-nar

Wangĵungyin . Ličija Majayung . ene ħurban kümün
 noyan-tan-du söġüdba . Wangĵungyin Mongġol ħaġar-a
 olan ĵil bolba . Mongġol ner-e Wangčġin qoyar küü-tei
 nige küü-yin ner-e Mōngke . nige küü-yin ner-e
 Ġomboġab . ene qoyar küü-ni eke-tei ni šabi
 bolġaba . mal inu . yeke baġ-a ūker isü [sic, for yisü] . qoni
 arban ħurba . ede daruġ-a Urġin-yin ħaġar-a
 saġuġi [sic, for saġuġu] bayin-a . ene bičġig Wangĵungyin kibe .

QL59, X, 10 [November 2, 1794]. The people who drew up this document are Wang Zhongyin, Li Zhizi, Ma Ziyong, under the daruga of Ibeng. These three men prostrated to you, Lord. Wang Zhongyin has been in Mongolia for many years. His Mongolian name is Wangchin. He has two sons. One is called Mōngke and the other Gomboġab. Both sons were made disciples with their mother. As for livestock, nine large and small oxen and 13 sheep are presented together. All of those stayed in *daruga* Urġin's place. This document is made by Wang Zhongyin.

7. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 72b

Tngri-yin Tedkügsen-ü tabin isüdüger [sic, for yisüdüger] on ebülün terigün sarayin 10-du
 ene bičġig kigsen kümün Ibeng-ün ħaġar-un Maġayung [sic, for Majayung] . Ličija .
 Wangĵungyin . ene ħurban kümün .
 Šangġodba noyan-tan-du ayiladqaqu . Majayung . Mongġol
 ner-e Sengge bi ene ħaġar olan ĵil saġuba . qoyar
 küü-tei . nige küü-ni ner-e Čimed . nige küü-ni ner-e
 Čewangdorġi . ene qoyar küü . eke-tei-yi
 šabi bolġaġu . mal yeke baġ-a ūker naima . mori nige .
 qoni yamaġ-a ġučin nige . daruġ-a Urġin otoġ-tu bayin-a .
 ene bičġig kigsen kümün Majayung kibe .

QL59, X, 10 [November 2, 1794]. The people who drew up this document are Ma Ziyong, Li Zhizi, and Wang Zhongyin in Ibeng. These three persons report to you, Lord Shangdzodba. I, Ma Ziyong, whose Mongolian name is Sengge, have lived in this place for many years. I have two sons. One is called Chimed, and the other is called Tsewangdorġi. The two sons, together with their mother, are to be made disciples. As for big and small livestock, eight oxen, one horse, and 31 sheep and goats are also presented to the Great Shabi. These people and animals are in *daruga* Urġin's *otog*. This document was made by Ma Ziyong.

8. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 73a

Tngri-yin Tedkügsen-ü tabin isüdüger [sic, for yisüdüger] on ĵula sarayin arban-du .
 ene bičġig kigsen kümün Ibeng-ün daruġ-a nar urida ergügsen öġgügsen
 kümün Wuġičilu . ene Mongġol ner-e Batu . qoyar küü-tei nige
 küü-ni ner-e Ĵġnggir . nige küü-ni ner-e Ĵigir . ene qoyar küü-yi

*šabi bolyaqu . yeke bay-a mal üker arban jiryuy-a . mori
dörbe . daruy-a Urjin-yin otoy sayuži [sic, for sayužu] bayin-a .
Šangjodba noyan-tan-u ayiladqaqu . eden-yi medekü
kümün Majayung . Ličija . Wangjungyin bui .*

QL59, X, 10 [November 2, 1794]. The person who drew up this document and gave to the *darugas* of Ibeng before is Wei Chilou. My Mongolian name is Batu. I have two sons. One is called Jinggir and the other is called Jigir. The two sons are to be made disciples. Together with large and small livestock, 16 oxen and four horses are presented to the Great Shabi. They stay in *daruga* Urjin's *otog*. Ma Ziyong, Li Zhizi, Wang Zhongyin report this to inform you, Lord Shangdzodba.

9. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 74a

*ene on ba sar-a ediür ügei .
egüni mongyolčilbasu Sangsi Ta Yang Pū . Ĵu Či Siu .
tere yaĵar-un kümün . dotor [sic, for dotor-a] ner-e Qa Bi Yung .
Mongyol ner-e Nomtu . Adq-a neretei yaĵar mayimai kijü yabuba .
qorin nasutai eme abuba . dörben keüked-i yarba .
Nomtu öber-iyen kelebe . eme keüked-i Sangsi
yaĵar abačiqu ügei . toyin Sodba . eme-yin degüü .
Samdan lama qoyar-tu dörben keüked-tei eme-yi
tusiyaĵu ögbe . boda arbayad ilegüü . qoni qoyiči
namurun dumdadu saradu Ĵa Bi Yung . Nomtu . toyin Sodba .
Samdan lama . qoyar-tu šabi bolyaqu kijü tusiya .*

N.D.

Translating this into Mongolian, a person named Ha Biyong in the Heartland, from Yuci 榆次 county of Taiyuan prefecture, Shanxi province, with the Mongolian name Nomtu, went to a place called Adkha to do business there. When he was twenty years old, he took a woman and had four children. Nomtu said this himself. He does not bring his wife and children back to Shanxi. To Monk Sodba and Lama Samdan who is his wife's younger brother, he handed over his four children and his wife. In the following mid-autumn month [the eighth month], Zha [sic, for Ha] Biyong Nomtu handed over more than ten boda and sheep to Monk Sudba and Lama Samdan to make [his wife and children] disciples.

10. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 75a

*ene on ba . sar-a ediür ügei .
dotor-a ner-e Ma-a Yang bi . ene Dasidondub-i
qorin tabun on abuyad
gegegen-e šabi-du ergügsen učir . ene Dasidondub .
irgen Šingšingqu-du ĵiran tabun lang mönggü oru [sic, for öri]-tai*

*bile . ene jiran tabun lang mönggü-i Ma-a Yang bi
Šingšingqu-dur tölöjü ögbe . teyimü-yin tula
nadur ene Dasidondub-i tayiji Obi minu .
mönggün-ü orun [sic, for öri]-dur ögbe . ene učir-i medekü
kümin tusalayči Galdan . Čoytu Aqai tusalayči .
Güngga küngdii [sic, for kündii] . ene yurban kümin gereči bui .
tabin qoyar on jiryuyan sarayin sin-e [y]isiün-dü .
noyan Šangjodba-tan-a Ma-a Yang . bi bičig
ergübe .*

N.D.

I, named Ma Yang (in transliteration) in Chinese, report having bought this Dashidondub in the year [QL] 25 [1760] and donated him to His Holiness [the Jibzundamba Khutugtu]’s shabi. This Dashidondub owed a commoner Xing Xinghu a debt of 65 taels of silver. I paid Xing Xinghu this debt of 65 taels of silver. Therefore my Taiji Obi gave me this Dashidondub for the debt of silver. Those who are informed are Administrator Galdan, Administrator Tsogtu Akhai, and Lieutenant Güngga: three witnesses together. On QL52, VI, 9 [July 23, 1787], I, Ma Yang, presented this document to Lord Shangdzodba.²

11. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 75b

*ene on ba sar-a edür ügei.
deger-e šabi bolyaju ergükü erlije [sic, for erlije] anu irgen
Sangjin-in köbegen Čerengküü . Laičingküü
Gombojab naiman üker, doloγan qoni egün-i
ergübe. egün-i daruy-a Urjin-in otoy-tu
baylayulaba .*

N.D.

The *erlijes* offered up to become disciples are a commoner Sangjin’s sons: Tserenküü, Laichingküü and Gombojab. Eight oxen and seven sheep were (also) offered. They were all included in *daruga* Urjin’s *otog*.

12. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 76a–76b

*ene on edür ügei bui
Šangjodba noyan-a ergübe . mayimai irgen Qaisangdai
mörgüjü
gegen-e ergükü anu minu küü Sayindalai eke-tei ene Baryu
otoγ-un eme inu mayimai irgen-ü ökin-i abuγsan*

² At the beginning of this document, it was noted “no date.” However, we can find a date in the content. This would be a scribal error, but also indicates these documents are later imitated by Mongol scribes of the Office of the Shangdzodba.

*I ökin degüü-tei 4 ama . 10 qoni . 5 üker-tei bügüde-yi
gegen-e ergüjü ene nasu ba qoyitu-yin abural-dur baytay-a
kemekü-eče yadan-a aru Tuulabi-yin jerge yajar otoytai
učir-ıyan yaryaju
noyan-a ergübe .*

N.D.

Reported to Lord Shangdzodba. Merchant-commoner Khaisangdai kowtows and presents to your highness my son Saindalai with his mother. I married this woman of Bargu *otog* who is a merchant-commoner's daughter. Together with one younger sister: in total four people, ten sheep, and five oxen, all of those are offered to His Holiness to find salvation in this life and the next birth. Moreover, I notify you, Lord, that I am at the *otog* of northern Tuulabi and such places.

13. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 76b

*ene on edür ügei bui .
Šangjodba noyan-a ergübe . mayimai irgen Dasi mörgüjü
gegen-e ergükü anu . mini ači küü Yampil eme-tei 2 köbegün
3 ökin-tei . doloγan ama .17 adayu . 8 üker-i ene
10 boda-tai bügüde-yi
gegen-e ergüjü . ene nasu ba qoyitu töröl-dür-ıyen abural-dur
baytay-a kemekü-eče yadan-a . Usun Seger-ün jerge yajar nutuytai
minu ači Yampil-un eme Baryu otoy-un Gayai Čewang-u
keüken-i eme bolγaju abuγsan učir-ıyan yaryaju
noyan-a ergübe .*

N.D.

Reported to Lord Shangdzodba. Merchant-commoner Dashi kowtowed and presents to His Holiness [the Jibuzundamba Khutugtu] my grandson Yampil, Yampil's wife, two grandson's sons and three daughters: seven people in total, together with seventeen horses, eight oxen and this ten *boda* of cattle, shall all be offered to His Holiness to find salvation in this life and the next birth. And moreover I inform my Lord as for the wife of my grandson Yampil who lives in the same place adjacent to Usun Seger, he has taken the daughter of Gagai Tsewang of the Bargu *otog* as wife.

14. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 77b

*Sayisiyaltai Irügelü-yin terigün on doloγan sarayin qorin tabun-a .
Sangsipungjaopoo Püngyoši . doktor-a nere Wangjıjuu . Mongyol ner-e
Nasun . Mongyol küü 6 . yeke küü nere Gendün . uday-a küü nere
Jangčan . uday-a küü quwaray Dangjin . basa uday-a küü ner-e
Ulayanküü . basa uday-a küü ner-e Čečen basa 1 keüken-i nere*

*Noyangküü . adayu 11 . üker 50 . qoni yamay-a 50 . ene 6 küü
ene mal-tai-yi šabi bolyaba .*

JQ1, VII, 25 [August 27, 1796]. From Fenyang [汾陽] county of Fenzhou [汾州] prefecture, Shanxi [province], I, called Wang Zhizhao in the Heartland, Mongolian name Nasun, have six Mongolian sons. The eldest one is called Gendün. The second one is called Jangtsan. The third one is monk Dangzin. And another one is called Ulaanküü. And another one is called Tsetsen. And there is also a daughter named Noyangküü. I offer them as disciples with eleven horses, fifty oxen, and fifty sheep and camels.

15. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 79a–79b

*Sayisiyaltai Irügeltü-yin qoyaduyar on ilegüü arban sarayin sineyin yurban-a .
ene bičig kigsen kümün-ü Mongyol ner-e Luusang . dotor [sic, for dotor-a] ner-e Čing Banjang .
minu biy-e qoyitu jil dotor [sic, for dotor-a] qu qariqu tula .
eden-dü tüsikü kümün ügei-dür . minu köbegün Čedengdorji-yi nige keüken-tei . yeke bay-a üker
arba-tai-yi
gegegen-e šabi bolyan ergübe . eden-i qoyin-a
minu aq-a degüü geju kümün ireged buliyaldaqu metü
bolbasu . minu ene bičig gereči bolqu .*

JQ2, X*, 3 [1797³]. I, who drew up this document, have a Mongolian name Luusang and in the Heartland am called Chen Banzhang. On account of my returning to the Heartland in later years and as they have no one to rely on, I present my son Tsendendorji together with a daughter, ten large and small oxen as disciples of His Holiness [the Jibzundamba Khutugtu]. Hereafter if there are people who claim to be my elder or younger brothers that come to dispute this, this writing of mine will be testimony.

16. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 79b

*Sayisiyaltai Irügeltü-yin qoyaduyar on arban sarayin qorin isün-e .
irgen Bayangdai-yin dotor [sic, for dotor-a] ner-e Jang Lotai . egüni biy-e dotor [sic, for dotor-
a]
očiyad üküjügüü . tegüni küü Dalai edüge eke degüü nar-tai-ban
tüsikü yayuma ügei . Dalai-yin eme ba . eke . egeči degüü-tei
qamtu tabun ama kümün-i yurban üker . qoyar adayu . qoni
yamay-a arban tabu-tai-yi
gegegen-e šabi bolyan ergübe . eden-i qoyin-a buliyaldaqu kümün ügei
Bayangdai-yin degüü bi Sangsi Füngjo Pu-yin kümün dotor [sic, for dotor-a]
ner-e Jang Loy-a Mongyol ner-e Qaisangdai bičig -iyer batulaba .*

³ There is no intercalary 10th month in JQ2, but the intercalary 6th month.

JQ2, X, 29 [Dec 16, 1797]. A commoner Bayangdai, named Zhang Loutai in the Heartland died after going back to the Heartland. His son Dalai now together with his wife and Dalai's younger brothers had nothing to rely on. Together with Dalai's wife, mother, elder and younger sisters: five people in total, three ox, two horses and fifteen sheep and goats were offered as disciples of His Holiness [the Jibzundamba Khutugtu]. Hereafter, no one is allowed to seize them. I, Bayangdai's younger brother, originating from Fenzhou prefecture, Shanxi province, whose Mongolian name is Khaisangdai, witnessed this document strictly.

17. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 81b–82a.

Sayisiyaltai Irügelü-yin tabuduyar on qaburun segül sarayin qorin qoyar-a .

Amduu gelüng Gelegjamčan sögüddün

erdeni sečen Šangjodba noyan-tan-a ergübe . takil degeži-ben

boyda-dayan ergüjü šabi-dur baytaqui-yi küsen ayiladqaqu-yin učir .

öčüken bi Amduu yaǰar-un Mayidari keyid-ün šabi bile . mön

öber-ün quwaray degüü Lubsangdasi-luy-a qamtu keyid-eče

yarču oron kesejü [sic, for kesüjü] mörgüged . badar-a bariju . bay-a say-a

qudalduy-a mayimai kijü tariya tömüsü tataju Selengge-yin

Üker Čilayu neretü yaǰar sayuysayar arban naiman jil

bolba . ene jabsar-a Keüken qutuytu-yin šabi Čeden-ün

öbedčin-diür bariydaysan nigen keüken-yi nadur öggügsen-i

bi edegeged üniy-e-ben sayalyaju bayiysan . tegünče nigen

köbegün yaruysan bile . tere köbegün ene jil arban

nigen nasutai . egüni eke udayan boluyad edüge inayisi

čınayisi uy ečige eke-degen očiju ireji [sic, for irejü] yabuday . egünče

yadan-a . Čaqar naiman qosiyu-u Ubasi gegči kümün Kiyaytu-yin

yaǰar-a sayuysan-u nige keüken-i qudalduju abuysan . basa

jasay Čewangdorji-yin qosiyun-u Fawa gegči-yin naiman nasutai

yara ebedčin-tei keüked-i nada-dur öggügsen-i bi abču

edegeged eke ečige-diür anu nige üniye . dörben siudai

buday-a öggügsen . basa Baryu otoy-un Büren gegči kümün-ü

yurban nasutai keüken-i abču tejiğegsen-tei edüge bi

tabun qalayun ami nayayad boda . tabiyad qoni-tai

minu degüü Dasi ber šabi Damču tabunang-un

abai-yin ebeji⁴ keüken-i uy ečige eke-diür qoyar

boda . arban doloγan qoni ögčü abuyad . üniy-e-ben

sayalyaju bayiysan-ača edüge qoyar köbegün-~~ta~~i nige

keüken tabun qalayun ami . boda yüči [sic, for yuči] . edüge

bida aq-a degüü qoyar edeger kümün seltes-iyen

⁴ An unidentified word?

*boyda gegegen-degen ergüjü takil degeji-ben ergüjü altan
toyosun-u dотора ene nasu-ban tegüskey-e kemen
küseksen bile .
noyan asaraĵu nigülesün örüsüyerüjü [sic, for örüsüyеjü] aĵiyamu egün tula
sögüddiün ergübe .*

JQ5, III, 22 [April 15, 1800]. Amduu *gelüing* [full-fledged monk] Gelegjamtsan has presented [this document] kneeling to Lord Erdeni Setsen Shangdzodba, as I wished to report to make an offering to the Shabi of His Holiness. My insignificant self was a shabi of Maitreya [Mo. Mayidari] Monastery of Amdo [Mo. Amduu]. I left the monastery together with my own younger brother Monk Lubsangdashi, after roaming and prostrating in different places, took an alms bowl, and traded a little bit, drew field crops, and stayed in a place called Ükher Chuluu [i.e. ox stone] of Selengge for eighteen years. In this period of time, I was given the Khüükhen Khutugtu's shabi Tseden's daughter who was disabled by a disease and I healed her and had her milk my cow. Hence one son has been born. That son is eleven years old this year. After a long time his mother visited her original father and mother back and forth. Besides this, I bought a woman who lived in Kyakhta and her father was a person called Ubashi of Chakhar Eight Banners. And one called Gawa of Jasag Tsewangdorji's banner gave me an eight-year-old child who had syphilis. After she recovered, I gave her parents one cow and four sacks of millet. And I received a three-year-old child from a person called Büren of Bargu *otog* and raised him. We have gotten five living people with 80-odd large cattle and 50-odd sheep. And also my younger brother Dashi Shabi received Damchug Tabunang's wife's *ebeji* child after giving two large cattle and seventeen sheep to his original father and mother, and has the *ebeji* child milk his cows and this child has two sons and one daughter: in total five living people, and 30 large cattle. Now we brothers both present these people together to His Holiness, make worship offering, and in golden dust wish to fulfill this life. I have said the above.

On account of asking the Lord to take care of and be merciful of us, I kneeled and presented this [to the Shangdzodba].

18. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 84b

*Sayisiyaltai Irügeltü-yin doluduyar on qaburun dumdadu sarayin qorin qoyar-a .
egüni mongyolčilbasu erliĵa Nimbuu-yin biĉig .
nasu yuĉin isü-tei bile . minu Mongyol eke namaig
gegegen-e šabi bolyaĵu ergübe .*

JQ7, II, 22 [March 25, 1802]. Translating this into Mongolian, this is *erlije* Nimbuu's document. I am thirty-nine years old. My Mongolian mother presented me to His Holiness to become a disciple.

19. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 86a

*Sayisiyaltai Irügelü-yin naimaduyar on-du qabur-un ilegüü segül sarayin qorin jirγuyan-a .
Yang Quwai Li kemekü irgen Dorji erlija ekener ba . köbegün
Samdajab . quwaray Darjiy-a . qoyar ökin tabun ama . yučin
tabun boda-tai
subury-a-dur ergüjü šabi bolyuy-a kemegsen qawa yor⁵ temdeg .*

JQ8, III*, 26 [April 17, 1803]. A commoner Dorji, also called Yuan Huaili, intended to offer his *erlije* wife, son Samdajab and monk Darjiya, and two daughters: five people in total, together with thirty-five large cattle to the stupa to make them into disciples. Here is my document of countersignature.

20. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 86a–86b⁶

*Sayisiyaltai Irügelü-yin isüdüger [yisüdüger] on qoyar sarayin qorin tabun-a .
öčüken irgen bangjači H'an Bing Ii kemekü Qang Qutur
kičiyenggülen sögüdčü
Šangjodba noyan-tan-a batulan ergübe . edüge minu tejišegsen
köbegün Bayangmönge-yi öčüken bi
degereki gegegen šabi bolyan eigü ergügsen bülüge teyin abču
erkebiši [sic, for erkebsi] batulaqu bičig γaryažu ergübesü jokiqu tula
odo-a bi kitad Mongγol üsüg-ün batulaqu bičig γaryažu
ergügsen-eče γadan-a ene köbegün-i yeke boltala basakü
öčüken kümün-ü šabi oir-a sayulyažu tegün-ü ami-yi
uljiyulaqu ajiyamu kemen egün-ü tula batulan ergübe .*

JQ9, II, 25 [April 5, 1804]. I, a commoner and merchant, Khang Khutur, also called Han Bingyi respectfully prostrate to diligently present this [document] to Lord Shangdzodba. Now my insignificant self has presented my foster son Bayangmönge and made him a disciple. On account of presenting a written pledge for this donation, now I submit my written pledge in Mongolian and Chinese. Moreover, until this son grows older, may you deign to take care of his life and let this person live as a disciple. For this reason above, I confirmed and presented this document.

21. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 88a

*Sayisiyaltai Irügelü-yin arbaduyar on jirγuyan sarayin arban nigen-e .
Sangsi Bün Juu Fu dotor-a ner-e Din Mu Din . Mongγol ner-e
Dalai . tüsiy-e güng Čewangdasi-yin qosiyun-du qorin
jil mayimai kibe . Mön qosiyun-ača em-e abuba . ene
arbaduyar on-du . Uliyasutai-yin kebei amban irejü .*

⁵ *Huaya* 花押 or 畫押 in Chinese.

⁶ This document is a transcript of MTAC-MGDZD, no. 024-005, pp. 0011–0012.

*man-i kögebe . Či em-e keüked öberün durayar
boltuyai geji [sic, for geju] tusiyaba . minu yeke küü Čengjindorji
bay-a küü Gendünjab . basa dörben keüken em-e-tei
doloyan ama kümün-i ger baray-a, qoni nigen jayun tabi .
arban boda . nigen mori-tai .
gegegen-e šabi bolyaju ergübe .*

JQ10, VI, 11 [July 7, 1805]. Fenzhou prefecture, Shanxi province. Chinese name: Ding Muding. Mongolian name: Dalai. I traded goods in the banner of Tüsiye Grand Duke of First Rank Tsewangdashi for twenty years. I married a woman from that banner. In JQ10, the Imperial Resident of Uliastai came and expelled us. He ordered “You --woman and children-- do what you will.” I presented His Holiness [the Jibzundamba Khutugtu] my eldest son Tsenjindorji, youngest son Gendenjab, four daughters, and my wife: seven people in total, as disciples, together with a tent and utensils, one hundred and fifty sheep, ten large cattle and one horse.

22. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 88b–89a

*Sayisiyaltai Irügeltü-yin arban nigedüger on-du nadur tusiyaysan-i medegülün ödör ügei
jangjun qošoi čin wang-un qosiyun-u irgen-i jakiruyšan .
taiji Badmajab-un bičig
sayid lama Joriytu Nangsu-tan-a . ergün medegülkü-yin učir .
urida man-u qosiyun-dur sayuysan Li Ši Šüi kemekü irgen
Qayisungtai-yin nadur amidu büküi-degen tusiyal bolyan
kelegesen üge anu minu biy-e ebedčitei köbegün keüken
qoyar-tu qoyin-a tüsikü kümün ügei tula . köbegün Orbo
keüken Čeringqangdu-nar-tu baray-a bayaji yeke bay-a üker
qoni yamay-a döči mori qoyar-tai-yi
deger-e ergübe . qoyin-a dotor [sic, for dotor-a] yajar-ača kümün irebečü minu
yarun temdeg bičig . bayiqu tula tegün-dü qariy-a ügei geju*

JQ11 [1806]. The exact date of informing me of this is unknown. A document drawn up by Badmajab, general and *taiji* who administrates commoners in the prince of the first rank’s banner. To the ruling lama Jorigtu Nangsu. The reason for reporting. Previously, a commoner called Li Shishui in our banner gave me an instruction during his life time. Below are his words. I am sick. Since my son and daughter will have no helpers, my son Orbo and daughter Tserenkhangu with some small things like 40 large and small oxen, sheep and camels plus two horses are presented to the Great Shabi. If someone comes from the Heartland, my written document can prove that those people and things do not belong to him.

23. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 90a–90b.

*Sayisiyaltai Irügeltü-yin arban yurbaduyar on namurun segiül sarayin arban yurban-a .
egiini mongyolčilabasu šabi-du oroqu anu . dotor-a nere Juuju .*

*nutuy Sangsi muji-yin Puyongšang . Tngri-yin Tedkügsen-ü
 taban naimaduyar on ebül-ün terigün sar-a-du irgen Jūuquja-yin
 yeke keüken-i ekener bolyan abuba . Mongyol yosu-bar mori 1 .
 šar 1 . tuyul-tai üniy-e 1 . ere qoni 1-i ögbe . egünče qoyisi
 10 jil ilegüü bolji . keüked 7 . emegen-tei 8 . mori 3 . üker 37 .
 qoni 203 . ene bügüide šabi-du oroju . Duyar daruy-a-yin otoy-tu
 otoyay-a . Jūuša [sic, for Jūušu] nada ene yašar-a töröl ügei qoyisi
 ene kelegesen üge-eče bučaqu ügei batulaqu temdeg .*

JQ13, IX, 13 [November 11, 1808]. Translating this [document] into Mongolian on the entry into the Shabi:

My Chinese name is Zhou Zhu. My native place is Fenyang county, Shanxi province. In the early winter month of the fifty-eighth year of Qianlong [around November to December 1793], I took the Commoner Zhou Huzi's eldest daughter to be my wife according to Mongolian customs. One horse, one ox, one pregnant cow, and one ram were given to the bride's family [as bridewealth]. Since then, it has been ten more years. Seven children together with an old lady [his wife]: eight people in total, three horses, 37 oxen, and 203 sheep, all these are presented to the Shabi, and settled in *daruga* Dugar's otoy. This is the documentation that, after I die, in this place my spoken words will never be reneged.

24. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 92a–92b

*Törö Gereltü-yin doloduyar on jiryuyan sarayin qorin tabun-a .
 Abay-a-yin jasay teregün [sic, for terigün] jerge tayiji nigen jerge temdeglegsен
 Sonamdobčan . tusalayči tayijinarun bičig .
 jarliy-iyar ergümjilegsen šasin-i mandayulaqu amitan-i jiryayuluyči Jibjundamba
 blam-a ene Küriyen-ü kereg-i sitgekü šabinar-i bügüide jakiruyči erdeni
 Šangjodba . sang-un qamuy kereg bayičayan jakiraqu jasay-un
 ulus-dur tusalayči güng . da lama nar-tan-a ergübe . medegülkü-yin
 učir . edüge man-u qosiyun-u janggin Dengdüb-in sumun-u tayiji
 Erinčin-in qariyatu Gombo-yin medegülün iregsen anu . urida minu
 ečige ebügen lama Nawangliyidub yeren yurban nasutai bečin jildür
 biy-e baraysan bülüge tuqai-dur bi köbegün quwaray Luusangdongjud-dur
 qorin tabun qoni, tabun boda . ani yučin mal ömči ögčü ebügen
 ečige-yin buyan-dur joriju
 Jibjundamba qutuytu-dur šabi bolyaqan ergüy-e . qariyatu noyan tayiji-
 dayan medegüljü bile . oldabasu jasay-un yašarača . ene učir
 Luusangdongjud-tur batulaqu bičig bariyulun yabuylaqu-yi yuyuy-a
 kemen medegülümü . tegüni qariyatu tayiji Erinčin-yi jarliy iregüljü
 asaýubasu . medegülkü anu minu albatu Gombo köbegün Luusangdongjud-yi
 buyan-u üilen-dür sitijü ergüy-e kemegsen-i . bi Sayan beyiseče
 jöb-i öggügsen kemen medegülümü . eyimü-yin tula . quwaray*

*Luusangdongjud-dur šabi boluysan yabudal-i medegülkü batu bičig
bariyulun ilegebe . kürügsen-ü qoyin-a . erkim-ün yağarača
küliyen abuysan yabudal-i qoyisi bičig ilegekü ajiyamu kemen
egünü tula ergün ilegebe .*

DG7, VII, 25 [September 15, 1827]. The document is written by the Abaga *jasag* First Rank Taiji Sonamdobchan and junior *taijis*.

Presented to the Jibzundamba lama, Upholder of Religion and Pacifier of Living Beings by Imperial Edict, General Administrator of the Great Shabi in Khüriye Erdeni Shangdzodba, Junior Duke of General Treasurer, and Head Lamas.

The reason for reporting: according to the report from Gombo under the jurisdiction of Taiji Erinchin, who was from Captain Dengdüb's company of our banner, formerly my grandfather lama Nawangligdob, who was ninety-three years old and born in the year of the monkey, died, and on account of my grandfather's merit, I present the boy monk Luusangdonjud, along with twenty-five sheep, five large cattle, thirty animals share of property, to Jibzundamba Khutugtu as a disciple. The noble *taiji* with jurisdiction over me was informed. If I may I request that documentation be sent from the government to Luusangdonjud about this action. While Taiji Erinchin, to whose jurisdiction he belonged, was asked to send the order, the order was as follows. My subject [*albatu*] Gombo said that he wishes to offer the boy Luusangdongjud as a meritorious act. Therefore, I intended to inform Grand Duke of the Second Rank Saghan that they were just exactly as given to me. On this account, the certification for becoming a disciple for monk Luusangdongjud was sent and received. After receiving this, and receiving it from the honorable place, then send this. On account of the above mentioned, I submit this [document].

25. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 93a–93b

*Törö Gereltü-yin arbaduɣar on qoyar sarayin arban yisün-e .
jaŋgjun beyile tan-ača lablayad jöbsiyeregsen tula quriyaba .
boodal⁷ bičig ergükü kümün Fan Dung Šeng . Ene jil tabin doloɣan nasutai .
Šansi Ding Hiyān-u kümün . öčüken kümün Sayisiyaltai Irügeltü-yin qoyaduɣar
on-du qudalduɣ-a kir-e yadaɣsi yaruyad Orqon yool-un yağar-a
mayimai kiǰü mal üreǰigülün sayuysan bile . tegünče yurban köbegün-tei
boluysan . odo-a öčüken kümün nasu öteljü eden-ü dotor-a Fan Yo Ging arban doloɣan nasutai .
Fan Yo Šeo arban dörben nasutai . en enekü qoyar kümün-i duratai-bar
šabi bolyaju ergüsügei . üligsen [sic, for üledegsen] nigen köbegün Fan Yo Fu-i
öčüken kümün dotoɣadu yağar-a abačimui . qoyiči edür
jasay-un qosiyun-u kümün eden-ü mal jüil-i temečeldekü jereg gem
učir bui abasu šabi-yin qoyar köbegün medemüi . yerü busu
kümün-diür qamiy-a ügei . egünü tula kičiyenggüyilen
da noyan-tan-a ergübe .*

⁷ Bunch, bound 卷.

lama Rangjimba-i dayayulun šabi bolγaysan qoyar köbegün-ü Mongγol ner-e Bayangmöncke Bayangdorji .

DG10, II, 19 [March 13, 1830]. Received for the purpose of reference and approval by the General and Grand Duke of First Rank, the one who presented a bunch of documents is Fan Dongsheng. I am fifty-seven years old this year. I originate from Dingxiang 定襄 county, Shanxi province. In JQ2 [1797], after my insignificant self went out to do business, I did trade in the place near the Orkhon River, and made a living by breeding animals there. Since then I had three sons. Now my insignificant self has grown old and in this was willing to present Fan Yuejing who is seventeen years old and Fan Yueshou who is fourteen years old, such two as disciples. My insignificant self will bring my remaining son Fan Yuefu back to the Heartland. Later, if there is any conflict with the people of the autonomous banner over the livestock or any other criminal affair, the two sons of the Shabi shall decide. It is no affair of outsiders. For this reason here, I respectfully presented this document to you, Grand Lord.

The Mongolian names of the two sons who made disciples of Lama Rangjimba are Bayangmöncke and Bayangdorji.

26. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN39, p. 2a (Mo.)–2b (Ch.)

*Sangsi muji-yin Ding Shuu Si qoton-u dotor-a ner-e Liu Dzai Gen .
Mongγol ner-e Sengge . piyoo ügei . uγ nutuγ-tur ger yadaγuu
tula . ami tejigekü-yin erkeber . γaγčaγar . ene γaγar iregseger
čilayu darqalaγu . arban jil sayuqui-dur . mön irgen Činjadalai-yin
degüü Činjaduu-yin eme šabi tula . tegünče γarγsan küken Dariküü-y
gergei bolγan abuγun . edüge qoyar köbegün Öljeitü . Dalai . eke Dari-lüge
qamtu . 12 üker Imori-tai teden-ü qubi mal tulada . teden-dür ögčü
šabi-dur baytayamu . mön Čewang-u otoy-tur otoylyuluyun . odo-a irgen
Sengge bi öbrün qubi-dur γar qoγusun tula . öri nekejü . jam-un
künesü olju abuγun . qoyar jiliin dotor-a bučasγai kemen kelegs-en-i
küsen batulaqu kitad üsüg-ün bičig-yi tus tus-un segül-tür bičigülbei .*

I, called Liu Zhigen in the Heartland, with Mongolian name Sengge, from Dingxiang county, Shanxi province, came to this place alone without permit for feeding myself because of poverty in my native place working as stonemason and staying here for ten years. Because a commoner Chinzadlai's younger brother Cheng Jidao's wife was a disciple, I married the latter's daughter Dariküü. Now I would like to offer my two sons, Öljeitü and Dalai, together with their mother Dari, and the share of 12 oxen, and 1 horse to be included as disciples and placed in Tsewang's *otog*. I, Sengge, promise that while I have nothing with me, and am collecting debt to gather my traveling fare, I will return to the Heartland in two years. I wrote a Chinese document separately at the end.

--Chinese version of the same pledge--

山西省太原府定香[sic, for 襄]縣人劉枝根，蒙古名生奇，今在昔令河圪賒兔地方住，無票，做石匠為生，娶過蒙古女人，名達連和，係程繼道的女子，所生二子，大子名耳居兔，次子名德賴，情願投什並朝旺打而卦家，所帶去紅驢馬一匹，大小牛十二條，劉枝根有蒙古人談的賒物，此時不能權清，代[sic, for 待]等權清之後，二年以內一定是回家的。嘉慶五年四月十九日。

I, Liu Zhigen am from Dingxiang county of Taiyuan prefecture, Shanxi province, Mongolian name Sengge, lived in Kesigtü around the Selengge River without permit and subsisted on working as a stonemason. I married a Mongolian woman called Dariküü who is Cheng Jidao's daughter. Now I would like to offer my two sons, Öljeitü and Dalai, together with one red gelding and 12 large and small oxen to be included as disciples and placed in *daruga* Tsewang's *otog*. I, Liu Zhigen, have not collected all of my Mongolian debts. I promise that after collecting debt, I will go back to the Heartland in two years.

JQ5, IV, 19 [May 12, 1800].

27. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN39, p. 7a

*mön qamtu nutuy-tai . Sangsi müji-yin Fün Jüu Fu qotan-u
Ma Bio kemekü Luusang . uy-ača piyoo ügei . ami tejšgekü-yin
erkeber . ene yařar-a mayimai dayaju iregseger qorin řil bolbai.
irgen Luusang bi . daruy-a Dasidondub-yin otoy-un Abida-yin
keüken Dariřab-yi gergei bolyan abuřsan-ača nige köbegün
Dampil . nige keüken řaryal Dulamřab nar-i . urida řabi bolyařu . mön
Dasidondub-yin otoy-tur . otoylayulurřan . odo-a irgen
Luusang bi . darui ene sar-a-dur bučamui kemen kelemüi .*

Within the same place, I, Luusang, called Ma Bio, originated from Fenzhou prefecture, Shanxi province. I came from my native place without permit to this place to make a living. I came here doing trade for 20 years. I, a commoner Luusang, married Darijab, daughter of Abida who was under *daruga* Dashidondub's *otog*. Since then, one son Dampil and one daughter Jargal Dulamjab were born and they were made disciples and assigned to that Dashidondub's *otog*. Now I, a commoner Luusang, will go back [to the Heartland] immediately this month. The above is what I said.

--Chinese version of the same pledge--

山西汾州府汾陽縣賈璧村馬彪，蒙古名老四，今在昔令河圪賒兔地方，無票，傭工為生。有蒙古女人，孩子早前是什並，名達連甲布，馬彪今於又四月內一定是回家的。

I, Ma Biao, originated from Jiabi village of Fenyang county, Fenzhou prefecture, Shanxi province. My Mongolian name is Luusang. I am living in Kesigtü around the Selengge River

without permit. I make a living as a hired hand. I have a Mongolian woman. My child, called Darijab, was *shabi* before. I Ma Biao will go back to my native place by the fourth month.

28. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN39, p. 7b

*mön qamtu nutuy-tai . Sangsi müji-yin Fün Jūu Fu qotan-u
Ma Boo kemekü Kesigtü . yeke jürγan-a medegülügsen . jasay Čebangjab-un
qosiyun-du tariyan-u dangsa-tai . ene γajar-a saywγsayar
yučin jil bolbai . tariyanlang-un dangsan-dur oroγsayar qoriγad
jil bolbai . irgen Kesigtü bi . daruy-a Čewang-u otog-un
Čedüb-ün eme Sonamjid-i gergei bolγan abuyad . tegünče
yeke köbegün Üijeng . eme Amdau . keüken Fujir-tai 3 ama .
bay-a köbegün Fujingja kemekü Badmadorji . eme Dariküü-tei 2 ama .
ene 5 ama-yin deger-e eke Sonamjid-tai . qojim Küriyen-ü
ambas ba jaryučı tan-a medegüljü lablayad . mön eke-yi
dayayulju šabi-dur bolyasuyai kemen kelemüi .*

Within the same place, I Kesigtü, who was called Ma Bao and originated from Fenzhou prefecture, Shanxi province, reported to the grand ministry [Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba's Great Shabi]. I was [enrolled] in the farm register of Jasag Tsewangjab's banner and it has been thirty years since living in this place. After marrying Sonamjid, Tsedüb's daughter of *daruga* Tsewang's *otog*, I, a commoner Kesigtü, had my eldest son Üijeng, his wife Amdau and his daughter Fujir: three people in total, and youngest son Badmadoriwho was also called Fujingza, and his wife Dariküü: two people in total. After these five people together with their mother Sonamjid reporting to the Imperial Residents and the judges of Khüriye and being confirmed, I would like to have them made disciples. Above is what I said.

--Chinese version of the same pledge--

山西汾州府汾陽縣賈璧村人馬豹，今在昔令河圪什兔田地戶人，有蒙古女人，先是什並朝旺打而卦家人，自馬豹娶後所生二子，大子名為進，娶過媳婦，名哈刀，所生一女，名黑姐兒，次子名福進，娶過媳婦，名達連，自今兒子，媳婦，孫女兒五人，不定是雖[sic, for 誰]家的人。

Ma Bao, originating from Jiabi village of Fenyang county, Fenzhou prefecture, Shanxi province, is a man of a farming household in Kesigtü, near the Selenge River. I married a Mongolian woman, who was from *shabi daruga* Tsewang's family [*otog*]. After getting married, I had two sons. The eldest was called Üijeng and married a wife called Amdau. They had a daughter called Fujir. The second son is called Fujingza, and married a wife called Dariküü. From now on, my sons, daughters-in-law, and granddaughters: five people in total, are undecided as to which family [*otog*] to belong.

29. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN39, p. 8b

*mön qamtu nutuγ-tai . Sangsi Fün Jüü Fu . Poyangsi qotan-u Yuu
 Čüi Čuwa-u . Wa Ji Joo kemekü Nasun . uy-ača Piyoo
 ügei . ami teǰigekü-yin erkeber . ene γajar-a iregseger γučin
 γurban jil bolbai . irgen Nasun bi . daruγ-a Dasidondub-yin otoy-un
 G'ündü-yin keüken Bal-i gergei bolγan abuγsan-ača . γurban köbegün
 Gendün Danjin Wangčün nar-i . urida šabi bolγaju . mön otoy-tur
 otoγlayuluγsan . basa kiy-a daruγ-a Čewangjab-yin otoy-un
 Tübšin-yin keüken Sampiljid-i gergei bolγan abuγsan-ača keüked
 ügei . nige teǰigeburi köbegün Ulangküü-yi . basa urida tenen-ü qamtu
 šabi bolγaba . odo-a irgen Nasun bi . ene jil darui bučamui kemen kelemüi
 gekü bolbaču . Nasun-u biy-e eyegüi tula . Sampiljid bičigülbai .*

Within the same place, originating from Yangquan [village] of Fenyang county, Fenzhou prefecture, Shanxi province, I, Nasun, also called Wang Jizhu, came from my native place without permit. In order to make a living, I came to this place and it has been 33 years. Since I, a commoner Nasun, married Bal, whose father G'ündü is from *daruga* Dashidondub's *otog*, three sons Gendün, Danjin and Wangchin have already been made disciples, and been allocated to this *otog*. I also married Sampiljid, whose father Tübshin is from guard *daruga* Tsewangjab's *otog* and we had no children. I made my foster son Ulangküü a disciple, previously, with them. Now, I, a commoner Nasun, have promised that I will go back (to my native place) immediately this year. Because my health is not good, I made Sampiljid pen this pledge.

--Chinese version of the same pledge--

山西汾州府汾陽縣羊泉村人王繼珠，蒙古名納順，今在昔令河圪賒兔地方，無票，傭工為生，先前蒙古女人達什東杜打而卦家功棟的女子巴兒所生三子先投過什並達什東杜打而卦家後，娶過蒙古女人係朝旺甲布打而卦家人恩養一子名五蘭扣，也是先成了什並印了。

I, Wang Jizhu, originated from Yangquan village of Fenyang county, Fenzhou prefecture, Shanxi province. My Mongolian name is Nasun. I lived in Kesigtü around the Selenge River without permit. I make a living as a hired hand. Previously, the three sons who were given birth by my Mongolian woman Bal, daughter of G'ündü from *daruga* Dashidondub's family [*otog*], were presented to be disciples under *daruga* Dashidondub's family [*otog*]. After that I married another Mongolian woman who is from *daruga* Tsewangjab's family [*otog*] and raised a son called Ulangküü. He was also made a disciple previously.

30. NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN39, p. 13a

*Sangsi Tayangpu . Fün Joo Pu Puyangsi qotan-u Čing Sio Ii . Mongγol nere Dalai . uy-ača piyoo
 ügei . bas dotor-a γajar-un
 küü-yin nere Čing Yüi Jung kemekü Jayatu . mön qamtu-dur .
 jurγan-ača dangsa-tai . jasaγ Čebayjab-un tariyalang tariju*

sayuᠰayaᠷ γučin jil bolbai . odo-a irgen Dalai bi Mongγol em-e ügei . küü Jayatu bi daruγ-a Dasidondub-yin otoy-un Jündui-yin keüken Sonamjil-i gergei bolyan abuᠰsan-ača . nige köbegün Muuküü . mön eke-tei ni qamtu qoyar üker ögčü . mön otoy-dur otoylayulsuyai . kemen kelemüi .

Chen Shouyi, Mongolian name Dalai, originating from Fenyang county of Fenzhou prefecture, Taiyuan, Shanxi province, [came] from [my] native place without permit, and together with [my] son from the Heartland, Jayatu called Chen Yuzhong, enrolled in the register of the Office [i.e. Office of the Erdeni Shangdzodba], and have cultivated Jasag Tsebagjab's farmland for thirty years. Now I, a commoner Dalai, had no Mongolian wife. As my son married Zundui's daughter Sonamjil of *daruga* Dashidondub's *otog*, I would like to donate my grandson Muuküü together with his mother and two oxen to this *otog*. Above is what I said.

--Chinese version of the same pledge--

山西太原汾州府汾陽縣陳守儀，子陳玉忠，今在昔令河種地為生，今有一子陳玉忠所聚 [sic, for 娶] 過女人是什並達失東度打兒卦家中兌女子名束弄計，所生一子名毛扣，今有牛貳條，他是地戶，毛口清 [sic, for 情] 願投並。

I, Chen Shouyi, originated from Fenyang county of Fenzhou prefecture, Taiyuan, Shanxi province. My son is Chen Yuzhong. Currently we cultivate farmland in the area around the Selenge River. Now my son Chen Yuzhong married a woman called Sonamjil from *shabi daruga* Dashidondub's family [*otog*]. They have a son called Muuküü. Now here are two oxen. And Muuküü registers as a farmer household. Muuküü is willing to become a disciple.

Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission (MTAC)

1. MTAC-MGDZD, no. 009-007, pp. 0040–0043⁸

Pūngyoopo Pūngjuši jingsi γaγar-un dotor nere Wangjingwui minu nasu yeke bolji . bi dotor γaγar-a qariju . čidaqu ügei . minu kübegün dörbe . yeke küü Dalai . qoyarduyar küü Gombo . γurba-duγar küü Darma . dörbedüger küü Bar Dalai . mön terigün küü Čeren . 2-duγar küü Dondub . 3-duγar küü Sambuu . 4-düger küü Abada . edeni-yi adayu üker tabi qoni yamay-a tabi-yi Gegen-e šabi bolyaju ergübe .

⁸ This is the original of NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, p. 64b.

*Iriü [yerü] edeni-yi dotor kümün üge γaryaju qayisi kereg
üge čuugiqu metü bolbasu Wangjingwui bi dayay-a .*

I, Chinese name Wang Zhengwei, originated from Fenyang county of Fenzhou prefecture [in Shanxi province]. I am not able to return to my native place due to old age. I have four sons: the eldest one Dalai, the second one Gombo, the third one Darma, and the fourth one Bar Dalai who has four sons: the eldest one Tseren, the second one Dondub, the third one Sambuu, and the fourth one Abada. Together with 50 horses and oxen, and 50 sheep and camels, I have presented them to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu as disciples.

Moreover, later on, if anyone from the Heartland comes to argue [over all the people and property], it is not acceptable. I, Wang Zhengwei, will take care.

--Chinese version of the same pledge--

立獻約人王正威，係汾州府汾陽縣人氏，今因年老不能回家，有四子，長子達賴，次子官保，三子達力罵，四子巴勒達賴有四子，長子七令，次子東杜，三子三豹，四子阿必達，並牲畜牛馬五十個，羊五十只，情願獻與大庫倫佛爺為舌，並日有親族人等爭討，有王正威乙面承當。立此獻約為照用。乾隆五十貳年八月立獻。

Wang Zhengwei, who pledges to make this donation, originated from Fenyang county of Fenzhou prefecture [in Shanxi province]. Now I am not able to return to my native place due to old age. I have four sons: the eldest Dalai, the second Gombo, the third Darma, the fourth Bar Dalai who has four sons: the eldest one Tseren, the second one Dondub, the third one Sambuu, the fourth one Abada. Together with 50 horses and oxen, and 50 sheep, I will present them to the Jibzundamba Khutugtu of the Yekhe Khüriye as disciples. Moreover, later on, if any of my relatives come to argue over the people and property, I, Wang Zhengwei, will bear the responsibility alone. Here I submit this pledge as proof. In QL52, VIII, I make this donation.

2. MTAC-MGDZD, no. 015-024, pp. 0109–0110⁹

Erdeni Sečen Dalai Sangjodba-yin yamun-a ergübe . irgen Čin Sing Ling kemekü Čoytu bar ene udaya medegülen ailadqaqu-yin učir erte ene γajar qorin dörben nasutai iregsen bile . edüge nasu jiran qoyar kürbe . bučaju qariqu tengken ügei-yin tula arban γurban ama . qoyar erüke üri keüked-iyen arban nigen adayu . qorin üker . γučin nigen qoni qorin imay-a neyite γučin nigen boda tabin nigen qoni imay-a-tai šabi bolγan ergüjü Dasiduyar daruy-a-yin otoy-tu baytaju sayuya geju bile egün-e tula batulan ergübe .

Tngri-yin Tedkügsen-ü jiraduyar on . jun-u dumdadu sarayin qorin naiman-a

Reported to the Office of Lord Shangdzodba. A commoner Cheng Shenglian, called Tsogtu [in Mongolian], report for informing. Previously I came to this place at the age of 24. Now I am 62

⁹ This is the original of NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 73a–73b.

years old. Since I have no strength to go back, I donate 13 people and 2 households of my descendants, together with 11 horses, 20 oxen, 31 sheep, and 20 goats, which in total is 31 large cattle and 51 sheep and goats, to the Great Shabi under the otag of *daruga* Dasidugar. For this reason, I send you this pledge.

QL60, V, 28 [July 14, 1795].

--Chinese version of the same pledge--

具結狀，山西太原府汾州孝義縣新十里六甲程家庄人氏程盛璉，蒙古名曹圪兔，情因下戶苦冷地方並蓋居住，今情願投大舌並達什獨古兒打兒卦內結換，恐後程家庄戶旅人等憎奪，因此具結承約存照。

佛地大舌並居住 計開人各柵男人 南的班定 Namday 達什口兒 Dasipil 老木達賴 Nomungdalai 白言兒兔 Bayartu 白言達賴 Bayangdalai

孫男 aci 白言則布 Bayangjab 搗兒計 Dorji

共大小人口十三口 牲畜山綿羊五十只 牛兒廿条 馬十四

Pledge. I, Cheng Shenglian, originate from Chengjiazhuang village, Sixth *jia*, New Tenth *li*, Xiaoyi county of Fenzhou, Taiyuan prefecture, Shanxi province.¹⁰ My Mongolian name is Tsogtu. I live in Khüriye. Today I will to donate [my descendants] to the Great Shabi under *daruga* Dasidugar. Since residents or travelers from Chengjiazhuang village may be jealous and come to seize [my family and property] later, I submit this pledge for future reference.

People who live in the Great Shabi of the Buddhist place are the men of each fences below: Namdag, Dasipil, Nomungdalai, Bayartu Bayangdalai.

Grandsons: Bayangjab, Dorji.

The total number of the people is 13, together with herds of 50 goats and sheep, 20 oxen, and 10 horses.

3. MTAC-MGDZD, no. 024-005, pp. 0011–0012¹¹

öcüken irgen pangjači H'an Bing li kemekü Qang Qutur kičiyenggülen sögödčü
Šangjodba noyan-tan-a batulan ergübe . edüge minu tejiğegsen köbegün Bayangmönge-yi
öcüken bi
degereki gegen-e šabi bolyan ergügsen bülüge teyin abaču . erkebi [sic, for erkebsi] batulaqu
bičig yaryaju ergübesü jokiqu

¹⁰ Here Cheng Shenglian have a wrong understanding that Fenzhou is under Taiyuan prefecture. In fact, Fenzhou is a prefecture parallel with Taiyuan during the Qing period.

¹¹ This is the original of NCAM-AOES, no. M85 D1 KhN64, pp. 86a–86b.

tula odo-a bi kitad Mongγol üsüg-ün batulaqu bičig γaryaju ergügsen-eče γadan-a ene köbegün-i yeke boltala basakü öčüken kümün-ü šabi oyir-a sayulyaju tegün-ü ami-yi uljiyulaqu ajiyamu kemen egün-ü tula batulan ergübe .

Sayisiyaltai Irügelü-yin isüdüger [yisüdüger] on [qoyar sarayin]¹² qorin tabun-a .

I, a commoner and merchant, Khang Khutur, also called Han Bingyi respectfully prostrate to diligently present this [document] to Lord Shangdzodba. Now my insignificant self has presented my foster son Bayangmögke and made him a disciple. On account of presenting a written pledge for this donation, now I submit my written pledge in Mongolian and Chinese. Moreover, until this son grows older, may you deign to take care of his life and let this person live as a disciple. For this reason, above, I confirmed and presented this document.

JQ9, II, 25 [April 5, 1804].

--Chinese version of the same pledge--

具保壯[sic, for 狀]人韓秉義，為保壯[sic, for 狀]事，原有白言猛克在圈內獵竊等情，被商民告發，蒙靈大老爺恩批發，尚卓特巴老爺審訊，鎖押在案，今白言猛克無有吃用，小的暫時保出，求乞飯食，隨傳隨到。伊情願投入沙畢旂度生，伊如有走失情弊，小的情甘認罪，不致冒保，保壯[sic, for 狀]是寔。嘉慶九年二月□日。

I Han Bingyi am the pledger, reporting to submit this pledge. It happened that Bayangmögke committed theft in Khüriye and was reported by merchant-commoners. Under the gracious treatment of Lord Ling and the interrogation of Lord Shangdzodba, he was thus locked in prison for that case. Now Bayangmögke has no food and requisites. I have bailed him out of jail. He begs for food and will be on call to the Office [of the Shangdzodba]. He would like to enter the Shabi banner and spend his life there. If he happens to escape, my insignificant self would acknowledge the fault, so this pledge would not be invalid. This pledge is true. JQ9, II, ? [April ?, 1804].

¹² The document is broken here.

Appendix II

Text, Transcription and Translation of the Cited Archival Document (from FHAC, IHP and NPM)

First Historical Archives of China (FHAC)

1. FHAC-JCHZ, no. 05-0578-032 (JQ20, VII, 2)

嘉慶二十年七月初二日具奏，奉旨依議欽此。

奏。

總管內務府謹奏，為請旨事，准理藩院來咨，據和婉公主府莊頭張志仁呈懇轉行內務府歸入旗分考試，呈稱張志仁之祖原在內務府正白旗保住管領下當差，張志仁之父張永泰於乾隆十六年撥在公主府當差，承領武清縣地畝，內務府冊檔無名，張志仁長子德馨，次子德菴，有志上進，不知歸於何籍考試，懇補入冊檔應試等因應否歸入冊檔考試之處咨行前來，又據和嘉公主府莊頭親丁岡育璞在臣衙門呈稱於乾隆二十五年將岡育璞之叔岡讓撥在公主府當差，承領灤縣地畝，岡育璞因冊檔無名，無路投旗報考，查嘉慶九年部諭各州縣莊頭親丁等，如旗檔有名歸入漢軍考試，旗檔無名歸入民籍考試，岡育璞先代原係內務府鑲黃旗管領下檔冊有名旗人，因莊頭賠嫁後會計司冊檔無名，今岡育璞子姪輩立志上進，考試無由，不知從何歸籍報考，懇乞指歸冊檔等因具呈查嘉慶九年經禮部具奏，凡有旗地州縣，查明莊頭共若干家，開列地主姓名旗分，造具清冊，分送八旗內務府查核，如旗檔有名仍照例歸入漢軍考試，旗檔無名歸入民籍考試等因。奉旨依議遵行在案。今據莊頭張志仁親丁岡育璞在理藩院及臣衙門呈，懇請將伊子弟等歸入原旗赴考，臣等伏思張志仁及岡育璞先代原係內務府旗人，因賠嫁公主後始行開除冊檔，與旗檔無名應入民籍考試者不同。臣等共同商酌，未便阻其上進之心，應准莊頭張志仁親丁岡育璞之報考子弟等，即照旗檔有名者歸入漢軍考試成例，由原旗原管領送名應考，不准歸入該旗冊檔，充當內務府莊頭。其子弟未經報考者，仍留該府當差，以免紛紛藉考試為名，呈請回旗，是否有當，伏祈皇上訓示遵行。為此謹奏請旨。

嘉慶二十年七月初二日

總管內務府大臣 臣英和

總管內務府大臣 臣蘇楞額 城內值班

和世泰

禧恩

那彥寶 差
常福

Memorial Date: JQ20, VII, 2 [August 6, 1815]

Imperial Endorsement: Let it be as proposed.

The Imperial Household Department respectfully memorializes to request an imperial edict. According to the message from the Court of Dependencies, Zhang Zhiren, a village head under the residence of the Hewan princess, humbly requested that the Imperial Household Department allow his son to take the civil examination as bannerman. Here is Zhang Zhiren's request: "My ancestors served for Booju, *hontoho* of Plain White Banner, under the Imperial Household Department. My father Zhang Yongtai was appointed to serve for the princess [Hewan] in QL16 and rent farmlands in Wuqing county¹. His name was not listed in the register of the Imperial Household Department. Zhang Zhiren's eldest son [Zhang] Dexin and second son [Zhang] De'an study hard and have a determination to take the civil exam. However they do not know what their status is if they take the exam. Therefore, I humbly request you to let them be enlisted in the register [of the Imperial Household Department] and take the exam." The Court of Dependencies sent this message and ask if they are allowed to be enlisted in the register and take the exam. And according to the report sent by Gang Yupu, a male relative of a village head served at the Hejia princess's residence, and Gang Yupu's uncle Gang Rang was appointed to my department to serve at the Hejia princess's residence and rent farmlands in Kuoxian county² in QL25 [1760]. Gang Yupu was not able to be treated as a bannerman in the civil exam because his name was not recorded in the register [of the Imperial Household Department]. Consulting the departmental order of JQ9 [1804], each village head's male relative in a prefecture or county is allowed to take the civil exam as a Chinese bannerman if his name can found in the banner register. If his name is not found in the banner register, he is only allowed to be treated as a commoner in the civil exam. Gang Yupu's predecessors were registered bannermen under a *hontoho* of Bordered Yellow Banner of the Imperial Household Department. His name was taken off of the register of the Accounts Department because he followed the bride-to-be princess as village head. Now Gang Yupu's sons and nephews studied hard, however they do not know what their status is taking the civil exam. Therefore they humbly requested to be listed in the register again. And consulting the imperial palace memorial sent by the Board of Rites in JQ9 [1804], every prefecture and county in which banner lands are located should conduct a general survey of the number of village heads, list the name and banner status of each landlord, compile a complete inventory, and send it to the Imperial Household Department of the Eight Banners for verification. If a man's name could be found in the banner register, he would be considered a Chinese bannerman while taking the civil exam. If not, he would be considered a commoner in the exam. Therefore we have been following this decision to deal with former cases. Now with

¹ Today Wuqing 武清 District, Tianjing.

² Today Tongzhou 通州 District, Beijing.

regard to requests sent by the village head Zhang Zhiren and the male relative of the village head Gang Yupu that let their descendants take the civil exam regaining their original status of bannermen, we prostrated and thought that the ancestors of Zhang Zhiren and Gang Yupu were bannermen of the Imperial Household Department, but their names were removed from the register and they lost their status of bannermen since they followed the bride-to-be princess. Therefore their cases were different from the case whereby one should be considered a commoner while taking the civil exam if one's name was not found in the register. We have discussed this and concluded that their initiative should not be obstructed. We suggest that the request made by the village head Zhang Zhiren and the male relative of the village head Gang Yupu should be granted. Their descendants should follow the precedent of those whose names are found in the banner register and should be allowed to take the civil exam as Chinese bannermen. However, their names should be provided by their original *hontoho* of the original banner. Their names should not be entered into the register of the banner as village heads of the Imperial Household Department. Their descendants who did not take the civil exam should continue to do service at the princess's residence in order to prevent them from using the civil exam as an excuse to request a resumption of their status as bannermen. We prostrate ourselves and await the instructions of your highness to see if our proposal is appropriate or not. For this reason, we respectfully request an imperial edict.

JQ20, VII, 2 [August 6, 1815]

Yinghe, *amban* of the Imperial Household Department

Sulengge, *amban* of the Imperial Household Department, on duty in the city

Heshitai

Hi'en

Nayanboo, on duty

Changfu

2. FHAC-QCHZ, no. 03-1349-007 (QL2, V, 11) (Excerpt)

[.....] 臣伏查定例，凡陪送公主格格俱係辛者庫及渾托和之人，而從前八旗滿洲及包衣滿洲之中，有因其獲罪給與公主格格者，亦有遣往隨侍公主格格者，伊等久居外地，世世相因，以致子孫或有流散無歸，漸且混入蒙古失其本性，臣思民為邦本，而滿洲更屬國家根本之人，其祖先亦有曾著功勳者，現今發遣及入辛者庫人犯俱蒙皇恩赦回，而伊等獨不獲一體邀恩，殊為可憫，仰祈皇上天恩勅下該管衙門，將從前八旗滿洲及內務府並五旗包衣滿洲有因罪給與公主者查明案情，開列請旨，赦回本旗，至於非因獲罪而遣往隨侍者，亦著查明，若公主格格現在，令其隨侍，如公主格格，已經薨逝，即著撤回歸旗，著為定例。庶滿洲不至世居外地，流為蒙古矣。

[.....]

乾隆貳年伍月拾壹日

[...] I checked the former established precedents, in which all those who followed imperial or commandery princesses were people under *sin jeku* and *hontoho*. And in past days those Manchu bannermen and *booi* bannermen who were convicted of crimes were given to imperial or commandery princesses or assigned to them as servants. They have stayed in the hinterland [i.e. Mongolia] for generation after generation and thus their descendants have scattered elsewhere and become homeless or even blended into Mongols and lost their natural character. It is my thought that people are the foundation of the state and Manchus are the people of the imperial foundation. Their ancestors had performed deeds of merit for the empire. Now those who were exiled and who were allotted to be *sin jeku* were pardoned under imperial grace, but those Manchu and *booi* bannermen who have become servants for princesses are not eligible for receiving imperial grace and being pardoned. Their situation is particularly pitiful. Here I humbly request your majesty to show your mercy by ordering the incumbent offices listing the Manchu bannermen and *booi* bannermen under the Department of Imperial Household and the other five “lower” banners who were given to imperial or commandery princesses due to criminal convictions, and let them also be pardoned with imperial permission to return to their original banners. For those who were sent to serve the princesses due to criminal guilt, their situation should be examined. If the princesses are still alive, they should continue to serve the princesses; but if a princess has passed away, they should be sent back and returned to their original banners. And this should be prescribed as a set precedent so that Manchus would not thus fall to such extent as to live in the hinterland for generations and become Mongols.

[...]

QL2, V, 11 [June 8, 1737]

3. FHAC-JMLZ, no. 03-0173-1042-007 (QL1, V, 17)

QL1, V, 17 [June 25, 1736].

wesimburengge .

Huhu hoton i baita be icihiyara coohai jurgan i aliha amban . amban Tungjyi sei gingguleme wesimburengge .

hese be baire jalin . Kalkai gingga elhe gurun i gungju bederehe manggi amban be donjici . Kalkai wang efu Dondob Dorji . gungju de etuhen dahabuha . šangname buhe Manju . booi nirui urse . jangturi be gungju i banjaha jui Genjab Dorji . jai ini Kalkai hehe ci banjaha juwe jui de dendeme buhe sehe babe donjifi yargiyan tašan be sarkū ofi . siden baitai jalin . efu Dondob Dorji be acaha ildun de fonjici . ini gisun . gungju bihede dorgici šangname buhe niyalma be . ilan jui de inu emte . juwete bufi dahalabuha . gungju bederehe amala bi inu utude³ be juse de bufi dahalabuha . te mini boode gungju i amba baita bi wajiha manggi . bi hese be baime wesimbumbi seme gisurembi . amban be kimcime gūnici . gungju ci banjaha jui Genjab Dorji bimbime . geli hošoi gege be holbohobi . neneme gungju de etuhun dahabuha sargan juse .

³ Thus?

acabuha niyalma . banjiha juse . jai šangname buhe Manju . booi nirui urse . jangturi sebe gemu gungju i banjiha jui Genjab Dorji . jai hošoi gege de buci acara dabala . efu Dondob Dorji i takūrašara Kalkai hehe ci banjiha juse jui de bure daljakū . uttu ofi . amban be . ere jergi turgun be tucibume . gemu efu Dondob Dorji de ulebume alaha . ede gungju de etuhun dahabuha šangname buhe ursei jusei gebu anggalai ton be encu jedz arafi suwaliyame tuwabume wesimbuhe . bairengge . enduringge ejen genggiyen i bulekušafi . harangga jurgan de afabufi . Kalkai wang efu Dondob Dorji de bithe unggibufi getukelebuci ojoroo . jai gungju bihe fonde . Huhu hoton i julergi dukai tule juwe ergi hoton i gencehen be biturame . ulan i bade hūdai ursede boo puseli arabuha . geli ududu bade boo puseli arabufi turigen gamibihe [sic, for gaimbihe?] Huhu hoton i bade daci yabume jihe an i tacin untuhun bade boo araci . hūdai urse . ba na i basa booi turigen bumbi . gurime geneci boo be efuleme gamarakū . meni meni ba an i da niyalma de werifi genembi . te efu Dondob Dorji i Kalkai nuktei bade . boo falga banjinara unde . hošoi gegebe taka Huhu hoton de tebure jalin hese be baime gisurefi wesimbuhe be dahame . neneme gungju i arabuha ere jergi boo puseli be . gungju i jui Genjab Dorji i eigen sargan . erin i turigen i songkoi kemuni turigen gaime yabukini . amala gege Kalkai bade genere erinde ere jergi bade arabuha boo puseli be gemu araburakū obufi . hoton i da . ulan i babe dasatame turibuki . gūwa bade erebuha boo puseli be . meni meni ba na i da niyalma be yargiyalame baicafi bahabuki . te efu Dondob Dorji i ama jui jurkan [sic, for jurgan] hošoi gege i jakade emu baita icihiyara fejergi urse be bargiyatara niyalma akū oci ojarahū . neneme gungju bihe fonde . uju dorgi hiya sindaha booi nirui Han Šan . gege i booi baita be icihiyabume buhebi . niyalma kemuni ojoro be dahame . uthai erei eigen sargan de afabufi . hošoi efu Genjab Dorji i emsi jidere ebsihe . gegei booi baita be icihiyabume fejergi urse be saihan bargiyatabukini sembi . ojoro ojarahū babe bairengge enduringge ejen genggiyen i bulekušereo . erei jalin gingguleme . wesimbuhe . hese be baimbi .

*Abkai Wehiyehe i sucungga aniya sunja biya .
 juwan nadan de .
 fulgiyan fi pilehe .
 hese uheri baita be icihiyara wang ambasa harangga jurgan uthai gisurefi wesimbu .
 sehe .*

*Abkai Wehiyehe i sucungga aniya sunja juwan emu .
 Huhu hoton i baita be icihiyara coohai jurgan i aliha amban amban Tungjyi
 gūsa be kadalara amban ilaci jergi jingkini hafan amban Daijin .
 amban Gendun .
 meiren i janggin amban Silta .
 meiren i janggin amban Ušilju .*

*Man Jun i jakūn anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha Lii halangga meme [sic, for mama] i juse .
 Wang El Dasa i juwan anggala . daci . etuhun dahabuha Wang halangga meme [sic, for mama] i
 juse .
 Syge i sunja anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha booi da bihe Dzui Booju i juse .
 Puyan i sunja anggala daci etuhun dahabuha ilhi booi da bihe Sirledai i juse .
 Jang Nionio i uyun anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma .*

Ene Jun i ninggun anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma Jeng Sahaliyan i juse .
Juge i ilan anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma Jang Hoiboo i juse .
Wehe i sunja anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma .
Pusang ni jakūn anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma Sangge i juse .
Dzooboo i sunja anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma Sung Sungju i juse .
Liošiba i duin anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma Bai Bilig juse .
Cen Suyu i nadan anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma .
Wešuboo i uyun anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma Hayatu i juse .
Bai Arašan i ninggun anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma .
Ceng Looge i duin anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma Cang Cangšeo i deo .
Hoošan i ninggun anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma Serembu i juse .
Ling Wangju i sunja anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma ese gemu Huhu hoton debi .
Da Jiya i emu anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma
San Jiya i emu anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma .
Tu Jiya i emu anggala . daci etuhun dahabuha niyalma . ere kile hehe ceni juse be dahame
ging hecen de tehebi .
Jišan i jergi gūsin nadan anggala . daci weile bahafi šangname buhe aliha amban
bihe Bandi i juse omosi .
Guwangginglu i nadan anggala . daci weile bahafi šangname buhe booi baitangga bihe
Sabingga i juse .
Guwamiboo i sunja anggala . daci weile bahafi šangname buhe booi da bihe Silta i juse .
Sung Syge i nadan anggala . daci weile bahafi šangname buhe booi da bihe Sungju i juse .
Ĥan Šan . De Ung ni jergi susai anggala daci weile bahafi šangname buhe booi aisilakū hafan
bihe Sahaliyan i juse omosi . dorgi amban Yungfu i mukūn Sungde i šangame buhe booi da bihe
Fiyanggui i juse . ese gemu Huhu hoton de bi .
jangturi Hūwang Guwe Siyang ni juwan duin anggala . Ping Gu Hiyan debi .
jangturi Tan Šu Lii . juwan uyun anggala Hei Deo Ioi bade bi .
jangturi Siyoo Ki Ho i orin jūn [sic, for juwe] anggala Hifeng Keo⁴i tule bi
jangturi Meng i gūsin juwe anggala Sūn I Hiyan⁵ i jergi bade bi .
jangturi Cing De Yung ni juwan duin anggala Ši Hiyan jergi bade bi .
jangturi Šeng Ši ninggun anggala .
jangturi Ceng Da Hūwa i jakūn anggala .
jangturi Ceng De Fu i ninggun anggala .
jangturi i ton i haha Lii Guwa Tai i jakūn anggala .
Lio Baši i jakūn anggala .
Yuwan Da i uyun anggala .
Siyoo Wen Ži i duin anggala .
Siyoo De Na i ninggun anggala .

⁴ Xifengkou 喜峰口

⁵ Shunyi 順義 county

*Šang El i duin anggala . ese gemu Huhu hoton debi .
 Dangpuli niyalma Hu Fu i emu boigon .
 Yan El Mase i emu boigon . ese ging hecen de bi . anggalai ton be getuken i sarkū .
 Sioi Jyi Meni i ilan anggala .
 Wang Tung ni ninggun anggala .
 Arantai ninggun anggala .
 Ioi Ži Lung ni emu anggala .
 Jiol i emu anggala . ese gemu Huhu hoton debi .
 Hūwang Jung . Lii Hiise i jergi juwe tanggū ninju juwe anggala . daci weile bahafi šangname
 buhe aliha amban bihe Bandi i booi aha . ese gemu Huhu hoton debi .
 ereci wesihun . geren booi niyalma . aliha amban bihe Bandi i booi niyalma . jai cenii boode
 nikefi usin tarime takūršabume bisire . baba i buya urse be daburakūci tulgiyen . jingkini beye
 hehe amba ajige anggala uherin duin tanggū funcembi .*

[The imperial memorial of the Court of Dependencies below is omitted in light of repetition of the above content.]

To be memorialized.

Tongjyi [Ch. Tongzhi 通智], grand minister superintendent stationed in Höhhot and minister of the Board of War, and others respectfully memorialize to request an edict.

After the Kejing imperial princess of the first degree of Khalkha passed away and I heard this, I did not know if it was true or false whether Dondubdorji, prince of Khalkha and husband of the imperial princess, requested to divide and give the village heads of the companies of Manchu *booi* bondservants who followed the princess and were granted by the emperor to the princess's own son Genjabdorji and his two sons born to his Khalkha wives. When I met with Dondubdorji, imperial son-in-law, on official business, I took the occasion to ask him, and this is what Dondubdorji said.

While the princess was alive, she gave those people who were granted from the inner [imperial palace] to three sons, each receiving one or two as their followers. After she passed away, I also gave those people to the sons as their followers. At present, an important thing [i.e. the funeral of the princess] happened in my house. After it was finished, I memorialized to request an imperial edict.

When we consider carefully, the son born to the princess is Genjabdorji and he also has married a commandery princess. Besides, the girls who accompanied the princess, and the people they were married to, the children they gave birth to, the companies of the Manchu *booi* bondservants together with village heads who had been previously bestowed should be all given to the princess's own son Genjabdorji and the commandery princess, but the sons born to the husband of imperial princess Dondubdorji's Khalkha servant girl are not eligible to receive them. Therefore, we all dip a writing brush in ink to report to Dondubdorji. Then the names and the

number of the population of the sons of those who followed the princess and were granted by the emperor are reported in another imperial palace memorial and will be memorialized showing jointly. I beg your majesty's perusal; entrust this to the said ministry, and make the report to send to Dondubdorji, prince of Khalkha and imperial son-in-law, and make [the decision] clear. And when the princess was still alive, both sides of the outside of the south gate of Höhhot were along the edge of the base of the city wall, stores of merchants and shops were built in the place of the ditch. Then in Höhhot, where in many places stores and shops were built and giving rent, the formerly prevailing agreement was that while building a house in a vacant lot the merchants paid that place's wages and rent for housing. When houses are vacated, they are left undestroyed. Each place is left to the original owner. At present in imperial son-in-law Dondubdorji's area for grazing herds, his family's clan has not gone to that place and lived there. On account of that and for the reason that the commandery princess temporally stays in Höhhot, I memorialize to request an edict for discussion on why it should still be allowed that the sons of the princess Genjabdorji and his wife collect rent seasonally on this kind of houses and stores previously constructed under the princess's order. After the commandery princess goes to Khalkha, these constructed houses and stores are all to be undone in these kinds of places, and let the head of the city repair the ditch and lease it. In other places let the people of each place verify the promised houses and stores. It is not proper if now imperial son-in-law Dondubdorji and his son Jurgan⁶ and the commandery princess keep no servants who handle things. While the princess was alive, the first-rank guard and *booi* bondservant company Han Shan had been given to the commandery princess to handle the affairs of her house. Because the man still serves [with the commandery princess], let this man be entrusted to the couple (of the commandery princess) and come to stay with the imperial son-in-law, and let the servants who handle the affairs of the commandery princess's house be well-kept. I beg your majesty's perusal to decide if this is feasible or not. For this reason, I respectfully send this memorial for your information.

Requesting an edict.

QL1, V, 17 [June 25, 1736]

Imperial endorsement in vermilion ink:

Edict: Once the general manager princes and ministers discuss this with the subject offices, let it be memorialized.

QL1, V, 11 [June 19, 1736]

Tongzhi, grand minister superintendent stationed in Höhhot and minister of the Board of War

Daijin, minister of the ruling banner and the third-rank viscount

⁶ Or righteous?

Gendün, minister

Silta, lieutenant-general

Ushilju, lieutenant-general

[Complete list of the people who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia]

Name	Family Members	Background	Residence
Man Jun	8	son of grandmother Li who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Wang Er Dasa	10	son of grandmother Wang who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Sige	5	son of Zui Baozhu who was <i>booi da</i> and followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Puyan	5	son of Sirdelai who was vice <i>booi da</i> and followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Jang Nionio	9	one who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Ene Jun	6	son of Zheng Sahaliyan who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Zhuge	3	son of Zhang Huibao who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Wehe	5	one who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Pusang	8	son of Sangge who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Zaobao	5	son of Song Songzhu who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Liushiba	4	son of Bai Bilig who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Chen Suyu	7	one who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot
Weshuboo	9	son of Hayatu who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhhot

Bai Arashan	6	one who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhot
Cheng Laoge	4	younger brother of Chang Changshou who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhot
Hooshan	6	son of Serembu who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhot
Ling Wangju	5	one who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Höhhot
Da Jiya	1	one who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Followed grandmother Kile to live in Beijing
San Jiya	1	one who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Followed grandmother Kile to live in Beijing
Tu Jiya	1	one who followed the bride-to-be princess to Mongolia	Followed grandmother Kile to live in Beijing
Jishan	37	those who committed crimes and were given to the princess, former minister Bandi's sons and grandsons	Höhhot
Guwangginglu	7	those who committed crimes and were given to the princess, former <i>booi</i> underling Sabingga's son	Höhhot
Guwamiboo	5	those who committed crimes and were given to the princess, former <i>booi da</i> Silta's son	Höhhot
Sung Sige	7	those who committed crimes and were given to the princess, former <i>booi da</i> Songzhu's son	Höhhot
Han Shan and De Ung	50	those who committed crimes and were given to the princess, former <i>booi</i> assistant department director Sahaliyan's sons and grandsons, belonging to the senior assistant chamberlain of the imperial bodyguard Yongfu's clan	Höhhot
Songde	?	those who committed crimes and were given to the princess, former <i>booi da</i> Fiyanggui's son	Höhhot
Huang Guoxiang	14	village head	Pinggu 平古 county

Tan Shuli	19	village head	Heidouyu 黑斗峪 (Hei Deo Ioi)
Xiao Jiho	22	village head	beyond Xifengkou Pass (Ch. Xifengkou 喜峰口)
Meng	32	village head	Shunyi 順義 county
Qing Deyong	14	village head	Shixian county (?)
Sheng Shi	6	village head	Höhhot
Cheng Dahua	8	village head	Höhhot
Li Guatai	8	village head, Yi Tong's man (origin?)	Höhhot
Liu Bashi	8	N/A	Höhhot
Yuan Da	9	N/A	Höhhot
Xiao Wenri	4	N/A	Höhhot
Xiao Dena	6	N/A	Höhhot
Shang'r	4	N/A	Höhhot
Hu Fu	1 household (unknown number)	pawn house owner	Beijing
Yan'r	1 household (unknown number)	N/A	Beijing
Xiao Zhi Meni	3	N/A	Höhhot
Huang Zhong, Li Sizi	262	former minister Bandi's <i>booi</i> bondservants, given to the princess because their master Bandi committed crimes	Höhhot

In addition to the aforementioned many *booi* persons, former minister Bandi's [descendants as] *booi* bondservants, and the petty persons who relied on their house and were employed to do farming everywhere, authentic female old and young persons in total are over four hundred.

1. IHP-NDD, no. 167277-016, pp. 4–6 (QL3, IV, 24)

Memorial Date: QL3, IV, 24 [June 11, 1738]

[...] *te efu wang Dondob Dorji i baci . ilaci jui uju jergi taiji Geja Dorji . ini deo aisilara taiji Baljung Dorji sebe Huhu hoton de unggifi . aha mini emgi acafi hebdeme gisurere de Geja Dorji se i alaha bade . ne Huhu hoton de tehe efu i fejergi urse . uheri ninggun tanggū susai nadan anggala . erei dorgide etuhun dahabuha niyalma uyunju uyun anggala . nikan hehesi be gaiha monggoso susai ninggun anggala . esebe gemu Kalkai bade guribume gamaki . etuhun dahabuha juwangding ninju sunja anggala be ging hecen i jangturi sei bade guribuḟi kamcibume tebuki . dangpuli de unggiki . gungju be murikū seme wakalame wesimbuhe turgunde boigon talafi šangnaha aliha amban bihe Bandi i juse omosi . ere baita de ušabuḟi . weile bahafi šangnaha gūcika hiya bihe Saibigan i sargan juse omosi . jai gungju de takūršabuha Sahaliyan i sargan jui be doru akū seme wakalame wesimbuhede .*

hese . Sahaliyan Tiyanboo be gungju de takūrašabume falabuha ejekū hafan bihe Sahaliyan i juse omosi uheri emu tanggū sunja anggala . aliha amban bihe Bandi sei booi urse uheri juwe tanggū ninggun anggala . esebe gemu kalkai bade guribume gamaci . niyalma geren . ujire encehen akū . bahaci esebe da gūsa nirude aḟabume bederebuki . udaha hacingga nikasa uheri orin sunja uksura jakūnju uyun anggala . erei dorgide . duin uksura juwan duin anggala be Kalkai bade guribume gamaki . jakūn uksura gūsin duin anggala be . hošoi gege de weriki . funcehe juwan ilan uksura . dehi emu anggala be irgen obume sindaki . taigiyan orin emu neneme ging hecen de unggihe . juwan taigiyan . ukaka [sic, for ukaha] duin taigiyan ci tulgiyan . funcehe nadan taigiyan i dorgi Lii Ting ni jergi duin taigiyan . jai booi da sindaḟi gungju de buhe Sunju . Silta . Fiyanggū sei juse . Sun Syge . Tsunde . Guwanyemboo ere boigon i juwan ninggun anggala be guribume gamaḟi Gin Guwan be tuwakiyabuki Yuwan Da Siyoo i jergi ilan taigiyan be hošoi gege de weriki . Kalkai bade guribume kamara [sic, for gamara] urse be sunja ninggun biyade wacihiyame guribume gamaki seme alambi .

[...] Now from the imperial son-in-law Prince Dondubdorji, his third son and Taiji of the First Rank Gejadorji, and Gejadorji's younger brother Assistant Taiji Baljungdorji were sent to Höhhot and discussed with your servant [i.e. Talmashan, the memorialist]. According to Gejadorji, formerly the number of the underlings of the imperial son-in-law [i.e. Dondubdorji] in Höhhot was 657 in total. Among them, the number of the human dowry was 99. The number of the Mongols who married Han women was 56. All of them were moved to Khalkha. The 65 cultivators as human dowry should be moved, placed with those in Beijing, and given to the pawnhouse. The former minister Bandi offended the princess, and for the sake of this his property was confiscated and his family members were given to the princess [i.e. the Kejing princess]. His sons and grandsons were implicated by this matter and punished. The former

imperial guard Saibigan committed a crime and was punished. His daughters and grandsons have been given [to the princess]. Sahaliyan served for the princess and his daughters were punished for moral degradation. After memorializing on this, the imperial edict was as follows.

Sahaliyan and Tianbao were exiled and served for the princess. The number of the former secretary [Ch. *zhushi* 主事] Sahaliyan's sons and grandsons is 105 in total. The number of the former minister Bandi and others as *booi* bondservants is 206 in total. If they are all moved to Khalkha, those people would be of no use and resource. Let them return to their original banners and companies. The number of all kinds of purchased Han people is 89 from 25 branches of clans. Among them, 14 people of four branches of clans will be sent to Khalkha. Let 34 people of eight branches of clans stay with the commandery princess. Let the remaining 41 people of 13 branches of clans be released and regain their status of commoner. Formerly there were 21 eunuchs. 10 were sent to Beijing. Except the four who fled, Li Ting and the others are four of the remaining seven eunuchs. Sunju, Silta, and Fiyanggū were appointed as *booi da* and given to the princess. Their sons Sun Sige, Tsunde [Ch. *Cunde*?], Guwanyemboo [Ch. *Guanyinbao*?], and their families: in total 16 people, will be moved with the four eunuchs including Li Ting and the others to watch over the golden coffin [of the imperial princess]. Let Yuan Daxiao and the other three eunuchs stay with the commandery princess. Let the people to be moved to Khalkha finish moving around the fifth or sixth month [QL3 (1738)]. This is said in the imperial edict.

National Palace Museum (NPM)

1. NPM-QCZ, no. 403025689 (*gugong* 051468) (QL23, VIII, 10)

奏。

山西巡撫兼管提督臣蘇爾德謹奏，為奏聞事。竊於本年八月初五日據太原府知府徐浩稟，據太古縣知縣王僧愷稟稱，初四日有一本縣民人韓瓊瓊，戴亮藍頂孔雀翎，身穿蟒袍來縣請安，詢據回稱，伊原係山西太谷縣人，自幼投在公布扎布額駙府裡當奴才，蒙古名字叫丈不拉，後來額駙公主俱已去世無嗣，一應家口產業皆歸額駙親姪烏珠木秦扎薩克親王彭素克拉布坦管理，曾於乾隆二十一年跟隨彭素克拉布坦征青衮雜布，回來賞給六品頂帶，漸次賞給頭等護衛職銜，在京東華門外東廠衙門王爺府裡居住，也常往口外去，先娶的女人就是公主的賠房，後來死了，又聘定太古縣民人范二舉的妹子為妻，蒙王爺賞假五個月，給有印信路票，自六月初九日起身，七月二十二日到太古縣娶親，不是假冒，有理藩院檔案可查等語，臣隨飭喚韓瓊瓊來省面詢無異，查韓瓊瓊本係民人據稱自幼投入公布扎布額駙府內為奴，後因出兵，漸次賞給頭等護衛職銜，臣衙門俱無文案可稽，且既係蒙古職官，似亦不應娶內地民人之女為妻，現在雖無招搖別項情事，但事關蒙古職官，理

藩院是否有檔案可查，臣未敢稍為隱諱，理合恭摺據實奏聞，並將路票呈覽，伏乞皇上睿鑒敕下理藩院查明奏覆施行，謹奏。

硃批：該衙門查奏。

乾隆三十三年八月初十日

Memorial.

Suldei, the governor and commissioner-in-chief of Shanxi province, respectfully submits a memorial to inform your majesty.

I received a report on QL33, VIII, 05 [September 20, 1768] from Xu Hao, prefect of Taiyuan prefecture, who received that from Wang Senkai, magistrate of Taigu county. According to Wang, on QL33, VIII, 04 [September 19, 1768] there was a commoner called Han Quanfu who wore a bright blue knob with a peacock feather and official dress and came to my office to greet me. When I asked him, he replied that he originated from Taigu county, Shanxi province. While he was child, he became a bondservant of the imperial son-in-law Gombojab. His Mongolian name was Jambal. Later the imperial son-in-law and the princess both passed away and had no offspring, so their subjects and property were managed by Gombojab's own nephew Pungsug-rabdan, ruling [*jasag*] prince of Üjümüchin. He was, under Pungsug-rabdan, to go on a punitive expedition against Chingünjab in 1756. He was awarded a knob of the sixth rank after the campaign ended. Later he was awarded the post of imperial guard for his merit and lived in the establishment of the prince, down in the Dongchang alley, outside of the Donghua gate of Beijing. He also went beyond the pass [to Mongolia]. His first wife was an *ingji* of the princess. After she died, a commoner Fan Erju betrothed his younger sister to Han as his second wife. So the prince gave him a break for five months with travel permit. Han set out to Taigu county to take his wife on QL33, VI, 09 [July 22, 1768] and arrived there on QL33, VII, 22 [September 2, 1768]. Han claimed that his identity was not fake and what he said could be proven by the archives of the Court of Dependencies. Above was the report. I issued an order to call Han Quanfu to Taiyuan and inquired of him in person. The situation corresponded to the former report. My investigation revealed that Han Quanfu was formerly a commoner. It was said that he became a bondservant of the imperial son-in-law Gombojab while he was child. Later he joined the army and was awarded the post of imperial guard for his merit. Since I have no archives to check the validity of his statement, and as a Mongol official, he should not be allowed to marry a commoner's daughter. Although no other troubles have happened so far, this case was related to Mongol officials. Were there any related archival records in the Court of Dependencies? I did not dare to conceal this case. It should be reasonable to submit an imperial memorial respectfully to inform your majesty of the reality together with the travel permit for your inspection. I beg your majesty's perusal and ordered the Court of Dependencies to investigate this person's background and report the result, so we can decide how to handle this case. Here I respectfully memorialized to your majesty.

[Imperial Endorsement] Let the related office investigate this person's background and report the result to me.

QL33, VIII, 10 [September 20, 1768]

Appendix III

Documents Regarding the Bandi Case of 1738

1. *Qing Gaozong shilu*, juan 80, 259.

乾隆三年十一月丙辰

刑部議覆，理藩院疏請，因罪賞給公主之原任尚書班第等子孫，可否准其赦回，得旨，從前因罪發遣人員，其子孫例得請旨放回，今班第等三案，皆可准其回旗，但係賞給公主之人，應行文詢問額駙，或欲留伊等子孫，在彼差遣，或無緊要驅使之處，可以聽其回旗，俟回奏到日，再降諭旨。

QL3, XI, 8 [December 18, 1738]

Reply from the Board of Punishment after deliberation and requested by the Court of Dependencies, for the cases of the descendants of the minister Bandi who had formerly been allotted to the princess as punishment of crime, that they should be pardoned and allowed to return to their original banner and others. We have received an imperial edict that for those who were formerly given [to princesses] as slaves due to crimes, their offspring should be able to return to their original banner after requesting imperial permission. Now the three cases of Bandi and others were subject to this ruling and have been granted permission to return to their original banners. However, since they were people who were given to the princess, the imperial son-in-law should be asked about whether he wishes to keep those people as his underlings, or if they are not needed urgently, will let them regain their former status as bannermen. Another imperial edict will be issued after receiving the reply of the imperial son-in-law.

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◆ Education

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M.A. Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, 2010
M.A. Ethnology, National Chengchi University, Taipei, 2005
B.A. Ethnology, National Chengchi University, Taipei, 2001

PhD Dissertation:

“Mongolization of Han Chinese and Manchu Settlers in Qing Mongolia, 1700–1911.” Indiana University, 2017.

Committee: Christopher P. Atwood (Co-Chair), György Kara (Co-Chair), Jonathan Schlesinger, Ron Sela

MA Thesis:

“論清朝前期的滿洲文化復興運動 [The Manchu Cultural Revitalization Movement during the Early Qing Period].” National Chengchi University, 2005. (*In Chinese*)

(Text: <http://www.academia.edu/221623/0006>)

Advisor: Chi-fa Chuang 莊吉發 and Mei-hua Lan 藍美華

◆ Research Interests

History of Inner Asia: Early Modern and modern Mongolia, Tibet, and Manchuria
History of China: Conquest Dynasties, Late Imperial and Modern China
Cultural Anthropology: Ethnicity, Migration, and State

◆ Language

Chinese (Mandarin and Southern Min dialect) (Native), English (Advanced-High), Mongolian (Advanced), Tibetan (Intermediate), Russian, German, French, Manchu (Reading), Japanese (Limited Reading)

◆ Research Grants, Fellowships and Awards

2015-2016	Fellowship for Doctoral Candidates in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica
2014-2015	College of Arts and Sciences Dissertation Year Research Fellowship, Indiana University
Oct 2012	Travel Grants, Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, Taiwan

◆ Professional Experience and Service

2015 Summer- 2016 Summer	Doctoral Candidate Fellow, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica (Sponsor: Research Fellow Hsi-yuan Chen 陳熙遠)
2014 Fall- 2014 Winter	Visiting Scholar, Department of History, Peking University (Sponsor: Professor Luo Xin 羅新)
2013 Summer- 2014 Spring	Visiting Scholar, Department of History, National University of Mongolia (Sponsor: Professor Delgerjargal Purevsuren)
2011 Fall- 2013 Spring	Treasurer, Tibetan Studies Student Association, Indiana University (Supervisor: Professor Elliot Sperling)
2011 Fall- 2012 Fall	Research Assistant, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University (Employer: Professor Christopher P. Atwood)
2012 Summer	Chinese Language Tutor, Flagship Chinese Institute, Indiana University (Director: Professor Vivian Ling)
2011 Summer	Chinese Language Tutor, Flagship Chinese Institute, Indiana University (Director: Professor Jennifer Liu)
2010 Spring- 2011 Spring	Associate Instructor, Course: E 103 Great Wall of China and E 104 Mongol Conquest, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University Bloomington (Instructor: Professor Christopher P. Atwood)

2010 Summer	Chinese Language Tutor, Flagship Chinese Institute, Indiana University (Director: Professor Jennifer Liu)
2007-2008	Contract Assistant, “史語所數位知識總體經營計畫–民族學調查標本、照片與檔案 [The Project of Historical and Cultural Heritages developed in the Institute of History & Philology–Digital Archives for Ethnological Artifacts, Photos and Scripts],” Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica (Project Director: Professor Ming-ke Wang 王明珂) (Website: http://ethno.ihp.sinica.edu.tw ; http://dahcr.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/02_5.php)
2005-2006	Mandatory military service (Navy, ROC [Taiwan])
2004-2005	Adjunct Project Research Assistant, “後共產時期蒙古歷史書寫之研究 [A Study on the Historical Writings in Post-Communist Mongolia],” a research project financially supported by National Science Council, NSC932411H004023, directed by Professor Mei-hua Lan 藍美華 (Project Report: nccuir.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/5121/1/932411H004023.pdf)
2003-2004	Adjunct Project Research Assistant, “中亞及外高加索地區研究資料庫之建立及該區各國國情研究：蒙古及吉爾吉斯 [The Construction of the Resource Database for and a Study on Current Conditions of Central Asian and South Caucasian Countries: Mongolia and Kyrgyzstan],” a research project financially supported by National Science Council, NSC922414H004030, directed by Professor Mei-hua Lan 藍美華 (Website: http://www.mongolianstudies.org/index.html)
2002	Interviewer, “臺灣選舉與民主化調查 [A Survey on the Election and Democratization of Taiwan],” a research project financially supported by National Science Council, TEDS2002, directed by Professor Chi Huang 黃紀

◆ Academic Publications

Research Paper:

“從蒙匪、英雄到環保先鋒：嘎達梅林在現代中國的表述與政治 [From Mongol Bandit to Hero to Pioneer of Environmental Protection: Representations and Politics of Gada Meiren in Modern China].” *蒙藏季刊* [Mongolian and Tibetan Quarterly] 22, no. 3 (October 2013): 64-84. (*In Chinese*) (A peer-reviewed publication) (Text: <http://www.academia.edu/2117972/0010>)

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Review of Hans Ulrich Vogel, *Marco Polo Was in China: New Evidence from Currencies, Salts and Revenues*. *歷史人類學學刊* [Journal of History and Anthropology] 13, no. 1 (April 2015): 135-139. (*In Chinese*) (THCI Core) (Text: <https://www.academia.edu/14998806/0020>)

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“Dilemma of Segregation: Mongolization of Han Chinese Settlers and Their Descendants on the Qing Mongolian Border, 1700–1830.” Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference. Sheraton Centre, Toronto, ON, Canada. March 19, 2017.

“清朝公主的荷包 [Property and Financial Management of Imperial Princesses in Qing China, 1617–1911].” 清代的制度與商業工作坊 [Workshop: Institution and Business in Qing China]. Reading Group on Chinese and Western Archives, the Committee for Promotion of

- Ming-Qing Studies. Organizer: Professor Hui-min Lai 賴惠敏. Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan. November 25, 2016. (*Chinese paper and presentation*)
- “Dilemma of Segregation: Mongolization of Han Chinese Settlers on the Qing Mongolian Border, 1700-1911.” Workshop: Road and Belt Networking among Modern China, Inner and Southeast Asia. Organizer: Professor Gray Tuttle. Weatherhead East Asian Institute and Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Columbia University, New York City, NY. November 11, 2016.
- “Status and Identity Change of Manchu Bondservants as Human Dowry of Qing Imperial Princesses.” Empire and Ethnicity: The Second Workshop on the Qing Dynasty and Inner Asia. Renmin University of China, Beijing, China. August 21, 2016. (*English paper and Chinese presentation*)
- “The Great Shabi and Mongolization of Han Chinese Settlers on the Qing Mongolian Border, 1700–1830.” International Seminar on the Belt and Road Initiative and Winter Olympics in Zhangjiakou. Zhangjiakou, Hebei Province, China. August 17, 2016. (*English paper and Chinese presentation*)
- “Evade the State within the State: The Great Shabi and Mongolization of Han Chinese Settlers in Qing Outer Mongolia, 1768-1830.” AAS-IN-ASIA “Asia in Motion: Horizons of Hope.” Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan. June 26, 2016.
- “蒙古、中國與世界：當代歐美蒙元史研究動態與趨勢 [Mongols, China, and the World: Current Trends of Mongol Yuan History in North America and Europe].” “元代的江南士人”系列工作坊 [Serial Workshop: Southern Literati in Yuan China]. Organizer: Professor SAKURAI Satomi 桜井智美. Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan. March 4, 2016. (*In Chinese*)
- “清代公主隨嫁人的身分轉變及其管道 [Status and Identity Change of Qing Imperial Princesses’ Human Dowry].” “檔案文獻 VS 物質文化：制度、技術與商貿史”工作坊 [Workshop: Archival Document and Material Culture: History of Institution, Technology and Trade]. Reading Group on Chinese and Western Archives, the Committee for Promotion of Ming-Qing Studies. Organizer: Professor Hui-min Lai 賴惠敏. Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan. November 27, 2015. (*English paper and Chinese presentation*)
- “滿文檔案與臺灣史研究 [Manchu Archives and Research on History of Taiwan].” 邊區臺灣研究工作坊 [Workshop on Borderland Taiwan]. Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, August 24, 2015. (*In Chinese*)
- “The Great Shabi and Mongolization of Han Chinese Settlers in Qing Mongolia, 1769-1830.” Between Metropole and Periphery: Workshop of Young Scholars on Qing Inner Asian
-

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- “美國的蒙古學研究：現狀與啟示 [Current Situation and Significance of the Mongolian Studies in the U.S.A.]” 2nd Forum of Junior Scholar on History and Order: Current Situation and Prospect of Central Eurasian Studies. Peking University, Beijing, China. September 3, 2014. (*In Chinese*)
- “Review of Pei Huang, *ReOrienting the Manchus: A Study of Sinicization, 1583-1795*.” 4th Symposium of *Shih Yuan: The Journal of Historical Review*. National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan. June 22, 2013. (*In Chinese*)
- “Russo-Qing Competition in Kazakhstan, 1750-1860.” 20th Central Eurasian Studies Conference. Indiana University, Bloomington, IN. April 6, 2013.
- “從蒙匪、英雄到環保先鋒：嘎達梅林在現代中國的表述與政治 [From Mongol Bandit to Hero to Pioneer of Environmental Protection: Representations and Politics of Gada Meiren in Modern China].” Symposium on Cross-strait Ethnology. Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, Taipei, Taiwan. October 28, 2012. (*In Chinese*)
- “From Bandit to Hero to Pioneer of Ecological Protection: The Representation of Gada Meiren in Modern Inner Mongolia.” 13th Annual Conference, Central Eurasian Studies Society, Bloomington, IN. October 20, 2012.
- “The Tibetan Invasion of Tang China in 763.” 19th Central Eurasian Studies Conference. Indiana University, Bloomington, IN. March 3, 2012.
- “當代美國蒙古學研究發展趨勢 [The Current Trends of Mongolian Studies in the U.S.A.]” Symposium on Mongolian and Tibetan Research Development Trend. Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, Taipei, Taiwan. October 23, 2011. (*In Chinese*)
- “Ethnic Riots and Violence in the Mongol Empire: A Comparative Perspective.” The Mongolia Society and PIAC Joint Conference. Indiana University, Bloomington, IN. July 13, 2011.
- “Ethnic Politics and Early Land Reclamation in Qing Guihua Town Tümed Banners.” 18th Central Eurasian Studies Conference. Indiana University, Bloomington, IN. March 5, 2011.
- “Gada Meiren in Contexts: The Representation of a Mongolian Hero in Modern China.” 17th Central Eurasian Studies Conference. Indiana University, Bloomington, IN. March 6, 2010.

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- “清朝公主的荷包 [Property and Financial Management of Imperial Princesses in Qing China, 1617–1911].” Reading Group on Chinese and Western Archives, the Committee for Promotion of Ming-Qing Studies. Organizer: Professor Hui-min Lai 賴惠敏. Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan. October 28, 2016. (*In Chinese*)
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- “清代滿蒙聯姻中公主隨嫁人的蒙古化過程（1636–1912年） [The Process of Mongolization of Human Dowry of Manchu Princesses in Manchu-Mongol Imperial Inter-marriage during the Qing Period, 1636–1912].” Inviter: Research Fellow Zhang Jian 張建. Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China. August 23, 2016. (*In Chinese*)
- “清朝的情報蒐集與邊疆政策的轉型：從 Matthew Mosca 的近作談起 [Information Gathering and Transformation of Qing Frontier Policy: A Discussion of Matthew Mosca’s book *From Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy*].” Guest Talk. Research Group: “Ethnic Minorities and the Formation of Modern China.” Director: Professor Mei-hua Lan 藍美華. National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan. March 6, 2016. (*In Chinese*)
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- “美國的蒙古學研究 [Mongolian Studies in the USA].” and “清代移居蒙古之漢人與滿人的蒙古化（1700-1911） [Mongolization of Han Chinese and Manchu Immigrants in Qing Mongolia (1700-1911)].” Inviter: Professor Yu Yong 于永. Inner Mongolia Normal University, Hohhot, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, China. October 24, 2014. (*In Chinese*) (Report: <http://his.imnu.edu.cn/n35c3.jsp>)
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- “清代移居蒙古之漢人與滿人的蒙古化研究（1700-1911） [A Study on Mongolization of Han Chinese and Manchu Immigrants in Qing Mongolia (1700-1911)].” Inviter: Research Fellow Li Jinxiu 李錦繡. Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China. October 14, 2014. (*In Chinese*)
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- “美國的蒙古學研究 [Mongolian Studies in the USA].” Inviter: Professor Oyunbilig Borjigidai 烏雲畢力格. Renmin University of China, Beijing, China. October 9, 2014. (*In Chinese*)
- “美國的內陸歐亞研究 [Central Eurasian Studies in the USA].” Inviter: Dr. Yuan Jian 袁劍. Minzu University of China, Beijing, China. September 25, 2014. (*In Chinese*) (Report: <http://igea.muc.edu.cn/Newshow.asp?NewsId=265>)
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- “以夷變夏：清代移居蒙古之漢人的蒙古化（1700–1911） [Transforming Chinese into “Barbarians”: Mongolization of Han Chinese in Qing Mongolia (1700-1911)].” Guest Talk. Reading Group on Chinese and Western Archives, the Committee for Promotion of Ming-Qing Studies. Organizer: Professor Hui-min Lai 賴惠敏 and Chung-lin Chiu 邱仲麟. Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan. May 30, 2014. (*In Chinese*) (Report: http://mingqing.sinica.edu.tw/Project_Plan/328)
- “移民、族群性與國家：清代移居蒙古之漢人的蒙古化（1700–1911） [Migration, Ethnicity, and State: Mongolization of Han Chinese in Qing Mongolia (1700-1911)].” Guest Talk. Research Group “Ethnic Minorities and the Formation of Modern China.” Director: Professor Mei-hua Lan 藍美華. National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan. March 15, 2014. (*In Chinese*) (Report: http://hc.nccu.edu.tw/public/view_en.php?main=3&sub=24&ssub=43&id=1587)
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- “美國印第安納大學的中國少數民族研究 [The Chinese Ethnic Studies at Indiana University].” Guest Talk. Research Group “Ethnic Minorities and the Formation of Modern China.” Director: Professor Mei-hua Lan 藍美華. National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan. May 16, 2010. (*In Chinese*)
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◆ Membership

American Anthropological Association (2010-present)

American Historical Association (2010-present)

Association for Asian Studies (2010-present)

Central Eurasian Studies Society (2010-present)

Mongolia Society (2008-present)

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