

# Qing “Government Caravans” in Kiakhta: The Activities of Bederge Muslims\*

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## Introduction

From 1760 (Qianlong 乾隆 25) to 1778 (Qianlong 43), the Qing dynasty dispatched government caravans of Muslim merchants known as Bederge Muslims (Man. *bederge hoise*) to Kiakhta to trade with Russia in order to procure furs and so on for use in the imperial court. The aim of this article is to present a full picture of these government caravans, about which little has been known.

Trade between Qing China and Russia prior to the eighteenth century can be broadly divided into the Beijing trade undertaken by Russian caravans (late seventeenth century to 1750s) and trade at Kiakhta. Research on the Beijing trade has been accumulating since an early stage, and it is safe to say that it has by and large been elucidated.<sup>1)</sup> With regard to the Kiakhta trade, too, there exists a body of research based primarily on Russian sources,<sup>2)</sup> and more recently Morinaga Takako has vividly described the activities of Russian merchants involved in the Kiakhta trade.<sup>3)</sup> Meanwhile, as regards the Qing system for administering the Kiakhta trade, the activities of merchants, and so on, references can be found in several monographs and general works,<sup>4)</sup> but in many cases these merely piece together fragmentary information gleaned from later compilations such as the *Shuofang beicheng* 朔方備乘 by He Qiutao 何秋濤 and collections of archival sources published in recent years, supplementing them with Russian sources and research, and it has to be said that a full picture of the Kiakhta trade is far from having been delineated.

Nor has there been any full-scale examination of the government caravans of Muslim merchants to be considered here. There is a study by Lai Huimin about the purchasing of furs at Kiakhta by the Qing Imperial Household Department (*neiwufu* 內務府), and she clarifies the quantities of furs purchased and how they were processed and distributed,<sup>5)</sup> but almost no mention is made of the Bederge Muslims. In addition, Saguchi Tōru has pointed out that the *Gaozong shilu* 高宗實錄 (Veritable Records of Gaozong [= Qianlong]) mentions that Bederge Muslims (*bode'erge huiren* 伯德爾格回人) were engaged in the

Kiakhta trade,<sup>6)</sup> but he does not examine this in any depth. But Manchu-language copies of palace memorials (*lufu zouzhe* 錄副奏摺) in the fond of the Council of State (*Junjichu quanzong* 軍機處全宗) held by the First Historical Archives of China and the archives of the Office of the Grand Minister Superintendent of Kūriy-e (Ch. *Kulun banshi dachen yamen* 庫倫辦事大臣衙門; Мон. Хүрээнд сууж хэрэг шийтгэгч сайдын яам) held by the National Central Archives of Mongolia include a considerable number of documents related to the Kiakhta trade from the 1750s onwards, and these include a not insignificant amount of information about the government caravans.

In the following, making use of these archival sources, I accordingly first survey the background to the Qing dynasty's launching of these operations as well as the framework for administering government caravans and their actual activities. Further, in 1763 (Qianlong 28) there occurred an incident in which private merchants were suspected of having obstructed the activities of government caravans, and by reconstructing the course of events I show that the Qing government at the time—especially the Qianlong emperor himself—was taking a strong interest in government caravans. Lastly, I also wish to examine the circumstances that led to the suspension of government caravans in 1778 (Qianlong 43) and the reasons for their suspension.

It should be noted that proper names appearing in quotations from Manchu sources are as a rule given in their Manchu transcriptions, and words enclosed in square brackets have been supplemented by the present author.

## I. The Background to and Objectives of the Dispatch of Government Caravans

### I. 1. The Background: Changes in the Kiakhta Trade in the 1750s and 1760s

The market<sup>7)</sup> in Kiakhta was, needless to say, established on the basis of the provisions of the 1728 Treaty of Kiakhta. But according to Russian records, initially the Kiakhta trade does not appear to have prospered to any great extent.<sup>8)</sup> In Qing archival documents, too, there is only very limited information about the Kiakhta trade up until the 1740s. This could be said to be a manifestation of the fact that the Qing government at the time had no particular interest in the Kiakhta trade.

By the 1750s–60s, however, the Kiakhta trade began to pick up in conjunction with the Russian government's reforms of customs duties policies and the liberalization of fur exports. At the same time, the dispatch of Russian government caravans to Beijing became increasingly less frequent, and they were in effect suspended in 1754–55.<sup>9)</sup> Meanwhile, an examination of the

relationship between the Qing government and the Kiakhta trade around the same time reveals that after 1755, as military action was being taken against the Junghars and Huijiang 回疆, there emerged plans to purchase government horses from Russia at Kiakhta, and in 1759 some were actually bought.<sup>10)</sup> In addition, since the establishment of the market in Kiakhta an official from a bureau of the Board of Colonial Affairs (*lifanyuan* 理藩院) had been permanently stationed in Kiakhta to monitor trade, and in the same year (1759) officials stationed in both Kūriy-e and Kiakhta were issued with official seals (*guanfang* 關防) on account of the fact that “they were getting busier day by day with duties pertaining to trade” (庫倫, 恰克圖地方貿易事務日繁).<sup>11)</sup>

It may be supposed that a factor in the overall background to the dispatch of government caravans to Kiakhta was this vitalization of the Kiakhta trade. But additionally it could be surmised that another factor was that the supply of furs and so on for the Qing court had been drying up because of the termination of the Beijing trade formerly conducted by Russian caravans and the Imperial Household Department was compelled to secure an alternative supply.

## I. 2. The First Government Caravan

To date there has not been discovered any source that describes in detail the circumstances leading to the dispatch of government caravans. But a general idea can be gained from a letter sent to Sangjaidorji, vice general of Khalkha, by the Board of Colonial Affairs in the fourth month of 1760 (Qianlong 25).

Fu, Grand Minister of the Imperial Household Department Concurrently Controlling the Imperial Guardsmen (*ling shiwei nei dachen* 領侍衛內大臣) and Loyal and Brave Duke (*zhongyong gong* 忠勇公; Man. *tondo baturu gung*), and others respectfully memorialized, as excerpted by the Council of State on the 24th day of the fourth month in Qianlong 25: “By imperial decree we summoned seventeen Bederke<sup>12)</sup> Muslims, including Aitme, and asked, when these Ület had previously traded with Russia, what sort of goods they took, what sort of goods they bought from Russia, how many people went at one time..... whereupon Aitme and the others said: ‘Close to a thousand of us gathered at one time, and we took the goods that each had with him. Usually, at one time we would take to the salt lake in Russia close to a hundred horses, more than a hundred cattle, two or three hundred sheep, two or three hundred *liang* 兩 of gold, and close to twenty or thirty thousand *liang* of silver, as well as goods such as lynx [furs]

(Man. *silun*), fox [furs], leopard skins, wolf [skins], Muslim cloth, patterned cotton cloth (*ilgangga boso*), and so on, which were loaded on more than a thousand camels, and we would buy as much as we could obtain of goods such as their oxhides (*bulgar sukū*: lit. Russian leather [ЮФТЬ in Russian]), otter (or sea otter?) [furs] (*hailun*), silver (or blue?) fox [furs] (*boro dobihi*), grey squirrel (?) [furs] (*yacin ulhu*), white (or silver) squirrel (?) [furs] (*šanyan ulhu*), damask velvet (*cekemu*), felt (*jafu*), pearls, coral, gold and silver brocade damask (*aisin menggun sese i suje*),....' On investigating, it was found that because when the Ület had previously gone to trade, close to a thousand people had gathered and gone, they had thus taken loads for more than a thousand camels at one time.... Although such numbers of people are not necessary now, a dozen or so Muslims would still be too few. Following due consultation, this time when they go, apart from seventeen Muslims, we wish to select, having considered their wishes, a further thirteen from among the Muslims here, who are their sons, making thirty in total, and send them off, with Bureau Vice Director (*yuanwailang* 員外郎) Liobooju and Vice Overseer [of the Imperial Household Department] (*fu guanling* 副管領) Kimboo being dispatched by imperial decree to escort them. There is no need for them to take furs and other goods. We will give them 10,000 *liang* of silver and have them buy at their discretion goods to take with them and purchase as much as they can obtain of goods such as Russian leather, lynx [furs], silver (or blue?) fox [furs], grey squirrel (?) [furs], white (or silver) squirrel (?) [furs], damask velvet, felt, pearls, coral, gold and silver brocade damask,... from Russia. The reason for sending Muslims on this occasion is solely to have them trade by way of experiment. Since Fan Qingzhu 范清注 has been trading there for some time, we wish to give him, too, 20,000 *liang* of silver and send him to Kiyaktu [Kiakhta] to trade in the same way that he traded last year. For this journey, apart from Fan Qingzhu, who will be sent at his own [expense] as last year, when the Muslims go, we wish to send them from the capital to Zhangjiakou 張家口 using relay stations. For their journey, we wish to send them to Kiyaktu with camels for carrying the goods and silver provided in accordance with the example of Fan Qingzhu's camels for commercial use. We wish to leave it to Junghing, Commander-in-Chief of Chahar (*or* Chakhar), to supply the animals they will ride and load and the tents and pots they will use. There is no need to provide them separately with preparation money (*dasatara menggun*) or money for food (*kunesun i menggun*). That is to say, from the 10,000 *liang* they will take, we wish to provide each of the thirty Muslims with 10 *liang*

for preparation and 2 *qian* 錢 daily for food, Liobooju with 80 *liang* as preparation money and 8 *qian* daily as money for food, and Kimboo with 60 *liang* as preparation money and 6 *qian* daily as money for food.”<sup>13)</sup>

It is evident from the above account that the *bederge hoise* who would be sent to Kiakhta were originally merchants under the umbrella of the Junghars (Ület) who had been engaged in large-scale trading activities with Russia. The Muslims who participated in this first caravan numbered thirty and were provided with funds of 10,000 *liang* (taels), while Liobooju, a bureau vice director of the Board of Colonial Affairs, and Kimboo, a vice overseer of the Imperial Household Department, were sent as officials to lead the caravan. Although not mentioned in the above source, it is known from other sources that the funds for government caravans were disbursed from the Storage Office (*guangchusi* 廣儲司) of the Imperial Household Department.<sup>14)</sup>

Previously government merchants under the umbrella of the Imperial Household Department had been purchasing furs at Kiakhta. For example, it is clear from the above source that in the year prior to the dispatch of the government caravan (1759) Fan Qingzhu, a well-known government merchant from Shanxi, had been buying in goods at Kiakhta.<sup>15)</sup> Examples of government merchants involved in buying goods for the imperial court and selling surplus stock can be widely seen and were not limited to Kiakhta. But in the case of ordinary government merchants, the Imperial Household Department would as a rule only entrust them with funds or goods and would not become involved in business matters, leaving these to the merchants, and it was a sort of contract system. In the case of the Muslim caravans, on the other hand, government officials led the party of merchants, the means of transport were also provided by the government, a fixed allowance was paid to the merchants, and everything was supplied by the government. It is for this reason that the term “government caravan” is used here.

The first caravan set out from Zhangjiakou on the 28th of the sixth month of 1760 and reached Kiakhta on the 22nd of the eighth month. Trading then began, but because the trading season in Kiakhta at the time was from winter to spring and no notable merchants or goods had yet arrived from Russia in early autumn, the caravan’s stay was prolonged. But the transactions themselves generally seem to have gone well, and Liobooju, one of the caravan leaders, noted that “the Muslims are fairly good at business.” As a result, in addition to the initial funding of 10,000 *liang*, a further 1,500 *liang* were given to the government caravan from Fan Qingzhu’s funds.<sup>16)</sup> On the 1st of the third month in the following year, having finished trading, the caravan started on its return

journey,<sup>17)</sup> and upon its arrival back in Beijing the Qianlong emperor granted the caravan members a special audience at which he thanked them for their trouble and rewarded them with silver.<sup>18)</sup> Thereafter, although the funding and number of caravan members varied, government caravans were basically sent every year.

### I. 3. Bederge Muslims

As is indicated in the source quoted in the previous section, Bederge Muslims were originally people who had been engaged in wide-area trade under the umbrella of the Junghars. The Bederge of the Junghar period have been touched on by Saguchi Tōru, as mentioned earlier, and more recently Onuma Takahiro has discussed how they formed an *otoq* in Ili.<sup>19)</sup> After the fall of the Junghars, they submitted to the Qing dynasty, and some of them seem to have migrated to Beijing. At the time, quite a large number of Muslims were relocated from Xinjiang to Beijing by the Qing authorities. According to Onuma's research, those with titular ranks such as *khwāja* were placed under the jurisdiction of the Board of Colonial Affairs, while musicians, artisans, and so on were organized into a company (*niru*) under the supervision of the Imperial Household Department and resided in the "Muslim Camp" (*huiziying* 回子營) outside the West Chang'an 西長安 Gate.<sup>20)</sup> There has not been found any source definitely attesting to the fact that Bederge Muslims belonged to the Muslim *niru*, but judging from the fact that Bai Hojo 白和卓, captain of the Muslim *niru*, was involved in the selection of personnel to be dispatched to the Afghans (Ai'ugan 愛烏罕), to be discussed below, there can be no doubt that they had connections with the Muslim *niru*.

The reason that they were employed for buying furs at Kiakhta was that it was hoped that they would make use of their experience in trading with Russia to the advantage of the Qing court,<sup>21)</sup> and, as noted above, these hopes do not appear to have been disappointed. However, as is indicated by the following report submitted by the bureau secretary (*zhushi* 主事) Fafuri, who led the third caravan in 1762–63, not all of the Muslim merchants were conversant in Russian, and they were of varying ability.

As I watched carefully when trading by imperial decree with Russia at Kiyaktu on this occasion, there was no one better than Mirdza among the thirty Muslims. Because he is conversant in the language of Russia and is also good at telling the differences between goods, Russians trust him deeply, and if they have any fine goods, they immediately bring them out

and show them when Mirdza comes. The other Muslims are each doing their best, but because few of them are conversant in the language of Russia, even if [the Russians] have some fine goods, they do not bring them out and show them. Even though I, Fafuri, learnt a little when trading on this occasion, I do not yet understand the Russians very well, and this year's buying and selling was reasonably successful only on account of Mirdza's competence in trade.<sup>22)</sup>

In 1762, when an Afghan embassy arrived in Beijing, the Qing authorities made plans to include some Muslim merchants among the embassy's escort and instructed Bai Hojo of the Muslim *niru* to select some suitable men, whereupon he recommended, in addition to some men in Beijing, Mirdza and Ibariyem, who were engaged in trade at Kiakhta. The Council of State accordingly ordered Fafuri to send them back to Beijing at once.<sup>23)</sup> But because, as described above, Mirdza's absence would cause problems, Fafuri asked for permission to keep him in Kiakhta, and Mirdza ended up turning back en route to Beijing and returning to Kiakhta.<sup>24)</sup>

#### I. 4. The Aims behind the Use of Muslim Merchants

What, then, were the aims of the Qing authorities when they came up with the idea of government caravans made up of Muslim merchants and gave some thought to how best to make use of these caravans? Of course, the direct reason would have been a desire to make use of the Muslim merchants' experience, mentioned above. Nonetheless, if it were merely a question of ensuring a steady supply of furs and so on for the imperial court, there are unlikely to have been any problems had it been left to an ordinary government merchant such as Fan Qingzhu. I therefore wish to consider this question in a little more detail.

As mentioned, there is a dearth of information about the circumstances leading to the dispatch of the first caravan, and consequently nothing definite is known. However, the following memorial, thought to have been submitted in 1761 after the dispatch of the first caravan, provides some clues.

On investigating by imperial decree trade with Russia,... The fixed place for trade between our people and the Russians was originally Kiyaktu. Every year Russian merchants all take goods to Kiyaktu and trade with our people. Were one to go to another town, there would be no merchants at all since there would be no fixed [trading] place. Even if there were [some merchants], if we did not send a notification to inform Russia

beforehand and if their leaders did not order them to do so, their merchants would not take it upon themselves to trade with our people. The reason that we last year sent thirty Muslims, including the Bederge Aitme, was simply to have them trade by way of experiment. Because we did not notify the Russians beforehand at all, we sent them to trade as usual at Kiyaktu. Once Liobooju and so on return, we will question them, and then we wish to confer anew and submit a memorial about how to conduct trade.<sup>25)</sup>

Because the Qianlong emperor's instructions on which the consultations and memorial were premised have not been found, some points remain unclear. But sending caravans to places other than Kiakhta to trade with Russia is here clearly a topic of discussion, and it can be inferred, albeit indirectly, that at the time the Qianlong emperor had plans to take over the trade between eastern Inner Asia and Siberia formerly controlled by the Junghars and to further develop trade with Russia over a wider area. But unfortunately it is not known whether members of the first caravan were questioned upon their return or whether any concrete measures were taken to push these plans forward.

In addition, another aim of the Qing authorities can be glimpsed in the following conversation that the trader Aitma,<sup>26)</sup> a leading merchant in the first caravan, had with some Russian merchants.

On the day we arrived, after the Russians had come to meet the Muslims Aitma and so on, Aitma and so on spoke as follows: "Among the Russians and [Russian] Muslims who have recently come one after another, there are some whom we know by sight. Because they all asked why we had come, we said, 'We were originally *bederge* of the Jungar G'aldan cering. Because the Ület of Jungar recklessly committed atrocities, His Majesty saw what was happening, took pity on sentient beings, sent in generals, ministers, and troops, promptly captured Dawaci, and destroyed in no time all the extremely cruel Jungar evildoers without leaving any trace of them.... At this Šultaša, *han* of Badakšan, Šuršamet, *han* of Bolor, Mirmangsur of Wahan, the *akim bek* of the lands of Gundu, Sigana, Cocon, and so on ... all submitted one after another. The sons they each sent, as well as the *akim bek* and chieftains of the lands of Yerkem, Hasigar, and so on, were made to come to Beijing one after another and revere the Great Sovereign's visage, favours were bestowed on them, banquets were held with much ado, and they were richly rewarded. This spring they were sent back to their respective lands....' Thereupon they said, '... Many years have

passed since the market was built at Kiyaktu by the grace of His Majesty the Han. We are trading most peacefully. Since you have now all become subjects of His Majesty the Han, let us trade peacefully with one another.’ They each happily spoke thus and left.”<sup>27)</sup>

Judging from the fact that the caravan leaders Liobooju and so on expressly reported Aitma’s statement, it should be assumed that his words were not spoken on his own free initiative and that the aims of the Qing dynasty lay behind them. It is to be surmised, in other words, that the dispatch of Muslim merchants also had the aim of strongly impressing upon the Russians the fact that the former coexistence of the Qing dynasty and the Junghars had been replaced by the Qing’s hegemony over the world of Inner Asia by having this fact conveyed by the merchants.

In addition, this period immediately after the conquest of the Junghars was also a time when the Qing dynasty was attempting to make use in various ways of the human resources of Huijiang (southern East Turkistan). A typical example of this was the attempt to settle so-called Taranchi in the area around Ili, establish a Muslim farm (*huitun* 回屯), and assign them the task of supplying the government troops stationed there with provisions.<sup>28)</sup> Although the people involved and the objectives were completely different, the relocation of artisans, musicians, and so on from Huijiang to Beijing and their organization into a Muslim *niru* could also be said to have been based on the idea of making use of competent Muslims. In a rather unusual case, it was proposed in 1760, the same year that the first government caravan was dispatched, to settle Taranchi from Huijiang in Hulunbuir (Man. Hulun Buir; Mon. Kōlün buyir) because of a deterioration in the living conditions of the Solon and Barga (Man. Barhū; Mon. Baryu) troops there and have the Taranchi teach them irrigation farming.<sup>29)</sup> It would also be possible to understand the sending of Bederge Muslims to Kiakhta as a similar undertaking.

## II. The Operations of Government Caravans

### II. 1. Establishing a Framework

Following the provisional success of the first caravan, government caravans began to be sent regularly from 1761 onwards. On the other hand, there are no records of Fan Qingzhu, who had bought goods in Kiakhta in 1759–61, having made similar purchases thereafter,<sup>30)</sup> and since no other government merchants are known to have been active in this capacity, it is thought that all purchases

for the Imperial Household Department at Kiakhta were subsequently made by the Muslim caravans.

A framework for administering the caravans was also gradually put in place and became standardized. Information found in archival documents about the number of personnel, the amount of funding, the length of its stay in Kiakhta, and so on for each caravan has been summarized in Table A. Caravans generally arrived in Kiakhta in the tenth month and stayed until the second or third month of the following year, engaging in trade during this time.<sup>31)</sup> As mentioned, initially thirty Muslims accompanied the caravan, but because one died of illness during the second caravan in 1761–62, the next caravan had twenty-nine, and from the fourth caravan in 1763–64 the number was reduced to ten. When a caravan was sent again in 1768, following the suspension and resumption of the Kiakhta trade, their numbers were supplemented: “Among the Muslims who went previously, now only four remain in Beijing. Because this is not enough, we wish to select from among Muslims six more who are conversant in the language of Russia and able to do business and take ten with me.”<sup>32)</sup> But judging from the fact that their numbers subsequently fell again, it seems that even if vacancies arose, they were not filled. On the occasion of the first caravan the Imperial Household Department provided 10,000 *liang*, but from the second caravan onwards the sum was fixed at 20,000 *liang* (except in 1768–69). Further, initially funding was provided only in cash, and all the goods for trading were purchased at Zhangjiakou and elsewhere. But from the third caravan in 1762–63 a kind of brocade damask (Man. *liyang hūwa suje*) from the palace storehouses was provided together with cash.<sup>33)</sup>

Initially there were either one or two caravan leaders, and their number was not fixed. But from 1771–72 the number was fixed at two, with one being sent from the Imperial Household Department and one from the Board of Colonial Affairs. Furthermore, a system was adopted whereby as a rule the same person was sent in two successive years, with one of the two being replaced each year.<sup>34)</sup>

From the time of the first caravan the allowance given to the merchants remained unchanged at 10 *liang* per person, with an additional daily allowance of 2 *qian* for food. Depending on their rank, the caravan leaders were given preparation money ranging from 60 *liang* (bureau secretary) to 100 *liang* (bureau director [*langzhong* 郎中]) and a daily allowance ranging from 6 *qian* to 1 *liang*. As for means of travel and transportation, relay stations were used from Beijing to Zhangjiakou, and the horses, camels, and so on used from Zhangjiakou onwards were provided by the commander-in-chief of Chahar. When animals became exhausted en route, they were replaced at Kūriy-e. Tents, pots, and

**Table A: Government Caravans Sent from Qianlong 25 (1760) to 43 (1778)**

Officials	Number of Muslims	Funding	Date of Arrival at Kiakhta (yy/mm/dd)*	Date of Departure from Kiakhta	Remarks
Lioboju (bureau vice director)	30	10,000 <i>liang</i>	25/08/22	26/03/01	1,500 <i>liang</i> added from goods carried by Fan Qingzhu
Kimboo (vice overseer)					
Kimboo (bureau vice director)	30	20,000 <i>liang</i>	26/11/1?	27/03/middle ten days	
Fafuri (bureau secretary)	29	20,000 <i>liang</i>	27/10/15	28/02/16	
Kimboo (bureau vice director)	10	20,000 <i>liang</i>	28/10/06	29/03/last ten days	
Kimboo (bureau vice director)	10	40,000 <i>liang</i>	34/04/03 (date of commencement of trade)	24/05/09	
Fafuri (bureau director)	?	20,000 <i>liang</i>	34/10/22	35/03/25	
Bandarša (bureau director)					
Bandarša (bureau director)	9	20,000 <i>liang</i>	35/10/16	36/03/13	
Bandarša (bureau director)	8	20,000 <i>liang</i>	36/10/27	37/03/19	
Taipingga (bureau vice director)					
Taipingga (bureau vice director)	8	20,000 <i>liang</i>	37/11/03	38/03/03	
Haišao (bureau vice director)					
Haišao (bureau director)	8	20,000 <i>liang</i>	38/10/13	39/02/21	
Lunghing (bureau vice director)					
Lunghing (bureau vice director)	8?	20,000 <i>liang</i> **	39/10/13	40/02/11	
Heidase (bureau vice director)					
Bandarša (bureau director)	8?	20,000 <i>liang</i>	42/10/15	43/03/13	
Baši (bureau director)					

\* According to the lunar calendar

\*\* According to Lai Huimin (op. cit., p. 106), the funding for this year was 15,904 *liang*. But in the relevant Manchu *Lufu zouzhe* it is stated that 800 bolts of brocade damask and more than 15,900 *liang* of silver were received from the palace storehouses (*Lufu zouzhe* 2589-51 / 103-1282, report of Lunghing [Qianlong 39/7/26]), and so it may be assumed that the total amount of funding came to 20,000 *liang*.

Table B: Items Purchased by Government Caravans from 1760 (Qianlong 25) to 1764 (Qianlong 29)

Purchased Items	1760-61 (Qianlong 25-26)	1761-62 (Qianlong 26-27)	1762-63 (Qianlong 27-28)	1763-64 (Qianlong 28-29)
<i>cikiri boro dobihi</i> 黑狐青狐皮	226	190 zhang 張	300	589 zhang
<i>hailun</i>	41			
<i>šanyan ulhu</i> 銀鼠皮	13,900	61,668 zhang	18,150	44,400 zhang
<i>cikiri boro dobihi fatha</i> <i>boro dobihi i fatha</i> 黑狐青狐腿	103 dui 對		252 dui	618 dui
灰鼠皮		4,000 zhang		10,000 zhang
猓狸獾皮				19 zhang
<i>suevyan yacin fulgiyan safiya</i> 煎羊皮 (yellow, red, black)	140	196 zhang		
<i>suevyan fulgiyan sahaliyan safiya</i> 香羊皮 (yellow, red, black)			300	118 zhang
黑細羊皮				60 zhang
<i>kara mejin jafu</i>	5 zhengkuai 整塊		1,451 chi 尺 8 cun 寸 (in Russian foot)	

哆囉呢 (red, black, blue)		10 <i>kuai</i> 塊 (427 <i>chi</i> 12 <i>cun</i> in Muslim foot)	10 <i>kuai</i> (406 <i>chi</i> )
洋氈 (red, green, blue)		50 <i>zhang</i>	
金花牛皮		76	
<i>aisin ilhai bulgar</i>			
香牛皮 (red, black)			20 <i>zhang</i>
<i>aisin sese i ilha noho suje</i>	1 <i>kuai</i> (32 <i>chi</i> )	394 <i>chi</i> 8½ <i>cun</i> (in Russian foot)	
<i>menggun sese i ilha noho suje</i>	1 <i>kuai</i> (10 <i>chi</i> )		
裸色地金銀花緞		14 <i>kuai</i> , large and small (222 <i>chi</i> 7 <i>cun</i> in Muslim foot)	
金銀花緞			5 <i>kuai</i> (38 <i>chi</i> 15 <i>cun</i> )
<i>aisin menggun sese akū ilha noho suje</i>	1 <i>kuai</i> (40 <i>chi</i> )		
<i>aisin tonggo</i>	70 <i>ba</i> 把		
<i>menggun tonggo</i>	14		
<i>aisin tonggo i hiyatame araha sentu</i>	8 <i>liang</i> 5 <i>qian</i>		

other articles used beyond the border were held in storage at Zhangjiakou, and if they became worn out or were damaged, they were replaced. The allowances for merchants and officials and expenses for their utensils and so on were defrayed from the 20,000 *liang* of funding.<sup>35)</sup>

## II. 2. Trade Items and Their Quantities

As regards the goods sold by government caravans to the Russians, we have only a vague idea that damask and the like were the main such goods, and details are unclear. But details of the goods purchased from the Russians are known to some extent, and Table B lists the items purchased by the first four caravans in 1760–64.<sup>36)</sup> Because there is a mixture of Manchu and Chinese source materials and the way of referring to the same article may vary from year to year, it is difficult to identify with certainty the items purchased each year, but items thought to be by and large the same or similar are lumped together.

Judging from the above table, the main items purchased were furs, but there were not many varieties, and they consisted chiefly of furs of the black fox (*heihu pi* 黑狐皮; Man. *sahaliyan dobihi*), silver or blue fox (*qinghu pi* 青狐皮; Man. *cikiri boro dobihi*), and white or silver squirrel (*yinshu pi* 銀鼠皮; Man. *šanyan ulhu*). Apart from furs, sheepskins (*safiya*) and oxbides (*bulgar*) also accounted for a certain proportion of purchased items. As regards gold and silver brocade damask (*jinyin huaduan* 金銀花緞; Man. *aisin / menggun sese ilha noho suje*), this is known to have been a commodity in which the Qianlong emperor took a strong interest, for when the first caravan was en route to Kiakhta he sent the following instructions: “When going to Kiakhta and trading with Russia on this occasion, it is important to obtain Russian gold-embroidered silk (*altan basy suje*). The more that can be obtained, the better.”<sup>37)</sup> The prices of purchased items and how they were disposed of are discussed in section IV below.

## II. 3. Government Caravans and the Suspension of the Kiakhta Trade

The dispatch of government caravans was becoming a regular event, but as a result of disputes about the border fence built by the Russians in the vicinity of Kiakhta and their levying of customs duties the suspension of the Kiakhta trade began to be discussed. I have examined this issue elsewhere,<sup>38)</sup> and the decision to suspend trade was finalized on the 4th of the sixth month in 1762 when the Qianlong emperor ratified a memorial submitted by the

Council of State. However, soon afterwards, on the 18th of the same month, the Council of State discussed sending a government caravan as in previous years and submitted a memorial to this effect, and the emperor issued an edict ordering them to act accordingly.<sup>39)</sup> Consequently, Sangjaidorji in Kūriy-e was at a loss as to whether or not he should allow the government caravan to pass through and sent an unofficial letter of inquiry.<sup>40)</sup>

A government caravan was also sent in the 1763–64 season. At the time, preparations for closing the market in Kiakhta were proceeding apace, and private merchants had for the most part left, with only staff to keep watch over the shops remaining. Then, on the 12th of the ninth month in 1763 the Qianlong emperor gave the following instructions to Fude, Grand Minister Superintendent (*banshi dachen* 辦事大臣) of Kūriy-e: “Since our Bederge Muslims for this year have already departed, at all events it would be best, once they have finished trading and returned, to gather all the merchants watching over the buildings there [in Kiakhta] and send them back.”<sup>41)</sup> Judging from these exchanges, it would seem possible to infer that, if at all possible, the Qianlong emperor did not want to stop sending government caravans. In this fashion, the government caravan alone continued trading until the end of the third month in 1764, and with the completion of its business the Kiakhta trade finally ceased completely.

After having been suspended for about four years, the Kiakhta trade was to be resumed after the signing of the Addendum to the Treaty of Kiakhta in the ninth month of 1768. But on the 16th of the seventh month, when negotiations were still underway in Kiakhta, Ingliyan 英廉, Grand Minister of the Imperial Household Department, and others were already submitting a memorial concerning the resumption of government caravans, and this was approved by the emperor. On the expectation that “Their goods will have all accumulated. They will certainly have many goods that they have brought to trade,” the funding on this occasion was doubled to 40,000 *liang*.<sup>42)</sup> This shows that the desire to operate government caravans had not changed even with the suspension of trade.

### III. The 1763 “Obstruction of Trade” Incident

#### III. 1. The Origins of the Incident

In 1763 there occurred an interesting incident concerning the relationship between government caravans and private merchants. A succinct account of this incident is recorded in the *Gaozong shilu*,<sup>43)</sup> but far more detailed information appears in archival sources, and it is possible to reconstruct the incident more

or less in its entirety.

The incident had its origins in instructions given in the fourth month of 1763 by the Board of Colonial Affairs to Sangjaidorji and Fude in Kūriy-e to conduct an investigation of bureau secretary Bayungtai, an official stationed in Kiakhta who was suspected of wrongdoing,<sup>44)</sup> although it is not stated how the Board of Colonial Affairs obtained its information. In response to these instructions, on the 6th of the fifth month Sangjaidorji and Fude submitted a memorial in which they enumerated various misdeeds committed by Bayungtai, including the fact that he had sent anew for merchants from Kūriy-e to come to Kiakhta despite the decision to suspend trade and that he had let merchants without a certificate (*zhizhao* 執照) enter the market in Kiakhta. Their memorial also included the following passage:

Furthermore, when Bederge Muslims engage in trade at Kiakhta, some Chinese called Siyoo Yuwan Dz and Ging Jang were found by the Bederge Muslims to have secretly incited Russians behind the scenes, causing the Bederge Muslims' trade to stall, to have bought furs before the Muslims, having paid an increased price, and to have also secretly bought some from Russians, and they were apprehended by the Muslims and handed over to Bayungtai to be dealt with.<sup>45)</sup>

The Qianlong emperor was quick to respond, giving instructions that Bayungtai be immediately summoned to Kūriy-e for questioning. As for the private merchants said to have obstructed the business dealings of the Muslim merchants, he gave orders that they be immediately located, arrested, and sent to the Ministry of Justice (*xingbu* 刑部).

The crime of the merchants Siyoo Yuwan Dz and Ging Jang, who, in spite of being from China proper, of all things, incited Russians behind the scenes, causing the trade of the Bederge Muslims sent from China proper to stall, is most despicable. It would be best to leave this matter, too, to Sangjaidorji and Fude, and be sure to arrest them both, dispatch outstanding personnel to watch over them carefully en route to Beijing, have the Ministry of Justice conduct a thorough investigation, and punish them severely. On no account are they to be allowed to escape.<sup>46)</sup>

On the 18th of the fifth month, the emperor left Beijing for his Mountain Villa to Escape the Heat in Rehe 熱河 (Bishu Shanzhuang 避暑山莊), and the following day he issued another edict with orders for the merchants, once

arrested, to be sent directly to Rehe rather than to Beijing and for ministers of the Council of State to conduct the investigation. It was most unusual for ministers of the Council of State to take charge of the investigation of a case that would not seem to have been of any great importance, and this gives an indication of the emperor's extraordinary interest in the matter. This was followed by a report from Sangjaidorji stating that the incident had occurred the previous year and many of the private merchants involved had already left Kiakhta, whereupon Barpin 巴爾品, commander-in-chief of Chahar, and also the governor-general (*zongdu* 總督) of Zhili 直隸 and the governor (*xunfu* 巡撫) of Shanxi 山西 were instructed to conduct investigations.

Some information about the private merchants Siyoo Yuwan Dz and Ging Jang can be gleaned from a report submitted by Heqizhong 和其衷, the governor of Shanxi, to the Council of State, according to which:<sup>47)</sup>

There is no Xiaoyuanzi or Jingzhang among the merchants of Zhangjiakou. But we found out that Zhao Yue, a merchant of Wanshengyong Company, is called Xiaoyuanzi by others. According to his testimony, he is from Fenyang county in Fenzhou prefecture. He himself never passed through the gate in the Great Wall to trade, but his clerks Zhang Zongxuan and Tian Chang left one after another in the seventh and ninth months of last year to trade at Kiakhta. Later another employee, Dong Bingxin, also followed them to Kiakhta. Others call his company Xiaoyuanzi. We also found out that Zhang Chaoyuan of Hengyuyu Company was formerly engaged in trade in Beijing and came from Changping prefecture, and so others call him Jingzhang.

張家口商民內並無小院子，京張其人，惟查有萬盛永記舖內商民趙越，人皆稱為小院子。訊供，係汾州府汾陽縣人，伊並不出口貿易，惟伊夥記張宗烜、田昌于去年柴月玖月間先後往恰克圖貿易。又僱工董秉信續往恰克圖，舖中亦人稱為小院子等語。再查恒裕玉記舖內張朝元向在京城貿易，係昌平州人，是以人俱稱為京張。

It turns out that Siyoo Yuan Dz (Xiaoyuanzi 小院子) was a store properly called Wanshengyong 萬盛永 run by the merchant Zhao Yue 趙越 in Zhangjiakou, and on questioning Zhao Yue, it was found that the previous year his clerks Zhang Zongxuan 張宗烜 and Tian Chang 田昌 and another employee named Dong Bingxin 董秉信 had gone to Kiakhta to conduct trade. In addition, Ging Jang (Jingzhang 京張) referred to Zhang Chaoyuan 張朝元 of a store called Hengyuyu 恒裕玉.

Next, the county magistrate (*zhixian* 知縣) of Fenyang 汾陽 county tracked down Dong Bingshu 董秉恕, an older clan cousin of Dong Bingxin and also a clerk at the Wanshengyong, and on being questioned, he provided the following testimony.

Dong Bingshu testified: “I work as a clerk at Wanshengyong Company in Zhangjiakou. Together with three colleagues—my younger clan cousin Dong Bingxin, Zhang Zongxuan, and Tian Chang—I have been engaged in trade with Russians at Kiakhta. Our company is located in a place called Xiaoyuanzi, and so others call us Xiaoyuanzi. I serve as a group leader at Kiakhta. I returned to Zhangjiakou in the eleventh month of the twenty-second year of the Qianglong reign, arrived in Beijing in the twelfth month, and returned home in the second month of this year after selling all our goods. My three colleagues Zhang Zongxuan, Tian Chang, and Dong Bingxin remained in Kiakhta during this time. As for bartering our goods with the Russians, in former times we were able to exchange goods as soon as they arrived. Last year, Muslims wearing red caps brought goods from China proper for trading with the Russians, and so we were allowed to barter only after the red-capped Muslims had finished trading, as a result of which we wasted some days. Then many merchants asked the local officer to allow them to enter the market for bartering first, and I too went to make a request. I do not know why the Russians did not trade with the Muslims and who incited them. Jingzhang is a man from Changping prefecture, and it is true that I am acquainted with him.”

拋董秉恕供稱，小的在張家口萬盛永記趙越舖內做夥計。小的與族弟董秉信並張宗烜，田昌肆人都在恰克圖與俄羅斯交易。開舖地方名小院子，所以人都稱小的們為小院子。小的在恰克圖當了甲頭。乾隆貳拾柒年拾壹日(*sic*)從恰克圖回至張家口，拾貳月內至京師賣貨，本年貳月內回家。張宗烜，田昌，董秉信三人此時尚在恰克圖。至小的們馱了貨物與俄羅斯交易，向來原是貨到即換的。去年有戴紅帽的回子也從裡頭帶了貨物與俄羅斯貿易，須俟紅帽回子換畢後再許小的們易換，以致耽擱日子，各商民求那裡的官要先進去易換，小的也曾去求過。至俄羅斯怎樣不與回人貿易，何人教唆，小的不知道。京張係昌平州人，小的亦與他認識是實等語。

Worth noting is the fact that Dong Bingshu states that “red-capped Muslims” were given priority when trading at Kiakhta, during which time private merchants were kept waiting, and the private merchants had therefore

lodged a petition with officials at Kiakhta, asking to be able to start trading earlier. However, he also states that he did not know who had inveigled the Russians into not trading with the Muslim merchants.

Meanwhile, in the sixth month, following a manhunt in the area between Kiakhta and Zhangjiakou, Ging Jang (Zhang Chaoyuan), Zhang Zongxuan, etc., of the Xiaoyuanzi were arrested by the Grand Minister Superintendent of Kūriy-e, while Tian Chang and Dong Bingxin were arrested by the commander-in-chief of Chahar, and they were all sent to Rehe.<sup>48)</sup>

### III. 2. The Interrogation of Bayungtai

Bayungtai arrived at Kūriy-e on the 20th of the sixth month, and he was immediately interrogated by Sangjaidorji and Fude. There were three main points at issue during his interrogation: (1) despite instructions to suspend trade having been issued, Bayungtai sent for private merchants from Kūriy-e to come to Kiakhta and allowed merchants detained at watch-posts (*karun* [kalun 卡倫]) to proceed to Kiakhta; (2) the private merchants Siyoo Yuwan Dz and Ging Jang had incited the Russians to obstruct the trading activities of the Bederge Muslims and had also bought furs without authorization and at high prices; and (3) private merchants had secretly bought horses from the Russians.

With regard to the first point, Bayungtai admitted having sent a letter to Kūriy-e asking for merchants to be sent to Kiakhta and having allowed private merchants who had attempted to skirt around watch-posts or pass through them without a certificate to enter Kiakhta, but he denied having received any bribes for having done so. With regard to the second point, he provided the following testimony:

With regard to the fact that Siyoo Yuwan Dz, i.e., Dung Bing Šu, attempted to go to the border (i.e., Great Wall) and bought grey squirrel [furs] at a high price, I immediately summoned all the Chinese, beat and reprimanded him in front of everyone, and notified all the merchants that never again were they to increase prices arbitrarily in this way and do trade. The Bederge Muslim Isgak reported that he had happened to see Jang Coo Yuwan secretly buy twenty otter furs, two bundles of sable pelts, fox furs, and so on, and so I, Bayungtai, set a watch on Jang Coo Yuan and, having sealed the articles that he had brought, contacted the ministers because I did not know how to deal with the matter. They gave orders saying, “It would be best for you to conclude the matter by taking into consideration bureau secretary Fafuri’s handling of such matters,” and so

I confiscated all of his share (*hūsun ufuhi*) of 18,000 great *tugurik* and gave 2,000 *tugurik* to the Bederge Muslim Isgak. The remaining 16,000 small *tugurik* I entrusted to group leader (*jiatou* 甲頭) Yang Šeng Cu to provide for repairing the government office, and they are currently in safekeeping. Jang Coo Yuwan was put in shackles for one month and received thirty blows with a cudgel. These two [Dung and Jang] have never obstructed the Bederge Muslims. I, Bayungtai, dealt with them in the presence of Fafuri, who had escorted the Muslims, and so he also knows about this.<sup>49)</sup>

Thus, Bayungtai admitted that he had punished Xiaoyuanzi (i.e., Dong Bingshu) for having bought grey squirrel furs at a high price and that he had punished Zhang Chaoyuan (Ging Jang) because the Muslim Isgak<sup>50)</sup> had discovered him buying various kinds of furs without declaring them to the authorities, but he denied that private merchants had incited the Russians to obstruct the trading activities of the government caravan.<sup>51)</sup> Following on from this interrogation, Bayungtai was subjected to further investigation at Rehe,<sup>52)</sup> but it is not known what sort of punishment he ultimately received, for there are no relevant records in the *Lufu zouzhe*, etc.

### III. 3. Investigations at Rehe and the Ultimate Outcome

Among the private merchants who had been arrested, Zhang Chaoyuan, Tian Chang, and Dong Bingxin, who arrived first in Rehe, were interrogated by ministers of the Council of State,<sup>53)</sup> and Zhang Chaoyuan (Ging Jang) testified as follows:

In the seventh month of last year, I went to Kiyaktu together with Lii Šeng Ging, and in the first month of this year we bought two hundred Russian lambskins (Man. *honin deberen i sukū*), more than twenty ordinary otter furs (Man. *arsari hailun sukū*), and two lynx furs, whereupon bureau secretary Fafuri, who had gone to trade at the head of a party of Muslims, suspecting that we had probably purchased black fox [furs] in secret, came to our store and searched it, but because none of the goods were articles that were being purchased by the government, he did not punish us. Later Bayungtai, claiming that we had not submitted any report regarding the furs and other articles we had bought, arrested us, placed us in shackles for more than twenty days, gave us twenty blows with a board, and also levied 120 *liang* of silver, and we handed the silver over to Bayungtai. It is a fact that we never bought any articles that the government buys, and

also that we never incited the Russians to cause the government's trade to stall.

In other words, he rejected as unfounded the charge that they had obstructed the government caravan's trade. In addition, Tian Chang of the Xiaoyuanzi testified as follows:

In the ninth month, I arrived in Kiyaktu together with government merchants. When I arrived there, I traded for about a month together with Dung Bing Šu and Jang Dzung Siowan and bought more than one hundred thousand grey squirrel (?) (Man. *yacin ulhu*) [furs], which Dung Bing Šu took and returned ahead of us. We two stayed there and further bought more than ten thousand lambskins, more than three hundred oxhides, and more than one thousand furs of poor quality. After the Muslims returned on the 26th of the second month, in the third to fourth months woollen cloth (Man. *hara mejin*; Ch. *duoluoni* 哆羅呢) was brought from Russia. Because official transactions had already ended by this time, we bought thirty-seven pieces. We bought all of these items after I had submitted reports.... While the Muslims were there, we never bought any items that the government buys. On no account did we dare to incite Russians to cause the official trade to stall, nor were we apprehended by Muslims for having secretly bought things and turned over to Bayungtai. There are actually bureau secretary Fafuri and thirty Muslims [as witnesses]. If you ask them, there should be no mistake. This is all the true situation.

Having thus been unable to obtain any confession that private merchants had obstructed the government caravan's trading activities, the ministers of the Council of State instructed Fafuri, who had led the government caravan, to report in person to Rehe together with representatives of the Muslims, and upon their arrival they were questioned by the ministers.<sup>54)</sup> Fafuri testified as follows:

When I was trading at Kiyaktu last year, I never heard that our merchants had incited the Russians. The Muslims never notified me of any such thing, nor did I apprehend any merchants and turn them over to Bayungtai. At the end of last year, the Muslim Isek came and told me, "More than ten Russian pack-horses have secretly come and gone to Jang Coo Yuwan's store," and so several days later, thinking that Jang Coo Yuwan had

probably bought some black fox furs, I went to Jang Coo Yuwan's store together with the four Muslims Isek, Ūdek, Aili, and Memetnidzar and because, on looking at the goods he had bought with a view to buying some of his things, there were only pelts of ordinary otters, sables, red foxes, lynxes, and so on and no black fox [furs] whatsoever, I returned home. If the merchants of Kiyaktu buy anything, it is the rule that they all notify the officials there. Claiming that Jang Coo Yuwan had secretly bought furs and not reported them to him, Bayungtai apprehended Jang Coo Yuwan and punished him. I do not know how many *liang* of silver he confiscated. Furthermore, when I, Fafuri, take Muslims to conduct trade, I never prohibit trading by commoners. However, not only are there a great many merchants at Kiyaktu, but one cannot obtain many fine Russian black fox [furs] owing to short supply. If they were allowed to buy this item, having bid up the price as they wished, it would immediately become difficult to obtain. Accordingly, after I arrived there, I gathered all the merchants and in the presence of Bayungtai told them, "Among the things now being bought by the government, only black fox furs are somewhat difficult to acquire. You should stop buying this one item for a short time. You may buy it again after the government has finished buying it. There are very many other kinds of goods. I will not stop you [from buying things]. You may buy what you want." All the merchants happily obeyed.

In addition, Isek, one of the Muslim merchants, testified as follows:

Only the one kind of black fox fur is bought first by the government. Things such as other furs and woollens we buy and the merchants buy, too. At the end of the twelfth month last year, I, Isek, got up early in the morning and went outside, whereupon I saw ten Russian pack-horses secretly go to Jang Coo Yuwan's store, and I immediately notified Fafuri. Several days later, Fafuri took myself and also the Muslims Ūduk, Aili, and Memetnidzar and went to Jang Coo Yuwan's store, and when he opened the bundles of furs that he had bought and had a look, there were no black fox furs at all, and so Fafuri left with us. I have never apprehended any merchants and turned them over to Bayungtai. Nor have I ever heard of merchants inciting the Russians.

Thus, Fafuri and Isek basically corroborated the merchants' testimony, stating that, on learning that Russian goods had been secretly brought to Jang

Coo Yuwan’s store, they had searched the store for black fox furs, but had not found any; further, they did not know whether or not any merchants had incited the Russians, and the government caravan had priority when it came to buying black fox furs. In addition, Bayungtai had stated that he had given 2,000 of the 18,000 small *tugrik* confiscated from Jang Coo Yuwan to Isek, but Isek maintained that although Bayungtai had certainly tried to give him money, he had not accepted it.

As a result of the above investigations the ministers were in the end unable to obtain any evidence that private merchants had obstructed the business dealings of the government caravan, and so Fuheng and other ministers of the Council of State submitted the following draft ruling:

As we humbly reflect on this matter, previously Sangjaidorji and others claimed, “The merchants Ging Jang and Siyoo Yuwan Dz were apprehended by Muslims for having incited the Russians to cause the government’s trading activities to stall and were turned over to Bayungtai,” but the merchants whom we have now apprehended and brought here one after another have each replied that nothing [like this] happened at all, on top of which, when we brought Fafuri and the Muslims here and questioned them, they too said that it was completely groundless. When one considers that in a memorial recently submitted by Sangjaidorji and others after having questioned Bayungtai it also says that there was no inciting whatsoever of Russians, the matter is absurd. Since these merchants are all innocent, they should naturally be released.... On humbly reflecting further, the aim of sending Muslims to Kiyaktu to trade is primarily that it is good to show the Russians that our buying and selling is varied (*cohome oros sede musei hūda maiman geren be tuwabukini sere gūnin*). It is not at all to compete for profits with merchants. Fafuri’s thinking in preventing the merchants from buying black fox [furs] is petty, and this measure is mistaken. It would be best to instruct and admonish Fafuri and the others to this effect and, when they set out to trade in the future, to allow merchants to buy all manner of goods as they wish. We wish to stop forever the government’s prohibiting of this.<sup>55)</sup>

The Qianlong emperor responded to this memorial with the comment “Noted” (*saha*), and the incident was basically resolved. In short, it turned out to have been much ado about nothing. Although this incident was no more than a minor episode in overall developments concerning government caravans, from the various archival sources conveying the course of events not

only can it be inferred that the Qianlong emperor was at the time taking considerable interest in the success or failure of government caravans, but we are also apprised of some of the actual activities of government caravans in Kiakhta and aspects of their relations with private merchants, and there are some matters of considerable interest. Another point worth noting is that in the course of this incident there was confirmed, on the basis of the idea that the government did not compete for profits with the private sector, the general rule that the activities of private merchants should not be constrained by government caravans.

#### IV. The End of Government Caravans

After the resumption of the Kiakhta trade in 1768, government caravans were sent annually for some years. But because there are few archival sources conveying their movements and most of them follow a standard format, very little new information can be obtained from them. It could be said that this is because things proceeded smoothly without any particular problems, but in one respect this could also be considered to reflect a decline of interest in government caravans on the part of the emperor and the government. And in view of the fact that no references to government caravans can be found in archival sources for the 1775–76 and 1776–77 seasons, it is thought that no caravans were sent in these years. This is confirmed by the statement by bureau director Bandarša and others who led the government caravan in 1777–78 that “Because our government merchants had not come to Kiyaktu to trade for several years, there were very few black fox furs for sale there, and they were expensive.”<sup>56)</sup> But currently my investigations have not yet extended to the reasons for the suspension of the sending of caravans. Further, in 1778 Sangjaidorji in Kūriy-e submitted a memorial stating that Russian officials were arrogant and overbearing, whereupon the Kiakhta trade was suspended for two years and the sending of government caravans was also halted. Trade resumed in 1780, but in 1781 Fulunggan 福隆安 and other ministers of the Council of State submitted the following memorial concerning government caravans:

Each time a secretary (Man. *janggin*; Ch. *zhangjing* 章京) from the Board of Colonial Affairs and a secretary from the Imperial Household Department are sent to lead Bederge Muslims to go to trade at Kiakhta, if we estimate that the *janggins* who are sent are each paid 1 *liang* daily in the case of bureau directors and 8 *qian* daily in the case of bureau vice directors for

food, as well as 100 *liang* each as preparation money, and that the eight Bederge Muslims are each paid 2 *qian* daily for food and 10 *liang* each when setting out as preparation money, in total more than 1,400 *liang* in silver are required. Adding the silver used to buy cloth in Beijing and the silver corresponding to the patterned damask taken from the palace [storehouses], more than 18,000 *liang* of silver are required each time. On thinking carefully about it, the Russians know only about seeking good luck. When we send people specially each year to trade for the government, they may not at all think that a great country is practising the way of trade (Man. *hūda hafumbure doro*) and may think instead that the great country is like them in coveting profit. Taking Bederge Muslims when trading for the government is because they are sent since the Muslims understand the language of Russia. The merchants there are now accustomed to trade, and in Kiyaktu there is also a *janggin* who is stationed there to deal with matters. In your humble slaves’ opinion, if we hereafter stop dispatching *janggin* and sending them to Kiyaktu at the head of Muslims to trade and if we entrust this matter directly to the *janggin* in Kiyaktu and have him trade and deal with it close at hand, we think that it will both be convenient and, since we will not be sending *janggin* and Bederge Muslims, there will be no extra spending on money for food and money for preparations.<sup>57)</sup>

This memorial was ratified by the Qianlong emperor, and as a result the sending of government caravans, which had continued for close to twenty years since 1760, finally came to an end.

In addition to the reasons mentioned above, it is possible to think of various other reasons, too, for the fact that the attitude of the authorities towards government caravans grew halfhearted around this time. For example, as mentioned, when the sending of caravans was resumed in 1768, only four people who had experience of trading at Kiakhta remained in Beijing, and this drop in the number of suitable personnel may also have been a factor. It is also conceivable that the Qianlong emperor’s enthusiasm for the idea of making widespread use of Muslim merchants simply cooled, but since this cannot be corroborated in historical sources, nothing definite is known in this regard.

However, one point that may be worth considering is that, economically speaking, the sending of government caravans was not necessarily a profitable undertaking, a fact that can be inferred from the settlement of accounts for the government caravans in 1770–72, included in the *Lufu zouzhe*.<sup>58)</sup> Taking the example of 1770, out of the total funding of 20,000 *liang*, the money used for buying goods at Kiakhta (when converted to silver *liang*) came to 18,405 *liang* 2

*qian 2 fen 分*, while the expenses, including the preparatory money and daily allowances paid to officials and merchants and the transportation costs, came to 1,574 *liang 5 qian*, making a total of 19,979 *liang 7 qian 2 fen*. Again, in 1771 the amount used for buying goods at Kiakhta came to 18,858 *liang 3 qian 4 fen*, while the expenses for preparations and so on came to 1,101 *liang 7 qian*, making a total of 19,960 *liang 4 fen*; in 1772 the amount for goods came to 18,646 *liang 3 qian 9 fen*, while the expenses for preparations and so on came to 1,328 *liang 3 qian 7 fen*, making a total of 19,974 *liang 7 qian 6 fen*. The estimated value of the furs and so on purchased at Kiakhta and the methods of their disposal are set out in Tables C1–C3 below.<sup>59)</sup>

In Table C1, among the goods purchased, the estimated value of goods kept for use by the imperial court is 6,823 *liang 2 fen 7 li 厘*, while the estimated value of goods disposed of by sale is 13,683 *liang 3 qian*, making a total of 20,506 *liang 3 qian 2 fen 7 li*, and the value of the goods disposed of by sale was greater. In 1771 and 1772 this trend becomes more pronounced: in 1771 (Table C2) the goods kept for use by the court were valued at 3,570 *liang 2 qian 5 li* and the goods disposed of by sale were valued at 16,893 *liang 4 qian 2 fen*, making a total of 20,463 *liang 6 qian 2 fen 5 li*; in 1772 (Table C3) the former were valued at 3,262 *liang* and the latter at 17,734 *liang 7 qian 4 fen*, making a total of 20,996 *liang 7 qian 4 fen*. Thus, articles actually used by the court did not account for a very large proportion of the funds invested. Further, in Table C1 the value of silver and grey squirrel furs disposed of by sale are nice round figures, whereas the values of the same articles kept for use by the court are fractional figures, and it may be assumed that it was first decided how many furs to sell, with the remainder being allocated for use by the court. In Tables C2 and C3, all furs except high-quality black fox furs were allocated for disposal by sale. In other words, as far as furs were concerned, no great importance was attached to securing a stock for use by the court. Meanwhile, the surplus for 1770 was 526 *liang 6 qian 2 li (sic)*, for 1771 it was 503 *liang 5 qian 8 fen 5 li*, and for 1772 it was 1,021 *liang 9 qian 8 fen*, and when considered in terms of the Imperial Household Department's finances as a whole, it was a trivial sum.<sup>60)</sup>

To sum up, it is evident that at least after 1770 the sending of government caravans was no longer of any great significance, neither in terms of securing articles for use by the court nor in terms of profit-making for the Imperial Household Department. If it was simply a case of transporting goods from Kiakhta to Beijing and then selling them without being able to count on much profit, what meaning would there have been in going to the trouble of organizing caravans and sending them to Kiakhta with government officials at their head? It should be assumed that such circumstances also lay behind the proposal to

Table C1: Estimated Value of Goods Purchased in 1770 and Their Disposal

Furs Purchased (unit)	Quantity (estimated value in <i>liang</i> per <i>zhang</i> )	Quantity Kept for Court Use	Quantity for Selling
top-grade black fox furs 上等黑狐皮 ( <i>zhang</i> )	2 (45)	2	
whole black fox furs 全黑狐皮	11 (45)		11
1st-grade black fox furs without calves 去小腿一等黑狐皮	31 (35)		31
2nd-grade black fox furs without calves 二等去小腿黑狐皮	143 (30)	83	60
3rd-grade black fox furs without calves 去小腿三等黑狐皮	197 (19.5)		197
silver fox furs without calves 去小腿青狐皮	49 (11)	10	39
top-grade silver squirrel furs 上等銀鼠皮	8,793 ( 0.25)	3,793	5,000
2nd-grade silver squirrel furs 二等銀鼠皮	23,853 ( 0.11)	8,853	15,000
top-grade grey squirrel furs 上等灰鼠皮	17,130 ( 0.055)	2,130	15,000
2nd-grade grey squirrel furs 二等灰鼠皮	24,970 ( 0.04)	4,970	20,000
white fox furs 白狐皮	2,630 ( 0.56)		2,630
(furs of) black fox legs 黑狐腿 ( <i>ge</i> 箇)	600 ( 1.25)	600	
(furs of) silver fox legs 青狐腿	500 ( 0.9)	500	
sheepskins 香羊皮 ( <i>zhang</i> )	105 ( 0.5714)	105	
brocade damask on gold 金地花緞 ( <i>chi</i> )	132.4 ( 4.7999)	132.4	
Total		6,823.027 <i>liang</i>	13,683.3 <i>liang</i>

Table C2: Estimated Value of Goods Purchased in 1771 and Their Disposal

Furs Purchased (unit)	Quantity (estimated value in <i>liang</i> per <i>zhang</i> )	Quantity Kept for Court Use	Quantity for Selling
top-grade black fox furs 上等黑狐皮 ( <i>zhang</i> )	44 (30)	44	
1st-grade black fox furs 一等黑狐皮	20 (30)		20
2nd-grade black fox furs 二等黑狐皮	40 (25)		40
3rd-grade black fox furs 三等黑狐皮	265 (19)		265
silver fox furs 青狐皮	57 (9.5)		57
1st-grade otter furs 一等海龍皮	5 (50)		5
2nd-grade otter furs 二等海龍皮	10 (45)		10
3rd-grade otter furs 三等海龍皮	12 (35)		12
white fox furs 白狐皮	2,852 (0.56)		2,852
1st-grade silver squirrel furs 一等銀鼠皮	8,500 (0.25)		8,500
2nd-grade silver squirrel furs 二等銀鼠皮	19,420 (0.12)		19,420
1st-grade grey squirrel furs 一等灰鼠皮	14,000 (0.06)		14,000
2nd-grade grey squirrel furs 二等灰鼠皮	30,320 (0.045)		30,320
brocade damask on gold 金地花緞 ( <i>chi</i> )	196.4 (5.09)	196.4	
sheepskins 香羊皮 ( <i>zhang</i> )	107 (0.665)	107	
(furs of) black fox legs 黑狐腿 ( <i>dui</i> )	205 (2.5)	205	
(furs of) black fox calves cut from whole bodies 黑狐皮內截用小腿	194.5 (1.25)	194.5	
(furs of) silver fox calves cut from thighs 青狐腿截用小腿	425 (1)	425	
(furs of) silver fox calves cut from whole bodies 青狐皮截用小腿	5 (1)	5	
(furs of) silver fox thighs 青狐大腿	425 (0.8)		425
Total		3,570.205 <i>liang</i>	16,893.42 <i>liang</i>

Table C3: Estimated Value of Goods Purchased in 1772 and Their Disposal

Furs Purchased (unit)	Quantity (estimated value in <i>liang</i> per <i>zhang</i> )	Quantity Used by Court	Value of Goods Sold
top-grade black fox furs 上等黑狐皮 ( <i>zhang</i> )	5 (30)	5	
1st-grade black fox furs 一等黑狐皮	20 (31.6)		20
2nd-grade black fox furs 二等黑狐皮	30 (26)		30
3rd-grade black fox furs 三等黑狐皮	110 (21)		110
1st-grade otter furs 一等海龍皮	10 (50)		10
2nd-grade otter furs 二等海龍皮	20 (45)		20
3rd-grade otter furs 三等海龍皮	56 (35)		56
4th-grade otter furs 四等海龍皮	17 (20)		17
1st-grade silver squirrel furs 一等銀鼠皮	8,600 ( 0.25)		8,600
2nd-grade silver squirrel furs 二等銀鼠皮	19,400 ( 0.12)		19,400
1st-grade grey squirrel furs 一等灰鼠皮	15,000 ( 0.06)		15,000
2nd-grade grey squirrel furs 二等灰鼠皮	36,360 ( 0.045)		36,360
1st-grade blackish grey squirrel furs 一等黑灰鼠皮	2,000 ( 0.075)		2,000
2nd-grade blackish grey squirrel furs 二等黑灰鼠皮	14,369 ( 0.06)		14,369
short-haired white fox furs 小毛白狐皮	2,010 ( 0.64)		2,010
white fox furs 白狐皮	2,000 ( 0.5)		2,000
brocade damask on gold 金地花緞 ( <i>chi</i> )	204 ( 7)	204	
golden patterned oxhides 金花牛皮 ( <i>zhang</i> )	80 ( 1.8)	80	
oxhides 香牛皮	20 ( 1.8)	20	
sheepskins 香羊皮	120 ( 0.7)	120	
(furs of) black foxes thighs 黑狐腿 ( <i>datu</i> )	710 ( 2)	710	
Total		3,262 <i>liang</i>	17,734.74 <i>liang</i>

discontinue government caravans.

### Concluding Remarks

There has been much discussion about the position of foreign trade during the Qing dynasty, and it could be said that, at least in principle, there undoubtedly existed the attitude that, properly speaking, trade was unnecessary for the Qing dynasty and was merely conducted as a favour to other countries. This attitude is exemplified by the following statement at the start of the Kiakhta International Protocol signed with Russia in 1792:<sup>61)</sup>

The Kiakhta trade was from the first of no benefit to China. But His Great Imperial Highness loves all sentient beings and cannot bear to see the people of your country suffer, and because your Senate made an entreaty, He granted permission.

恰克圖互市，於中國初無利益，大皇帝普愛衆生，不忍爾國小民困窘，又因爾薩那特衙門籲請，是以允行。

When the British ambassador George Macartney arrived in China around the same time, the Qianlong emperor sent a well-known special mandate, or letter, to George III in which the same idea is expressed:<sup>62)</sup>

Our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its own borders. There was therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce. But as the tea, silk, and porcelain which the Celestial Empire produces, are absolute necessities to European nations and to yourselves, we have permitted, as a signal mark of favor, that foreign *hongs* should be established at Canton, so that your wants might be supplied and your country thus participate in our beneficence.

天朝物產豐盈，無所不有，原不藉外夷貨物，以通有無。特因天朝所產茶葉，磁器，絲帛，為西洋各國及爾國必需之物，是以加恩體恤，在澳門開設洋行，俾得日用有資，並沾餘潤。

However, in reality foreign trade had significance for the Qing dynasty, too, in various ways, one of which was, as pointed out by Banno Masataka, the utilization of trade as a means for conducting diplomacy.<sup>63)</sup> For example, there

is no need to dwell at length on the fact that in relations with Russia there was frequently adopted a policy of pressing for diplomatic concessions by hinting at the suspension of trade or actually going ahead with a suspension of trade. On the other hand, there were also instances in which the Qing court and government became involved in trade for various purposes. A clear example of this is the procurement of copper ore at Nagasaki in Japan for minting coins, referred to as *bantong* 辦銅. In addition, during the Qianlong reign the superintendent of the Canton Customs House (Yuehaiguan 粵海關), who oversaw the Canton trade, regularly procured commodities for the court’s use and sent them to Beijing.<sup>64</sup> The basic aim of sending Muslim caravans to Kiakhtha was similar to the case of Canton, but it could be described as a special case insofar that, as discussed in sections I and II above, the government was more directly and fully involved and one can also posit the Qianlong emperor’s political intentions behind it. But it needs to be noted that when the court or the government became involved in trade, be it in the procurement of copper or in the procurement of commodities in Canton or Kiakhtha, the primary objective was not to gain any economic profit, as was the case for private merchants, and may be assumed to have lain elsewhere, and it could be said to have been underpinned on the whole by the principle of not competing for profits with merchants. At any rate, there would seem to be a need to attempt to reconstruct anew the overall picture of foreign trade during the Qing period by also taking into account cases such as the government caravans dealt with in this article.

### Notes

- \* This article is a Japanese translation of the following article: Yanagisawa Akira 柳澤明, “Kyafuta ni okeru Shinchō no ‘kan’ei taishō’ ni tsuite: “bederge kaishi” no katsudō” キャフタにおける清朝の「官営隊商」について： “bederge回子”の活動, *Shiteki* 史滴 36 (2014), pp. 253–232.
- 1) G. Cahen, *Histoire des relations de la Russie avec la Chine sous Pierre le Grand (1689–1730)* (Paris: Alcan, 1912); Б. Г. Курц, *Государственная монополия в торговле России с Китаем: в первой половине XVIII ст* (Киев, 1929); Yoshida Kin’ichi 吉田金一, “Kōki sanjūninen gijun no Orosu goshi kitei ni tsuite” 康熙三十二年議準の俄羅斯互市規定について [On the rules for trade with Russia ratified in 1693], in *Egami Namio kyōju koki kinen ronshū: rekishi hen* 江上波夫教授古稀記念論集：歴史編 [Felicitation volume for Professor Egami Namio on the occasion of his seventieth birthday: History] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha 山川出版社, 1977), pp. 431–452; Shibuya Kōichi 澁谷浩一, “Kyafuta jōyaku izen no Roshia no Pekin bōeki: Shingawa no ukeire taisei o chūshin ni shite” キャフタ条約以前のロシアの北京貿易：清側の受入れ体制を中心にして [Russia’s Beijing caravan trade prior to the Treaty of

- Kyakhta: Concerning the reception of the Ch'ing Government], *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋学報 75-3/4 (1994), pp. 261–293.
- 2) A. Корсак, *Историко-статистическое обозрение торговых сношений России с Китаем* (Казань, 1857); X. Туревич, *Посольския и торговыя сношения России с Китаем (до XIX века)* (Москва, 1882); E. П. Силин, *Кяхта в XVIII веке: Из истории русско-китайской торговли* (Иркутск, 1947); Yoshida Kin'ichi, “Roshia to Shin no bōeki ni tsuite” ロシアと清の貿易について [Trade between Russia and Ching China], *Tōyō Gakuhō* 45-4 (1963), pp. 39–86; C. M. Foust, *Muscovite and Mandarin: Russia's Trade with China and Its Setting, 1727–1805* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969); M. И. Сладковский, *История торгово-экономических отношений народов России с Китаем (до 1917 г.)* (Москва, 1974).
  - 3) Morinaga Takako 森永貴子, *Roshia no kakudai to kegawa kōeki: 16–19 seiki Shiberia, Kita Taihei'yō no shōnin sekai* ロシアの拡大と毛皮交易：16～19世紀シベリア・北太平洋の商人世界 [Russia's expansion and the fur trade: The world of merchants in Siberia and the North Pacific in the 16th to 19th centuries] (Tokyo: Sairyūsha 彩流社, 2008); id., *Irukūtsuku shōnin to Kyafuta bōeki: Teisei Roshia ni okeru Yūrashia shōgyō* イルクーツク商人とキャフタ貿易：帝政ロシアにおけるユーラシア商業 [Irkutsk merchants and the Kiakhta trade: Eurasian commerce in Tsarist Russia] (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Daigaku Shuppankai 北海道大学出版会, 2010).
  - 4) Zhang Weihua 張維華 and Sun Xi 孫西, *Qing qianqi Zhong-E guanxi* 清前期中俄關係 [Russo-Chinese relations during the early Qing] (Jinan 濟南: Shandong Jiaoyu Chubanshe 山東教育出版社, 1997); Li Qifang 李齊芳, *Zhong-E guanxi shi* 中俄關係史 [History of Russo-Chinese relations] (Taipei: Lianjing 聯經, 2000); Mi Zhenbo 米鎮波, *Qingdai Zhong-E Qiaketu bianjing maoyi* 清代中俄恰克圖邊境貿易 [Russo-Chinese frontier trade at Kiakhta during the Qing period] (Tianjin: Nankai Daxue Chubanshe 南開大學出版社, 2003); Morikawa Tetsuo 森川哲雄, “Kenryū ki ni okeru Kyafuta bōeki teishi to daiō mondai” 乾隆期におけるキャフタ貿易停止と大黃問題 [The suspension of the Kiakhta trade during the Qianlong reign and the rhubarb problem], *Higashi Ajia to Nihon: Kōryū to Hen'yō* 東アジアと日本：交流と変容 1 (2004), pp. 53–73; Shiotani Masafumi 塩谷昌史, ed., *Teikoku no bōeki: 18–19 seiki Yūrashia no ryūtsū to Kyafuta* 帝国の貿易：18～19世紀ユーラシアの流通とキャフタ [Empires' trades: Eurasian distribution and Kiakhta from 18th to 19th century (*sic*)] (Sendai: Tōhoku Daigaku Tōhoku Ajia Kenkyū Sentā 東北大学東北アジア研究センター [Center for Northeast Asian Studies, Tohoku University], 2009); Ye Baichuan 葉柏川, “17–18 shiji Qingchao Lifanyuan dui Zhong-E maoyi de jiandu yu guanli” 17–18世紀清朝理藩院對中俄貿易的監督與管理 [The supervision and management of Sino-Russian trade relations by the Lifanyuan in Qing dynasty 17th–18th centuries (*sic*)], *Qingshi Yanjiu* 清史研究 [Studies in Qing History], 2012-1, pp. 47–57.
  - 5) Lai Huimin 賴惠敏, “Qing Qianlong chao neiwufu de pihuo maimai yu Jingcheng shishang” 清乾隆朝內務府的皮貨買賣與京城時尚 [Fur trade by the Imperial Household Department and fashion in Peking during the reign of Emperor Ch'ien-lung], *Gugong Xueshu Jikan* 故宮學術季刊 [National Palace Museum Quarterly] 21-1 (2003), pp. 104–134.
  - 6) Saguchi Tōru 佐口透, *Shinkyō minzokushi kenkyū* 新疆民族史研究 [Studies in the history of the peoples of Xinjiang] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1986),

pp. 241–243.

- 7) Referred to as *hūdai kuren* (business quarters) in Manchu archival documents.
- 8) For example, Silin writes, “The year 1755 can be regarded as the stable commencement of Russia’s frontier trade with China” (Силин, *op. cit.*, p. 51).
- 9) Morinaga, *Irukūtsuku shōnin to Kyafuta bōeki*, pp. 49–50; Yanagisawa Akira, “1750–60 nendai no Kyafuta bōeki to kanzei mondai” 1750～60年代のキャフタ貿易と関税問題 [The problem of customs duties on the Kiakhta trade in the 1750s–60s], *Waseda Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyūka Kiyō* 早稲田大学大学院文学研究科紀要 [Bulletin of the Graduate Division of Letters, Arts and Sciences of Waseda University IV] 58–4 (2012), pp. 5–18.
- 10) *Lufu zouzhe*, file 1745, no. 21 / microfilm, reel no. 52, frame no. 57 (opening frame), memorial of Council of State ministers Fuheng et al. (Qianlong 24/2?); *ibid.*, 1792-8 / 54-3308, report to Council of State by Sangjaidorji, vice commander of Khalkha, et al. (Qianlong 24/10?).
- 11) Jiaqing 嘉慶 *Huidian shili* 會典事例 746, “Lifanyuan” 理藩院, “Eluosi hushi” 俄羅斯互市 (Trade with Russia).
- 12) Here given as *bederke*, but written *bederge* in many other documents.
- 13) МУУТА (Монгол улсын үндсний төв архив [National Central Archives of Mongolia]): Фонд М.1 (Манжийн үеийн Хүрээнд сууж хэрэг шийтгэгч сайдын яам [Office of Grand Minister Superintendent of Küriy-e in Manchu period]), Данс 1, хадгаламжийн нэгж 2850: хуудас 1, letter to Sangjaidorji by Board of Colonial Affairs (Qianlong 25/4). Hereafter sources held by the National Central Archives of Mongolia are given in simplified form, e.g., МУУТА: М.1- Д.1-2850: 1.
- 14) See, e.g., *Lufu zouzhe* 1949-17 / 63-1733, memorial of Council of State ministers Fuheng et al. (Qianlong 27/6/18).
- 15) Fan Qingzhu was also involved in the purchasing of horses, mentioned in the previous section (*Lufu zouzhe* 1745-21 / 52-57, memorial of Council of State minister Fuheng, Qianlong 24/2?).
- 16) *Lufu zouzhe* 1858–5 / 58–3334, report to Council of State by Lioboju and Kimboo (Qianlong 25/11/15); 1876-39 / 59-3175, report to Council of State by Libooju and Kimboo (Qianlong 26/3/1).
- 17) *Lufu zouzhe* 1876-39 / 59-3175 (see n. 16).
- 18) *Lufu zouzhe* 1942-19 / 62-3603, memorial of unknown person (Qianlong 27/5?).
- 19) Saguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–243; Onuma Takahiro (小沼孝博), “The Development of the Junghars and the Role of Bukharian Merchants,” *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies* 2 (2011), pp. 83–100. According to Li Baowen 李保文 (“‘Bode’erge’ kaoshi” “伯德爾格”考釋 [A note on *bederge*], *Xiyu Yanjiu* 西域研究 [Western Regions Studies], 2009-4, pp. 109–113, this designation is found also in Galdan’s admonition included in the *Mongol (Khalkha)-Oirat Code* and in Yao Yuanzhi’s 姚元之 *Zhuyeting zaji* 竹葉亭雜記.
- 20) Onuma Takahiro, *250 years history of the Turkic-Muslim camp in Beijing*, TIAS Central Eurasian Research Series No. 2 (Tokyo: Department of Islamic Area Studies, University of Tokyo (TIAS), 2009).
- 21) For example, when the sending of government caravans was resumed in 1768, after a suspension in the Kiakhta trade, it was suggested in a memorial that Muslims “conversant in Russian and able to do business” ought to be selected. See *Lufu zouzhe*

- 2273-31 / 82-3404, memorial of Ingliyan, minister of Imperial Household Department (Qianlong 33/7/16).
- 22) *Lufu zouzhe* 1996-32 / 65-2951, report to Council of State by bureau director Fafuri (Qianlong 27/12?).
- 23) MYYTA: M.1-Д.1-2871: 1, letter to imperial prince and vice commander of Khalkha, by Council of State (Qianlong 27/11).
- 24) *Lufu zouzhe* 2009-38 / 66-1411, report to Council of State by bureau director Fafuri (Qianlong 28/1/15).
- 25) *Lufu zouzhe* 1876-22 / 59-3099, memorial of Council of State (Qianlong 26/5?).
- 26) Also written “Aitme” in some sources.
- 27) MYYTA: M.1-Д.1-2850: 2, report to Council of State by bureau vice director Liobooju et al. (date unknown).
- 28) Saguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–291.
- 29) *Lufu zouzhe* 1835-28 / 57-1847, memorial of Hūrki, vice commander-in-chief of Hulunbuir with the rank of supervisor-in-chief (Qianlong 25/8/11). In this regard, see Guo Meilan 郭美蘭, “Qingdai ‘Taliyaqin huizi’ dongqian Hulunbei’er kaiken zhongtian shimo” 清代“塔里雅沁回子”東遷呼倫貝爾開墾種田始末 [The migration of “Khuisse (Muslim) Tariyachins” east to Khulunber to assert and follow the plough in Ching Dynasty (*sic*)], *Zhongguo Bianjiang Shidi Yanjiu* 中國邊疆史地研究 [China’s Borderland History and Geography Studies] 11-4 (2001), pp. 78–84.
- 30) Fan Qingzhu himself died in 1762. See Huang Jianhui 黃鑾暉, *Ming-Qing Shanxi shangren yanjiu* 明清山西商人研究 [A study of Shanxi merchants in the Ming and Qing] (Taiyuan 太原: Shanxi Jingji Chubanshe 山西經濟出版社, 2002), p. 406.
- 31) However, in 1768–69 these times were irregular because the Kiakhta trade, having been suspended since 1764, had only just been resumed.
- 32) *Lufu zouzhe* 2273-31 / 82-3404, memorial of Ingliyan, minister of Imperial Household Department, et al. (imperially endorsed in vermilion ink, Qianlong 33/7/16).
- 33) *Lufu zouzhe* 1949-17 / 63-1733, memorial of Council of State minister Fuheng (Qianlong 27/6/18).
- 34) *Lufu zouzhe* 2877-29 / 121-1713, memorial of Council of State minister Fulunggan (Qianlong 46/5/3).
- 35) *Lufu zouzhe* 2288-23 / 83-3447, memorial of Balu, commander-in-chief of Chahar (Qianlong 33/11/17).
- 36) Table produced on the basis of *Lufu zouzhe* 1876-39 / 59-3175, report to Council of State by Liobooju and Kimboo (Qianlong 26/3/1); *ibid.* 1931-15 / 62-1630, report to Council of State by Kimboo (Qianlong 27/3?); *ibid.* 2017-25 / 66-2663, report to Council of State by Fafuri (Qianlong 28/2/16); *ibid.* 2082-20 / 70-2004, report to Council of State by Kimboo (Qianlong 29/3/20).
- 37) *Lufu zouzhe* 1825-3 / 56-3207, report to Council of State by Liobooju and Kimboo (Qianlong 25/5/24).
- 38) Yanagisawa, *op. cit.*
- 39) *Lufu zouzhe* 1949-17 / 63-1733, memorial of Council of State minister Fuheng (Qianlong 27/6/18).
- 40) MYYTA: M.1-Д.1-2839: 4, letter to Duke and Grand Secretary [of the Grand Secretariat] by Sangjaidorji (8/5). The “Duke and Grand Secretary” is thought to refer

to Fuheng 傅恒. Only the month and day are given, but judging from the context the letter is thought to date from Qianlong 27.

- 41) Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang’anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (First Historical Archives of China), ed., *Qianlong chao Manwen jixin dang yibian* 乾隆朝滿文寄信檔譯編 [Translations of Qianlong-era Manchu letters] (Changsha 長沙: Yuelu Shushe 岳麓書社, 2011), vol. 5, no. 557 (pp. 384–386).
- 42) *Lufu zouzhe* 2273-31 / 82-3404, memorial of Ingliyan, minister of Imperial Household Department et al. (imperially endorsed in vermilion ink, Qianlong 33/7/16).
- 43) *Gaozong shilu* 688, Qianlong 28/6/*renchen* 壬辰.
- 44) MYYTA: M.1-D.1-213: 7-9, letter to Sangjaidorji and Fude by Board of Colonial Affairs (Qianlong 28/4/14).
- 45) *Lufu zouzhe* 2027-8 / 67-645, memorial of Sangjaidoji and Fude (Qianlong 28/5/6).
- 46) MYYTA: M.1-D.1-213: 14-16, letter to Sangjaidorji and Fude by Board of Colonial Affairs (Qianlong 28/5/16).
- 47) *Lufu zouzhe* 2043-3 / 68-332, report (in Chinese) to ministers of Council of State by Heqizhong 和其衷, governor of Shanxi (Qianlong 28/6/24). At the time when this report was submitted, Tian Chang, Zhang Chaoyuan, and Dong Bingxin had already been arrested, but this information is not reflected in the report.
- 48) *Lufu zouzhe* 2035-17 / 67-2300, report to Council of State by Barpin, commander-in-chief of Chahar (Qianlong 28/6/9); MYYTA: M1-D1-213: 48-51, letter to Grand Minister Superintendent of Kūriy-e by Barpin, commander-in-chief of Chahar (Qianlong 28/6/9); *ibid.* 63-70, letter to Grand Minister Superintendent of Kūriy-e by Barpin, commander-in-chief of Chahar (Qianlong 28/6/20); *Lufu zouzhe* 2043-7 / 68-356, report to Council of State by Sangjaidorji and Fude (Qianlong 28/6/25).
- 49) *Lufu zouzhe* 2038-12 / 67-2758, memorial of Sangjaidorji et al. (Qianlong 28/7/3). In this document it is stated that “18,000 great *tugurik*” were confiscated from Zhang Chaoyuan, but a document relating to the subsequent investigations at Rehe (see n. 54) has “small *tugurik*,” and this latter would seem to be correct. The word *tugurik* corresponds to Mongolian *tögürig*, meaning “circle,” and it is thought to refer to a form of Russian currency. This is interesting in that it would suggest that Russian currency was used at the time in Kiakhta for settling accounts.
- 50) In a document related to the investigations conducted at Rehe (see n. 54), his name is given as Isek.
- 51) With regard to the third point, it became clear from the testimony of Bayungtai and some private merchants that a private merchant by the name of Jang Yung Ding tried to secretly buy four horses from Russia but was questioned at a watch-post and had the money and cloth he had readied as payment confiscated by Bayungtai and that another private merchant by the name of Lio Hiyoo Šeng secretly bought two horses from a Russian named Eliyeksiye (Алексей?). This matter is unrelated to government caravans, and so details about the subsequent inquiry will be omitted.
- 52) MYYTA: M1-D1-213: 230-231, letter to Grand Minister Superintendent of Kūriy-e by Council of State (arrived Qianlong 28/7/6).
- 53) *Lufu zouzhe* 2034-26 / 67-2073. Neither the date nor the name of the person who submitted it is given in this report, but judging from the fact that a letter sent by the Council of State to Kūriy-e conveying the outcome of the interrogations arrived on

the 6th of the seventh month (see n. 52), the interrogations may be considered to have taken place at the end of the sixth month or at the start of the seventh month. In the *Qingdai bianjiang Manwen dang'an mulu* 清代邊疆滿文檔案目錄 [Catalogue of Manchu archives about the border regions in the Qing] (Guilin 桂林: Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe 廣西師範大學出版社, 1999), vol. 4, p. 345, this report is identified as a memorial submitted by Barpin, commander-in-chief of Chahar, but it clearly conveys the contents of the investigations conducted by ministers of the Council of State.

- 54) *Lufu zouzhe* 2038-39 / 67-2810, memorial of Council of State ministers Fuheng et al. (Qianlong 28/7/12). At the time when this interrogation took place, Dong Bingshu among the merchants had already arrived, but Zhang Zongxuan and the others had not yet arrived.
- 55) *ibid.*
- 56) *Lufu zouzhe* 2740-15 / 113-677, report to Grand Minister Superintendent by bureau directors Baši and Bandarša (Qianlong 43/3/3).
- 57) *Lufu zouzhe* 2877-29 / 121-1713, memorial of Council of State minister Fulunggan (Qianlong 46/5/3).
- 58) *Lufu zouzhe* 2589-58 / 103-1308; 2772-14, 15 / 115-865, 868.
- 59) The unit has been omitted when it is the same as that for the immediately preceding item. The quantities for 1771 given in Table C2 coincide with those given by Lai Huimin (op. cit.) on the basis of archival documents from the Imperial Household Department.
- 60) The surpluses represent figures calculated on the basis of the goods' estimated values, and it is not known whether the goods were actually able to be sold at these prices. According to Sun Xiaoying 孫曉瑩, memorials of the Imperial Household Department held by the First Historical Archives of China include many documents related to the government merchant Wang Qifeng 王起鳳, who undertook to sell furs held in the palace storehouses, and so there would seem to be further scope to examine the prices for which they were actually sold.
- 61) Jiaqing *Da Qing huidian shili* 大清會典事例 746, "Lifanyuan," "Eluosi hushi." However, the statement that "the Kiakhta trade was from the first of no benefit to China" (恰克圖互市, 於中國初無利益) is found neither in the Manchu text included in the *Lufu zouzhe* (3417-004 / 155-110) nor in the Russian text translated from the Manchu text (Министерство иностранных дел, *Сборник договоров России с Китаем, 1689–1881* [СПб., 1889], pp. 93–95).
- 62) Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan, ed., *Yingshi Majia'erni fanghua dang'an shiliao huibian* 英使馬戛爾尼訪華檔案史料匯編 [Collection of archival materials about the British envoy Macartney's visit to China] (Beijing: Guoji Wenhua Chubang Gongsi 國際文化出版公司, 1996), p. 172. English translation quoted from E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland, *Annals and Memoirs of the Board of Peking (from the 16th to the 20th Century)* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), p. 326.
- 63) Banno Masataka 坂野正高, *Kindai Chūgoku seiji gaikō shi* 近代中国政治外交史 [History of politics and diplomacy in modern China] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 1973), p. 81.
- 64) Lai Huimin, "Qian-Jia shidai Beijing de yanghuo yu qiren richang shenghuo" 乾嘉時代北京的洋貨與旗人日常生活 [Western goods and the everyday lives of bannermen

in Beijing during the Qianlong and Jiaqing reigns], in Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, Kang Bao 康豹 (Paul R. Katz), and Lin Meili 林美莉, eds., *Cong chengshi kan Zhongguo de xiandaixing* 從城市看中國的現代性 [The city and Chinese modernity] (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo 中央研究院近代史研究所, 2010), pp. 1–35.