

# The Formation of the Power of Early Ch'ing Emperors

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## I

The Ch'ing 清 Dynasty (Manchus) is known as the last alien conqueror of China. At the same time, it is also known as the last Chinese autocratic dynasty succeeding the Ming 明 Dynasty. Moreover, the Manchus built a dynasty based on a tribal society while the Ming, contrary to the Manchus, was based on a typical Chinese Agricultural society. In this case, the Ch'ing Dynasty has two distinctive characteristics. In terms of imperial rights, the *han* was based on a traditional Manchu society of *jakūn gūsa* (Eight Banner, 八旗) system, and concurrently held the status of being the emperor of China. The centralized emperor system was established during Ch'ing Dynasty, Emperor Yung-cheng's 雍正 reign. If this is the situation, how was early Ch'ing emperor's power formulated before the T'ai-tsu 太祖 *Nurhaci* period and later until Yung-cheng's period? This paper will analyze the transformation of the *jakūn gūsa* system which was a unique military organization, which simultaneously possessed characteristics of a political and social organization. Moreover various issues will be examined with reference to past research materials.

## II

According to the *Chiu Man-chou Tang* 舊滿洲檔 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1969), "Tse 晟" archives states that *Nurhaci* received the status of *Genggiyen han* (Wise *han*) in T'ien-ming 天命 1st year, 1st month, 1st day (1616) (Vol. 1 pp. 327-329). Furthermore, *Nurhaci* had received the status of *Kundulen han* (Respectful *han*) 10 years prior, during the Ming Dynasty Wan-li 萬曆 34th year, 12th month (1606) from the Mongol Khalkha tribes. Therefore, when analyzing the status of the early Ch'ing *han*, not only the tribal society of *Jušen* (女直: later Manchus) but Mongols and other adjacent nationalities were closely related and these relationships must be taken into consideration. The fact that *Nurhaci* had organized the *jakūn gūsa* system after being reigned, and consolidated the control of *Jušen* (Manchus) is well documented from past research materials.<sup>1)</sup> But for successors of *Nurhaci*, problems remained. According to *Chiu Man-chou Tang*, "Chang 張" archives, article of T'ien-ming 7th year, 3rd month, 3rd day, *Nurhaci*

states:

jakūn juse suwe jakūn wangse oso. jakūn wangse emu hebei banjici uwararakū okini. jakūn wangse suweni gisunbe mararakū niyalma be tuwabi. suwe amai sirame gurunde ejen obu. suweni gisun be gajjarakū sain jurgan be yabuburakū oci. jakūn wangse suweni sindaha han be suwe halame suweni gisunbe mararakū sain niyalma be sonjobi sinda.

My eight children, you shall become eight chieftains (王). If you live according to the rule of eight chieftains, there will be no errors. Select someone who won't disobey the words of eight chieftains and he shall succeed and rule *Nurhaci's* country. If he doesn't obey you and commit injustice, you shall dismiss him and select a new *han* who won't disobey the words of you all and do justice. (Vol. 2, pp. 1048–1049)

(transliteration of Manchurian and English are the author's work, old Manchurian is done in romanized characters, but not transliterated in new Manchurian.)

The eight chieftains mentioned in this passage refer to the eight *hošoi beile*<sup>2)</sup> governing the *gūsa*. The succeeding *han* is the representative of the eight *gūsa* chieftains. Furthermore, the *han's* appointment and dismissal is determined by these eight chieftains. Early Ch'ing *han* was merely a chief of a single *gūsa* and the sphere of influence was equivalent to other chieftains of the imperial family.

Corresponding to this era, there were three major relationships:

- 1) The relationship between *han* and *irgen* (people) in the *gurun* (nation)
- 2) The relationship of *beile-amban* (ministers) and *jušen* in the groups of tribes (clans)
- 3) The relationship between the *ejen* (owner) and the *aha* (slave) in the *boo* (house)

These are the three basic subordinate relationships.<sup>3)</sup> Overall, as past research<sup>4)</sup> has indicated, the entire relation can be stated as the following:

*han-beile-amban-hafan-jušen-irgen.*

But within these relationships, according to the aforementioned quotation of *Nurhaci*, the relationship between *han* and *beile* in reality had no difference in power although nominal class differences existed. Furthermore, as a unique feature of the *jakūn gūsa* system, people of each *gūsa* pledged allegiance to their belonging *gūsa* chieftain. Therefore, the major criteria for *han* to centralize the emperor's status was for the *han* to formulate his power within the imperial family.

Under these circumstances, *Nurhaci's* successor, *Hong Taiji*, gradually strengthened his personal foundation of authority. In T'ien-ts'ung 天聰 9th year (1635) while Inner Mongolia was subdued, *Hong Taiji* appropriated the Mongol imperial jade seal of the Great Han Empire (大元傳國之玉璽) and the following year, with the recommendation of Manchus, (T'ien-ts'ung 10th year, the nationality name was changed from *Jušen* to *Manju-Manchu*).<sup>5)</sup> Also the state name was changed to Ta Ch'ing 大清 while the reference to this period was changed from T'ien-ts'ung to Ch'ung-te 崇德 respectively.<sup>6)</sup> There are two important factors concerning the *jakūn gūsa* system during T'ien-ts'ung period. First of all, private *niru* were confiscated and concentrated around the *ejen* of the *gūsa*.<sup>7)</sup> Secondly, in T'ien-ts'ung 8th year (1634), titles of officials were changed where the title *ejen* was given to officials controlling the *gūsa*, while the officials controlling *meiren*, *jalan* and *niru*, all below the *gūsa* were united under the title of *janggīn*.<sup>8)</sup> The importance of these two factors proves that in Manchurian language, the position of *ejen* had been improved.<sup>9)</sup>

After *Hong Taiji* ascended as emperor of the Ta-Ch'ing Empire, he consolidated all social systems and in Ch'ung-te 1st year (1636), 4th month, 23rd day, he enacted the peerage system of nine status (和碩親王、多羅郡王、多羅貝勒、固山貝子、鎮國公、輔國公、鎮國將軍、輔國將軍、奉國將軍) in relative to the imperial family.<sup>10)</sup> Immediately thereafter, the equipage guard system was instituted which made clear distinctions between the *han* and other chieftains. According to the *Chiu Man-chou Tang*, "Jih 日" archives, Ch'ung-te 1st year, 5th month, 5th day, an article concerning the *han's* equipage command states:

han i booi cigu. cin wang. jiyon wang. doroi beile se i boo i cigui gebu be tokutobuha. han i booi cigu be ereci amasi cigu seme ume hūlara. manju gisun i hūlaci faidan i janggīn. nikan i gisun i hūlaci cišeo wei sy hūi seme hūla. cin wang. jiyon wang. doroi beile sei booi cigu be ineku cigu seme ume hūlara. manju gisun i hūlaci baitai da. nikan i gisun i hūlaci jengse seme hūla.

Ch'i-ku 旗鼓 of the *han's* house, ch'in-wang 親王, chün-wang 郡王 and *doroi beile* 多羅貝勒 were established. Ch'i-ku 旗鼓 of the *han's* house was no longer called the Ch'i-ku. When referred to in Manchurian, it shall be called *faidan i jaggīn* and in Chinese it shall be called ch'i-shou-wei chih-hui 旗手衛指揮. Ch'i-ku 旗鼓 of the ch'in-wang 親王, chün-wang 郡王 and *doroi beile* 多羅貝勒 shall not be called ch'i-ku 旗鼓. In Manchurian, they shall be called *baita i da* (head official, but written as "faidan i da" in *Man-wen Lao-tang*<sup>11)</sup> 滿文老檔) and in Chinese they shall be ch'ang-shih 長史. (Vol. 10. p. 4788)

The content of the *han's* equipage command, stated that ch'i-ku 旗鼓 for the *han* and other chieftains were no longer to be identified by identical names. For the house of *han*, in Chinese they were now called ch'i-shou-wei chih-hui 旗手衛指揮 and as for the other chieftains, they were called ch'ang-shih 長史 in Chinese. Both ch'i-shou-wei chih-hui 旗手衛指揮 and ch'ang-shih 長史 were brought along from

the Ming 明 Dynasty system. Ch'i-shou-wei 旗手衛 along with chin-wu-ch'ien-wei 金吾前衛, and chin-i-wei 錦衣衛, is a system of shang-shih-erh-wei 上十二衛 (Wan-li 萬曆 edition, *Ta Ming hui-tien* 大明會典 Vol. 228, *Ming-shih* 明史 Vol. 90). Also, ch'ang-shih 長史, recorded in "Wang-fu ch'ang-shih ssu 王府長史司" states:

長史掌王府之政令、輔相規諷以匡王失、率府僚各供乃事、而總其庶務焉。

This can be analyzed as the ch'ang-shih 長史 of wang-fu 王府. In other words, once the relationship of the emperor and the chieftains was installed, the relationship of the *han* and imperial family (宗室) *beile* became well-defined.<sup>12)</sup> But a unique characteristic of the *jakūn gūsa* structure remained where independent *gūsa* still existed. Therefore, for the Manchu *han* to formalize its absolute control, suitable authority to overrule the limitations of the *gūsa* was necessary.

### III

When the Emperor Shun-ch'ih 順治 entered Peking 北京 in 1644 and transferred the capital from Mukden 盛京 to Peking, the *han* (Ta-Ch'ing Emperor) concurrently held the position of Chinese emperor. New dimensions were created during Shun-ch'ih period when *dergi ilan gūsa* 上三旗 was established and in Shun-ch'ih 18th year (1661) *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* 內務府 was instituted (1661, 1st month, Emperor Shun-ch'ih passed away and Emperor K'ang-hsi 康熙 was enthroned).<sup>13)</sup> Also, Kuang-hsü 光緒 edition *Ta Ch'ing hui-tien* 大清會典 Vol. 84, a passage states:

序八旗之上下。鑲黃正黃正白日上三旗。餘曰下五旗。凡上三旗包衣。隸於內務府。下五旗包衣。各隸於其旗。(上三旗包衣詳內務府。其王公府包衣俱入下五旗。)氏族官爵。及執事之等差皆辨焉。(編審戶籍官制兵制及宿衛扈從。俱以上三旗下五旗爲辨。)

As expressed in this passage, *dergi ilan gūsa* and *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun*, from Shun-ch'ih period until late Ch'ing period established hierarchal ranks within the *jakūn gūsa* structure. In this section, we will analyze the process of power formation of early Ch'ing emperors according to the records of *dergi ilan gūsa* and *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun*.

First of all, concerning *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun*, the changes in application of the Manchurian term "booi" will be emphasized. The author previously indicated that there are two distinctive usages of the term "booi."<sup>14)</sup> The first case is "boo" (house). In this case, "booi ejen" (家主, house owner), "booi aha" (家奴, house slave) and "booi niyalma" (家人, members of the house), the Chinese character for "house" (家) is used. The second case is for the definition, as in the term "booi niru." This case "Pao-i 包衣" (based on the Manchurian pronunciation of "booi") is similarly written in Chinese characters. Therefore, when "booi" is used

for the definition of house, different Chinese characters will be used. Furthermore, the Chinese character for 包衣 (*booi*) will not be used as an abbreviation for "house", "*booi aha*", "*booi niyalma*", and never under any circumstances for bondservant as commonly indicated in "house". Also officials belonging to "*booi niru*" were often written as 包衣. According to *Shih-tsu Chang-huang-ti shih-lu* 世祖章皇帝實錄, Shun-ch'ih 15th year (1659), 12th month, 10th day, a passages states:

陞鑲白旗滿洲包衣昂邦索渾。爲本旗固山額眞 (Vol. 122, p. 6)

The Chinese characters for "*booi amban*" (包衣昂邦) was transliterated from Manchurian phonetics and the definition of this term is an official managing the "*booi niru*."

After *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* was established, the application of the Manchu term "*booi*" for *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* and Wang-fu 王府 became well-defined. According to *Yü-hsing ch'i-wu tsou-i* 諭行旗務奏議, an article written during Yung-cheng 雍正 period (Yung-cheng 9th year, continued through Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 period), Yung-cheng 1st year, 9th month, 21st day, states:

dergi ilan gūsai gūsa be kadalara ambasa, boigon i jurgan, dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun i emgi acafi gisurefi dahūme wesimbuhenge, . . . . ereci amasi, hafasai funglu, coohai ursei ciyanliyang bele, baitangga, hiyoo ioi, faksi, taigiyan i ciyanliyang bele be, gemu booi nirui janggin, booi da, booi jalan i janggin sade afabufi, getukeleme baicafi dangse arafi, du ioi sy, hūi gi sy de benefi, acabume tuwafi doron gidafi, booi ambasa de alibufi, booi amban i yamun ci, niyalmai šošohon ton, jai gaire funglu ciyanliyang ni šošohon ton be acabume arafi, doron gidafi, onggolo biyai juwan ci dosi, harangga gūsa de yabubufi, kimcime baicafi doron gidafi, harangga jurgan de benefi gaikini seme gisurefi wesimbuhe,

上三旗都統等會同戶部內務府議覆。· · ·嗣後、官員俸祿兵丁錢糧米石并執事人校尉工匠太監等之錢糧米石、俱令各包衣佐領內管領參領等、查明造冊送都虞會計二司、對明用印呈送內務府總管、由總管處、將人名總數並領俸祿錢糧數目、彙寫用印於前月初十日以內咨送該用印轉咨該部支領。

The Commander-in-chief of *dergi ilan gūsa*, Ministry of Revenue and *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* assembled for a meeting and came to a conclusion. . . . From this point, wages for officials, salary and rations for soldiers, office managers and commandants, craftsmen and eunuchs are all entrusted to the officials of *booi nuirui janggin*, *booi da* and *booi jalan i janggin*. These officials upon investigation will compile a file and they will forward to the Office of the Imperial Hunt and the Office of Palace Accounts. After investigating the figures according to the files, they will be sealed and sent to *booi ambasa*. At the *booi amban i yamun*, the total number of people, the amount

of wages, and rations are filed and sealed. The first ten days of the previous month, each banner will receive the files from *booi amban i yamun*. Each banner will further examine the files and seal. The files will be forwarded to the Ministry of Revenue. Wages and rations will be distributed from Ministry of Revenue.

As this passage explains, “*booi amban* 內務府總管” and “*booi amban i yamun* 內務府總管部門” were established for officials belonging to *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun*. Therefore, the Manchu term “*booi*” was used specifically to indicate *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun*. As for the leaders of *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* and Wang-fu, *T'ung-wen hui-chi* 同文彙集 (K'ang-hsi 32nd year, forward) states:

內務府大人：*booi amban* (Vol. 1 p. 38)  
王府總管：*hūwai amban* (Vol. 1 p. 47)

*Yin-han ch'ing-wen-chien* 音漢清文鑑 (Yung-cheng 13th year) states:

內務府總管：*booi amban*  
王府總管：*hūwai amban* (Vol. 2 p. 24)

This is an indication that the Manchu term “*booi*” is not used for Wang-fu. Also, *Yü-chih tseng-ting ch'ing-wen-chien* 御製增訂清文鑑 (Ch'ien-lung 36th year) states:

*booi amban* 內務府總管：*dorgi booi baita be uheri kadalarangge be, booi amban sembi.*  
(Vol. 4 p. 4)

An official designated for the imperial palace affairs is known as *booi amban* (內務府總管).

Officials managing the inner court were referred to as “*booi amban*” and exclusively used to explain the *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun*. But in this case, we must be cautious that even after *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* and Wang-fu were referred as “*booi hafan*” in Manchurian in several materials. According to *Shang-yü pa-ch'i* 上諭八旗 (Yung-cheng 9th year), an imperial edict of Yung-cheng 1st year, 7th month, 16th day states:

wang sa aika haha juse gaiki sere, ini harangga jurgan yamun, jai gūsai bade yabure hafasa be booi baita de kamcifi icihyabure, fulu baitangga gaire, booi hafasa sindara, juse be dahalabure jergi ba bici, gebu be jorime hese be baime wesimbukini.

諸王挑取隨侍之人、或欲令所屬人內在部院衙門及旗下行走者兼管家務、或需要多人以供差役、或補用王府官職、或令隨侍子姪、著列名請旨。

If the chieftains are to select a subordinate guardsman, or subordinate officials from pu-yüan-yamen and banner officers are to hold concurrent

positions within the chieftains' houses, or when numerous subordinates are to be selected, or to appoint an official to the Wang-fu or to appoint a child as an escort. In these cases, state the name and submit the address to the throne, to demand to the imperial order.

Also, *Yü-hsing ch'i-wu tsou-i*, Yung-cheng 2nd year, 10th month, 7th day, an article states:

geli baicaci, bithe coohai ambasa hafasa dosire de, gemu julergi dulimbai duka be dosimbi, hiya, booi hafan, baitangga, gemu dergi eldengge duka, wargi eldengge duka be dosimbi.

又查、文武大臣官員等、俱由午門而入。侍衛及內務府官員執事人等、俱由東華門西華門。

Upon investigation, all civil and military ministers, and related officials are to enter the imperial palace through Wu 午 gate. All imperial body guards, *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* 內務府 officials and various attendants are to enter from Tung-hua 東華 and Hsi-hua 西華 gates.

These passages explain that the Manchurian term "booi hafan" was used for both *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* and Wang-fu without distinctions. But after *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* was established in Peking, these examples decreased and generally, the Manchurian term "booi" was used exclusively for *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun*.

Now we need to examine the relationship between *dergi ilan gūsa* 上三旗 and *sunja gūsa* 五旗 since distinctions were made. Changes were made from the original relationship of *dergi ilan gūsa* and *sunja gūsa* to *dergi ilan gūsa* and *fejergi sunja gūsa* 下五旗. According to *Ch'ing-wen hui-shu* 清文彙書 (Ch'ien-lung 15th year) a passage states:

*dergi* 天上之上。上下之上。東西之東。君上之上。 (Vol. 6 p. 26)

In *Ch'ing-wen pu-hui* 清文補彙 (Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶 7th year) a passage states:

*dergi* 高。封諡等處用之整字。舊亦有 (Vol. 5 p. 19)

As written in these passages, the *dergi* has diversity. But in *Shih-tsu Chang-huang-ti shih-lu*, Shun-ch'ih 17th year, 3rd month, 29th day, an article states:

更定民公侯伯以下。章京以上。盛纓之制。…皇上三旗侍衛。盛頂插豹尾。其餘五旗護衛。插猓狸獬尾。俱垂紅纓。 (Vol. 133 pp. 25~26)

As seen in this passage, it can be written as *dergi ilan gūsa* and *huang dergi ilan gūsa*

皇上三旗。<sup>15)</sup> In this instance, the *dergi ilan gūsa* belonged to the Ta-Ch'ing emperor, and the term *dergi* (upper) was used in reference to the emperor, but not in terms of hierarchy. Also, *Shêng-tsu Jên-huang-ti shih-lu* 聖祖仁皇帝實錄, K'ang-hsi 35th year, 4th month, 14th day, an article states:

命定軍行次序。前鋒軍在前。次八旗漢軍火器營。察哈爾。宣化府。古北口綠旗兵。次御營並上三旗。次五旗。總兵官岳昇龍至。亦同綠旗兵行。(Vol. 172 p. 11)

As indicated in this passage, the term *dergi ilan gūsa* and *sunja gūsa* were used. Prior to the Yung-cheng period, "*dergi* 上" was used for the emperor. But after the Yung-cheng period, as indicated in *Shang-yü pa-ch'i*, the imperial edict of Yung-cheng 1st year, 10th month, 3rd day states:

*dergi ilan gūsai gabsihyan i hiyasa, gemu tojin funggala hadahabi, fejergi sunja gūsai gabsihyan i hiyasa, gemu lamun funggala hadahabi, ereci amasi, gemu emu adali tojin funggala hadakini, cohome wasimbuha,*  
上三旗前鋒侍衛俱帶孔雀翎。下五旗前鋒侍衛俱帶藍翎。嗣後、著俱帶孔雀翎。特諭。

All vanguards imperial body guards of *dergi ilan gūsa* have peacock feather emblems. All vanguards imperial body guards of *fejergi sunja gūsa* use blue feathers but from now on, all shall use the emblem of the peacock feathers.

The relationship was changed to *dergi ilan gūsa* and *fejergi sunja gūsa*. In *Ch'ing-wen hui-shu*, the term "*fejergi*" is explained as:

*fejergi* 上下之下。天下之下。(Vol. 12 p. 2)

As indicated here, the term "*fejergi*" is used for a lower status. Therefore, the relationship between *dergi ilan gūsa* and *fejergi sunja gūsa* indicated hierarchal differences.

Concerning descriptions of the elevated position of *dergi ilan gūsa*<sup>16)</sup>, an entry from Yung-cheng edition *Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien* Vol. 111, "Regulations of officials of *jakūn gūsa* (八旗官制)", collected by the Ministry of War (兵部) states:

又以鑲黃正黃正白。爲  
上三旗。五旗。各以王貝勒等統之。

The position of *dergi ilan gūsa* is elevated. But an entry from *Shêng-tsu Jên-huang-ti shih-lu*, K'ang-hsi 47th year, 11th month, 1st day, states:

允禩著革去王爵。即幽禁於其府內。凡上三旗所分佐領。可盡撤回。給與允禩。  
(Vol. 235 p. 15)



and an entry of *Shih-tsung Hsien-huang-ti shih-lu*, 世宗憲皇帝實錄 Yung-cheng 1st year, 1st month, 29th day states:

從前

皇考之時。凡上三旗大臣侍衛官員人等。俱不許在諸王門下行走。(Vol. 3 p. 52)

The position of *dergi ilan gūsa* is not elevated. Moreover, *Ch'in-ting pa-ch'i tse-li* 欽定八旗則例 (Manchurian and Chinese manuscripts, both Ch'ien-lung 7th year) Vol. 8 "Military Regulation (兵制)", an entry states:

fejergi sunja gūsa siden de obuha nirui urse be dergi ilan gūsa  
baitangga de gairengge.

emu hacin, fejergi sunja gūsa i siden de obuha nirui ambasa, hafasai  
juse deote be,

dergi ilan gūsa niyalmai emu adali hiya baitangga de sonjome gaikini.

下五旗公中佐領人等准挑

上三旗差使。

一。下五旗移入公中佐領之大臣官員子弟。准與

上三旗人。一体挑取侍衛。及拜唐阿等差使。

In this case, the position of *dergi ilan gūsa* is elevated. Also, other materials *Ch'in-ting pa-ch'i tse-li* 欽定八旗則例 (Manchurian, Ch'ien-lung 29th year) Vol. 8, similarly (Chinese manuscripts, Ch'ien-lung 39th year) Vol. 8, *Ch'in-ting chung-shu cheng-k'ao* 欽定中樞政考 (Manchurian, articles recorded until approximately Chia-ch'ing 7th year) Vol. 25, "Eight Banner Military Regulations 八旗、兵制", (Tao-kuang 道光 5th year) also the Chinese version are compared to "*gocika bayara sonjome gairengge* 挑補親軍." All Manchurian sources state:

dergi ilan gūsa gocika bayara jai fejergi sunja gūsa niyalma,

dergi ilan gūsa de kamcibufi yabure gocika bayarai oron tucici, hiya kadalara

dorgi ambasa tesu nirui bayara bošokū, moringga uksin, hūwašabure

cooha, sula ursei dorgici sonjome gaisu,

Also in the Chinese source, *Ch'in-ting pa-ch'i tse-li* 欽定八旗則例 (Ch'ien-lung 39th year) states:

上三旗親軍。及下五旗人附入

上三旗行走之親軍欠出。由領侍衛內大臣。於該佐領下護軍。領催。馬甲。養育兵。閒散  
內挑補。

As indicated, similar to the Manchurian document, *dergi ilan gūsa* is elevated. But in *Ch'in-ting chung-shu cheng-k'ao* "欽定中樞政考" (Chinese document, Tao-kuang 5th year) states:

鑲黃正黃正白三旗親軍。及下五旗人附入鑲黃正黃正白三旗行走之親軍欠出。由領侍衛內大臣。於該佐領下護軍。領催。馬甲。養育兵。閒散內挑補。

As indicated here, the position of *dergi ilan gūsa* is not elevated, but arranged according to bordered yellow, plain yellow and plain white. The changes mentioned above occurred during Yung-cheng, Ch'ien-lung and Chia-ch'ing periods where the power of *dergi ilan gūsa* was decreased. The description of *dergi ilan gūsa* and *fejergi sunja gūsa* was used primarily for the difference of hierarchal status. The *dergi ilan gūsa* was possessed by the *han* (Ta-Ch'ing Emperor) while the *fejergi sunja gūsa* belonged to the imperial *beile* (chieftains). Therefore, the position of the *han* (Ta-Ch'ing Emperor) was elevated above the imperial *beile* families.

During Yung-cheng period, the issue of the nomination of Crown Prince, which was carried over from K'ang-hsi period was a serious problem with the *han's* family.<sup>17)</sup> The implementation of a secret nomination system of the Crown Prince resolved this issue of the Emperor's successor, also the incorporation of the *niru* under the *sunja gūsa* into those under the control of the *dergi ilan gūsa* was instituted.<sup>18)</sup> The implementation of these policies resulted in the establishment of the power of the Ch'ing *han* within his family and the subsequent subordination of his family to his rule. As a result, each *gūsa* was arranged in a specific order rather than in terms of hierarchy.

By the Yung-cheng period, a collection of *Shang-yü pa-ch'i* of Yung-cheng 1st year, 7th month, 16th day, imperial edict states:

uthai uttu eyeme genehei sunja gūsai niyalma de fuhali jewe ejen, ohobi, banjire de yargiyan i mangga, holbobuha ba umesi amba, ereci amasi kemuni fe kooli songkoi gūsai urse be damu hiya, sula janggin, faidan i hafan, gocika bayarai juwan i da, gocika bayara gaikini,

如此日流而下、則五旗之人竟有二主、阿以聊生所關甚大。嗣後、仍照舊例、旗分人員止許用爲護衛、散騎郎、典儀、親軍校、親軍。

Similarly, the imperial edict of Yung-cheng 2nd year, 6th month, 12th day, states:

gioge booi aha dase be tantame waha emu baita be tuwaci, dase umai gūwa hacin i ehe facuhūn akū, damu soktoho turgunde ini ejen uthai tantame wahangge umesi hatan oshon, . . . tuwaci, jakūn gūsai hafasa, coohai urse, booi ahasi de, umesi cira ofi, majige endebuku bici, urunakū isebume tantame, geli dabanahangge koro arame tantame bucere de isibumbi, . . . . . bi amba ejen ofi, weilengge niyalma be emke seme weihuken wame jengkekū bade, fejergi urse weile akū ahasi be balai tantame waci ombio,

覽九哥毆斃家人達子一案、達子竝無兇別情。只緣酒醉之故、伊主即行毆斃、殊屬暴戾。……向來、八旗官軍人等、待家人過嚴、微小之失必加毆責、甚至傷體斃命。……朕大君也。於有罪者尚不忍輕殺一人、臣下乃可毆死無辜之奴僕乎。

Also a collection from *Shang-yü ch'i-wu i-fu* 上諭旗務議覆, Yung-cheng 2nd year, 12th month, 10th day, the imperial edict states:

gurun de damu emu ejen dabala, harangga wang sa teisu teisu uksun gioro sabe aha jušen obume, ejen oci, giyan de umesi acanarakū gese, . . . . te uksun gioro se, udu wang sai harangga de bihe seme inu mini aha kai,  
國家惟仰戴一主。該王等各將宗室覺羅視為奴僕。妾自尊大於理不大相悖謬耶。 . . .  
 . . .且宗室等。雖在王等屬下。亦係朕之臣子。

Also a collection from *Shang-yü pa-ch'i*, Yung-cheng 5th year, 8th month, 27th day, the imperial edict states:

musei jakūn gūsai urse gurun booi fulehe da, holbobuhangge umesi oyonggo, hūwašabume ujire kadalame tacibure be heni majige heoledeci ojorakū, . . . . udu suweni bošoho fujuri niru bicibe, niru de bisire niyalma, gemu gese gese manju, suweni mafari sabe dahame, gurun booi jalin de faššame, hafan hali ilibuha niyalmai juse omosi inu bi, suwe giyan i giranggi yali adaii gosime tuwame, hūwašabuci acambi, beyebe fujuri niru seme, nirui niyalma be aha jušen i adaki fusihūsame jobobure gejurere ohode, giyan waka, suwe aika bakai nirui urse be horolome gildašame cisui gūnin be tebufi keikedeme fusihūšame, tondo necin akū be yabure oci, mini geren ahasi be fulgiyan jui adali tuwara gūnin be urgedefi, gurun i fafun de weile arambi sere anggala, suweni mafari sai faššafi werihe hede be efuleme yaburengge kai,

八旗人員。乃國家根本。所關甚重。養育教誨。不可少懈。 . . . .雖爾等原管之佐領。然佐領下人。同是滿洲。其中亦有從爾等之祖。宣力國家。得授世職之人之子孫。爾等理宜骨肉視之成就。若自以為原管佐領。將佐領下人。視同奴隸而凌賤之。殊屬非理。爾等若倚勢作威心懷私刻行不公平。違朕保赤之念。豈惟國法不容。亦敗汝祖宗勤勞所立之基業矣。

As indicated, the members of the *jakūn gūsa* were the foundation of the “*gurun boo* 國家 nation”, also within the “*gurun* 國” and “*gurun boo* 國家”, the only *ejen* was the *han* (Ta-Ch'ing Emperor) who was also the *amba ejen* 大君. Masses of the “*gurun boo*” were considered as *aha* of the *han*.

As mentioned before, prior to *Nurhaci*'s enthronement, there were three fundamental subordinate relationships:

- 1) The relationship between the *han* and the *irgen* in the *gurun* (state)
- 2) The relationship between *beile* and the *jušen* in the tribal society
- 3) The relationship between the *ejen* and *aha* in the *boo* (house)

Overall, the following structure of relationships also existed:

*han-beile-amban-hafan-jušen-irgen*.<sup>19)</sup>

Each of these cores contained its own strict *ejen* and *aha* relationships.<sup>20)</sup> According to *Shih-tsung Hsien-huang-ti shih-lu*, Yung-cheng 4th year, 11th month, 25th day, the article states:

諭內閣。滿洲風俗。尊卑上下。秩然整肅。最嚴主僕之分。(Vol. 50 p. 16)

As indicated, even after *Nurhaci's* period, the relationships remained intact.

This relationship of *ejen* and *aha* within the *boo* was applied to the relationship between the *han* (Ta-Ch'ing Emperor) and *beile* of the imperial families in the *gurun* (state). This resulted in the *han* being the only *ejen* within the *gurun boo* (nation). Therefore, the entire relationship structure of *han-beile-amban-hafan-jušen-irgen* was established. Thus the *han* became the sole *ejen* and was placed in an elevated position, while others below the *beile* became the *han's aha* within the entire structure. Those who belonged to *gurun boo* were called *geren ahasi*, as seen in *Shang-yü pa-ch'i* (Yung-cheng 5th year, 8th month, 27th day, the imperial edict).

### Conclusion

The objective of the early Ch'ing dynasty *han* (Ta-Ch'ing Emperor) was to consolidate the *han's* position above all *beile* and to be recognized as the sole *ejen* within the entire imperial family. This formation was established by the Yung-cheng emperor. In other words, the Ch'ing *han* tried to establish his position as the *ejen* in the Manchu families of the early Ch'ing dynasty. But this should not be taken as a process which changed the Manchu tribal system into a centralized Chinese bureaucratic system, rather it should be viewed as a transition in which elements of the Manchu tribal system were positively combined into the centralized bureaucratic system. The *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* 內務府 played the most important role in this process.<sup>21)</sup>

### NOTES

- 1) MITAMURA, Taisuke 三田村泰助 "Temmei kengen no nenji ni tsuite: Taiso Mambun rōtō no ichi kōsatsu 天命建元の年次に就て—太祖滿文老檔の一考察—(On the Year of Establishment of the T'ien-ming Reign Period: T'ai-tsu in the *Man-wen Lao-tang*)." *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 『東洋史研究』 No. 1-2~3, 1935~1936.  
*Idem*, "Manju koku seiritsu katei no ichi kōsatsu 滿珠國成立過程の一考察 (Investigation of the Establishment of the *Man-chu* [Manju] Nation)." *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 『東洋史研究』 No. 2-2, 1936. later compiled in *Shinchō zenshi no kenkyū* 『清朝前史の研究』 (A Study of the Ch'ing Dynasty in the Manchu Period). Dōhōsha 同朋舎, 1936.  
*Idem*, "Shoki Manshū hakki no seiritsu katei ni tsuite: Mindai Kenshū Jochoku no gunsei 初期滿洲八旗の成立過程について—明代建州女直の軍制—(On the Initial Establishment of the Manchu

Eight Banners: the military system of the Chien-chou Ju-chih [Jurchen] in the Ming period). "Shimizu hakushi tsuitō kinen Mindaishi ronsō [清水博士追悼記念明代史論叢]. Daian 大安, 1962. later compiled in *Shinchō zenshi no kenkyū* [清朝前史の研究].

*Idem*, "Mukūn-tatan sei no kenkyū: Manshū shakai no kisoteki kōzō toshite no ムクン・タタン制の研究—滿洲社會の基礎的構造としての—(Study of the mukūn-tatan System as the basic Structure of Manchu Society)." *Mindai Mammōshi kenkyū* [明代滿蒙史研究], 1963. *Ritsumeikan bungaku* [立命館文學] No. 223, 1964. later compiled in *Shinchō zenshi no kenkyū* [清朝前史の研究].

KANDA, Nobuo 神田信夫 (a) "Shinsho no beile ni tsuite 清初の貝勒について (On the beile in the Early Ch'ing)." *Tōyō gakuho* [東洋學報] No. 40-4, 1958.

*Idem*, (b) "Manshū [Manju] kokugō kō 滿洲 (Manju) 國號考 (An Investigation of the Dynastic Name Man-chou [Manju])." *Yamamoto hakushi hanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* [山本博士選曆記念東洋史論叢]. Yamakawa shuppansha 山川出版社, 1972.

ISHIBASHI, Hideo 石橋秀雄 (a) "Shin Taiso no Ryōtō shinshutsu zengo ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu 清太祖の遼東進出前後に関する一考察 (A Study of Ch'ing T'ai-tsu's Policies before and after the Conquest of Liao-tung)." *Wada hakushi koki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* [和田博士古稀記念東洋史論叢], Kōdansha 講談社, 1960.

*Idem*, (b) "Shinsho no tai Kanjin seisaku: tokuni Taiso no Ryōtō shinshutsu jidai o chūshin toshite 清初の対漢人政策—とくに太祖の遼東進出時代を中心として—(A Study of T'ai-tsu's Policy towards the Han Chinese in the Early Ch'ing, particularly before and after the Conquest of Liao-tung)." *Shisō* [史艸] No. 2, 1961.

*Idem*, (c) "Shinsho no shakai: sono jōkyō mondai o megutte 清初の社會—その城居問題をめぐって— (Manchu Society in the Early Ch'ing Period: on the question of urban life)." *Ōruī Noboru hakushi kiju kinen shigaku rombunshū* [大類伸博士喜寿記念史學論文集], Yamakawa shuppansha, 1962.

*Idem*, (d) "Shin Taiso no tochi seisaku ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu 清太祖の土地政策に関する一考察 (A Study of Ch'ing T'ai-tsu's Land Policies)." *Nippon joshi daigaku kiyō—Bungakubu* [日本女子大學紀要—文學部] No. 11, 1962.

*Idem*, (e) "Shinsho no irgen: tokuni Temmei ki o chūshin toshite 清初のイルゲン (Irgen)—特に天命期を中心として— (Irgen in the Early Ch'ing, mainly in the T'ien-ming Period)." *Nippon joshi daigaku kiyō—Bungakubu* [日本女子大學紀要—文學部] No. 13, 1964.

*Idem*, (f) "Shinsho no jušen: tokuni Temmei ki made o chūshin toshite 清初のジュシェン (jušen)—特に天命期までを中心として—(Jušen in the Early Ch'ing, mainly up to the T'ien-ming Period)." *Shisō* [史艸] No. 5, 1964.

*Idem*, (g) "Shinsho no aha: tokuni Temmei ki o chūshin toshite 清初のアハ (aha)—特に天命期を中心として—(Aha in the Early Ch'ing, mainly in the T'ien-ming Period)." *Shien* [史苑] No. 28-2, 1968.

*Idem*, (h) "Shinsho no shakai: tokuni jušen ni tsuite 清初の社會—とくにジュシェンについて— (Manchu Society in the Early Ch'ing Period: on jušen in particular)." *Egami Namio kyōju koki kinen ronshū—Rekishū-hen* [江上波夫教授古稀記念論集・歴史篇], Yamakawa shuppansha, 1977.

*Idem*, (i) "Shinchō shōkō: hakki zakkō, sono ichi 清朝小考—八旗雜考・その一—(A Brief Investigation of the Ch'ing Dynasty: miscellaneous investigations of the Manchu eight banners, part 1)." *Rekishū to chiri* [歴史と地理] No. 118, 1984.

*Idem*, (j) "Shinsho no aha: Taisō Tensō ki o chūshin ni 清初のアハ (aha)—太宗天聰期を中心として— (Aha in the Early Ch'ing, particularly in the T'ai-tsung's T'ien-t'ung Period)." *Eikyōshū* [盈虛集] No. 1, 1984.

*Idem*, (k) "Jušen shōkō ジュシェン jušen 小考 (A Brief Investigation of jušen)." *Mikami Tsugio hakushi kiju kinen rombunshū—Rekishū-hen* [三上次男博士喜寿記念論文集・歴史篇], Heibonsha 平凡社, 1985.

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*Idem*, "Hachi gūsa to hachi gūsa shikibetsu tonō seiritsu jiki ni tsuite: shinshō hakki seido kenkyū no ikkan toshite ハグサとハグサ色別との成立時期について—清朝八旗制度研究の一環として—(The

Formative Period of the *jakūn gūsa* and the *jakūn gūsa* Colours: a link in the study of the Manchu eight banner system of the Ch'ing Dynasty)." *Chūgoku kindaiishi kenkyū* No. 3, 1983.

- 2) *Ibid.*, KANDA, Nobuo: (1)-(a)
- 3) *Ibid.*, ISHIBASHI, Hideo: (1)-(e), (f), (g), (h), (j), (k)
- 4) *Ibid.*, ISHIBASHI, Hideo: (1)-(g), (j), (k)
- 5) *Ibid.*, ISHIBASHI, Hideo: (1)-(k)
- 6) MITAMURA, Taisuke 三田村泰助 "Shin no Taisō no sokui jijō to sono kunshuken kakuritsu 清の太宗の即位事情とその君主権確立 (On the Events of Ch'ing T'ai-tsung's Enthronement and the Establishment of Sovereignty)." *Tōyōshi kenkyū* [東洋史研究] No. 6-2, 1941.  
OKADA, Hidehiro 岡田英弘 "Shin no Taisō shiritsu no jijō 清の太宗廟立の事情 (The Events of Ch'ing T'ai-tsung's Enthronement)." *Yamamoto hakushi kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* [山本博士還暦記念東洋史論叢], 1972.  
MATSUMURA, Jun 松村 潤 "Sūtoku no kaigen to Taishin no kokugō ni tsuite 崇徳の改元と大清の國號について (On Changing to the Ch'ung-te Reign Title and the Dynastic Name Ta-Ch'ing)." *Kamata hakushi kanreki kinen rekishigaku ronsō* [鎌田博士還暦記念歴史學論叢], 1969.  
*Idem*, "Amin beile no shōgai アミン・ベイレの生涯 (Amin beile's career)." *Nippon daigaku jimbunkagaku kenkyūjo kenkyū kiyō* [日本大學人文科學研究所研究紀要] No. 25, 1981.
- 7) *Ibid.*, ISHIBASHI, Hideo: (1)-(h)
- 8) *T'ai-tsung Wen-huang-ti shih-lu* 太宗文皇帝實錄 (Shun-chih 順治 edition), T'ai-tsung 天聰 8th year (1634), 4th month, a passage states:

今見我國官員俱呼漢官舊名。若見善不能從。見惡不能省。非識時之智者。我雖未得大業。亦不聽命他邦。凡我國官名城名。俱用滿語定之。再不許以總兵。副將。參將。遊擊。備禦。呼之。今後若遇簿冊書名。五備禦總兵。名爲一等公。一等總兵。名爲一等昂邦章京。二等總兵。名爲二等昂邦章京。三等總兵。名爲三等昂邦章京。一等副將。名爲一等梅勒章京。二等副將。名爲二等梅勒章京。三等副將。名爲三等梅勒章京。一等參將。名爲一等甲喇章京。二等參將。名爲二等甲喇章京。遊擊。名爲三等甲喇章京。備禦。名爲牛彖章京。署事。名爲分得撥什庫。章京。名爲小撥什庫。小旗長。名爲壯大。屯撥什庫。仍舊。凡管理。不論官職。管固山。即爲固山額真。管梅勒。即爲梅勒額真。管甲喇。即爲甲喇章京。管牛彖。即爲牛彖章京。擺牙喇旗主。即爲纛章京。擺牙喇甲喇額真。爲甲喇章京。定瀋陽爲天盛。黑兔阿喇城爲天興。自今以後。再不許呼漢語舊名。依我國所定之言呼之。不呼我國所定之名。而呼漢名者。是不遵國政而逆行之人也。查出決不輕恕。(Vol. 14, pp. 11~12)

- 9) *Ibid.*, ISHIBASHI, Hideo: (1)-(i)
- 10) *Ibid.*, KANDA, Nobuo: (1)-(a)
- 11) Mambun rōtō kenkyūkai 滿文老檔研究會 "Mambun rōtō [滿文老檔] (The *Man-wen lao-tang*, Translated and Annotated)." Vol. VI (T'ai-tsung 太宗 3), Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫, 1962, pp. 1034~1035.
- 12) Chinese influence was prevelant during the era of *Hong Taiji*. During this period, Liu Pu 六部 (Six Boards) were established which can be seen as a process of sinicization. On the otherhand, other original organizations such as the Eight Banner system, the establishment of Court of Colonial Affairs 理藩院, meant not all establishments were influenced by sinicization. This topic will be discussed in another paper.
- 13) The *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* 內務府 had been established in Mukden 盛京. This was the period when the *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* was installed in Peking 北京. The establishment of *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* will be dealt elsewhere.
- 14) ISHIBASHI, Takao "Booi in the Ch'ing Dynasty", XXXI International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa, Kyoto, September 6, 1983, concerning this topic, another paper is being prepared.
- 15) In the original text, 皇上三旗 is elevated.
- 16) Concerning the elevated status of *dergi ilan gūsa*, refer to Hosoya Yoshio 細谷良夫 "Shinchō ni okeru hakki seido no suii 清朝に於ける八旗制度の推移 (Changes in the Eight Banner

- System in the Ch'ing)." *Tōyō Gakuhō* [東洋學報] No. 51-1, 1968.
- 17) OKADA, Hidehiro 岡田英弘 "Kōkitei no tegami [康熙帝の手紙] (Letters of the K'ang-hsi Emperor)." Chūō kōronsha 中央公論社, 1979.
- 18) *Ibid.* of (16), HOSOYA, Yoshio "Shinchō ni okeru hakki seido no suii."  
*Idem*, "Hakki tsūshi shoshū 'Kibunshi' hensan to sono haikai: Yōsei chō Saryō kaikaku no ittan 八旗通志初集「旗分志」編纂とその背景—雍正朝佐領改革の一端 (On the Establishment and Background of Ch'i-fen-chih of Pa-ch'i T'ung-chih Ch'u-chi: a part of niru reformation in the Yung-cheng period)." *Tōhōgaku* [東方學] No. 36, 1968.  
*Idem*, "Hakki Kakura Saryō kō 八旗覺羅佐領考 (A Study of the Chueh-lo Tso-ling [Gioro niru] in the Eight Banner system)." *Hoshi hakushi taikan kinen Chūgokushi ronshū* [星博士退官記念中國史論集], 1978.  
*Idem*, "Yōsei chō ni okeru niru no meigō koshō ni tsuite 雍正朝におけるニルの名號呼称について (On the titles of niru in the Yung-cheng period)." *Nairiku Asia-Nishi Asia no shakai to bunka* [内陸アジア・西アジアの社會と文化], 1983.
- 19) *Ibid.*, ISHIBASHI, Hideo: (1)–(e), (f), (g), (h), (j), (k)
- 20) *Ibid.*, ISHIBASHI, Hideo: (1)–(g), (j), (k)
- 21) Concerning *dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun* 內務府, this topic will be dealt in another paper.

Additional note: This paper is based on the following presentations; "The Formation of the Power of Early Ch'ing Emperors" (the International Conference on China Border Area Studies, April, 1985, Taipei 臺北) and a paper titled [清初皇權的形成過程], presented at the [一九八六年清史國際學術討論會](July, 1986, Talien 大連).