

Titles of Kazakh Sultans Bestowed by the Qing Empire: The Case of Sultan Ghubaydulla in 1824¹⁾

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I. Introduction

Records of diplomatic transactions between the Qing court and the Kazakh nomads start appearing in Qing historical sources around 1755. That was when the Qing Empire conquered the Junghars. Later the Kazakhs established diplomatic relations with the Qing court, and these relations can be followed in the historical sources up until the mid-nineteenth century. The foundation on which these relations were built was that from 1757 the Kazakh sultans received titles of nobility from the Qing court. Hence, to understand relations between the Kazakhs and the Qing court, we need to study the system of the Qing court's conferring titles on Kazakhs. Yet past research, while acknowledging the existence of the system, has not sufficiently studied it from the viewpoint of Kazakh history.²⁾ In particular, contemporary Chinese studies based on Qing historical sources tend to take for granted Kazakh submission to the Qing court and to understand Kazakh-Qing relations as stable. But elsewhere I have already indicated that Kazakh-Qing relations were quite fluid in the first half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it should be added that recently research on Kazakh titles has been developed in China, especially with regard to the succession of titles.³⁾

This paper reconsiders the Qing system of conferring titles of nobility from the viewpoint of Kazakh sultans.⁴⁾ Since I have already analyzed documents from Kazakh sultans addressed to the Qing court,⁵⁾ here, using Russian sources to place Kazakh diplomacy toward the Qing court in context, I will clarify changes in the diplomacy and, in particular, will seek to show the significance of Qing titles for Kazakhs. Since Kazakhs had established diplomatic relations with Russia already in the first half of the eighteenth century, titles from the Qing court were no doubt not perceived just in connection with relations with the Qing court. Understand-

ing how Imperial Russia perceived such titles is necessary to clarifying its logic of Kazakh rule over the steppe.

This paper focuses on events surrounding Ghubaydulla sultan's succession to the Chinese *han* 汗 title in 1824. In early research on these events, N. A. Aristov (2001: 479) mentioned concern in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the Qing Empire. Later, Boris Gurevich (1983) investigated these events in connection with his study of the history of international relations. Also published was "*Istoriia Kazakhstana* (History of Kazakhstan)" (Kozybaev et al. 2000: 323–328), which used the most recent research results to describe resistance in Kazakhstan against Russian efforts at increased control. But this research based on Russian source materials did not consider Russia's perception of Kazakh titles and did not adequately explain why Russia concerned itself with this issue.⁶⁾ In other words, though these studies are informed by historical sources, they merely repeat statements in the sources and do not ascertain the perspectives of the three parties—the Kazakhs, Imperial Russia, and Qing China. Hence, they cannot show differences in the positions of the three parties. This paper will investigate this matter in detail, relying on historical documents in the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (TsGA RK).

The results of this paper will be, I hope, further our grasp of the nature of Kazakh-Qing relations, the Qing court's bestowing of titles of nobility, and Kazakh perceptions of their relations with the Qing court.

II. Qing Titles for the Kazakhs

II.1. Kazakh tribute to the Qing court and Qing titles

It goes without saying that the Qing court began conferring titles on the Kazakhs only when the Kazakhs began sending tribute delegations to the court. From the perspective of the court, this amounted to bestowing a benefit on the Kazakhs.

The Qing court bestowed on the Kazakhs the following titles of nobility (from higher to lower rank, depending on relations with the Qing court): *han*⁷⁾ (the Chinese rendering of "khan"), prince (*wang* 王), duke (*gong* 公), and gentry (*taiji* 臺吉).⁸⁾ According to the *Zongtong Yili shiyi* 總統伊犁事宜 (Matters Concerning Control of Ili), compiled during the Jiaqing 嘉慶 period (1796–1820), "In Kazakh there were hans, princes, dukes, and gentry, all passed on hereditarily. By means of this system, order was

brought to the nomads of the area.” Thus, the Kazakhs received four titles from the Qing court—han, prince, duke, and gentry—and these were passed on from one generation to the next. However, there were also nonhereditary titles.⁹⁾ The following table shows the succession of titles within the khan clans of the three tribes (table 1). In the Qing historical sources, there are three recognized tribes (*bu* 部)—the Left, Right, and West tribes—but these tribes were based on a confusion of the geographical distribution of the three *juz* (tribal unions) and the three main khan clan lineages.¹⁰⁾

Table 1. Succession to Qing Nobility Titles within the Khan Clans

Title	Succession to title
Kazakh Left Tribe han (<i>Hasake Zuobu han</i> 哈萨克左部汗)	阿卜頼 Abulai*, 瓦里 Wali*, 阿布賽 Ablay, 幹里 Wali (“who inherited the han title in Qianlong 47 [1782]”), 愛必勒 Ghubaydulla
Right Tribe han (<i>youbu han</i> 右部汗)	脫卜柯依 Tauke, 阿布勒班畢特 Abulmambet, 博羅 Bolat, 托霍木 (Toghum, “who inherited the <i>han</i> title in Jiaqing 14 [1809]”)
Right Tribe prince (<i>youbu wang</i> 右部王)	必斯 Abulfeyz (“the second son of Abulmambet”), 杭霍卓 Khankhoja, 霍卓 Jankhoja/Janbubek (“who inherited the prince title in Jiaqing 5 [1800]”)
West Tribe [<i>xibu</i> 西部]	Tursun, Kuchuk, Adil, Sama

Note: * = romanization of the name in Chinese

Also, information in *Qinding Xinjiang shilüe* 欽定新疆識略 was helpful in determining the names of recipients of the *taiji* title.¹¹⁾ Among previous researchers, Saguchi Tōru 佐口透 (1963: 272–303) has already analyzed Kazakh tribute in detail using historical sources produced by the Qing court, and Li Sheng (2004: 136–137) has shown the number of title successions. Hence, here it suffices for me to present the basic notions of the Qing court’s conferring titles of nobility.

Though the Kazakhs received titles, they did not incur military obligations. Hence, titles given to Kazakhs differed from titles given to Mongols under the *Jasaγ* system. That is, according to the logic of Qing control, Kazakhs were not considered outer vassals (*waifan* 外藩) in a narrow sense, in contrast with the Mongols and Muslims of Xinjiang.¹²⁾

II.2. The system of bestowing titles from the Russian perspective

What was the Russian perspective on Kazakh titles of nobility? I. Andreev (1998: 42), a Russian soldier who investigated the Kazakh steppe,

viewed the Qing title of *wang* (prince) for Kazakhs as equivalent to the Russian titles of duke (*kniaz'*) or count (*graf*). This same Andreev left the following account of the conferral of a title after a Kazakh request and Qing court decision: "Succeeding to the title of Khankhoja, who died in 1799, was his son Jankhoja (*Ianbubek*).¹³⁾... Jochi (*Iuchi*), who was Abulfeyz's son and Khankhoja's uncle, also sought the title, but the Qing court decided not to grant it to him."¹⁴⁾ The Kazakhs, in a council of nobles called the Kurultai (Erofeeva 2003: 14), traditionally granted the title of khan to the descendents of Chinggis Khan. Hence, from the above statement as well, we can ascertain that the titles granted by the Qing court (the han title in particular) were different from the traditional Kazakh khan title (Noda 2005b: 037).

Of course, when Kazakhs requested titles from the Qing court, the "self-appellations"¹⁵⁾ that they requested reflected to some extent the organization of Kazakh society. But Ablay, before he ascended the Kazakh throne as khan, had already received the Qing court nobility title of han, and the Qing court never conferred the nobility title of han on Nurali, the Kazakh khan of the Small Juz. Hence, there was no one-to-one correspondence between Kazakh khan and Qing han (a title of nobility for the nomads of Central Asia). Soon after Ablay opened relations with the Qing court, he inquired about the sorts of titles that the Qing conferred. In his request, he said, "If the great Emperor (*ejen*) were to favor me with the title prince (*wang*), this would be welcome, and if with the title han, this would be even more welcome."¹⁶⁾ Thus we know that he expected to receive the title of either prince or han.

Noteworthy in the quote above concerning Jankhoja is that the Kazakh sultans fought over titles of nobility granted by the Qing court. This fact buttresses the notion that there was rivalry among the sultans, especially those of different clans, over Qing court titles of nobility and the Russian public office of *agha-sultan*, discussed below.¹⁷⁾ From another perspective, it also shows the considerable value attached to the titles of nobility of the Qing court.

II.3. The Reception of Qing envoys

Because Russia, from the beginning, was aware of Kazakh tribute to the Qing court and succession to the Qing title of han, one can also find in Russian historical sources information on titles bestowed on Kazakhs by the Qing court.¹⁸⁾ While there is nothing that shows Kazakh perceptions,

yet since Russian sources do tell us about circumstances in considerable detail, here I will present a few cases.

First, N. G. Ogarev,¹⁹⁾ the commander of the Siberian fortress line, reported on what was notable in a letter from the Kazakh sultan on the ceremony for Wali's succession in 1781 to the han nobility title. In the ceremony, Wali, on a white felt carpet (*beloi voilok*), was lifted up, and the han ("khan" in the text) title was conferred on him.²⁰⁾ For his deceased father, Ablay, 100 head of sheep were slaughtered. A fire was lit, and various silk items, along with numerous slips of paper,²¹⁾ were thrown into the fire. Also, the Qing envoy brought out a chair (*kreslo*) covered in glass beads, in which Wali sat and was lifted up. The chair thus symbolized the Qing court's recognition of Wali's succession to the Qing nobility title of han (*khanskoe dostoinstvo*).²²⁾ Moreover, according to Manchu documents examined by Alatang'aoqier 阿拉騰奧其爾 and Wu Yuanfeng 吳元豐, Wali knelt down three times and kowtowed nine times (*sangui jiukou*),²³⁾ but the Russian sources do not mention this, so it is possible that the Qing envoy made this up.

Here I would like to draw attention to the fact that the ceremony performed when the Qing envoy visited for the succession to the Qing han nobility title imitated the traditional ceremony that Kazakhs performed for ascension to the Kazakh khan.²⁴⁾ This ceremony had the effect of enhancing the prestige of Kazakh khans in their society. Wali himself, in his letter to Ogarev, wrote, "Before the envoy [from the Qing court] and according to precedents of our laws, I succeeded my deceased father to the position of khan" (TsIKKh2: 107, here and below, italics in cited texts were added by the author). It is not clear whether the ceremony for ascension to the traditional position of khan and that for succession to the Qing title of han were carried out separately or not, but for the Russians who received Wali's report on ascension to the position of "khan," the distinction between the khan and han titles was not at all clear. That is, the Russians conflated succession to the Qing title of han with ascension to the traditional Kazakh position of khan.

Also, Andreev (1998: 43–44) conveys to us the scene of Sultan Khankhoja's receiving the imperial envoy from the Qing court in February 1784. The Qing detachment was headed by a unit commander (*Ambo* in the text²⁵⁾) and 2 "generals," and consisted of 50 Kalmyks (Torghuts or Oyirats), 50 Mongols, and 6 Manchus. On the Kazakh side, there were 1,000 men under 4 sultans. One can thus see what a grand affair it must have been.

At the reception, twelve tents arranged in a circle partitioned an area of the steppe, and various foods were laid out. For the Qing commander, a felt tent was ordered set up. When the commander came, the whole assembly stood silently at attention, and the commander entered within the felt tent. Someone asked who Sultan Khankhoja was, to whom the imperial edict, or letter should be passed on. After the Kazakhs pointed out the individual responsible, the order was issued that everyone be seated. An attendant was ordered to read the imperial edict, and the imperial gifts were presented to the Kazakhs.²⁶⁾ Thus was the reception carried out. And three days later, it is recorded, a memorial service was held for the preceding generation. Thus, we discover that the Qing envoy was also obliged to hold a memorial service for Khankhoja's deceased father, Abulfeyz.

In addition, a Tatar mulla in Tarbaghatai, Qurbanghali, who was acquainted with the Kazakh history, wrote, "Duke (*gong*) is equivalent to the Russian position of agha-sultan."²⁷⁾ This comparison of the Qing nobility title of duke to the position of agha-sultan in Russian areas of control is of great interest in considering the significance of Qing nobility titles among the Kazakhs. In any case, the existence of and facts concerning the imperial edict addressed to Khankhoja (held by his descendents) and the imperial edicts addressed to Ablay Khan and his posterity (held by close relatives of Shoqan Valikhanov) show the high value that Kazakh sultans placed on imperial letters.²⁸⁾

Needless to say, the Qing court, by bestowing titles of nobility, sought to draw the Kazakh ruling class closer to itself. From the considerations of this section, we can infer that during generational transitions from one sultan to another, visits of Qing imperial envoys, grand traditional ceremonies, and imperial edicts from the Qing emperor all helped to give authority to the sultan in Kazakh society.

It is difficult to know what Kazakhs thought about offering tribute to the Qing court. All we have is Qurbanghali's report²⁹⁾ of what Sultan Jamantay said, which suggested that he was unsatisfied with the pro forma reception he got when he presented himself at the Qing court.

After the death of Ablay Khan, who maintained his power as the head of a Middle Juz by means of bilateral diplomacy with both Russia and China (Noda 2005b), his eldest son Wali continued in his footsteps. During Wali's reign, relations between Russia and China were turbulent. Amid such unstable conditions, Kazakh tribute missions to the Qing court and visits by Qing envoys continued, though not with the frequency

of former times. In a Russian investigative report as well, there is a record of a Chinese imperial envoy to Wali's succession to the han nobility title (Andreev 1998: 41). The fact that Russia would make note of an envoy from the Qing court indicates that Russia constantly observed Kazakh tribute to the Qing court. Wali died in 1821, and in 1822 the Russian Empire introduced new regulations to the Kazakh steppe. What effect did these regulations have on Kazakh relations with the Qing court? Vividly reflecting this change is the case of Ghubaydulla's declining the han title, which I study in detail in the next section.

III. Sultan Ghubaydulla and the Han Title

III.1. The "last" tribute mission from the Kazakhs

First, let me briefly touch on the reasons why I want to look at the Ghubaydulla incident. For one, the case is ideal for studying the Kazakh reaction to the 1822 regulations on Siberian Kirgiz (*Ustav o sibirskikh kirgizakh*), an important instance of Russia's exerting control over the Kazakh steppe, and also for considering the different expectations of Russia and Qing China with regard to the Kazakh steppe. Also, the case represents a turning point in the history of Kazakh nobility titles. Documents pertaining to this case are collected in fund 338, catalog 1, case 401 of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan.³⁰⁾ In this paper, I rely mainly on these documents and historical materials in *Tsinskaiia imperiia i Kazakhskie khanstva* (The Qing Empire and the Kazakh khanates) to research this case.

The Ghubaydulla case started in 1823 as part of the "last" Kazakh tribute mission to the Qing court. According to a report by Bedel Nigmatov, a Tashkent merchant who traveled over the Kazakh steppe between Xinjiang and Russia, the mission consisted of nine sultans, including Tauke, who was a son of Aghaday, *gong* of the Right Tribe (TsIKKh2: 135, 147–148). Alternatively, according to *Da Qing lichao shilu* 大清歷朝實錄 (Veritable Records of the Qing Dynasty), the thirty-nine member mission was headed by the official envoy Ishim, who was a son of Toghum, han of the Right Tribe.³¹⁾ In fact, Ghubaydulla's younger brother traveled with the mission as far as Ili, and its purpose was to request succession to a title.³²⁾

There is also a report on this mission left by the Russian Orthodox mission in Beijing. Of particular interest is the rare description of the sul-

tans in Beijing. According to the report sent back to Kyakhta, the physician attached to the Russian Orthodox mission met three of the Kazakh “sultans.” Because they spoke neither Manchu nor Chinese, the Tatars who accompanied them interpreted for them in Russian.³³⁾ In the conversation of that time, it was mentioned that Kazakh tribute missions occurred once every three years. Hence, we can infer that there were tribute missions not mentioned in the Qing sources.³⁴⁾ The fact that this report was included in case 401 indicates that Russia too thought that the movements of this mission were related to Ghubaydulla’s title.

The Qing court already knew of Wali’s death on the 23rd July 1822 (in Julian).³⁵⁾ According to Russian sources, at the end of that year a letter arrived from the military governor in Ili and the councilor of Tarbaghatai inviting Ghubaydulla, Wali’s son, to Beijing.³⁶⁾ Later Ghubaydulla formally sent his younger brother Sultan Jantore to Beijing as part of the mission seeking an imperial audience. Jantore delivered to the military governor in Ili a letter written in Turkic saying that the Kazakhs, in council, decided that Ghubaydulla was to succeed to the title of han. In response, the Daoguang emperor, on the 16th December 1823, issued imperial instructions to that effect.³⁷⁾

The mission carrying the emperor’s edict arrived at Ghubaydulla’s pastures the next year, in 1824, and presumably the ceremony for succession to the han title was carried out. However, this imperial letter was never handed to Ghubaydulla.

III.2. Details of the Ghubaydulla incident

In 1822 the Russian government established new regulations for most of the nomadic pasture of the Middle Juz. Then, Russia would no longer recognize the “khan” of the Middle Juz. Russia divided the steppes into districts (*okrug*) and for each district, established an agha-sultan (āgha sultān, *starshii sultan* in Russian) as its representative. The practice of the time was for the agha-sultan to be elected from one of the Kazakh khan clans. The agha-sultan elected for the Kokchetav district, in the northern central part of the steppe, was Ghubaydulla.³⁸⁾ According to the understanding of the Omsk provincial council, Ghubaydulla regarded all of the provisions of the regulations of 1822 as advantageous and had himself requested the establishment of the district (MIPSK: 140–141).

The next report marks the beginning of a disturbance that embroiled the West Siberian governor-general and the Russian Ministry of Foreign

Affairs. According to the report, Ghubaydulla's "son" headed out from Ili to Ghubaydulla's residence,³⁹⁾ and in pursuit, a Qing detachment of "500 men"⁴⁰⁾ left Ili on May 15 and headed west on the Kazakh steppe.⁴¹⁾ A Qing historical source informs us that this detachment was the Ili detachment under the unit commander Leshan 樂善.⁴²⁾ This detachment appears again on June 28.⁴³⁾ Its purpose, which the Russian army had already grasped, was to invest Ghubaydulla with the title of han and to deliver numerous offerings for mourning Wali's death. Without obtaining permission from Russia, Ghubaydulla, in secret, personally went to meet the Qing detachment.⁴⁴⁾ Of particular interest is the fact that the above information is from the report from a Kazakh sultan to the Russian authorities in which Sultan Tursun informs them that the Qing detachment passed through his pastures.⁴⁵⁾ Tursun was the grandson of Bokey, who was proposed as the next khan by Russia. Here it is necessary to consider the rivalry among different sultan clans.

Later, Ghubaydulla approached the camp of the Qing detachment, which had reached Baianaul, but on July 8 he was captured by Kalbyshev, a Cossack lieutenant, and the next day was forced to meet the Qing commander with the Russian army.⁴⁶⁾

To determine how to deal with this incident, the matter had to go through various levels of the Russian domestic bureaucracy (See Figure 1), so considerable time was required. In short, views differed among the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the West Siberian governor-general, the Omsk provincial director, and the military detachment at the scene and these differences should be taken into account, but I wish to deal with this issue on another occasion.

Here I will pass over the views of local lower-level government offices and treat the report dated August 10 from Kaptsevich, the West Siberian governor-general, to Nessel'rode, minister of foreign affairs (report no. 1), as reflecting the views of those on the scene. **Report no. 1** presents the following as the main points of the Ghubaydulla incident (TsIKKh2: 141–144).

- A Qing detachment came to present the han title to Ghubaydulla, who was already a Russian subject.
- The Qing detachment met several times with the Russian official and Ghubaydulla, and then returned home.
- Ghubaydulla was captured and escorted to Omsk in Siberia.

Report no. 1, cautioning about misgivings of the Qing court and criticizing Ghubaydulla for his attitude, was thus sent to the minister of foreign affairs.

In response, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on August 15, sent an order (**order no. 1**) to the West Siberian governor-general. The gist can be summarized as follows (TsIKKh2: 144–147):

- In dealing with Chinese subjects, Russian officials operating in the field should follow the regulations for friendly relations with the Qing court [the Treaty of Kyakhta].
- Valuing a friendly alliance with Qing China, the Russian government makes every effort to help commanders coming from Ili to accomplish their purposes.
- Ghubaydulla is to be released in his home territory.
- Should Ghubaydulla's son Bolat seek to meet with representatives of the Qing government, Russian officials should not interfere.

What is clear from these Russian sources is that the Russian government attached great importance to maintaining good relations with Qing China based on the Treaty of Kyakhta. One can see here that even though Ghubaydulla's behavior was viewed as treason, the Russian government sought to deal with the matter by ignoring it so as not to provoke the Qing government.

III.3. Ghubaydulla's Report

Among the historical sources related to the present case, the one that most clearly shows strong Russian intervention is Sultan Ghubaydulla's report to the Qing *amban* (probably, the councilor of Trabaghatay), which I will examine here. First, let us consider the circumstances of the submission of this report. As touched on in the previous section, the Qing detachment on July 9 held a trilateral meeting with the Russian army and Ghubaydulla. Since **report no. 2**, the report to the West Siberian governor-general, discussed above, clearly expresses the nature of the dealings, I would like to quote from it somewhat at length:

The Qing *amban*, through his subordinates, sought a meeting to settle the matter. Present at the meeting were [the grade 8 civil servants] Putintsov and Kalbyshev. *Ghubaydulla was also permitted to attend*

to explain himself to the amban. Sultan [Ghubaydulla] explained himself thus: “I and my subordinates, as Russian subjects, can no longer receive the han title (*khanskoe zvanie*) from the Qing government. True, last year I sent my brother to the court in Beijing to seek the han title, but since the title *does not accord with Russian law*, I came to Baianaul *not to seek the han title but to renounce (otrechenie) it.*” In addition to this statement, Ghubaydulla also gave Qing representatives a signed document (*list*) renouncing the title.... However, because he neglected to bring his seal with him, this document lacked Ghubaydulla’s official seal. Hence, the amban did not accept the document, but instead regarded his oral declaration as sufficient.⁴⁷⁾

As shown here, Ghubaydulla submitted a document to the amban to explain himself. As report no. 1 states, Ghubaydulla was being held captive by the Russian army. Thus, we are led to think that his participation in the meeting and the text of his statement largely reflected Russian intentions.

Russian objectives in Kazakh can be discovered from a notice from the Omsk provincial director residing in Pavlodar to Ghubaydulla dated July 9 (**notice no. 1**). Since the whereabouts of the original Turkic text are unknown, I quote the Russian translation here.

We have discovered that you received an invitation from the Qing court, that you cast aside your position in the district (*divan*) office, and that *you decided to leave the district* without seeking permission from your superiors. After you entered under Russian protection (*pokrovitel'stvo*) and swore before God your loyal subjection (*vernodobroe poddanstvo*) to the Russian emperor, it is your duty not to have any type of relations with the Qing government. Moreover, *you may not acquire any title or position (zvanie i dostoinstvo)* from the Qing government.... You also may not receive gifts from the Qing court.... [If you do so] you betray the oath that you took when we established the Kokchetav district, and you will be regarded as a betrayer of that oath.⁴⁸⁾

In fact, it is not clear whether or not Ghubaydulla sought to escape from under Russia’s influence as is written here. However, at least it is clear that an envoy visited from the Qing court, as is attested also in Qing historical sources. Article 86 of the 1822 regulations prohibited such visits: “Chinese subjects crossing the Kazakh steppe without permission of the gov-

ernment shall be sent to the provincial office, and the director will escort them to Kyakhta so that they can be delivered [back to China]” (MIPSK: 97). More important is that Ghubaydulla already swore allegiance to Russia. This means that Ghubaydulla and his people became Russian subjects. And the Russian intent was that they were not permitted to receive titles or positions from the Qing court.

What effect did this severe reprimand of Ghubaydulla have on his explanation to the amban? In addition to the contents, Ghubaydulla’s choice of words is also interesting. Hence, I will present both a transcription and translation of the text.⁴⁹⁾

Transcription

qūpīya⁵⁰⁾ |

Uluğ Ejen boğda hānniñ noyan ambuğa⁵¹⁾, biz ki Ğubaydullāh hān Walī hān oğlıdan

Sözümüz bu dur, bilturğı yıldı inim Jantörä sulṭānni Ejen hānniñ yüzdin körüp hām hānluğumini tilep yibārgānim durst alayda bolsa, bilmāslik qılıp yibārüp erdim. Rūsīya yurtunıñ uluğ imperātor aq pādīshāhğa anṭumın berip, hām durustluqda qur’ān-i šarīfin öpip albatu bolğanım rāst alayımda bolsa, yolimini quwalap yiki uluğ yurtunıñ hānları bu tiläküminä na-lāzım körmäs dep bilgenim yoq. Noyan ambuğa körüşüp taykayım dep kelgānim rāst, emdi yeñä bildim, bu kelgenim yusun šarīgatkä⁵²⁾ na-mağqul eken, anıñ üçün noyan ambuğa mağlūm edāmin. Ejen hāndin bezip hānluq tilāmāymin, Rūsīya yurtunıñ noyan māyūr hām yašāwıldan amrun şurap ordamizğa qayṭayuq dep ṭuramiz, inanmaq üçün muhrumini başdum. Biz Ğubaydullāh Walī hān oğlı qolum başdum.

Translation

To Your Majesty, Councilor of the Great Bogda Ejen Khan [Qing emperor]

From Ghubaydulla khan, son of Wali khan

I humbly report the following. Without a doubt, last year I sent my younger brother, Sultan Jantore, so that he could bow down before the Ejen Khan and seek the han title for me. However, I dispatched him without adequate forethought. It is true that *I have sworn an oath to the White Khan, the Great Russian Emperor, have sincerely kissed the sacred Koran, and have become his subject*. Seeking my own way, however, I did not realize that the khans of the two great powers did not find any

justification for my above-mentioned hope. I have indeed come here to bow deeply in front of Your Majesty, even though I understand that customary laws and *sharia* do not permit me to come here. Therefore, I would like to inform Your Majesty that *I wish to leave Ejen khan, I do not seek the position of han*, I would like to take orders from the Major of the Russian Army and the Captain of the Cossacks, and I would like to return to my pastureland. For authenticity, I have affixed my seal. Signed Ghubaydulla khan, son of Wali khan.

In this document, Ghubaydulla says to the Qing commander that he has become a Russian subject, and that for this reason he cannot submit to the Qing court and Russia at the same time. In view of the fact that formerly, most sultans of the Middle Juz, sultans such as Ablay Khan and Wali Khan, submitted to both Russia and China at the same time, Russia's prohibiting relations with Qing China, as affirmed in **notice no. 1**, appears oppressive. There is no date on this document, but **report no. 2** makes it clear that it was used in the July 9 meeting between the amban and the Russian officials.

Ghubaydulla submitted his report to the Qing envoy to defend himself. **Report no. 2** quotes Ghubaydulla's explanation, but its language differs in many places from that of Ghubaydulla's report. Therefore, report no. 2 reflects what Russia sought to have Ghubaydulla include in his report. In Ghubaydulla's report one finds "I do not seek the position of han," whereas in **report no. 2** this becomes "I renounce the han title." Thus, the Russian desire to have the han title returned finds strong expression here. In other words, one can perceive here a stern Russian warning against Ghubaydulla's bearing the han title.⁵³⁾

Next let us consider the form of Ghubaydulla's report. Though this is but a copy, since there are limited documents from the Kazakhs to the Qing court, this is a valuable historical source. This document does not follow the form of Qing court documents, as there is no breaking of lines to elevate words pertaining to the superiors, etc. Elements of Tatar indicate that this document resembles those that the Kazakhs addressed to Russian officials. Yet use of the word "albatu" (sometimes translated into Chinese as *chenpu* 臣僕, servant, originally means "belongings") indicates that perhaps someone familiar with Qing court style was involved in writing this document.⁵⁴⁾ It seems that the word "albatu" that Kazakhs used to express the meaning of subject toward Russia was here intentionally used toward the Qing court in order to express the situation.

Here by analyzing Ghubaydulla's report and the circumstances of its writing, I hope to have shown that Ghubaydulla, as a result of Russian pressure, was compelled to convey to the Qing envoy that he was a Russian subject, and to decline the Qing han title.

III.4. Surrounding Russo-Chinese relations

Since I have previously investigated Russo-Chinese relations as they relate to the Ghubaydulla incident (Noda 2002b), here I would like to make some additional comments. Chinese research relies on *Qingdai waijiao shiliao* 清代外交史料, but relying solely on this work allows one to see only dealings between central governments.⁵⁵⁾ The administrative districts that Russia introduced played a great role in enabling it to expand its control of the Kazakh steppe. To what extent did the Qing court grasp this development? Because diplomatic dealings between the two countries were focused mainly on issues of national boundaries, this issue was never discussed. But in fact, as if concerned with this very issue, Russia, in May 1824, conducted a survey in Maimaicheng 買賣城 (the Chinese commercial district to the south of Kyakhta) and determined that the Qing court knew nothing about the new administrative system of the Kazakh steppe (TsIKKh2: 132).

As Boris Gurevich has shown from historical sources located in the Russian National Historical Archives (St. Petersburg) (Gurevich 1983: 229) and from documents in the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the local Russian detachment informed the Qing detachment of the 1822 regulations. According to a report dated July 9, 1824, from Kalbyshev to Bronevsky, the Omsk provincial director, the detachment relayed the following information:

We made the following proposal to the Qing officials.... "When [you] are lured out by the words of the envoy, residing at the frontier city Ili, from Ghubaydulla, or come out of China for other reasons, we, as good neighbors, always escort you on Russian territory from Kazakh on your way home and protect you from expected misfortune. His majesty our loving emperor made these same Kazakhs full-fledged subjects (*sovershennoe potdanstvo*), and just recently *a new order (poriadok novogo ustroistva) has been instituted among them.*"⁵⁶⁾

Thus the Russian detachment, on the one hand, proposed escorts⁵⁷⁾ in order to avoid further provoking the Qing court and, on the other hand, formally informed the Qing that the Kazakh steppe had become Russian territory and that a new system, the 1822 regulations, was instituted. Through this communication the Qing court perhaps first learned that Russia had strengthened its control of the Kazakh steppe. In his report to the court, Leshan, head of the Qing detachment, noted that “Kazakh is now more firmly in the Russian camp,” a statement that agrees with the information above.⁵⁸⁾

Worth noting here is that inquiries about this case were directed to the East Siberian governor-general’s office. From the signing of the Treaty of Kyakhta in 1727, matters concerning the border between Russia and Qing in the east were referred from Kyakhta to Irkutsk to Tobolsk, but after the reorganization of the Siberian governor-generalship in 1822, the East Siberian governor-general’s office had jurisdiction over the eastern border affairs (see figure 2). For example, in preparation for diplomatic dealings with the Qing government, the Omsk provincial director sent a summary of the matter to the East Siberian governor-general on July 8.⁵⁹⁾

Concerning the same dealings, Bronevsky, on July 3, sent Grigorovsky, the chair of the Omsk provincial council, a communication in which he firmly asserted the need to apprehend Qing subjects that visit the Kazakh steppe and repatriate them through Kyakhta (TsIKKh2: 139). Nevertheless, it is clear that Russia was concerned about the reaction of the Qing court. Below I would like to examine the particular points that Russia concerned itself with.

First, in July 1824 the West Siberian governor-general had the Omsk provincial director investigate rumors such as that “some Kazakhs fled to Chinese territory,” that “Russian fishermen in Chinese territory were forced to withdraw,” that “Qing frontier guard posts (*kalun*) was fortified,” that “a caravan of Semipalatinsk merchants in Ili was prohibited from carrying out transactions,” etc.⁶⁰⁾ The upshot of the investigation was that these rumors were a far cry from reality.⁶¹⁾ Though Qing’s strengthening of its border defenses turned out to be false, Russia’s viewing the alleged move as a reaction of the Qing court to the 1822 regulations shows that it was apprehensive about the matter.

Moreover, in the copy of a communication dated March 21, 1825, from the Omsk provincial director to the East Siberian governor-general, one finds a discussion of what the appropriate response would be to the

Qing officials at Kyakhta should there be a question about the 1822 regulations. The Russians speculated that Kazakhs would engage in robbery, and that Qing subjects too would suffer losses. Hence, the appropriate response would be that the introduction of the new regulations and administrative districts was also advantageous for Qing, and that the Russian emperor sought to remain on peaceful terms with the Qing Empire.⁶²⁾

As we have discovered above, the Treaty of Kyakhta was the only framework for Russia and Qing to deal diplomatically with the Ghubaydulla incident, and for this reason it was very significant. In addition, Russia used the Treaty of Kyakhta to negotiate with Qing China so as to prevent Qing envoys from visiting the Kazakh steppe. In documents indicated by Gurevich as well, the local Russian detachment told the Qing detachment, "It is not permitted for the Qing detachment to visit Ghubaydulla's district. If the detachment set one foot in the area, it will be a violation of the treaty" (Gurevich 1983: 229).

In the present section we reached the following conclusions about issues surrounding the Ghubaydulla incident.

1. From the Kazakh perspective, Ghubaydulla failed to succeed to the han title, and he was captured by the local Russian detachment. Though Ghubaydulla was released in accord with a decision reached within the Russian government, later Kazakh relations with Qing were tightly controlled by Russia. Though it is difficult to judge the extent to which Ghubaydulla wished to enter into subjection to the Qing Empire, his actions were contrary to Russia's regulations of 1822 as he was a Russian agha-sultan.
2. What were the positions of Russia and Qing? The Qing court, which failed to grasp Russia's introduction of regulations in 1822, maintained a policy of continuing former relations with the Kazakhs. In contrast, Russia, relying on the new regulations, put Ghubaydulla on "notice" that he had to return the han title and sever relations with the Qing court. However, Russia continued to show consideration toward the Qing government, building on the good relationship it enjoyed with Qing on the basis of the Treaty of Kyakhta.
3. This was the first time that Russia interfered in the transmission of titles among the Kazakhs, yet it was also an important turning point in Russia's rule over the Kazakhs.

In the next section, I wish to explore the changes that occurred after

the Ghubaydulla incident and to clarify the significance of nobility titles for the Kazakhs, the Qing court, and Russia.

IV. Titles for Kazakhs Thereafter

IV.1. Ghubaydulla after the incident

After the Ghubaydulla incident, Ghubaydulla likely remained in his position as agha-sultan. This can be inferred from an order given by the West Siberian governor-general to the Kokchetav district on August 28, 1824: "Since Ghubaydulla and *bi* [a judge or an influential figure in the clan] have been returned to their pastures and Ghubaydulla should have returned to his work as agha-sultan of the district, invite him."⁶³ However, in the 1825 and 1826 elections ordered by the West Siberian governor-general, Wali's grandson Qachqanbay Gabbasov became the newly elected agha-sultan. This result reflected the desire of the authorities to avoid Ghubaydulla's clan on account of Ghubaydulla's conflict with the new system and to elect someone from another clan as agha-sultan. In his report to the West Siberian governor-general dated October 10, 1825, the Omsk provincial director, summarizing the situation in the Kokchetav district, said that though the Ghubaydulla clan is negative about the new regulations, most Kazakhs are positive about it, and that only a few sultans are following Ghubaydulla (KRO2: 222–223). Yet since there is also information that two influential Kazakhs working as delegacies of the district during Ghubaydulla's time banded with Ghubaydulla and left the district office,⁶⁴ one must treat this statement with caution.

Even in these circumstances, Ghubaydulla and his allies made efforts to continue relations with the Qing court. For example, in 1826 Ghubaydulla's sons went to Ili to go to Beijing, but the military governor in Ili refused permission, leaving them with no alternative but to return home.⁶⁵ There is also an instance where *bi* and his followers, along with Ghubaydulla's son Bolat, headed off in the direction of the Qing's territory. According to a September 15, 1828, communication from the Kokchetav district office to the Omsk provincial director Markevich, *bi* and his followers went to Ghubaydulla's residence and then headed to the Qing court as a delegation from Ghubaydulla. The district office attempted to suppress this action of theirs.⁶⁶

A document from the Omsk provincial general office to the Kokchetav district office dated September 18, 1828, gives the following order (**order**

no. 2) concerning the disturbance that Bolat caused among the Kazakhs and also Ghubaydulla's plan to send an envoy to the Qing court.⁶⁷⁾

- Since noncompliance has legal consequences, tell Ghubaydulla and Bolat to cease all actions tending to incite disturbances among the Kazakhs and *instigate opposition to the order (uchrezhdenie) of the Russian government*.
- We must suppress Ghubaydulla and Bolat so that the Kazakhs do not succumb to their agitation. [However,] waiting for permission from the West Siberian governor-general, we should not personally lay hands on them, and even not prevent them from sending an envoy to the Qing court. We must maintain peace among the Kazakhs.

As seen here, for local Russian government offices, it was more important to follow Russian law than to maintain good relations with negotiations with China. Article 56 of the 1822 regulations as well requires agha-sultans to use any and all means to maintain peace and order (MIPSK: 96).

Well, what was the view of the central Russian government about the Ghubaydulla incident? This is first revealed in a notice (**notice no. 2**) dated May 23, 1828, from the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Sultan Bolat, who previously went to St. Petersburg to deliver Ghubaydulla's petition. The petition was about granting (*zhalovanie*) the "khan rank" to Ghubaydulla and about abolishing the district system introduced to the Middle Juz Kazakhs. Already in 1825 Sultan Qasim, Wali's brother, petitioned for abolishing the Kokchetav district, but this petition was, of course, not assented to.⁶⁸⁾ **Notice no. 2**, the emperor's response to Bolat, contained the following points:⁶⁹⁾

- *Under previous khan, not only did disturbances and plunder (baranta)⁷⁰⁾ continue; they actually increased.*
- The rule (*upravlenie*) of most of *Horde* [the Middle Juz] is entrusted to honorable sultans elected by the people, and the Russian government judges this to be an improvement.
- Your father Ghubaydulla early on petitioned about having his own *volost* [an administrative unit of several villages] follow the new regulations. As a result of his voluntary petition and the petitions of the sultans of other volosts, the Kokchetav district was established.

- Your father was elected as agha-sultan, and was granted the title of district chairperson (*predsedatel'*).
- Whatever the reason, the emperor will not consider reviving the useless “khan rank” (*khanskii san*) in the Middle Juz.
- Likewise, requests to abolish the Kokchetav district will not be respectfully entertained.

Despite such a stern admonition from the Russian emperor, in the Qing historical sources there are imperial edict dated 27 November 1828 regarding a petition from the Kazakh han *Aibileda* 愛畢勒達 (Ghubaydulla) and his followers for an imperial audience.⁷¹⁾ One can thus see that they sought an imperial audience, though whether they were granted such an audience cannot be determined.

Notice no. 2, about Ghubaydulla’s petition, lends credence to the notion that in Russia, the logic of notice no. 2 was used to justify not continuing the “khan rank” in the Middle Juz. Of course, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also rejected the two demands delivered by Bolat: revival of the “khan rank” with approval from Russia and abolition of the districts. Consequently, Ghubaydulla’s petition was rejected, and the new system became the norm. As we have already seen in **order no. 2**, the West Siberian governor-general’s office was concerned whether the Kazakhs were following the 1822 regulations.

As for Qing nobility titles, the West Siberian governor-general, in **report no. 1** discussing Ghubaydulla’s report, saw it as an instance where “a sultan disaffirmed restoration (*vosstanovlenie*) of the khans” (TsIKKh2: 142). The Russians perceived the han title conferred by the Qing court as having the same power as the traditional khan position in which Ablay and Wali formerly was.⁷²⁾ It was questioned at this period that the Qing envoy tried to bestow the han title on Ghubaydulla and the word “han” itself was viewed as dangerous.

Yet here, on the contrary, it seems that as a result of the Ghubaydulla incident, the khan appellation was no longer an issue in the context of Russian control of the Kazakh steppe. In other words, it seems that the Russian government as well understood that the Qing han title was no longer connected with the traditional Kazakh position of khan, a position associated with resistance to Russian control. That is, as seen in **notice no. 2** from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the “khan rank” is treated as no longer having the significance that it formerly did because it was artfully replaced with the position of agha-sultan. A case in point

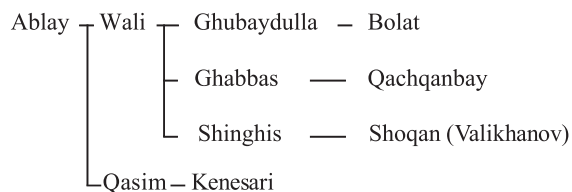
is that in 1826 Altinsari, a son of Toghum met the Qing detachment, just like Ghubaydulla did, and succeeded to the han title for the Kazakh Right Tribe.⁷³⁾

Nonetheless, Russia considered that Altinsari was not recognized as “khan,” and it saw him as not having much influence in Kazakh society (Konshin 1900: 61), whereas it was wary of Ablay Khan, who was from a different clan. For Russia, recognizing Kazakh khans was no longer an issue, as can be seen from a report by the Omsk provincial director: “There have been numerous occasions on which the Kazakhs have received various offices, titles, and appellations.... The Qing court only seeks to make the neighboring Kazakhs into superficial subordinates” (Konshin 1900: 62).

From the Kazakh perspective, after 1822 the Kazakhs continued to elect khans from among themselves,⁷⁴⁾ though Russia did not recognize the “khan rank.” However, the Qing han title was no longer a means of attaining authority, and the “khan rank” ceased to exist, it being artfully replaced by the position of agha-sultan. Thus, later there might have been antagonism among the agha-sultans.⁷⁵⁾ The perception of Kazakh sultans is perhaps reflected by Qurbanghali’s statement that “agha-sultan is equivalent to the former khan position” (Qurban ‘ali: 461).

It is known that later Wali’s nephew Kenesari led a rebellion against the expansion of Russian control and became khan. Steven Sabol has sought to correct the view that this rebellion was a people’s liberation movement. And as argued in *A History of Kazakhstan*, within the larger framework of resistance against Russia, one can connect the actions of Ghubaydulla with the resistance of Sultan Qasim, his sons Sarjan and Kenesari. A special feature of the Ghubaydulla incident discussed in this paper is that Ghubaydulla, responding to the situation, sought to continue receiving Qing titles in order to establish a modus vivendi.⁷⁶⁾ Here I would like to present the genealogy of the Ablay clan.

**Figure 2. Ablay’s descendants (“Left Tribe”
in the Qing historical sources)**



IV.2. The response of the Qing court

It is known that after the Ghubaydulla incident there were a number of dealings about succession to Qing nobility titles (Li 2004: 127–129), but we do not know the circumstances.

Here I would like to add some information related to Ghubaydulla's dealings with the Qing court. As mentioned above, the Qing sources show that Ghubaydulla sought to send a delegation to the Qing court. It is recorded that the imperial letter addressed to Ghubaydulla was carried home the next year, 1825, by his younger brother Saribay.⁷⁷⁾ This is precisely the imperial edict mentioned by Valikhanov (1985: 300–304). Here again we see the significance for the Kazakhs of possessing such a letter.

Next I would like to discuss the notice dated May 8, 1830, from the Councilor of Tarbaghatai to Ghubaydulla (**notice no. 3**).⁷⁸⁾ Among documents providing information on dealings between Ghubaydulla and the Qing court, this is the last that we know of. The extant Russian translation reads as follows:

From the great hebe-i amban [*khobb-amban* in the text], supervising Qing affairs in the mountains of Tarbagatay at the command of the Great Bogda Ejen [Qing emperor]
To Ghubaydulla, khan⁷⁹⁾ of the Kirgiz [Kazakhs]
... All issues related to the Kazakhs are under my direct control. Hence, I order you, who have received the rich blessings of the Bogda Han [emperor], to follow the example of your forbearers, and *like them, receive the titles of han, wang, and gong, and live in peace*. You thus should follow the example of your forbearers... the Great Bogda Han will think of you as his own children. Hence, enjoy the blessings of the Great Bogda Han, rule your people in the best way possible, and in all matters show fairness.⁸⁰⁾

Notice that the Qing court attitude shown here was unchanged from that of before the Ghubaydulla incident, namely, that Ghubaydulla was treated according to his status as a han, and that Kazakhs were asked to follow past traditions. After the Ghubaydulla incident, the Qing court, in its records, referred to Kazakh tribes as “albatu” or “harangga” (meaning subject), an indication that the court regarded the Kazakhs as in some sense subjects of the Qing empire.⁸¹⁾

This communication shows that Russia already knew of the dealings

between Ghubaydulla and the Qing court. Governor-General Vel'iaminov, who had access to **notice no. 3**, concluded from the amban's references to Qing subjects, that "the Qing emperor regards all of the Horde [the Middle Juz] as belonging to the Qing." Showing displeasure over such language, he then asked the army to closely observe Qing movements and deal cautiously with the Qing empire.⁸²⁾ Thereafter, relations between the Wali clan and the Qing court do not appear in the historical sources, and cases where Kazakhs received titles of nobility from the Qing court gradually became limited to sultans with pastureland further to the east, closer to the Qing territory.⁸³⁾ This is probably related to Russia's adopting a harder line after 1830 in dealings with the Qing concerning the Kazakh steppes (Noda 2002b: 130–131).

In their relations with the Qing court, sultans outside the Wali clan could maintain relations with the Qing court in accordance with their interests. Sultan Sart, who succeeded to the title of duke (*gong*) of the Right Tribe, was a subject of Russia while being under the protection of the Qing court. In 1831 the Russian government regarded this situation thus:

Our government did not know of this situation, but in the [Kazakh] *Juz* it was regarded as a natural state of affairs. The reason is that many sultans and former khan take the oath to be subjects of our country and, *out of our sight, receive protection from the Qing court in order to receive trade rights and privileges in Qing border cities.*⁸⁴⁾

As this paper has shown, Russia accurately grasped the bi-lateral diplomacy of the Kazakh sultans and interfered more in Kazakh-Qing relations, especially in the conferring of Qing titles of nobility on the Kazakhs.

V. Concluding Remarks

This paper studied the Qing court's conferring titles of nobility on the Kazakhs and, to understand more fully the significance of such titles, explored in detail Ghubaydulla's failed attempt to succeed to the han title in 1824. The results of this research are the following two points:

First, this paper clarified the role of titles of nobility in Kazakh society, namely, the added prestige that the sultan acquired, particularly during the ascension ceremony. In Ghubaydulla's case, though he expected to be able to succeed to the han title, his oath to Russia and his position as agha-sultan did not allow him to do it because it would violate Russian

law. As a result, he had to personally decline the title. Later, the Kazakhs attempted to maintain relations with the Qing court, but this was incompatible with new regulations that Russia instituted in 1822.

Second, from the Russian perspective, Russia perceived that the Kazakhs were receiving titles of nobility from the Qing court. At first the Russians thought that the Qing han title was a mere duplication of the traditional Kazakh khan position. Russia thought that the khan position was of no help in maintaining peace in Kazakh society, and that the Qing han title was equally worthless. Hence, on the basis of such logic, the Russians could not tolerate the Qing court's bestowing the han title on the Kazakhs. For this reason, in the Ghubaydulla incident, the Russians restricted the Qing court from maintaining its former relations with the Kazakhs, though they were careful not to sever Russo-Qing relations. Toward the Kazakhs, the Russians strengthened diplomatic control of the Kazakhs by promoting compliance with the new system of regulations, no longer consenting to the "khan rank," and doing away with the authority of the khans.

This paper offers many suggestions for exploration when we again take up the study of the process of Russia's annexing the Kazakh steppe. To study this process, it is necessary to look in detail at the contents of the 1822 regulations, which the Russian rule over the Steppe was based on. Hence, I leave this topic for another occasion.

Note: I would like to give special thanks to Dr. Alan Thwaites for the English translation.

Notes

- 1) This is the revised and translated version of Noda 2006.
- 2) First of all, Saguchi Tōru (1963) had analysed their relations. Khafizova (1995: 141–160) discusses the conferring of titles on Kazakhs from the viewpoint of the Qing court.
- 3) Regarding the succession of Wali to the 'han' title, see Alatang'aoqier and Wu 1998. On the failure of the succession of Jochi sultan to the 'gong' title, see Hua 2006.
- 4) "Sultan" is the members of the Kazakh khan family (*töre* in Kazakh).
- 5) Noda; Onuma 2010 (Especially, chapter 3). In that work, I considered the conferral system focusing on the succession.
- 6) Even Aseev (2001), who discusses the efforts of the Kasimov brothers (Sarjan and Kenesari), and Moiseev (2001), who sees Ghubaydulla as constrained by possible harm to the post-1822 system, do not consider the significance

of the *han* title, and thus have an inadequate understanding of the system of conferring titles.

- 7) “罕 *han*” was sometimes used as well.
- 8) A Kazakh envoy mentioned that Sultans were in the lineage (Ma. *giranggi*) of *Taiji*, see QZHDH: vol.1, 180, QL 23.11.23 (1758.3.24), the memorial of the Grand Council. (QL=Qianlong 乾隆)
- 9) Concerning the *gong* title of Ghabbas, the son of Wali khan, an imperial edict said: “This title is not hereditary because it was conferred on behalf of a special favour to the hard working of his [Ghabbas’s] grandfather,” XZSL: vol. 61 (DG 3.11.27 *xinmao*). (DG=Daoguang 道光)
- 10) This is argued in Noda 2002a and Noda 2003 (in Russian).
- 11) Saguchi (1963: 280–287) refers to the succession of titles of the Kazakhs using this literature.
- 12) Kataoka (1998: 256) stated “peripheral states of *waifan*” (Ja. *Gaihan no gai’enkoku*), including Khoqand, Kirghiz, Hunza, and Gurkhas. Nevertheless, we know the example seen in the imperial edict to Ghubaydulla that the Kazakhs was called as *waifan* (1823.12.16, XZSL: vol. 61), thus, we should distinguish *waifan* in a narrow sense (later, *fanbu*) with *waifan* in a wider sense (as tributaries). This problem needs further examination. In another case, Kazakhs and Kirghiz are regarded as “*Mingyi fanbu*” (nominal dependent tribes), see Zhang 2001. Also see Noda; Onuma 2010: 131–132.
- 13) In non-Qing-court historical sources, he is also known as Janbubek, but here I refer to him using the name Jankhoja throughout.
- 14) Andreev 1998: 228. As Saguchi (1963: 285) shows, Qing court historical sources also mention that Jochi hoped to succeed to the title of prince. Also, Hua Li (2006) brings new historical sources to the study of this case.
- 15) This is the term that appears in Qing historical sources (Saguchi 1986: 337–338). Differing somewhat in language from PDZFL, JNTBB (*zhengbian* 41: 45a) says, “Currently Ablay is khan. I promptly conveyed my intent on this appointment. This is an appointment involving only use of the khan title. Among yourselves, you [the Kazakhs] willfully use the title as you please.” Also see, Noda; Onuma 2010: 129.
- 16) JMYD 92(2) military affairs bundle of the first volume of the 10th month: 233–234, imperially endorsed on QL 22.10.7 (1757.11.18), the memorial of Jaohui and Fude.
- 17) Konshin (1903: 2) states that because the clans of the sultans of the Middle Juz were divided, they could not unite for the restoration of the Kazakh khan.
- 18) For the background of this incident, see Noda 2005.
- 19) He was at the post in 1776–88.
- 20) The report of Ogarev to the College of Foreign affairs, 1782.1.22 (Hereafter, the date on Russian documents will be indicated according to the Julian calendar then used in Russia), TsIKKh2: 106. According to the letter from Wali to Ishim sultan (1782.2.1), the Qing envoy shed tears, TsIKKh2: 108.
- 21) This may be the *jiwen* 祭文 (elegiac verse) or *zhiqian* 紙錢 (paper made to resemble money).

- 22) For Ablay's ceremony of the enthronement where he was lifted up on the white felt, see Andreev 1998: 36–37.
- 23) Alatang'aoqier and Wu 1998: 55. Therefore, it is possible that the Qing envoy gave the false report to the court.
- 24) Sela (2003) discusses the Kazakh ascension ceremony.
- 25) It means *Lingdui dachen* 領隊大臣.
- 26) The conversation on this occasion was conducted in Oyirad, and the imperial edict was also written in Oyirad. For the language of the edicts, Noda; Onuma 2010: 133.
- 27) Qurban 'ali: 461. Agha-sultan means the elder sultan. This position was introduced by the new Russian regulation in 1822 toward the Kazakh steppe. Russian documents mentioned it as "*starshii sultan*."
- 28) Li Sheng (2004: 136) refers to the symbolism of the prestige which was in the *dingdaihualing* 頂戴花翎 bestowed by the Qing court.
- 29) Qurban 'ali: 458–459. Jamantay sultan was a member of the tribute delegation in 1809 (14th year of Jiaqing reign). There is a study that makes use of Qing archival sources to introduce an 1809 tribute mission, see Ejenkhan 2005.
- 30) Fund 338 gathers historical documents pertaining to the Omsk provincial office. Omsk National Archive also has items related to the Ghubaydulla case, but when my investigation was carried out in 2008, these materials were not available.
- 31) XZSL: vol. 63 (DG3. 12. 22 *bingchen*).
- 32) XZSL: vol. 61 (DG3. 11. 27 *xinmao*).
- 33) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, ll.217–223.
- 34) Missions were supposed to happen once every one to three years (Huijiang zeli vol.4: 15), but this frequency does not agree with the frequency of imperial audiences mentioned in the historical sources.
- 35) XZSL: vol. 34 (DG2. 4. 18 *gengwu*).
- 36) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, l.78.
- 37) XZSL: vol. 61 (DG 3. 11. 27 *xinmao*).
- 38) This is according to a document dated April 30, 1824 (KRO2: 211). His investiture occurred on April 29. Even after his investiture as agha-sultan, his seal still carried the "khan" title (Erofeeva 2004: 88–89).
- 39) In fact, this was Jantore, his younger brother, mentioned above. He was stationed in Ili by the governor in Ili.
- 40) In a document dated June 29, the figure was revised to "300 men."
- 41) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, ll.1–1ob. (The report dated June 2).
- 42) XZSL: vol. 73 (DG 4. 9. 10 *jihai*).
- 43) The report from Karbyshev to Bronevsky on 06. 29 (TsIKKh2: 133).
- 44) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, l.82.
- 45) Tursun, the agha-sultan of Karkaraly district at this time, received a recommendation from the Omsk provincial director and was a person who took sides with the Russians.
- 46) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, ll.115ob.–116.
- 47) TsGA RK: f.338, d.401, ll.116–116ob.

- 48) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, ll.82–82ob.
- 49) For the photocopy of the text, see Noda; Onuma 2010: 72. For the contemporary translation done by the Russian translator, see TsIKKh2: 140–141.
- 50) This corresponds to the Russian word “*kopiia*” (copy), which implies that this document is not an original, while TsIKKh explains that a document is original.
- 51) In Russian documents, *amban* was often called as “*ambo*.” Thus, this Turkic version of *amban* can be transcribed as such.
- 52) Originally, this implies the Islamic law. In Kazakh documents it often used as a general “law.”
- 53) Qurbanghali, in his writing, displays some confusion about Ghubaydulla’s genealogy, but he says that the Qing court consented to Ghubaydulla’s khan title (*hānlug*). It seems that this is what is being referred to here.
- 54) For the *ejen-albatu* relations supposed by the Qing empire in the Kazakh case, see Onuma 2003 (570), Onuma 2006 and Noda; Onuma 2010. In the Russian explanation, the word “*albatu*” is rendered as “subject” (*poddannyi*) (TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, l.116).
- 55) For example, Jiang 1998 (66–67).
- 56) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, ll.88ob.–89.
- 57) According to the document from the Omsk provincial director to the East Siberian governor-general, the Qing side requested escorts (TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, l.110).
- 58) Memorial from the governor in Ili, Qingshang 慶祥, DG4.8.11 (Qingdai waijiao shiliao vol.2: 3).
- 59) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, ll.78–81ob.
- 60) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, ll.179–179ob.
- 61) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, l.182.
- 62) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, ll.196–199ob. Also see, order no.1 examined above.
- 63) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.401, l.142.
- 64) Bezikonnaia 2001: 48. After Qachqanbay’s death, Ghubaydulla was re-elected as agha-sultan in 1832.
- 65) Report from the Karkaraly session clerk to Bronevsky on 17 March, 1827 (Konshin 1900: 112).
- 66) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.476, ll.1–1ob.
- 67) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.476, ll.4–5.
- 68) MIPSK: 137. Qasim claimed that no one sought the new system. Because Ghubaydulla then approved the system, it was rejected.
- 69) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.476, ll.9–12.
- 70) *Barymta* in Kazakh. Originally, it means the legal plunder for adjusting conflicts between the communities.
- 71) XZSL: vol. 146 (DG8.11.3 *jihai*).
- 72) Because he does not distinguish between the Qing han title and the traditional Kazakh khan position, Kozybaev et al. (2000) cannot adequately explain the Russians’ caution.
- 73) Noda 2002b: 125–126. Also see, Noda; Onuma 2010: 75.

- 74) Ghubaydulla (Qurban ‘ali: 440) and Tursun (Shakarim 1910: 33) were considered as a khan.
- 75) See, Konshin 1903.
- 76) Ghubaydulla was involved in the later rebellion led by Kenesari, was arrested in 1839, and was imprisoned until 1847.
- 77) Saribay also appears in a record made by Zibbershtein, who visited the Kazakh steppe in 1825 (Viatkin 1936: 227).
- 78) There is a note that notice no. 3 was written in the Kashgar dialect of Tatar. Khafizova (1995) presents this letter as an example of a standard style in letters from the Qing court. Ghubaydulla himself delivered this document to the West Siberian governor-general. Ghubaydulla kept the letter near to hand and then sent it to the Petropavlovsk Fortress in 1833. Because it came back, he delivered it to the governor-general in June 1934 (Explanation by Ghubaydulla to the West Siberian governor-general on 22 June, 1834, GAOmO: f.3, op.1, d.1363, l.4ob.).
- 79) In the original text, “(sultan)” follows the title “khan.”
- 80) After this quotation, **notice no. 3** continues, “The trade season is now upon us. Have the Kazakhs under (*podvedomstvennye*) you drive their livestock to our markets and conduct trade, as in the past.” This encouraging of trade is interesting in that it suggests the importance of Kazakh trade to the Qing court.
- 81) In an 1832 communication in Mongolian from the Qing frontier guard post at Qonimailaqui to the Russian fortress at Bukhtarma, the word “albatu” was used (TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.745, l.46ob.). And in a Manchu document of the later Guangxu period (1875–1908), one finds the word “harangga” being used (He 1998: 102). More research is needed on this subject.
- 82) Vel’iaminov’s note in the margin of the translation of this letter (25 July, 1934, GAOmO: f.3, op.1, d.1363, l.2).
- 83) On later conferrings of titles of nobility, including Chotan’s succession to Altinsari’s han title, see Saguchi 1963: 341–343.
- 84) TsGA RK: f.338, op.1, d.701, ll.50–51.

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